



Tuesday, 10 May 1983,  
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

**AGENDA ITEM 110**

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (continued)\***

1. The PRESIDENT: Before taking up the first item on our agenda for this first meeting of the resumed thirty-seventh session, I should like to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/37/807, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that eight Member States are in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter. I should like to remind delegations that, under Article 19 of the Charter,

“A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years.”

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

*It was so decided.*

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (concluded):\*\***

**(a) Report of the General Committee**

2. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the fifth report of the General Committee [A/37/250/Add.4]. In paragraph 2, the General Committee recommends that the Assembly should consider agenda item 37, entitled “Question of Cyprus”, directly in plenary meeting, on the understanding that it would, when considering the item, invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to speak in the Committee in order to express their views, and that the Assembly would then resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

3. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I should simply like to say that, if there had been a vote on the subject of this proposal by

the General Committee, Turkey would have voted against, since the proposal is far from ensuring participation of the Turkish Cypriot community on an equal footing with the Greek Cypriot community in the debate on the question of Cyprus. However, I shall not request a vote.

4. The PRESIDENT: In light of the statement just made by the representative of Turkey, the Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the General Committee contained in paragraph 2 of its report. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the recommendation of the General Committee?

*It was so decided (decision 37/402).*

5. The PRESIDENT: In pursuance of the recommendation just adopted, I should like to suggest that the Assembly invite the Special Political Committee to meet this afternoon, immediately after the adjournment of the plenary meeting. The Assembly would then resume its consideration of the item tomorrow morning. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to the procedure that I have just suggested?

*It was so decided.*

6. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Special Political Committee will be informed of the decision just taken. I should like to remind the Assembly that in the past the meetings of the Special Political Committee devoted to the question of Cyprus were provided with verbatim records. May I take it that the Assembly wishes the same procedure to be followed for the meeting of the Special Political Committee to be held this afternoon?

*It was so decided.*

**AGENDA ITEM 27**

**Preparation of the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy: report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy (concluded)\*\*\***

7. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it an addendum to the report of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, relating to the work of its fourth session [A/37/48/Add.1]. May I draw the attention of the Assembly to the decisions adopted by the Preparatory Committee at that session, which appear in annex I. In decision 5 (IV), the Preparatory Committee recommended that the General Assembly should:

\*\*\* Resumed from the 110th meeting.

\* Resumed from the 109th meeting.

\*\* Resumed from the 88th meeting.

“(a) Decide, at its resumed thirty-seventh session, that the United Nations Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy not be convened in 1983;

“(b) Decide, at its thirty-eighth session, on the date and venue of the fifth session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.”

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts those recommendations?

*It was so decided (decision 37/453).*

8. The PRESIDENT: In decision 6 (IV), which also appears in annex I of document A/37/48/Add.1:

“The Preparatory Committee decided that the Conference secretariat should proceed as far as practicable with the preparations for the Conference in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.”

May I take it that the Assembly takes note of that decision?

*It was so decided (decision 37/454).*

#### AGENDA ITEM 37

##### Question of Cyprus: report of the Secretary-General (continued)

9. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow, Wednesday, 11 May, at 5 p.m. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

10. The PRESIDENT: I call on the first speaker in the debate this afternoon, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Nicos Rolandis.

11. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): I wish, first of all, Mr. President, to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and on my own behalf, warm and sincere congratulations for the impeccable manner in which you have conducted the work of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your devotion to the cause of the United Nations, your long experience as a career diplomat, your eminent qualities and your wisdom constitute the best assurance for a comprehensive and successful outcome of the deliberations of this resumed session.

12. The agenda of the General Assembly at the current session is a mirror image of the myriad problems which beset the world of the 1980s. And as the ever-escalating plethora of those problems strains the nerves and the stamina of jittery societies all over the globe to the breaking-point, we, at the United Nations, amazed at the scope of anarchy and chaos, keep wondering how all this will end.

13. Can problems possibly continue piling up at this pace? Can war, conflict, confrontation, animosities and disputes spread further geographically and mark with their horrid presence whatever area may have been left intact on the map? Is there room for much more bitterness? Could the North go much further

north and the South further south, exacerbating the already unacceptable financial disparity and social injustice to the breaking-point? Can we continue investing in death and destruction at the rate of \$500 billion to \$700 billion a year through the incessant armaments race? Can we keep on tolerating the death of one child from famine and malnutrition every two seconds?

14. The logical answer is “No”. While international relations and the concepts of peace, justice, equality and freedom, like everything else, can take a certain number of blows, the inroads on their endurance have certain limits. When these limits are transgressed, total collapse will become inevitable.

15. The problem of Cyprus is one of the issues which tarnish the ethical infrastructure of the world as determined and laid down by the fathers and founders of international law and morals. It is a blemish on man’s conscience. It is a dark cloud in the brightness of the eastern Mediterranean, which encompasses in a dense form all the violations which the international community has considered anathema and has condemned.

16. Cyprus is a country partly devoured by a much bigger and mightier neighbour. In 1974, Turkey decided to flex the muscles of its military machine, to move its forces and to strike a shattering blow against the shores and hinterland of the Republic of Cyprus, in violation of the express and unequivocal provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Of course, it needed a pretext for its wrongdoing and therefore used one. Pretexts are and will always be available to those who do not want to cleave to principles. The correct attitude is not to seek pretexts for one’s wrongdoing; it is to abstain from wrongdoing.

17. Turkey, through its aggression, attempted to create a political and economic muddle in Cyprus. Life was diverted from its normal course. Tens of thousands of people lost their homes, properties and lands in a matter of hours or days and were forced to take refuge in the southern part of Cyprus and to live in destitution, fully deprived of what rightfully belongs to them. Thousands were killed or could not be traced after the invasion; in fact, more than 1,600 of them are still missing and their fate remains unknown, despite repeated resolutions of the United Nations calling for them to be speedily traced.

18. The occupying Power spread its military forces over an area encompassing the whole of the northern part of Cyprus, or 37 per cent of the total territory. Land and properties occupied by force were plundered and fully converted to the use of the aggressors, their cronies and their supporters.

19. The effects of the military occupation of 1974 still persist, some of them even more pronounced. Turkey has been trying all along to consolidate its position and to debase the nature and character of the conquered land. Turkish names, habits and a new way of life now supplant the Cypriot standards. Unlawful titles to property are being issued to persons other than the rightful owners. Institutions with no constitutional or legal foundation are being created. The Cypriot ambience is being phased out and a new imported mentality, foreign to the 7,000-year history of Cyprus, is being introduced.

20. Numerous resolutions and declarations of the United Nations and the non-aligned countries calling for the withdrawal of the forces of occupation and for respect for and restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and recommending the adoption of practical measures under the Charter have not only remained unheeded by Turkey but have also been jeered at and scornfully treated.

21. Of course, we are not here before the Assembly today to recapitulate events of which you have been apprised on many occasions. We are not here for a post-mortem of the tragic events of 1974 and of those which have ensued. However, this macabre prelude is necessary if we are to view the problem in the right perspective. Otherwise, we run the risk of missing its main and true character, of ignoring the size and depth of the iceberg and of solely considering its tip.

22. Since 1974, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has exerted all its strength and influence and has made painstaking efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. I am stressing the fact that, although a military intervention was the cause of the problem, its resolution has always been envisaged through peaceful, political means. This same principle will be guiding our thoughts in the future as well.

23. The intercommunal negotiations, carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General and based on the United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977<sup>1</sup> and 19 May 1979<sup>2</sup>, have been the main political instrument through which peace and a lasting settlement have been sought. With the lapse of time, however, this process became quite controversial. On the one hand, there are obvious advantages in a negotiation, because it allows contact and communication, it reduces the risks of aggravation of the situation, it maintains the stimulus for a solution and, last but not least, through detailed analysis and exchange of views it provides the internationally accepted method for the settlement of disputes. On the other hand, prolongation of the process, filibustering by the Turkish side and, so far, the obvious lack of political will on the part of Turkey to consider with sincerity and fairness ways and means for a balanced settlement deprive the process of its effectiveness.

24. Moreover, the presence of the Turkish troops of occupation in Cyprus is the cardinal reason for the lack of progress in the intercommunal negotiations.

25. My Government has studied this issue with meticulous care and has decided that, despite shortcomings, on balance, the intercommunal talks should not be abandoned. The process, however, will have to get rid of its shortcomings and must be placed on the right basis and track. It has to serve effectively the purposes for which it was agreed on and established and become a vehicle for a solution of the Cyprus problem and for the advent of conditions of political stability, peace and security all over the country. This has been, after all, the call of the international community: that the intercommunal talks should be substantive, meaningful, result-oriented and constructive.

26. The Government of Cyprus has placed a lot of confidence in the intercommunal negotiations in the hope that they would be conducive to progress. Many statements were made, time and again, by Cypriot officials expressing support for them. The talks were welcomed even when Turkey's behaviour was at times extremely provocative, mean or contemptuous. They were kept alive when threats were levelled by Turkey against the integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Furthermore, the Government of Cyprus, acting on the advice of friendly Governments, refrained from seeking recourse at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly, in order to allow the two communities to proceed with the negotiations in a quiet and constructive atmosphere.

27. The results of the intercommunal talks have hitherto fallen short of our expectations. The Turkish Cypriot leadership, backed by the 30,000-strong Turkish army, speaks the language of Ankara and not that of the silent majority of the Turkish Cypriots.

28. So, three and a half years after our last recourse to the General Assembly and in the absence of any results of substance in the talks, or of any auspicious signs as to their future, we have decided to seek the renewal of the commitment of the international community to Cyprus and the reaffirmation of its solidarity with one of the small States of the world which is under foreign occupation. Our recourse is not at all aimed at disrupting the intercommunal process. On the contrary, it aims at its correct orientation. It also aims at enhancing the status of the Republic of Cyprus and at coating its political shield with a protective layer of international support.

29. Draft resolution A/37/L.63, which has been submitted by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries, refers in paragraph 16 to the intention of the Secretary-General "to pursue a renewed personal involvement in the quest for a solution of the problem of Cyprus". The Secretary-General is, further, requested by the Assembly to undertake such actions or initiatives as he may consider appropriate to that end. The Government of Cyprus considers this announced intention a significant step forward within the framework of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, and fully supports it. The Secretary-General, imbued with a spirit to help, may open gradually, through his careful, methodical and diplomatic approach, a new chapter in the post-1974 history of Cyprus. The Secretary-General is a person of rare talent and ability and has, in addition, a full and comprehensive personal knowledge of the Cyprus problem and its background. He knows the country and the people. He is conversant with the people's thinking and their aspirations. He has full command of the nuances of the problem, of what is important and what is insignificant. He is aware of the sensitive balances which exist in the area. In short, he has the stature, the ability and the expertise to tackle the problem and to encourage the development of the correct synthesis, which could lead to the solution of the problem.

30. The personal involvement of the Secretary-General should not raise great expectations which are not substantiated at this stage. We should not rush to conclusions of unwarranted euphoria. National problems are surrounded by such a web of inter-

ests, constraints and conflicting views and positions, both within the countries concerned and outside, that, in the search for their solution, progress is not easy to achieve. From my contacts in New York I am led to infer that a certain degree of positiveness exists, but anything beyond that is mere speculation. The Secretary-General should be given the opportunity to carry out his work in his well-known, quiet diplomatic style. He will be in touch with the Governments and the parties concerned, and I trust that his efforts will be supported and that his task will be assisted by all those to whom he may address himself in the course of his endeavours.

31. As I have already mentioned, we appear before this Assembly with a constructive, not a destructive, spirit. We want to build for the future and to seek the help of others in our quest for a solution of our problem. We want to eradicate the existing situation in Cyprus, which is condemnable, even by the mildest standards of international conduct. No army of occupation has ever solved a national problem anywhere. A foreign army simply pours oil on the flames.

32. The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, in a recent message to the people of Cyprus, has said: "Despite difficulties and adverse conditions, our people will not succumb or yield. They will continue their struggle for freedom and vindication by peaceful means".

33. I therefore appeal to those amongst you who have felt the bitter taste of occupation and the excruciating

ating pain of its consequences; who have struggled through adversities and impediments and endless difficulties to get your countries on their feet, in line with the spirit of the political renaissance and reconstruction of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s; who believe in peace and would like to remove a tinderbox, which may, at any moment, start a conflagration of incalculable consequences in the eastern Mediterranean; who cherish principles and cannot tolerate injustice and the violation of human rights; who adhere to the United Nations Charter and would like its provisions, chapters and tenets to be universally applied. I appeal to you to stand by our side, to add warmth to and inject life into our aspirations through your solidarity and, by espousing our cause and making available your assistance, to conduce to the solution of our problem.

*The meeting rose at 4 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369 and Add.1, para. 51.