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NOTE

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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 22 July 1974, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Javier PÉREZ de CUÉLLAR (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1782)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
 - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
 - (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348)

The meeting was called to order at 12.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
- (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 1779th, 1780th and 1781st meetings, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, India and

Mauritius to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

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

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I propose to invite the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to come to the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia), Mr. Datcu (Romania), Mr. Budhiraja (India), and Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As members will recall, at our meeting on Saturday I stated the following:

"However, the situation in the area remains very critical, and at this stage it cannot be foreseen what action the Council may be called upon to take on this issue." [1781st meeting, para. 250.]

4. I should like to inform members that yesterday I received a letter from the representative of Greece [S/11354] and a letter from the representative of Turkey [S/11355]. I have also received a letter from the representative of Cyprus [S/11358].

5. In the Secretary-General's report on developments in Cyprus, additional information has been included on the situation [S/11353 and Add.1]. Moreover, messages have been exchanged between the Secretary-General and the Governments of Greece and Turkey [S/11356].

6. I now call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

7. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Members of the Council will have seen my report on developments in Cyprus published yesterday, 21 July, in the documents S/11353 and Add.1. I had not received reports of any major developments in Cyprus from the Force Commander or my Special Representative

until a few moments ago. I shall refer to the latest reports in a few minutes.

8. As members of the Council will know, the cease-fire in Cyprus which has now been agreed to in response to the Council resolution of 20 July [resolution 353 (1974)] was due to come into effect at 10 a.m. New York time today, that is, 4 p.m. Cyprus time. That means that the cease-fire should have already come into effect, but I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have in the meantime, after preparing this statement, received reports from Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz and Major-General Prem Chand that fighting is going on and at 5.15 p.m. the Turkish air force made a second attack on Nicosia airport in the course of which one bomb fell inside the United Nations compound, wounding one British soldier. We have received further reports that the fighting is still going on in other parts of the island.

9. In this connexion, I wish to inform you that the texts of the appeals which I addressed to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey on the morning of 21 July and the answer from the Prime Minister of Turkey to that appeal will be published separately [S/11356]. The answer of the Prime Minister of Greece is included in the letter from the representative of Greece to the President of the Council [S/11354].

10. I hope that the cease-fire in Cyprus which has now been agreed to by the Governments of Greece and Turkey will make it possible for violence finally to cease in the island in the very near future. If a cease-fire can be firmly established it should be possible to proceed with the utmost speed to the negotiations called for by the Council, so that further tragic developments may be avoided and the search for peaceful settlement may be resumed.

11. I feel I should say a word about the cease-fire. I mentioned before that there were already a number of breaches of the cease-fire agreement. I hope that these will be stopped in the immediate future. The United Nations peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), although very small in numbers, has during the past tragic days been doing its utmost to limit the fighting and to protect the civilian population, and I wish here to pay a tribute to the courage and devotion of all the personnel of UNFICYP for their exemplary conduct during this very grave crisis. However, during the fighting UNFICYP has received requests for assistance from all sides which have been manifestly far beyond its present capability. As we are all well aware, after a bitter conflict a cease-fire is virtually impossible to maintain without the assistance and supervision of some impartial but generally acceptable agency, especially in a situation as complicated as that which exists in Cyprus at present. It is obvious that the present strength of UNFICYP is not sufficient for it effectively to ensure the maintenance of the cease-fire. I have the intention, therefore, in compliance with resolution 186 (1964), as

a first step, to ask the troop-contributing countries urgently to reinforce their contingents which are already serving with UNFICYP.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council has just heard the statement made by the Secretary-General. It is my understanding that the Secretary-General will proceed forthwith to take the measures he spoke about in order to strengthen the UNFICYP contingents.

13. I now call on the representative of Greece.

14. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): Mr. President, my letter to you [*ibid.*] is self-explanatory, and the time is very short indeed for indulging in further elaboration. The inhuman attacks against innocent civilians constitute an irrefutable fact, especially when, as everybody knows, there exists no Greek Cypriot air force to face the Turkish jets, which had total freedom of action—action directed mainly against hospitals, embassy premises and civilians. I should like, however, to bring to the attention of the Council the following additional cases of unlawful attacks that occurred after my letter was sent to the President.

15. First, there was the complete destruction of the venerated old Armenian educational Melkonian Institute of Nicosia. Secondly, there was the bombing of the Turkish village of Ghaziveran, near Nicosia, which caused the deaths of five children and four women, as well as the serious wounding of 20 persons, all of them Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish president of that community branded this ferocious act as a Turkish infamy. Thirdly, Turkish jets intentionally dropped incendiary bombs on Troodos mountain in order to defoliate it. Fourthly, the port of Kyrenia has been heavily shelled by Turkish destroyers, with hundreds of civilian casualties, and this happened after the acceptance by Ankara of the cease-fire, in a last-minute vindictive outburst. Fifthly, even the ruins of the ancient city of Salamis were not spared by the Turkish fury, priceless archaeological being monuments thus destroyed. The responsibility for all these premeditated attacks rests entirely with the Turkish invaders, as does the unheard-of bombing of the Greek Embassy premises in Nicosia, where wives and children of our staff had taken shelter.

16. In view of these despicable activities, I cannot help feeling very sorry for those who have hypocritically tried to condone or minimize them in their effort to put the blame on the victims. As a French philosopher very aptly pointed out three centuries ago, hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. That is a fact of life even as far as Cyprus is concerned.

17. I should further like to remind the Council that this is not the first time that Turkey has openly proved that invasion constitutes its chosen means for achieving its long-term national goal, namely, the island's partition. The ousting of Makarios, which Turkey invoked

this time as a valid motivation for its actions, is merely a quibble that can fool nobody. Actually, as long ago as 1964 Turkey was ready to invade Cyprus, being deterred at the last moment by President Johnson's letter to the then Prime Minister, Inonu. Permit me to read to the Council certain quotations from that letter which present a striking actuality and can also provide an explanation for what is going on today. In fact President Johnson wrote, among other things, the following:

"I am gravely concerned by the information that the Turkish Government is contemplating a decision to intervene by military force to occupy a portion of Cyprus. It is my impression that you believe that such intervention by Turkey is permissible under the provisions of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960.¹ I must call your attention, however, to our understanding that the proposed intervention by Turkey would be for the purpose of effecting a form of partition of the island, a solution which is specifically excluded by the Treaty of Guarantee.

"Further, that Treaty requires consultation among the guarantor Powers. It is the view of the United States that the possibilities of such consultation have by no means been exhausted in this situation and that therefore the reservation of the right to take unilateral action is not yet applicable. There can be no question in your mind that a Turkish intervention in Cyprus would lead to a military engagement between Turkish and Greek forces. Adhesion to NATO in its very essence means that NATO countries will not wage war on each other. Furthermore, a military intervention in Cyprus by Turkey could lead to direct involvement by the Soviet Union.

"I wish, also, to call your attention to the bilateral agreement between the United States and Turkey in the field of military assistance, under which your Government is required to obtain United States consent for the use of military assistance for purposes other than those for which such assistance was furnished.

"Moving to the practical results of the contemplated Turkish move, I feel obligated to call to your attention the fact that such a Turkish move could lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriots on the island. Such an action on your part would unleash the furies and there is no way by which military action on your part could be sufficiently effective to prevent wholesale destruction of many of those whom you are trying to protect.

"Finally, I must tell you that you have forced the gravest issues of war and peace. These are issues which go far beyond the bilateral relations between Turkey and the United States. They not only will

certainly involve war between Turkey and Greece, but could involve wider hostilities because of the unpredictable consequences which a unilateral intervention in Cyprus could produce."

18. Those are really prophetic admonitions by a great American President. I should like to apologize to my colleague Mr. Scali for quoting from the letter of the late President Johnson but the similarities between what happened in 1964 and what is happening 10 years later are striking and corroborate the assessment I made a few days ago that Turkey is now acting on the basis of a well-conceived—and for that matter well-concealed—plan aiming solely at the partition of the island. Needless to say, the reinstatement of Makarios, who until a few days ago was better known in Turkey under the nickname of the "red priest" (Kirmizi Papa) is the least of Ankara's concerns.

19. In concluding, may I ask my United Kingdom colleague to be allowed to use a quotation from William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who said almost two centuries ago:

"If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms: never, never, never. You cannot conquer America."

With some slight paraphrasing, the same words have applied to Cyprus and the outnumbered Greek Cypriots who, like David, have so valiantly, and with such an unprecedented heroism, faced the attacks of their neighbour Goliath.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

21. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I really had hoped that I would not have to speak today, but the letter that the representative of Greece sent to the President calling for this meeting obliges me to do so. Even if that letter had not been written, some information at my disposal would have been a sufficient reason for convening the Council, and I will ask the Secretary-General, through you Mr. President, for confirmation of that information. Ankara has told me that a force of eight Greek vessels is now at Paphos attempting to land troops. I should welcome confirmation in due course of this information, if possible before the Council is called upon to assess the present status of the cease-fire.

22. I was not present at the beginning of the meeting; I was actually in the process of getting this information. I have just learned with deep grief that a member of UNFICYP has lost his life in these events. It is my understanding that the Secretary-General has so informed the Council, and I should like to voice my Government's deep regret on that account.

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

23. I really do not know where to begin, and will choose at random.

24. May I say that the representative of Greece spoke about the fate of the Greek Embassy at Nicosia. I am very sorry to hear about that, the more so since, being a Turk, I know the conditions under which embassies sometimes have to function at Nicosia (called Lefkose in Turkish). The Turkish Embassy at Lefkose, in 1964, however, was for more than 40 days the sole refuge for all diplomatic families and officers and other figures in the Turkish Cypriot community. The Embassy was completely surrounded by troops—I do not know which Greeks they were at the time; things change so much in their form—and Greeks had ringed the Embassy, and it was only with the explicit permission of those who were in power at the time that the Embassy was resupplied with food and water. The Embassy was under continuous armed attack, and I think it had to be rebuilt from roof to cellar when the situation calmed down 40 days later. These things happened to the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia in 1964.

25. I turn now to the list of recent atrocities by the Greeks. Again I do not know which Greeks, for there are so many of them and so many allegiances, but the Greeks are now committing atrocities. And when I say "now" I am speaking of the present moment, and I am referring to the towns of Famagusta (called Magosa in Turkish), Paphos (called Baf in Turkish) and a place of which I know only the Turkish name, Serdarli, where, even as I address the Council, Turks are being massacred—and this massacre could not be prevented by the United Nations Force, whose sole purpose in Cyprus, to the best of my knowledge, was to interpose itself between the two parties precisely to avoid what is happening now.

26. As far as I am aware, the United Nations Force—and the decision that was adopted the other day (unfortunately a very incomplete decision, as I had occasion to say) does not mention that Force or indicate its role—has, regrettably, not succeeded in preventing the massacre of Turks by Greeks. Those troops, whether because they are too few in number or because they are unskilled or because they cannot be everywhere at once—and I must recognize that there are difficulties—have not succeeded in carrying out their task. On the other hand, that same Force informs us—and I shall now read out the Secretary-General's report:

"In the Kyrenia district... National Guard troops were reported retreating towards Bellapais in United Nations landrovers with United Nations flags"—a most noble gesture—"said to have been captured from a Finnish patrol. The 12 members of the patrol are believed to be in National Guard hands. The National Guard garrison at Bellapais was attacked by aircraft, and napalm was reported to have been

used. Kyrenia was said to be quiet and believed to be in National Guard hands."² [S/11353, par. 5]

Now, the only thing that I can say is that United Nations forces there were between two fires and one of the sides used them, their flag and their vehicles for military purposes in support of its own activities. In other words, this indicates the respect that the Greek forces—one of the Greek forces—have for the United Nations flag.

27. Now we know that the Greek forces in Cyprus—and here I am quoting only international sources and Greek Cypriot sources that are still loyal to Makarios—not only lack respect for UNFICYP, as has now been demonstrated, but also completely lack any respect for the Greeks. Certain Greeks at least have no respect for certain other Greeks in Cyprus. One cannot help wondering whether those Greeks, who respect neither the United Nations nor other Greeks, would be capable of respecting the Turks in Cyprus.

28. I have a collection of documentary material—which I would rather not cite here—setting forth the atrocities committed by the Greeks in Cyprus over the past 10 years: I was going to wave a brochure at you here but I do not have it—happily, perhaps, for you because the photographs are appalling—and, by an irony of fate, that pamphlet, which goes back to 1967, is entitled "Latest Greek Atrocities in Cyprus". And here we are in 1974. In any case these are not the old atrocities, because they date back to 1963 and 1964. These are perhaps the ones that took place in the meantime, perhaps the ones in 1967. Newspapers and the world press are talking about what is happening on Cyprus among the Greeks. I don't need to repeat it. Everyone has read today's issue of *The New York Times*. I shall not go into details—unless I am forced to do so, that is.

29. I must say that since this morning—that is to say, the time when the cease-fire was supposed to go into effect—all the news we have received from Cyprus has been more alarming by the minute. Once a few isolated Turkish Cypriots who still had weapons had been wiped out in various parts of the island, the Greeks—again I do not know which Greeks—true to their methods, began attacking the civilian population, on whom they are up to this very moment continuing the most brutal assault. As I have had occasion to say already, in the past these actions have been stopped only when the Turkish air force has stepped in. That is what is referred to when mention is made of bombings.

30. I should now like to say a few words about the accusation of attacks on hospitals. I have received information about that. Obviously, this is the most regrettable thing in the world, but it would have been

² Quoted in English by the speaker.

really difficult for the Turks to imagine that hospitals could be used—as some hotels have, for that matter—as a camouflage for anti-aircraft batteries. That is perhaps difficult to condone, but they are certainly an effective camouflage for anti-aircraft batteries. Once that fact had been understood, measures had to be taken to eliminate the anti-aircraft fire coming from hospitals and from certain hotels. Since that was done, as I have said, the highly regrettable attacks on hospitals have ceased.

31. I apologize for taking up the Council's time. There are some things that I would rather not have to quote and some things of which I would prefer not to speak at this stage. But I am going to read the following text:

"The Turkish Red Crescent kindly requests that this appeal be distributed to all national societies through your intermediary." (This is addressed to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva.)

"The Turkish Red Crescent is deeply distressed at the alarming news that despite the fact that the Turkish armed forces in Cyprus have been strictly respecting their orders not to attack civilian targets in open violation of the international humanitarian law in general, and in particular the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, the Greek and Cypriot Greek armed forces are attacking the villages of the Turkish Cypriots scattered around Baf and Lefka near the western coast of Cyprus and burning, destroying and pillaging the property and annihilating the Turkish population therein, without making any discrimination as regards sex and age, in unimaginably barbarian ways. The Turkish Red Crescent energetically protests to the International Red Cross community this inhuman treatment of the civilian population and overt infringement of the provisions of the said Convention and urges the ICRC and all the national societies to condemn these barbaric acts and to take every step possible within their means in accordance with the stipulations of the Geneva Convention to exert pressure upon the violators to respect the said Convention."

32. I shall be brief. I have the Turkish reply to the lengthy text read out by Ambassador Panayotacos—for what reason, I do not know—concerning a letter from the late President Johnson to the Turkish Government. The circumstances were identical. There was an attack on the Turkish population. Every five years we have Turks massacred in Cyprus by this party or that. At that time Turkey was preparing to intervene; when other circumstances superseded and the intervention was deemed not to be necessary. That did not happen this time, because there has already been an intervention.

33. But the problem I should like to refer to in a few words is the capacity of those who have brought this

complaint to the Security Council today. If I were the representative here of a Government condemned by world opinion, as the Government of the representative who preceded me has been; if, as that representative, I were not the representative also of a country which had brought to Cyprus an administration headed by someone described by the world press as an assassin, a psychopathic murderer and I know not what else; if, furthermore, that country had not received the ultimate condemnation of being outlawed in Europe for certain crimes, the records of which have been published and are to be found in every bookshop, and certainly here in the United Nations library, I believe that I would, as that representative, strive harder to defend my Government against untruthful allegations. But in view of the characteristics that I have just mentioned of the well-known attitude of that Government towards human rights in general and their application in its own country, I feel that, for the moment at least, it would be preferable for me to say nothing further.

34. Consequently, I should like to reiterate my regret at having had to take the floor and say some generally disagreeable things. I hope I shall not have to take the floor again, but I do want to draw the attention of the Council once more to the strange interpretation which seems to be given by the Greek Government—and I am now speaking of the Athens Government—which, after agreeing to a cease-fire, appears now to be attempting to land troops on Cyprus, if my information is correct.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

36. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In these last few consecutive meetings of the Council I have drawn a picture of the situation in Cyprus, taking an over-all view, but in each case dealing specifically with the issue which was more important at the time. Therefore, without losing sight of the over-all picture, the causes of its unfolding, natural or artificial, and the meaning of it all—because there is always an underlying meaning and a pattern in these things—I should like to deal first with the situation where we left it at the last meeting.

37. A resolution calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel was adopted; a resolution for the withdrawal of all outside forces, both Greek and Turkish, beyond and in excess of what was provided for in the agreements, and for measures to restore peace and the constitutionality that had prevailed before this wave of repeated acts of violence and aggression came as a visitation on this small island of Cyprus.

38. That resolution, however, has not been implemented. In effect, there has been no cease-fire. On the contrary, we have today the stark fact that since the adoption of the resolution there has been

continuing aggression, with intensive bombing of Cyprus from the air—and, what is worse, with napalm bombs. Now, this alone—the fact that there is one military air force in unchallenged domination of the air space of Cyprus, that it is taking advantage of its being the only air force over Cyprus and that it is not threatened by any anti-aircraft guns—is in itself a violation of the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1907 that bombing and bombardment of open towns and civilian populations constitutes a violation of international law and, therefore, a prohibited criminal act.

39. Furthermore, there has been resort not only to such bombing but also to the use of napalm, causing untold suffering by slow burning to death. What is striking is that these bombs have been used so casually and with such a lack of responsibility on the people of Cyprus, the victim of aggressive and inhuman attacks. While it was lying prostrate from one aggression, there came this new attack with napalm bombs to destroy hospitals, to destroy public and humanitarian institutions like the prestigious Armenian Institute, where the youth was being educated; the Institute was the object of an unreasonable and cruel attack that destroyed it and razed it to the ground.

40. This is an intolerable situation in the history of mankind. That is why I said that this situation in Cyprus is a tragedy that cannot be unrelated to the future of mankind. It is happening in one of the most strategic and central parts of the world. It is happening in a region—Europe and the Middle East—that is very much in the eye of the world; it is happening at the very heart of world civilization. An artificial situation was allowed to continue for a very long time, and it has now reached this climax.

41. I speak for the victim. What could be the justification for these attacks? We are told that the justification is the so-called Treaty of Guarantee. Turkey says, "I am using my right to intervene under the Treaty of Guarantee." Hence, the meaning of the Treaty of Guarantee must be made clear. In this respect I ask the members of the Council, both permanent and non-permanent, to bear with me for a moment while I make that clarification. For we are dealing here with the great tragedy of a little island. No matter how indifferent one may feel, one cannot allow what is happening there to go on.

42. What does the relevant article of the Treaty say about intervention? It says that in the event of a breach of the provisions of the Treaty, the three guarantors undertake to consult together. And with respect to what? With respect to invading or attacking or using napalm bombs on Cyprus? No, with respect to representations or measures necessary to ensure observance. What representations have been made? What measures have been taken, including measures in respect of the Security Council, the United Nations? For to attack and to bomb is contrary to the Charter.

The provisions of the Treaty of Guarantee do not provide for such attacks. And any reference to unilateral action must be viewed within the context of the provision to which I have just referred concerning representations and lawful means. Therefore, there is no particle of justification for the action that has been taken in this case.

43. I wish to stress before the Council the most perilous situation in Cyprus, with the continuing violation of the cease-fire, with the air bombing and the continuing war. In his statement today the Secretary-General said that the cease-fire should have come into effect at 10 o'clock this morning New York time. But he added that it had not come into effect, that the firing was continuing.

44. I do not want to take up too much of the Council's time. Members have a picture of what is happening on the island. They can see that on one side there is this great violation of human rights through the destruction wrought by napalm bombs. In addition to the loss of life, precious antiquities of Cyprus in the ancient city of Salamis are being destroyed. Even they have not been spared. There has been defoliation of the forests in the Troodos mountains by incendiary bombs. The atmospheric climate of Cyprus depends on those forests, and there will therefore be repercussions on the rainfall and agricultural production of Cyprus for a long time to come.

45. From the statement of the representative of Turkey one would get a rather confused picture. What is clear, however, is that all this violence is a consequence of the very bad beginning, when the constitutional order in Cyprus was broken up and the unifying force on the island, Archbishop Makarios, was ousted; from that moment all these tragic events have developed. But, of course, there can be no justification for the Turkish attack and for what has happened now. On the contrary, they have taken advantage of an upheaval to aggravate the situation still further.

46. Our position is that immediate steps must be taken to ensure a cessation of all fighting and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus. There must be an end to these aircraft flying over Cyprus and attacking the island and its undefended population. These are vital steps that must be taken without delay. I do not know what measures the Security Council may choose to take, but drastic measures must be taken, and taken on the resolution as a whole. Cyprus has to be protected. It is for the members of the Council to consider the measures that should be taken to stop the destruction in Cyprus.

47. I am afraid that the situation on Cyprus is even more tragic than it appears. I am sure that far more people are suffering than we know. Indeed, the suffering in Cyprus has continued while the Security Council has been meeting all these days—and I am afraid that that is a tragic characteristic of our times.

48. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): My delegation would like to make a very brief statement in connexion with the statement made by the Secretary-General concerning the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

49. First, resolution 186 (1964) provides that the United Nations Force is in Cyprus and functions there only with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, that is to say, with the consent of the Government of President Makarios. We therefore proceed from the assumption that today's statement by the Secretary-General is acceptable to the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios.

50. Secondly, as the Soviet delegation stated when resolution 186 (1964) was adopted, the composition and mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus must be determined by the Security Council. Accordingly, we remind the Council that the Soviet delegation abstained in the vote on paragraph 4 of resolution 186 (1964), which is in violation of the provisions of the Charter on determining the composition and size of United Nations forces.

51. Thirdly, and lastly, we recall that, pursuant to the above-mentioned Security Council resolution 186 (1964), a voluntary system of financing the United Nations Force in Cyprus was established.

52. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to express its support for the appeal made by the representative of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Rossides, that it is essential to ensure the implementation of the requirements of resolution 353 (1974) as a matter of great urgency. It should not only be a question of a cease-fire and of ensuring a cease-fire, but also of complying with the other very important provisions of resolution 353 (1974)—paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of which call for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, an end to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic and specifically military intervention, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, all foreign military personnel, including the personnel referred to in the letter from President Makarios of 2 July.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Greece, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

54. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): I also shall be very brief. My Turkish colleague spoke about Greek destroyers landing forces in the region of Paphos, but he added the phrase "if my information is correct". I can assure him that it is not correct, unless the Secretary-General can give us some different facts. But in the utterly hypothetical case of that being correct, I do not see why Turkey should be free to invoke article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee and Greece, which is also a guarantor, should not be entitled to do so in order to re-establish the balance of power.

55. But I am not now going to discuss the Treaty of Guarantee. I shall just tell the Turkish representative that a few minutes ago I received information that large numbers of paratroopers are at this very moment being dropped in the Turkish enclaves. I will leave it to the Council to draw its own conclusions.

56. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

57. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): In 1964, a French satirical newspaper said, "All the perfumes of Cyprus, Archbishop, cannot wash away the smell of blood from your hands."³ Mr. Rossides: today the smell of the blood remains; all the perfumes of Nicosia will not sweeten those little hands. The only thing that needs to be corrected is the size of the hands. There has been a war in and around Nicosia. That war was brought about by more than a decade of unconstitutionality which on 15 July reached such a pitch as to cause the entire destruction of the fabric of lawful life on the island. Of course innocent blood has been shed, which we deeply regret. But has he or the Archbishop, or whoever pretends to speak for the Greeks, shed a tear for the martyrdom of a great number of innocent civilian Turks who, after their defenders were eliminated, were made the targets of the murderous attacks which at this moment are continuing? I regret to say that I have not heard of or seen such tears.

58. I hope that the last part of the statement of my colleague from Greece concerning the re-establishment of a certain equilibrium is not an admission of an operation which I hope is not taking place—this is in relation to the information at the beginning of his statement. That is why, if it is not asking too much, and if it is not indiscreet, I should like to ask the Secretary-General, if he is in a position to do so, to confirm the situation.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

60. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The representative of Turkey, in an attempt to smear the Archbishop and President of Cyprus, quoted from a satirical newspaper of 1964. Of course, one could always find one, two or three newspapers writing in favour of one side or the other. Smears on leaders of nations all over the world can be found in abundance, but that does not mean that there is any truth in them. But could the Archbishop be accused of something as obvious and clear as the napalm bombing? The Turkish representative found a satirical paper to quote from—a paper which it appears he has kept since 1964, as a treasure.

³ Quoted in French by the speaker.

61. If I wished to quote what has been written about the genocide perpetrated by Turkey over the years and ages until very recent times, I could refer the representative of Turkey to an encyclopaedia, in which he would find the word "massacre" closely associated with Turkey. An encyclopaedia does that—not just a single newspaper. Look up the word "massacre" in an encyclopaedia, and you will find the name of Turkey next to it.

62. The representative of Turkey said that all these things we have been discussing have occurred since 15 July 1974. That is true. Therefore, all these tragic events have occurred since the Archbishop and President of Cyprus was removed from the island. They did not occur while his steady and unifying presence was there.

63. For all these past 10 years peaceful conditions had prevailed, with the assistance of UNFICYP. And the evidence of UNFICYP is there: that the Government of Cyprus, under Archbishop Makarios, had all the time been co-operating with UNFICYP for the re-establishment of peaceful conditions and the return of normality. The reports of the Secretary-General are there, and in each case—whether it concerned deconfrontation, pacification or normalization—there was consistent obstruction by the Turkish side. Why? Because the Turkish Government did not want the people of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish, to be conciliated. For what reason? The reason was the objective of partition, to keep the enmity in order to have partition. And there was a capital opportunity at the present time, with the violent overthrow of the Government by outside intervention, to jump in and create greater confusion and hatred by bombing, by using napalm bombs, and in that manner to prepare the way for partition. That has been the root of the trouble all along. That is why the Turkish Government immediately rejected the moderate and middle-way proposals of Galo Plaza, the Mediator appointed by the Security Council—because they were not proposals for partition. That is why there has been obstruction of any move towards a solution of the problem on a reasonable basis. That obstruction has the aim of undermining an independent Cyprus and paving the way to partition. That is why this invasion is taking place today. Whatever else is said is merely a smokescreen.

64. Our real concern is the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. In this respect, I wish to emphasize the need to implement the resolution of the Security Council *in toto*, without the slightest disregard of any part of that resolution, in order that there may be normality and constitutionality on the island.

65. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): I shall be very brief. It is not my intention this morning to comment on the statements and counter-statements that we have listened to from the representatives of

Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. I think that a few days ago our colleague from Turkey described this succession of statements as a ritual. I fear that there are some of us who feel that this ritual has reached tragic proportions at this stage, proportions which perhaps in this particularly grave situation we could have dispensed with. But, as I say, it is not my purpose to comment on what has been said in the course of this morning. I should prefer to speak in regard to what the Secretary-General has said on the subject of the cease-fire and the situation that we hope may exist after a cease-fire has come into effect.

66. Of course, all of us are hoping and praying that the cease-fire which was to come into effect at 10 o'clock this morning our time has done so. I think all of us, or some of us at least, will have received some ominous reports which perhaps indicate that we do not yet have an effective cease-fire, and this of course, for all of us in the Council, must be the prime urgent requirement. All I can do and all, I am sure, my colleagues would wish to do is to reiterate and reinforce the appeal of the Council and the appeals that the Secretary-General himself has since made to all the parties concerned to cease all firing.

67. I might mention at this point that the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs has commented over the weekend on the situation. He has expressed considerable satisfaction with the action that the Council was able to take in calling for a cease-fire and in encouraging the negotiations between the parties to the 1960 agreement. He has himself underlined the urgency of, as he describes it, the most immediate objective, which is to bring about a cease-fire in Cyprus. As I say, he has welcomed the decision of the Council and has said that of course the first task must be to stop the bloodshed, which was needlessly endangering the lives not only of the Cypriot people but also of many foreign tourists and other civilians at present on the island. He has said that once the fighting has been brought to an end, the United Nations will be able to resume its proper peace-keeping role in Cyprus, in which the Australian Government will continue to play its part.

68. Members of the Council will have heard the statement of the Secretary-General on the position of UNFICYP. As we all realize, UNFICYP at this time is being called upon, for very practical reasons, to perform humanitarian and other roles that, as we fully understand, strictly speaking go beyond its terms of reference, beyond its mandate, but I think all of us will agree in hoping that as soon as possible UNFICYP will be able to resume that mandate. The Secretary-General draws attention to the small size of the Force as it at present stands and the difficulty that the Force is meeting in responding to the countless requests for assistance of every kind that it is receiving. The Secretary-General has indicated that he has the intention, in compliance with resolution 186 (1964), as a first step, to ask the troop-contributing countries

urgently to reinforce their contingents which are already serving with UNFICYP. I would simply conclude by saying that I am confident that the Australian Government—Australia having been a contributor to UNFICYP since 1964—will give the most sympathetic consideration to the Secretary-General's appeal when he pursues his intention to make it to the troop-contributing countries.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Turkey, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

70. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I will consider what the representative of Australia has said as an appeal, by which I will try to abide as far as it is in my power, not to prolong this unpleasant ritual, of which I know the members of the Council are tired, but there are a few points I need to make. I will first say that I will not follow Mr. Rossides's line of trying to find out which name can be found under what adjective in the dictionary.

71. The problem at the present moment seems to be that there is in Cyprus a regular army and many irresponsible elements, and I believe that the most urgent need—I am not in a position to say what can be done or who can do it, but something has to be done—is to see to it that the fighting and the shooting cease everywhere.

72. Now, Mr. Rossides is rather callous in his approach to anything but napalm. Of course I am not defending napalm, and I even doubt whether it has been used. But it is not a question of how you murder people, and the callousness about it is rather frightening because, of course, I am sure that the civilian—and I do not say civilized—elements of the Greek population in Cyprus, while murdering children, women, old people, are not using napalm. I have no doubt about it. They may use their hands. They are used to it; they have done it in the past; they are doing it now. Something has to be done to stop this if an end to the use of the Turkish air force is to be asked for in this forum. I say very clearly, there will not be a cease-fire, in the sense that we all hope there will be one, unless the massacre of Turks is stopped.

73. If Mr. Rossides has means to convey this to someone who still follows the orders of the Archbishop on the island, let him do so. If there are other ways of doing it through Mr. Nicos Sampson—Nicos Sampson and murder are a difficult thing to talk about here—and if he can stop murders let him do so. However, until Turks are no longer fired at, Greeks will continue to be fired at.

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Greece, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

75. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): I shall also be very brief. I should like mainly to share the view

expressed by the representative of Australia that the cease-fire must be effective, that all further violations must stop, and that constructive negotiations must start as soon as possible, all the more so—and I consider this absolutely imperative—since I have just received additional alarming news, namely, that at this very moment the camp of the Greek contingent in Nicosia is being heavily bombed by Turkish jets.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus to exercise his right of reply.

77. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I spoke about napalm bombing by air, and, generally, bombing by air is contrary to The Hague Conventions. What I have given, and commented upon, is undisputed proof that there were bombings from the air by the Turkish air force against open towns, civilians, hospitals, other things, and that there were napalm bombs.

78. Now I wish to say that I agree with what the representative of Australia said. So let us have a cease-fire in this Council now and proceed to the implementation of the resolution of the Council in all its parts as soon as possible.

79. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We have now been discussing the affairs of Cyprus in this chamber for some days, and I think that perhaps two things have emerged from these discussions on which most who have heard the discussions would agree: firstly, that whatever the outcome of this unhappy affair, it has been a tragedy not only for the people of Cyprus but for the whole of the eastern Mediterranean and in particular for two countries, Greece and Turkey; and secondly, that all of us have shown an anxiousness to arrive at a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problems, which is perhaps heartening when one looks back over some of the Council debates in the past and some of the issues which the United Nations has had to deal with.

80. We in the United Kingdom were particularly grateful, if I may return to it very briefly for a moment, that the Council was able to adopt resolution 353 (1974) last Saturday by a majority of 15 to none. Someone said that perhaps it had not only a numerical comparison with resolution 242 (1967)—we moved from 242 up to 353—but that it had indeed the same attraction as that resolution 242 (1967) had in relation to the Middle East, which was that it hopefully provided a base upon which future United Nations action might take place and a base upon which the parties most concerned could act.

81. Therefore, we were particularly grateful that the Governments of Greece and Turkey both found themselves able to accept, in principle at any rate, the call which was set out in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 353 (1974), calling upon all the parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing and,

finally, requesting all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate that situation. It is, as I say, heartening perhaps that the United Nations adopts a resolution on a Saturday which at least finds general acceptance by the parties most concerned within a matter of 48 hours.

82. But the resolution did not in fact end there. The resolution went on to call upon Greece, Turkey and my own country to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus. Again, I think it is heartening that both the Governments most intimately concerned with the present hostilities, namely those of Greece and Turkey, have found themselves able to accept in principle that talks should take place this week in accordance with paragraph 5 of that resolution.

83. The representative of Cyprus, in the course of his opening statement this afternoon, seemed to imply that some of us around this table regarded Cyprus as a small island of little concern. May I emphasize again, if indeed it be needed at all, that as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, we have a historical and a traditional tie with Cyprus. We have had very close relations with it over many years. In the last decade our association with the island and the Government of Cyprus has been extremely happy and extremely close. United Kingdom subjects live in that very beautiful island and many Cypriots live in the perhaps not entirely so beautiful island of the United Kingdom, and therefore our contacts and our associations are extremely close.

84. In the talks that take place this week, the objective of the British Government will be, as is set out in paragraph 5 of that resolution, to try and enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus.

85. May I emphasize yet again to our colleague the representative of Cyprus—if indeed it needs emphasizing—that there is no question at all of the United Kingdom wishing to settle the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus without the participation of all those concerned. And may I reassure the representative of Turkey—if I did not give him that reassurance when we last discussed the matter round this table—that as far as we are concerned that means, of course, keeping in consultation with all relevant parties in Cyprus and not just with one.

86. And, therefore, today is perhaps a much more hopeful day than Saturday was. It seems to us that there are now perhaps two important features to be considered. First of all, can the cease-fire agreement that has been negotiated with great difficulty within the last few days be made to hold? And, secondly, if it can be made to hold, how can it best be safeguarded,

who or what can provide the glue—if I may use that phrase—which will enable the cease-fire to be operative so that successful talks may, we hope, thereafter take place?

87. The cease-fire does not yet appear to be working fully. Reports have been coming in I am sure to many delegations round this table this morning and to the Secretary-General himself that some fighting still seems to be going on in Cyprus, despite the fact that the cease-fire was supposed to come into operation nearly four hours ago. I am not in a position to assess the reliability of those reports, nor am I in a position to say who has not stopped fighting as opposed to who has stopped fighting. All I think we can do as the Security Council today is to urge upon all parties in the area the desirability of abiding by the agreement that has now been reached. For if there is no cease-fire it is very improbable that talks can have any chance whatsoever of success.

88. Yesterday was perhaps a unique day in some ways, even so far as Cyprus was concerned. We know there have been British casualties in the last few days in Cyprus. But in yesterday's evacuation from Nicosia we are very grateful indeed for the assistance that was given to us by the combatants and by the United Nations. I am told that there was a convoy of no less than 1,000 vehicles which proceeded yesterday from Nicosia to Dhekhelia in which some 4,500 foreign nationals, including many British subjects, were evacuated from Nicosia, and we are extremely grateful to UNFICYP for facilitating that. It was not a solely British affair. I am happy to announce that we were very glad indeed to accede to the request of the Soviet Union to do our best to include 41 Soviet tourists in the evacuation. I understand that they were evacuated successfully and, as I say, we were very pleased indeed to be of some assistance to our good friend Mr. Safronchuk in that respect.

89. Now, where do we go from here? I seem to have asked that about five times in the Security Council during the past week. What is the next stage? Two things now have to happen. First of all the cease-fire must be made to work and the talks must be made to succeed.

90. The Secretary-General today referred to the role of UNFICYP in the future and made an appeal to the contributors to UNFICYP to reinforce their individual contributions. He made his appeal under resolution 186 (1964), and I do not think it would be very helpful if we were to go into the details of that resolution here today. All I would say on behalf of the United Kingdom is that we note what the Secretary-General has said, and we take very seriously indeed his request for the reinforcement of the British contingent of UNFICYP. Naturally, we will consider it as a matter of urgency, and hopefully we will be able to consider it sympathetically.

91. Therefore, in this the fourth debate, I think, within a week on Cyprus, it is perhaps opportune for us now to feel some degree at least of moderate optimism as far as the future is concerned, or at least it is perhaps no longer opportune for us to feel wholly pessimistic about the outcome of affairs in that island. The United Kingdom, for its part will play whatever role it can in trying to achieve lasting peace and a proper settlement in the area. It still requires, even in the aftermath of this tragic war, and will continue to require, high statesmanship, high restraint and moderation on the part of all parties concerned. I hope that they will feel able to exercise it.

92. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): "Violence begets violence." Unfortunately, the events that we are witnessing and the reports we hear in this Council prove once again that this is true. Force is resorted to, by one side or the other, to prevent massacres and to remove threats. The so-called preventive interventions have now resulted in several hundred victims, perhaps more. In these circumstances, I cannot but express my full sympathy with the moving appeal made at this table by the representative of Cyprus, Ambassador Rossides.

93. I fully associate myself with the remarks along the same lines just made by my colleague from the United Kingdom. France's association with Cyprus certainly goes further back than that of Great Britain, which recently once again exercised specific responsibilities on that island. But the French, who furnished a dynasty to Cyprus, have particular feelings of very genuine sympathy for the inhabitants and the future of that island, and we profoundly deplore the sufferings which have been inflicted on its population, regardless of the community.

94. I would also wish to associate myself with the remarks made by my colleague from the United Kingdom with regard to the dangers posed to the stability of the eastern Mediterranean and to peace in general, dangers inherent in any continuation or escalation of the present fighting.

95. I should like to point out that last night, on behalf of the European Community and after more consultations with its partners, the French Government intervened once again in Athens and Ankara to urge the Governments of Greece and Turkey to accept the cease-fire recommended by the Council on Saturday. We were very gratified that the cease-fire was accepted. Regrettably, we do not have the impression that those acceptances of principle have been reflected in the developments on the spot.

96. I now make a fresh appeal to the representatives of Greece and Turkey that their Governments comply with the decision of the Security Council and truly respect the cease-fire and that all combat and all acts of violence, regardless of their origin, cease. There

have already been too many victims. The time has come to silence the weapons and to let the negotiators speak on the basis of the acceptance in principle which was given early this morning by the two Governments principally concerned.

97. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): The information the Council has received this morning portrays in stark and horrifying detail how much the fury of war has already ravaged the island of Cyprus and the unfortunate men, women and children of that island, most of them defenceless.

98. The new and immense human tragedy which has begun to unfold in the eastern Mediterranean since the early hours of 15 July has now attained a climax which we must not allow to develop further. The first step in this direction has been taken with the decision by the Governments of Greece and Turkey to accept, as from 4 p.m. local time, the cease-fire voted by the Security Council last Saturday. We welcome this decision, and we hope that fighting and acts of violence will cease forthwith.

99. If any further indication of the situation were needed at all, we have now been shown with horrifying clarity that everything in our power has to be done to strengthen in the shortest time possible the existing cease-fire, shaky and uncertain as it may be and to make it fully operative and workable, and that everything has to be done to get negotiations under way between the parties concerned.

100. It was with these considerations in mind that we welcomed the report the Secretary-General furnished us this morning, and the immediate necessary steps he proposes to put UNFICYP in a position to comply with the most urgent tasks it now faces.

101. Those tasks are, first and foremost, of a humanitarian nature. They should make it possible to alleviate the immense human suffering, to attack vigorously the hydra of fratricidal intercommunal disputes which is again showing itself, and to separate, whenever and wherever possible, forces fighting and opposing each other.

102. It is in the light of this grave situation that my Government will give urgent and sympathetic consideration to any request that the Secretary-General may make to it in order to enable UNFICYP to perform its tasks speedily and effectively.

103. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): It is indeed high time that the cease-fire took effect. My Government, as is well known, has taken a very active part in trying to supplement the work of this Council and to arrange a cease-fire, with very active diplomacy in the capitals concerned. All parties to the fighting—certainly the two Governments away from Cyprus—have publicly accepted the cease-fire.

104. Now, the firing did not immediately cease at 10 o'clock. I believe that this is fairly usual in such circumstances: there are many technical complications. But I would call on the parties to give their best efforts, and I would call on the population of Cyprus, similarly.

105. To the best of our most recent information, the two armed forces involved—those of Greece and Turkey—have begun to observe the cease-fire, although there is still communal fighting going on. That may be the most difficult to stop, but I would hope that we can, before this day is over, have a genuine cease-fire.

106. Let the killing cease. That is our priority and primary purpose and objective at this time it seems to me. Then let us go forward with the negotiations, as our British colleague described them—negotiations which hold such tremendous importance for the future, if we are going to have some resolution of this age-old problem and allow the decent people of Cyprus, whatever their historical or ethnic origin, to have a life of their own and to live in peace in their own way.

107. The Secretary-General has described to us the extreme tests which are being imposed on UNFICYP. My Government has always supported UNFICYP; it continues to do so; and if more men are needed there, as the circumstances would seem to dictate, then we would support what the Secretary-General has outlined as a means of supplementing the present Force.

108. And so, despite the tragedy through which we have been living—the people of Cyprus living it most intensely of all this past week—I would agree with our British colleague that this is a time for looking forward. Let us bind up the wounds of war; let us try to look at this in an objective way, to give to each side of this communal situation its own right to exist so we can look forward to an independent and single Cyprus. Let us go forward towards a better fate for Cyprus.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Turkey.

110. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I had already received from Ankara at the beginning of the meeting a text confirming what the representative of the United Kingdom told us about the meeting which, I believe, is to be held in Geneva among the interested parties. Consequently, I think this is one of those rare glimmers of hope which now exist concerning the Cyprus situation.

111. I am happy to have heard what the United States representative said—that the cease-fire does seem to be being observed. What he said is really of very great importance. He talked about an end to the killing. As soon as the killing stops there will certainly be a cease-fire.

112. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement, and I now call on him.

113. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have listened with interest to the debate that has taken place today in the Security Council, including the remarks of the representative of Turkey concerning the role of UNFICYP.

114. As I informed the Council in my statement earlier at this meeting, the requests for assistance received from all sides during the recent fighting were manifestly beyond the present capabilities of UNFICYP. This applies particularly to the role of UNFICYP in preventing the recurrence of intercommunal strife. It was for precisely that reason that I informed the Council of my intention to reinforce UNFICYP.

115. As far as the reference to a landing of Greek vessels and troops is concerned, I have the meantime instructed UNFICYP to verify that matter and to give me all available information. We have no information so far, but when we do receive it I shall not fail to inform the Council.

116. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

117. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish to express my deep appreciation to the representatives of France and the United Kingdom for the very kind words they have said about my country and its historic association with theirs. There was a period during which Cyprus was a kingdom under the House of Lusignan, a French dynasty. During that period we had the French civilization developing side by side with the Greek civilization of the island in perfect harmony. Indeed, one of the Queens of Cyprus towards the end of that period was a Greek. So we have a great historic association with France, an association which has remained to this day. Equally, we have the best of relations with the United Kingdom. As a matter of fact, our legal system and other relevant aspects of our life in Cyprus are very close to the British system.

118. Now, with reference to what I said before regarding the bombing from the air, including napalm bombing, I would say this. When I speak about the human rights of the people of Cyprus, I speak for the people of Cyprus as a whole, both Greek and Turk, who have suffered from the fighting in Cyprus, from the napalm bombing and other bombing from the air. We know that Turkish villages have also suffered from that bombing.

119. It may be true that the case of Cyprus is not the only case in which napalm bombs have been used. But the use of napalm bombs should be condemned, particularly in the case of Cyprus, where there is no opposing air force to fight against the aggressor using napalm bombs. There is no actual air war taking place

from both sides. In Cyprus napalm bombs have been used by Turkey—which alone is in control of the air space—and have been used against a civilian population in open cities, in violation of The Hague Convention of 1907. Furthermore, the use of napalm bombs is a violation of General Assembly resolution 2932 A (XXVII) forbidding the use of inhuman, incendiary weapons, among which napalm is included. Hence, I believe that officially there should be specific condemnation of the use of napalm bombs in Cyprus.

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

121. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I do hope that all the members of this Council recognize that this Olcay-Rossides ritual exchange is not my doing.

122. There could be so many condemnations in respect of Cyprus; the recent history of Cyprus could lend itself to so many condemnations. If one were to make a list of all the atrocities committed in Cyprus in the name of so many sacred principles—or principles that are considered sacred in other parts of the world—the list of condemnations would be a very long one and the paper it would require would be very heavy for the Greek Cypriots. And I insist on the words “Greek Cypriots”. A moment ago Mr. Rossides said that he was speaking on behalf of all Cypriots. If I

were to make the Turkish community in Cyprus aware that Ambassador Rossides was speaking on its behalf, I wonder if it would accept that.

123. But that is beside the point. What I wish to do is to draw attention to the very dangerous path on to which the Council may be led if such words as “condemnation” are used by the representative here of the Greek Cypriot community.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

125. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): What I said was that I am interested in the protection of human rights in Cyprus, and that that applied both to Greek and to Turkish Cypriots. Hence, it is not a question of speaking on their behalf but of speaking on behalf of their interests. I am sure that no Cypriot, either Greek or Turk, wants napalm bombs used against the island.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

127. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Until constitutionality is restored to the island, let me take care of the interests of the Turkish Cypriots there.

The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.

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