



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 37

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

1. The PRESIDENT: I should first like to draw the attention of the members of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee contained in document A/37/808. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that a draft resolution was distributed yesterday under the symbol A/37/L.63.

3. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): Nepal has often repeated its firm conviction that the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, peaceful coexistence and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries are sacrosanct. We can never accept any justification for armed intervention, nor can we recognize any situation created by such intervention. It is from this position of principle that we look at the question of Cyprus. My delegation wishes to reaffirm Nepal's conviction that any solution to the question of Cyprus must ensure full respect for the independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned character of that country.

4. My delegation welcomes the intensification of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the continuation of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations. Though we are concerned at the lack of progress in those talks, my delegation hopes that a meaningful and constructive dialogue will continue so as to ensure a mutually acceptable solution of the problem. The framework for such a solution has already been laid down in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, especially General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), as well as in the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979.²

5. Mr. JACOBS (Antigua and Barbuda): The General Assembly has been involved in the question of Cyprus for 19 years without witnessing a successful resolution of the issue. During that time, a new generation has come to maturity in Cyprus, and yet the gap remains unbridged and the wounds of separation unhealed. The troubles of this land have defied solu-

tion: they have persisted despite every effort to end them.

6. When the question of Cyprus was not considered by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions, those of us who seek peace and eschew strife hoped that that was an indication of progress. We prayed that the time was at hand when Cypriots would exult in their own nationality, casting aside the borrowed mantle of "Greek" or "Turk".

7. Alas, our hope was not to be; our prayer remained unanswered. Intercommunal talks, which began in 1968 and which have continued over the ensuing years up to April of this year, have not produced an agreed framework for a lasting settlement to the problems of Cyprus. Indeed, if anything, the possibility of a united, independent Cyprus seems to have receded even further into the distance.

8. The question of Cyprus and the fact that it has persisted over so long a time raises serious issues for the General Assembly, not least of which is the effectiveness of the Security Council in the area of providing collective security. But beyond that fundamental question, which reflects on the utility of the Security Council as it is currently constructed, is the grave matter of the occupation of Cypriot territory by a foreign force.

9. By any measure, such occupation, under any guise or pretext, is a violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Moreover, it is an assault upon the principles of the United Nations as set out in its Charter. My country condemned the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan despite the assertion that the troops were invited by the Afghan Government. As we condemned the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, so we deplore the continued presence of foreign troops in Cyprus. In our view, the Soviet army has no right in Afghanistan and Turkish forces have no right in Cyprus.

10. No people can reach a lasting solution to their internal problems if external forces exert undue influence on one side or the other. A lasting solution will only be reached by the people concerned acting in their own interest and giving due consideration to each other's anxieties. Antigua and Barbuda, as a small island State, vulnerable to adventures by large and powerful nations, cannot accept that any country has the right to occupy the territory of another. We urge the Assembly to be mindful of the Charter of the United Nations and to demand once again the withdrawal of foreign troops without delay.

11. Since 1964, UNFICYP, which was sent to Cyprus for three months, has remained on the island. One wonders how much of this need to retain a United Nations peace force in Cyprus has been due to the fact

that a foreign force remains in occupation in one part of the island.

12. Despite the fact that there has been no violence or major disturbance, it is right that a United Nations peace force should stay in Cyprus until a durable agreement has been reached by the Cypriot people themselves, but it is wrong that a peace force should have to remain in an independent territory to counter-balance the army of an external nation.

13. My delegation is not so naive as to believe that a community which has been torn apart for a generation will reach a coincidence of views overnight. However, while we recognize that the intercommunal negotiations have indicated substantial divergence on some issues, there has been some agreement and therein lies the opportunity on which to build a framework for a lasting peace. But such a framework will not be constructed under duress. And, in this context, a foreign force on Cyprus constitutes duress. Indeed, this duress could lead to new and unwelcome developments, such as attempts to declare one part of Cyprus a sovereign State in its own right.

14. The United Nations could not condone the Balkanization of the Cypriot State, nor could it welcome the heightened tension which such an action would create. Moreover, we would have to be seriously concerned about the possibility that a new colonialism may arise as the new State seeks the protection of a larger and more powerful country.

15. Antigua and Barbuda would urge the people of Cyprus to facilitate the efforts of the Assembly to assist in the process of establishing a framework for a lasting settlement to the island's problems.

16. Among the initiatives by the United Nations which my delegation would support are: a return to the Assembly's 1979 recommendation that an *ad hoc* committee on Cyprus be appointed [resolution 34/30]. This committee should be constituted in such a way as to ensure broad representation of interests.

17. We would also support a continuing intercommunal dialogue with a representative of the Secretary-General acting as an intermediary, the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus and a strengthening of UNFICYP in order to create a climate of stability in which the intercommunal negotiations may be advanced.

18. The question of Cyprus is really concerned with the future of a tormented people. The Assembly would fail in its duty if it did not urge the Cypriot people to return to the intercommunal talks with the political will to make such talks meaningful. Equally, we would fail in our duty if we did not urge the Turkish Government to withdraw its forces from Cyprus and thus help to create an atmosphere more conducive to dialogue. But above all else the Assembly should ensure that the United Nations peace force is maintained and that an *ad hoc* committee is established in the Organization to advance the search for a lasting peace in Cyprus.

19. Cyprus must be given a chance to end its torment, to heal its wounds and to bridge its divide. To that goal, the Assembly, including those nations with a vested interest, must turn its efforts.

20. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again the attention of the Assembly is being drawn to the serious situation which has affected the Republic of Cyprus for almost 10 years as a result of the occupation of part of its territory by foreign forces, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the rules of international law.

21. Of course, everyone is aware of the complexity of the Cypriot tragedy and of the efforts made by the international community since 1974, particularly by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the socialist countries and the Secretary-General, to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus so that it can maintain its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned nature.

22. However, neither the complexity of the problem nor the difficulties met with along the way to a settlement should discourage us, far less allow us to forget that that friendly country, a founder of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, continues *de facto* divided and partially occupied, a situation which is a threat to peace and security in a region already disrupted by persistent Israeli aggression against the Arab nation as a whole and against the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights.

23. Like most Members of this Organization, Cuba considers that the only possible solution to the problem of Cyprus lies in the successful completion of the talks which, on the basis of United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979,² have been undertaken by the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

24. In my capacity as a member of the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries, I had the honour to visit the Republic of Cyprus in March of this year. After the important conversations held with the President, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nicos Rolandis, and other high officials of the Government, our delegation was also able to make contact with the representatives of both Cypriot communities, as well as with Mr. Andreas V. Mavrommatis and Mr. Umit Suleiman Onan, in their respective capacities as leaders of the intercommunal talks of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot parties.

25. To my mind, this was a valuable experience. Not only were we able more clearly to note the concerns of each side, but we were also able to observe that the talks, although carried out in a cordial and proper spirit, are in practical terms at a standstill. This assessment, with various nuances and emphases, of course, seems to be shared by both communities and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and that is why the Assembly should give priority attention to subsequent developments.

26. In this regard, my delegation feels that we must direct our efforts towards ensuring that the negotiations are really significant and designed to obtain concrete results. To that end, they must be conducted freely, on an equal footing and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and of the above-mentioned high-level agreements, in order to arrive as soon as possible at a mutually acceptable agreement, based on the legitimate rights of both communities.

27. We must point out, however, that a real solution to the problem of Cyprus, over and above the political will of both communities to use the path of negotiation, calls for recognition that the continued violation of the principle of the inadmissibility of occupation and acquisition of territory by force, the non-implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, the adoption of measures to change the demographic structure or to promote *faits accomplis*, and the continued occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by foreign troops are obstacles that must be removed and eliminated.

28. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, which has always supported the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and has therefore opposed any foreign interference in its affairs, similarly supports the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to sovereignty and full and effective control over the whole territory of Cyprus and its natural and other resources, and appeals to all States to support and assist the Government of the Republic of Cyprus in the exercise of its rights.

29. Furthermore, my delegation—which is honoured to sponsor draft resolution A/37/L.63—calls for the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), and the subsequent Assembly and Council resolutions which lay the valid and essential bases for the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

30. In advocating observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all Cypriots, we call on the parties concerned to refrain from any unilateral action which might adversely affect the prospects for a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

31. In this regard, we consider that the Security Council should study the question of implementation, within specific time frames, of its relevant resolutions, and should also decide on the ways and means of ensuring prompt and effective implementation.

32. In closing, my delegation wishes to welcome the intention of the Secretary-General, as expressed in his report [A/37/805 and Corr.1], personally to pursue with renewed interest the quest for a solution to the problem of Cyprus, and offers his resolute assistance and support for any measures and initiatives he considers appropriate, within the context of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council, in order to promote the just and lasting solution so desired by the Cypriot people and the international community.

33. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): It is a matter of deep concern and regret for us that the question of Cyprus still remains unresolved and gravely endangers international peace and security in general and the situation in the Mediterranean in particular. The Mediterranean area is beset by bloc rivalry and an increasing foreign military presence that is transforming local disputes into wider conflicts. There is no doubt that security in the Mediterranean is directly linked to that of Europe and to that of the Middle East and that they are necessarily affecting each other.

34. As a non-aligned, European and Mediterranean country, Yugoslavia is vitally interested in the peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus. We belong to the same region, and we maintain and wish to develop further close and friendly relations with Cyprus and other countries in the region.

35. The question of Cyprus is the problem of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations, and it is at the same time a problem threatening to cause conflicts of far wider proportions.

36. We have always consistently urged respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. These principles are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the policy of non-alignment. We believe that only on this basis, on the basis of these principles, can international security be built, equitable co-operation among States developed and peace and security in the world strengthened.

37. It may be relevant for the case in point to recall here the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki.³ Signed by 35 participating States, including those involved in the question of Cyprus, the Final Act calls for adherence to the principle of sovereign equality in relations among States; refraining from the threat or use of force; and respect for the inviolability of borders and for the territorial integrity of signatory States. It also enunciates the duty to solve disputes by peaceful means and the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of signatory States and of fulfilment of obligations under international law.

38. President Makarios in 1977 and President Kyprianou in 1979 reached agreement with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktas, on the principles and goals of the intercommunal talks in order to achieve an agreement on the future social and political organization of the Republic. We believe that those high-level agreements express the desire and interests of the two Cypriot communities and naturally of Cyprus as a whole. However, the intercommunal talks have yielded no result and the problem is again being considered here in the General Assembly.

39. As is the case with many other crises and with many other major problems, we are all quite well aware of what is required in the case of Cyprus. It is clear that we have in the Charter of the United Nations, in the principles of the policy of non-alignment, in the Final Act of Helsinki and in the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979² a comprehensive set of principles and a framework for the solution. We feel that all of us are duty-bound to implement them.

40. As is the case with the other international crises, all the parties involved should demonstrate the necessary political will and should not try to keep the present situation dangerously frozen because of the absence of mutual trust. There is no other way but to build that trust and there are many of us to help, and we are also very grateful to the Secretary-General for rendering his own services. It would be very dangerous to harbour illusions that the solution of this crisis can be postponed indefinitely. It would be no less dangerous to try to make the international community become reconciled to lasting violations of sovereignty

and territorial integrity in the case of Cyprus or in any other such case and such crisis in the world.

41. Cyprus is one of the founding countries of the policy and the movement of the non-aligned countries, and in the last 20 years has made its own significant contribution to the thought and practice of non-alignment. The policy of a non-aligned Cyprus is opposed to the expansion of military and political blocs and spheres of influence. It is significant that this is a recognized factor of peace and equitable co-operation.

42. The non-aligned countries are deeply concerned over the fact that a part of the Republic of Cyprus is still under the occupation of foreign troops. For them, the need to implement the United Nations resolutions and to promote the intercommunal talks on an equal footing in order to achieve mutually acceptable solutions and to safeguard the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus remains imperative. In their view, the only basis for a lasting political solution is the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces and all other military presence from the Republic of Cyprus. It is in this context that we have given support to the proposal for the total demilitarization of Cyprus made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [2nd meeting, para. 145].

43. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, once again reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the policy of *faits accomplis* and of the violation of the legitimate rights of States through military intervention. In the political declaration of that Conference⁴ the Heads of State or Government condemned the actions aimed at altering the demographic structure of Cyprus. They stressed the need for solving the problem of refugees and missing persons. They particularly underlined that unilateral actions and the *de facto* situation created by the armed forces must not affect the solution of the problem.

44. We believe that resolute action by the General Assembly is indispensable in all cases of violation of sovereignty, of territorial integrity and of the right of peoples freely to decide their destiny; the Republic of Cyprus is regrettably not the only such case in the world.

45. The United Nations resolutions regarding the question of Cyprus should be implemented; they should not remain mere appeals without any effect on the further development of the situation in Cyprus. Yugoslavia maintains that the United Nations resolutions, in particular resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 34/30, remain of vital significance. Those resolutions still constitute the basis for an effective settlement of the problem of Cyprus and their urgent and full implementation is the responsibility of all Member States, as provided by the Charter of the United Nations.

46. Yugoslavia appreciates all efforts aimed at solving the problem, exerted by all parties involved, particularly the United Nations, and the most valuable personal role of the Secretary-General. We are convinced that his renewed personal engagement will enlist the support of all those wishing the solution of

the problem. It is our belief that the continuation of those efforts will contribute to the long-expected and just solution of the problem of Cyprus.

47. As a member of the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries entrusted with the mandate to assist the speedy and just solution of the question of Cyprus, Yugoslavia participated in formulating the draft resolution [A/37/L.63] that has been submitted to the General Assembly.

48. We would like to reiterate that, in our view, the talks between the two Cypriot communities and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus constitute an essential element for the solution of the problem on the basis of the legitimate interests and aspirations of the two communities.

49. There can be no substitute for the settlement which can and should come from Cyprus itself, negotiated on an equal footing by the two communities themselves, free from foreign interference and foreign intervention. Otherwise, the two Cypriot communities may be faced with solutions imposed from outside which are likely to be at variance with their own long-term interests.

50. Finally, I assure the Assembly that Yugoslavia will continue to work for a solution which would ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the decisions of the United Nations.

51. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): Permit me, first of all, to express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our most sincere appreciation of the very competent and dignified manner in which you have conducted the proceedings of the Assembly. We are confident that under your able stewardship we will be able to deal with the remaining issues before us expeditiously and with a sense of purpose and that you will be able to see the session through to a successful conclusion.

52. The question of Cyprus is again being considered by the Assembly after a lapse of three and a half years. India has always taken a special interest in this question in view of our traditionally warm friendship and close relations with the Government and people of Cyprus and our sincere desire to see a peaceful and political solution of this vexed problem. My delegation has in the past actively participated in the deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Cyprus, as well as in the efforts of the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries, as a member of that Group.

53. Cyprus, like India, is a founding member of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, and we are committed to lending our full support to the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that friendly country. We consider it a matter of regret that, in spite of the repeated calls of the Non-Aligned Movement and the support of the international community in general, the resolutions of the United Nations in this regard have not yet been implemented. We support resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1974 and continue to believe in the need for its implementation without further delay.

54. India has consistently encouraged the process of dialogue on an equal footing between the two communities with a view to reaching a peaceful and mutually acceptable political settlement based on the protection and promotion of the fundamental and legitimate rights of all segments of the population of the island. The intercommunal talks must now be expedited with a view to concluding them without further delay. We believe, at the same time, in the inadmissibility of any kind of external interference or intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States. Foreign military forces must, therefore, be withdrawn from the Republic of Cyprus.

55. We were greatly encouraged by the conclusion, on 19 May 1979, of the high-level agreement between the leaders of the two communities of Cyprus, under the auspices of the Secretary-General.² It was our fervent hope that that agreement, which followed the earlier high-level agreement of 12 February 1977¹, would lead to meaningful and constructive negotiations between the two sides with a view to resolving all aspects of the problem.

56. It is a matter of disappointment, however, that the opportunities provided by those agreements have not been fully seized and that the momentum generated in the intercommunal talks could not be sustained. We regret that the negotiations between the two parties have not made more substantial progress. It remains our conviction that any settlement of the Cyprus question can only be on the basis of those negotiations, conducted freely and on a basis of equality.

57. We would like on this occasion to launch an appeal to both parties to resume the intercommunal talks in real earnest, acting with sincerity and honesty and casting aside the legacy of mistrust and bitter memories inherited from the past. We would also urge all States in general and the parties directly concerned in particular to ensure that no action is taken which might jeopardize the outcome of those talks. The talks must be predicated on the unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus and on the inadmissibility of altering the demographic structure of Cyprus or promoting any kind of *faits accomplis*. Cyprus cannot be divided or partitioned; nor can it be assimilated or amalgamated. The identity and integrity of that island Republic must be preserved at all costs.

58. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, had occasion to consider the question of Cyprus. The Conference

“reiterated its full solidarity and support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and reaffirmed its respect for that country’s independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment”.

The Heads of State or Government also

“expressed their deep concern over the fact that part of the Republic of Cyprus continues under foreign occupation and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. They welcomed the proposal made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the total demilitarization of Cyprus.”

The Conference further

“stressed the urgent need for the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes in safety, respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots and the speedy tracing of and accounting for those missing and condemned all efforts or actions aimed at altering the demographic structure of Cyprus”.⁵

59. The Conference noted with concern the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks. It hailed the intensification of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and expressed the hope that the intercommunal talks

“would be carried out meaningfully and constructively so as to lead to a speedy, mutually acceptable solution of the problem, in accordance with ... General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), the decisions and declarations of the Non-Aligned Movement, which it reaffirmed, and the High-Level Agreements of 12 February 1977 and of 19 May 1979”.⁶

60. I can do no better than reiterate those solemn declarations made by the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries.

61. We are happy to note from the report of the Secretary-General that the intercommunal talks “have continued on a regular basis” [A/37/805 and Corr.1, para. 2] and that “the talks have continued to deal with various aspects of the Cyprus problem” [*ibid.*, para. 3]. We are further encouraged by the fact that the “atmosphere of the talks has remained co-operative and constructive” [*ibid.*].

62. I wish to say a word of appreciation for the keen interest shown in this matter by the Secretary-General and for the efforts he has consistently made to promote a negotiated settlement. As the Special Representative of his distinguished predecessor, the Secretary-General can claim personal knowledge and experience of this particular question dating back to the days before he assumed his present office. We are gratified by his offer of what he has himself described as a kind of new recommitment to the Cyprus question in pursuance of the mandate of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. We are confident that, with his well-known tact and diplomatic skill and with the support of all concerned, he will have a constructive contribution to make in leading us forward and injecting new dynamism into the intercommunal talks and the efforts to achieve an early settlement of the Cyprus question.

63. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): It is a pleasure to meet again under your chairmanship, Mr. President, and to relive some of the exciting days of last autumn.

64. My Government feels a special concern for Cyprus. We have deep historical ties with the island and its peoples. We are linked by treaty. As fellow members of the Commonwealth, we have many ideals and a particular sense of friendship in common. Large numbers of Cypriots from both communities are settled in Britain. Accordingly, we in Britain have a profound sympathy and understanding for the tragic circumstances of the people of Cyprus.

65. Unfortunately, the problem of Cyprus extends beyond the island itself. It affects also relations between two other countries, with both of which my country has important ties of friendship and alliance.

66. We are deeply disappointed that the problem remains unsolved after all these years, despite the very considerable efforts of successive Secretaries-General and their Special Representatives. The longer it takes to achieve a solution, the more difficult it will become and the greater the pent-up frustrations with all their attendant risks. It is a tragedy that a generation is growing up on both sides of the line in Cyprus which has never known its compatriots on the other side.

67. My Government believes that a solution must be sought in the framework of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices, as requested by the Security Council. Accordingly, we support strongly the intercommunal talks under his auspices.

68. We are encouraged that in his report the Secretary-General has remarked that the atmosphere of the intercommunal talks has remained co-operative and constructive. The discussion of the Secretary-General's "evaluation", which has been taking place since November 1981, has given both sides the opportunity for a thorough analysis of the points of agreement and disagreement.

69. I should like to take this opportunity to pay particular tribute to Mr. Hugo Gobbi, the Secretary-General's representative, for his skill and application in conducting the talks. He has described the discussions as a "first-reading" of the problem; it has thus been the essential groundwork for any settlement.

70. We must not lose the momentum that the intercommunal talks have created. It is time to ask where and how we go from here.

71. In my Government's view, the next several months should be seen as a time of particular opportunity. The internal and external conditions in Cyprus are, we believe, as objectively favourable to progress as they have been for a long time. In addition, we are all extremely fortunate in having a Secretary-General who, as a former Special Representative in Cyprus, has a particular first-hand knowledge and understanding of the island's problems and is thus uniquely fitted to assist in their solution.

72. My Government is particularly pleased that the Secretary-General has stated in his report that he intends to strengthen his personal involvement, within the framework of his mission of good offices, and to make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process. We hope that he and his staff will feel able to inject some new ideas into the intercommunal talks, to build on the work done in discussion of the "evaluation" and to offer proposals for a settlement. But, in order to do this, he will need both the co-operation of the parties and the support of the international community.

73. Accordingly, we urge that this debate and any accompanying resolution should be used to give the Secretary-General a fair wind. At a minimum, it must help to reconcile rather than to divide the parties. The international community can help by seeking to foster a climate of trust and confidence which is

so essential to progress. In particular, it can make a valuable contribution by reiterating its full confidence in the Secretary-General and giving him its unstinting support in his efforts to reach a solution.

74. We must avoid propaganda points which sour the atmosphere and reduce the chances of progress. We must equally avoid using the debate for extraneous ideological purposes. We must also eschew the introduction of new mechanisms which will merely detract from the Secretary-General's role.

75. It is important that the parties themselves should show the necessary determination and goodwill required to achieve a breakthrough. The international community can offer every support and the Secretary-General can use every skill and resource, but in the end a solution will depend on the parties to the dispute. We sincerely hope that they will seize the opportunity which is presenting itself.

76. I shall not, therefore, seek to suggest the outlines of a solution. However, I reiterate my Government's continued support for Security Council resolution 365 (1974), which endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). We also continue to give our support to the high-level agreements between the two communities.

77. If the United Nations has a vital role to play in achieving a solution to the dispute, as we think it has, it has an equally vital role in continuing to maintain peace in Cyprus. It is a remarkable tribute both to the success of UNFICYP and also to the value of United Nations peace-keeping generally—despite the criticisms to which it has recently and unfairly been subjected—that there has only been one fatal intercommunal casualty on the line in the last eight years. This is not to be complacent. Rather, it is to pay great tribute to the skill, professionalism and dedication which Major-General Guenther Greindl and his Force have continued to demonstrate. The international community owes them a great debt.

78. My Government, as the largest contributor of men and money to UNFICYP, is continuing to play its part. But it is sadly necessary to remind the international community that the Force is maintained by voluntary contributions and that the peace-keeping operation is heavily in debt. It is no good expressing support for United Nations peace-keeping and then doing nothing to help pay for it. My Government would like to take this opportunity to appeal to Governments, and particularly those that have not so far contributed, to show their support by contributing urgently to the maintenance of the Force. At the same time, we trust that the Force, which was always intended to be temporary, will be able before too much longer to complete its task.

79. It is time for the United Nations, through the actions of the Secretary-General, to solve the human tragedy of Cyprus and in so doing to improve international relations between neighbours. All those who hope for this result should show restraint, goodwill and flexibility. Though the circumstances are difficult, here is an opportunity for the United Nations to show the world that it can act with responsibility and compassion. Here is an opportunity for each of us to express our support for the renewed efforts of the Secretary-General and his team to produce

intercommunal and international harmony. That is the course of realism as well as of justice. My Government expresses its support whole-heartedly for the Secretary-General.

80. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The Federal Republic of Germany is very concerned about the lack of progress on the Cyprus question. It has always been ready to assist wherever possible in the search for a solution to this problem and will continue to do so. It is our conviction that, for humanitarian reasons as well as for the sake of peace and stability in the region, an answer to the question of Cyprus must be found very soon.

81. Cyprus and the Federal Republic of Germany share the same democratic tradition and we have long-standing, close economic relations. We realize that the Cyprus question is of great relevance to both Greece, with which we are partners in the European Community, and Turkey, which is associated with the Community and with which we have close relations in many fields.

82. When the General Assembly last debated the problem of Cyprus, at the thirty-fourth session, in 1979, the intercommunal talks had been suspended in June of that year. The interruption of those talks was viewed by the international community as a backward step for Cyprus and its people. We therefore welcomed with satisfaction that, following the agreement between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş of 19 May 1979,² which built on the 12 February 1977 agreement¹ between President Makarios and Mr. Denktaş, the talks were resumed on 9 August 1980.

83. Since the time that the General Assembly last considered the question of Cyprus, almost four years have elapsed. The fact that the talks have continued with active assistance from the Secretary-General and his Special Representative has been regarded as a sign of hope and an indication of ongoing endeavours to bring peace to the island in a situation that has already lasted too long. In this process, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gobbi, has shown great personal commitment, creativity and perseverance. Since November 1981, when he presented the "evaluation" of the Secretary-General, the talks have provided an opportunity for a thorough analysis of the problem by both sides. We feel it is necessary to go beyond this stage now and achieve substantive progress.

84. We feel that the moment for going further has come. The Secretary-General, who has himself always been deeply committed to the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem, is prepared to renew his efforts to pursue his mission of good offices. We would like to encourage him in this endeavour. We believe that the intercommunal talks under the aegis of the Secretary-General, combined with his good offices, provide the avenue that should be pursued further.

85. In his report to the Security Council of 1 December 1982, the Secretary-General has called the intercommunal talks "the best available means of pursuing a concrete and effective negotiating process with the object of achieving an agreed, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question".⁷

86. Furthermore, we fully support the view of the Secretary-General, expressed in his report of 6 May 1983, that:

"It is my intention to strengthen my personal involvement within the framework of my mission of good offices. In particular, I shall make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process, following up the work done during the current phase of the negotiations. As I have reported on this subject to the Security Council, my efforts will seek to encourage the parties to develop an overall synthesis covering the remaining major unresolved issues, and I and my Special Representative shall do our utmost to assist them in this endeavour" [*ibid.*, para. 5].

87. I think the debate here in the General Assembly can be useful if it provides a helpful stimulus for the endeavours of the Secretary-General and for the continuation of the intercommunal talks, but obviously the Secretary-General cannot fulfil this task alone. We need also a clear political resolve on both sides to come to a solution. We do not believe that maintaining the *status quo* serves the interests of the people of Cyprus. On the contrary, the *status quo* on Cyprus remains a source of instability, frustration and potential dangers, not only for Cyprus but for the whole area.

88. For almost 20 years, UNFICYP has helped keep these potential dangers under control, and I should like to put on record our appreciation of its work. We have contributed to meeting the cost of UNFICYP in the past and will continue to do so according to our means. But let me also repeat what has often been said whenever the Force's mandate has had to be renewed: we must not allow peace-keeping to become a substitute for peace-making. My Government therefore appeals to those who are involved in the Cyprus problem to demonstrate statesmanship and courage in the search for a durable solution.

89. Mr. DE SILVA (Sri Lanka): The Assembly has decided to consider the question of Cyprus at this resumed session after a lapse of three years. In the resolution on the subject—resolution 34/30—adopted on 20 November 1979, the General Assembly recalled the sequence of events which had led to the situation that obtained in Cyprus and the Assembly resolutions yet unimplemented, and reaffirmed the principles which should govern the conduct of States in their search for a solution. Those principles, though often repeated, must be restated. They are respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. In resolution 34/30, the Assembly demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus and called for respect for the human rights of all Cypriots and the instituting of measures for the voluntary return of refugees to their homes.

90. We recognize that all the measures called for in Assembly resolution 34/30 have not been equally accepted. Nevertheless, we placed our confidence in the feasibility of some progress being made on the basis of the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979², concluded under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and trusted that, through the machinery of the

intercommunal talks, some meaningful result and progress were within reach.

91. We would like to recall that, as a sponsor of the draft resolution that became resolution 34/30, we were compelled to refer to what we described as an inordinate delay or stalling of the talks. However, we, like others, took the view that, if the atmosphere was provided and adequate time given, those arrangements and processes held out some hope. It was in pursuit of this method that the parties to the dispute and the Assembly itself refrained from considering the question of Cyprus during the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions and the first part of the current session.

92. After the lapse of these three years, it would be desirable to make a brief assessment of what gains have been realized. The report of the Secretary-General of 20 November 1981⁸ set out the proposals of the Turkish-Cypriot interlocutor and the response of his Greek-Cypriot colleague. New proposals that followed revealed the gap that still existed between the two sides, and the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General himself to help with what were described as elements of an "evaluation". The Secretary-General stated in his 1981 report that this "evaluation" does not purport to introduce proposals as a basis for negotiations but only analyses the position and seeks to identify certain major "points of coincidence" and "equidistance", and he concluded that the intercommunal talks represent the best available method of pursuing this process. In his report of 6 May 1983 the Secretary-General states that the "evaluation" of the status of negotiations continued to be used as a method of discussion and that during the intervening period the talks have continued to deal with various aspects of the Cyprus problem.

93. The Assembly may not differ with the approach made in these reports, but we cannot overlook other considerations. In the nearly nine years that have elapsed since the invasion and occupation of Cyprus by foreign troops, there has been no inclination to respond to the Assembly's demand for a withdrawal of those troops. Meanwhile, there has been consolidation through unilateral action, such as changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus and changes in title to property, and no measures have been taken to enable a voluntary return of refugees on both sides to their original homes. We are led to the conclusion that these changes, together with the lapse of time, are contributing to a *fait accompli* rather than to restoring to the Republic of Cyprus its right to sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is difficult to resist the view that the continued presence of foreign occupation forces militates against the prospect of some tangible outcome in the intercommunal talks.

94. We would recall what we stated in the Assembly when the question of Cyprus was discussed in November 1978, at the thirty-third session, because what we stated then remains our view:

"the Government of Sri Lanka does not subscribe to the principle that any State is justified in using its armed forces, however justifiable it may itself believe that to be, in the settlement of international disputes. My delegation considers it utterly deplorable for any State to use its armed forces

to interfere in the internal affairs of any neighbouring State, however much compassion and feeling there may be for a fellow ethnic or communal group in that neighbouring State. Such action cannot be justified in any circumstances" [47th meeting, para. 40].

95. Our position with regard to the entry of foreign troops is that it is a watershed, both in its literal and metaphorical sense, fraught with peril if ignored or compromised with. That is a position which we have consistently held when similar interventions by foreign troops have occurred before and since the question of Cyprus was inscribed in the agenda of this Assembly. It is a matter of principle over which there can be no dispute among the Member States, and, particularly for the smaller States Members of the United Nations, which do not have the capacity to resist such military interventions, it has to be an article of faith. We must therefore demand the withdrawal of all occupation forces from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, not only because we believe that that would contribute to greater progress in the intercommunal talks, but also because experience beyond Cyprus tells us that foreign intervention and the presence of foreign troops complicates rather than contributes towards reaching a solution.

96. We have been reminded from time to time that a solution in Cyprus would be greatly facilitated if the Government of Cyprus left no doubt on the question of enosis, or union with Greece. At an earlier time, this goal was an impediment to a settlement of differences between the two Cypriot communities. It is, however, our understanding that the Government of Cyprus no longer subscribes to the objective of enosis and that together with this there must also be an assurance of the territorial integrity of Cyprus and a repudiation of partition of the territory of Cyprus into separate States for the two Cypriot communities. In urging this, we are not saying anything new. Point 8 of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the high-level meeting held at Nicosia under the auspices of the Secretary-General on 18 and 19 May 1979 states:

"The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic should be adequately guaranteed against union in whole or in part with any other country and against any form of partition or secession."²

97. The constitutional and related arrangements, the procedures for all Cypriots to be assured of their security and the exercise of their fundamental rights by both the Cypriot communities are measures that can be resolved between the two Cypriot parties. The withdrawal of troops, together with the acceptance and implementation of the proposal for the complete demilitarization of Cyprus, would create the confidence between the two communities that is essential for hastening this process.

98. Almost nine years from the events of 1974 is rather too long a period for us to be reconciled to the situation that exists in Cyprus. We often hear that the passage of time has its healing effects, but in Cyprus, just as we have witnessed elsewhere, time has not proved a great healer. Procrastination is not without advantage to those who seek different solutions. And there is a tendency to accept what

prevails as inevitable. This is what we had in mind when we spoke earlier of a *fait accompli*. It is for this reason that my delegation expressed the view at an earlier time, and reiterates it today, that on the question of Cyprus the Security Council should examine the matter of implementation within the time-frame of its own resolutions, which have had the support of the Assembly. In this context, we cannot exclude practical and appropriate measures—should they prove necessary—under the Charter to ensure the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus. As we said then, this is not intended as a demand addressed to the Security Council, but as a recommendation which would help to demonstrate the Council's own effectiveness.

99. We welcome this debate also for the reason that we can today express our sincere appreciation for the patient efforts made by the Secretary-General from the time this problem arose and throughout its protracted duration. The Secretary-General has an intimate knowledge of the Cyprus problem and we warmly welcome his intention to pursue a renewed personal involvement in the quest for a solution to the problem. It would also be appropriate for us to take this opportunity to extend our appreciation to the Secretary-General and UNFICYP for their patience and persistence in the long and trying circumstances surrounding the fulfilment of their mandate. At a time when United Nations peace-keeping efforts are being assailed elsewhere, this tribute and reassurance are perhaps overdue.

100. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the debate at this session of the General Assembly, since the Cyprus issue remains unsettled. New deliberations within the framework of the United Nations are required, because the relevant decisions taken by the United Nations on the question of Cyprus have so far been ignored. This is all the more reason for concern, as imperialist forces are making numerous attempts to extend their sphere of influence in the Mediterranean also to the littoral States of that region, to involve them directly or indirectly in military and political alliances and to expand their zone of action to those countries. This increases the danger that regional disputes may develop into a world-wide armed conflict.

101. The close proximity of the hotbeds of conflict and the critical situation in the Middle East cannot be left unnoticed. In the light of the situation prevailing there, the unresolved Cyprus issue not only endangers the peace and security of the peoples of that region, but also has a negative impact on peace and security in the world at large.

102. The peoples of that region have clearly shown their determination to put an end to all imperialist manoeuvres. This includes the determination that the foreign military bases on Cyprus and in the region be dismantled, that vessels with nuclear weapons be withdrawn from the Mediterranean and that all littoral States which have no nuclear weapons deployed on their territory remain free of nuclear weapons.

103. The German Democratic Republic supports the proposal made at the Assembly's tenth special session by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic

of Cyprus, concerning the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Cyprus [2nd meeting, para. 145]. This would certainly facilitate a solution to the problem and would have a positive effect on alleviating the situation in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.

104. At the end of the talks held between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Erich Honecker, and the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, in October 1982, the two leaders stated:

“The withdrawal of all foreign troops which are deployed on a part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is indispensable for a just and lasting solution to ensure the country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.”

105. Withdrawal would at the same time restore normal living conditions to the people of Cyprus and would contribute to the settlement of a long-standing international dispute through peaceful means. The two Heads of State are thus in full agreement with the decisions taken by the Governments of non-aligned countries concerning Cyprus, as recently expressed again in the political declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.⁴

106. The Government of the German Democratic Republic reaffirmed its point of view that such a solution could be achieved best through the implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions, particularly General Assembly resolution 34/30. We regard the idea of convening an international conference on the question of Cyprus, contained in that resolution, as the most suitable way of settling the international aspects of the Cyprus issue. Such a conference could also facilitate and promote the constructive settlement of the internal, constitutional problems of the Cyprus issue through intercommunal talks.

107. The Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the continuation of the intercommunal talks between the two communities of Cyprus on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the high-level agreements, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the help of the continued good offices of the Secretary-General. We are convinced that those talks will be successful if all inhabitants of Cyprus are given the possibility to settle their own affairs free from any external interference. We are deeply concerned that external forces are attempting to prolong those talks indefinitely in order to create new facts which deepen the division of the country. Such acts, which affect the independence, unity and sovereignty of Cyprus, do not benefit the people of Cyprus but render it more difficult to find a just and durable solution to the question of Cyprus.

108. The imperialist policy of confrontation and superarmament has further aggravated the international situation. Since the end of the Second World War, the situation has never been so serious, as is demonstrated by the fact that the number of crises

and hotbeds of conflict are on the increase throughout the world. If we do not succeed in eliminating them, there will be the danger of further spreading. At the moment, there are dangerous signs of new aggression by Israel in the Middle East. The fanfare that is made about the conclusion of a new separate deal cannot veil this fact. Though there is much talk about peace, in reality new aggression is being prepared against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria and other Arab States, against the Arab people of Palestine.

109. In view of the continued military provocations by Israel, the German Democratic Republic declares its firm support for Syria and its persistent solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for its national rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State of its own. It demands the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Lebanon. The legitimate rights and interests of all peoples in the Middle East can be guaranteed only through the collective efforts of all interested sides aimed at bringing about a just and comprehensive solution.

110. The Government of the German Democratic Republic strongly advocates the elimination of hotbeds of conflict and the settlement of disputes through negotiation. As a member State of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the German Democratic Republic fully backs the statement made in the political declaration adopted by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on 5 January 1983:

“There are no problems, global or regional, which could not be solved justly by peaceful means. It is most important for all to recognize the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide its own internal affairs, without external interference, and to take part in international life on an equal footing”.⁹

111. Furthermore, the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean, which is supported by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, would be an important contribution to a solution of the question of Cyprus and the other conflicts of the region.

112. The German Democratic Republic will continue to support in solidarity the people of Cyprus in its just struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment, against any imperialist attempts to blackmail and interfere.

113. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to address the General Assembly, meeting as it is under your presidency, because it is the unanimous opinion that you have conducted its proceedings with great skill and perfect impartiality. I would like to add that I have most happy memories of your stay in Greece as Ambassador of Hungary, a country with which Greece maintains very friendly relations.

114. It is with mixed feelings that I approach this task of addressing the Assembly to set forth the views of my Government on the question of Cyprus. Of course, I have a feeling of deep satisfaction at being

afforded this opportunity to address the Assembly, in which the hopes of the whole world for peace are concentrated, an Assembly which has not hesitated more than once to adopt resolutions which were necessary to point out to mankind the path to follow in its anxious and even desperate efforts to bring about a better future. Irresponsibly, I am afraid, many criticisms have been levelled at the United Nations. The Organization has been reproached for not living up to its task, as if the United Nations should be held responsible for the limitations imposed upon it. It has been pointed out that resolutions of the General Assembly have not been implemented, as if the United Nations could be held responsible for the fact that certain States disregard, and even deliberately scorn, resolutions adopted by the overwhelming majority of the international community. Without mentioning other arguments in favour of the United Nations, suffice it to think for a moment of what the world would be like if this Organization did not exist and if, therefore, every State were free to pursue its own policies unchecked.

115. I have already said what a pleasure it is for me to address the General Assembly. I cannot, however, conceal my disappointment and distress, at the same time, at the fact that I am here precisely to speak on the question of Cyprus, a problem which should long ago have been solved if, as has happened in other cases, the fundamental principles of the United Nations had been applied.

116. It is highly regrettable that this Organization must once again be dealing with the question of Cyprus—regrettable, because it means that the problem, which has caused distress to so many hundreds of thousands of people, has not yet been solved, thus prolonging the tragic consequences and the sufferings of a whole people. This is a profoundly disappointing fact, because it means that all the resolutions adopted hitherto by the United Nations, whether by the General Assembly or the Security Council, have been cynically flouted and that the gaping wound of Cyprus remains an affront to international morality.

117. I do not wish to weary the Assembly with historical details. In any case, the problem of Cyprus is, unfortunately, only too well known. Suffice it to recall just a few facts which, because of their relative unfamiliarity, are liable to be disregarded or forgotten in the midst of so many crises which are disrupting our planet.

118. About nine years ago, an unscrupulous band of dictators organized a *coup d'état* against the legitimate Government of Cyprus. This *coup d'état*, at the time, did not seem greatly to disturb the Turkish Cypriots, whose security was in no way threatened since they were not the target of any attacks or threats. Turkey, however, had no hesitation. Alleging so-called rights as a guarantor Power, it invaded the island. It exploited the subsequent cease-fire to reinforce its invasion forces, and, to enlarge its beach-head, which it had succeeded in establishing, it then undertook a second invasion, thus flouting the cease-fire agreement. We know the pretext which was invoked—the protection of the Turkish Cypriot population against the threat to which it was supposedly exposed. In fact, the invasion plan had long been ready, and it was just a matter of waiting for the order to put it into effect.

* Mr. Papoulias spoke in Greek. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

119. The results of the invasion are well known: some 200,000 inhabitants were reduced to the status of refugees in their own country; most of the island's natural resources were seized; some 2,000 Greek Cypriots and Greeks disappeared, their fate unknown to this day; and approximately 40 per cent of Cypriot territory was occupied by tens of thousands of troops. All those consequences persist to this day. It is true that the Cypriot Government, thanks to superhuman efforts, has succeeded in repairing in part the material aftermath of the invasion. Nevertheless, it remains a tragedy and a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

120. The United Nations, almost from the very beginning of the problem caused by the invasion, became seized of it, attempting by successive decisions to create a framework favourable for the establishment of conditions which would make it possible to promote a solution of the Cyprus problem within the context of freedom, while at the same time calling for the withdrawal of the invasion forces.

121. For some six years, until September 1980, we witnessed the series of vain efforts to promote a dialogue between the two communities of Cyprus in order to find a solution which would have enabled the Cypriots to live in peace, ensuring for them a better future, ridding Cyprus of occupation forces and restoring the unity of the island, which in this way could have regained its status as a free State.

122. For those six years, it was not possible for the dialogue to progress beyond a minimum number of meetings before foundering on the intransigence of the Turks and the Turkish Cypriots, or, to be more precise, the Turks alone. Indeed, the dialogue, although it was dubbed "intercommunal", remained in fact a dialogue between the Government of Cyprus and the occupying Power, which, thanks to the presence of its troops, always exercised full and total control over all activities in the occupied territories. During this period, we witnessed many initiatives taken by the occupying Power to consolidate further the occupation régime. We saw the creation of a puppet government which called itself the "Government of the Turkish Federated State of Kibris". We witnessed the arrival of thousands of settlers for the purpose of changing the demographic structure of Cyprus. We witnessed a whole series of measures which had only one goal: that of consolidating the Turkish presence in Cyprus.

123. Throughout this period, the Cypriot Government, on repeated occasions, gave proof of its goodwill. In its efforts to facilitate a solution of the problem, it made many concessions on questions of vital importance. Unfortunately, those concessions met with no response on the other side, which has been trying since that time to present them as definitive, even though they were provisional by their very nature, since no concession can be considered definitive before the conclusion of a global agreement.

124. There was no concession forthcoming from the other side. On the contrary, there were provocative statements to the effect that the prevailing situation could not, practically speaking, undergo any change. The goal was clear—to confer upon *faits accomplis*

the seal of legitimacy by having them ratified by the intercommunal talks.

125. As you know, the Assembly has dealt with the question of Cyprus on a number of occasions. However, this question, although it was on the agenda, was not considered at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the Assembly. The reason for this is simple. In August 1980, following the assiduous efforts of the United Nations, the intercommunal dialogue was resumed. The difference between this new attempt and previous attempts was that this time the talks began with an agenda drawn up in advance and have been able to continue to this very day. Everyone will recall the optimism expressed on the question of Cyprus by those who made statements in the general debate at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. There was hope that this time, at long last, the hoped-for progress would be made and the question of Cyprus would move towards a solution. Unfortunately, once again those hopes proved to be in vain.

126. The two and a half years which have elapsed constitute perhaps the most instructive period because they have shown that the intentions of the other side are such that it is impossible, under the present conditions, to expect a favourable conclusion to the intercommunal talks.

127. The resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Cyprus recommend that the parties hold talks which are to be conducted in total liberty. What kind of free talks can there be when a sizeable part of the Republic of Cyprus is occupied by invasion forces which, unimpeded, have been imposing their will on the Turkish Cypriots and which constitute at the same time a constant threat to the part of the Republic of Cyprus which has remained free? What sort of free talks can there be when threats are made to declare the occupied part of the island an independent State and when the occupying Power is constantly taking new steps to consolidate its control and extend its jurisdiction over the occupied territories?

128. There are many examples. Suffice it to mention the recent decision concerning the introduction into the occupied territories of the currency of the occupying Power. This is tangible proof of the efforts under way to bring about a definitive annexation of the occupied territories. Let us have no illusions about the kind of liberty that negotiations can have when there is an army ready to impose by force the will of its leaders. Unfortunately, the examples are not limited to Cyprus. That is why the head of the Greek Government, Mr. Andreas Papandreu, has proposed the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces from Cyprus so that talks may be conducted under truly free conditions.

129. Since the Turkish Cypriots apparently claim that they need protection because, supposedly, they fear the Greek Cypriots, the Prime Minister of Greece proposed an expansion of UNFICYP in order to give the Turkish Cypriots the feeling of security they claim to need. The response to this was that, unfortunately, United Nations peace-keeping forces had not proved capable, in the past, of effectively protecting those whom they were supposed to protect. Permit me to point out that this difficulty can be easily remedied if the neces-

sary modifications are made to the terms of the mandate of United Nations peace-keeping forces.

130. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the countries which have contributed to UNFICYP and also to the members of the Secretariat, to the officers and men of UNFICYP, who have for so long been engaged in efforts to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus.

131. The intercommunal talks have now been in progress for two and a half years. Two and a half years of effort have been devoted to finding a solution that would bring lasting peace to the region. Unfortunately, all those efforts have been in vain. If the last two and a half years have taught us anything it is that the attitude of Turkey is such as to exclude any possibility of progress towards a solution. Throughout this period, the Greek Cypriot side has had one disappointment after another, culminating in the famous Turkish Cypriot territorial proposals of 1981.

132. Everyone will recall the expectations that those proposals aroused. Everyone will recall that those proposals were presented as being positive, generous, constructive and negotiable. But when they were actually submitted, it turned out that the Turkish side had simply put in writing proposals that they had more or less already submitted in the past and that could not possibly have led to the fair result expected because, with those proposals, Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots were only making slight modifications to the line where the invasion force halted by restoring to their legitimate owners a tiny percentage of the occupied territory. None of the problems created by the invasion were resolved by those proposals—neither the sense of fairness, whereby it is unthinkable that a minority of 18 per cent should be in possession of an amount of territory double that to which it would be entitled on a population basis; nor the problem of refugees, only a tiny number of whom would have been able to return home; nor the problem of restoring to the Greek Cypriots the resources which had been taken from them following the invasion.

133. In spite of the severe disappointment created by those proposals and naturally felt by the Cypriot Government, it refrained once again from abandoning a dialogue. That dialogue had, however, proved its futility, because for long years one of the two parties had not only maintained its original positions without making the slightest concession, but had also deliberately avoided clarifying its intentions on a number of important questions. It may legitimately be asked what could be expected from such talks.

134. Another year and a half has elapsed since the Turkish Cypriots submitted their territorial proposals—another year and a half of efforts which have led nowhere in spite of the new attempt made by the former Secretary-General to promote the talks. Under the circumstances, it was inevitable and necessary that the Cypriot Government should have once again turned to the General Assembly to call for the support of the international community. That decision by the Cypriot Government enjoys the full and whole-hearted support of the Greek Government which, as the representative of a people which has close blood ties with the majority of the Cypriot people, feels that

it has a particular responsibility and obligation with regard to the problem of Cyprus.

135. Some have expressed doubts as to the appropriateness on the part of the Cypriot Government of turning to the United Nations. It has been said that this recourse can only spoil the climate of the intercommunal talks. It has been claimed that it may divert attention from the attempt to find a solution by means of dialogue. It may be that some of these comments have been made in good faith. I wonder, however, if all those who put forward these arguments really believe in them, because the dialogue has not made progress. No one would be happier than we if the contrary were true and if we could see on the horizon some likelihood of an acceptable solution. I am very much afraid that many of those who have expressed doubts about the appropriateness of having a debate in the General Assembly are simply seeking to conceal the reality of things behind such reasoning with the purpose of creating the false impression that all is happening for the best in Cyprus. This would only help to consolidate the situation which prevails today.

136. Let us be frank. The question of Cyprus remains a current problem. Although it is not going through an acute phase at the moment, it is nevertheless a threat to peace in the entire region. It is therefore necessary and urgent to find a solution, but not just any solution, because a bad solution would only give the appearance of a solution of the problem and would necessarily bear within itself the seeds of future crises which might perhaps be even more dangerous than the present crisis. The need to solve the problem of Cyprus in a just and lasting fashion becomes even more imperative if we remember the very vulnerable geographic position of Cyprus, situated as it is in a region torn by other problems.

137. The purpose of the Cypriot Government's recourse to the General Assembly has been explained by my colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Rolandis [116th meeting]. The goal of the Greek Government is that the international community should give the Cypriot Government the solidarity it needs to ensure that the other party is prevailed upon to show the constructive attitude necessary for the intercommunal talks at last to succeed and the problem of Cyprus to be solved.

138. What the Cypriot Government wants is very simple. It is not looking for artificial solutions unknown in international life; it is asking only for what has been applied successfully in all the States of the world. It is asking for what has been recognized as the right of all the countries in the world—a solution which will guarantee the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus and provide for the application of the democratic principles recognized by the entire international community in all the areas of the State structure of the Republic of Cyprus, both horizontally and vertically.

139. The Greek Government whole-heartedly and unreservedly endorses those objectives of the Government of Cyprus. Cyprus is a small State. That is why it needs the solidarity of the United Nations much more than States which are capable of tackling alone the difficulties created for them by other countries.

It would be tragic if we were to leave Cyprus without assistance. It would be tragic if we were not to give it the moral support which is indispensable in the difficult circumstances which it is facing.

140. The purpose of my intervention in this debate is to express the whole-hearted support of my Government for the draft resolution submitted by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries [A/37/L.63]. I am convinced that it is a draft resolution in favour of which every State represented here can vote without hesitation. The draft resolution asks only things which should be granted automatically to any country in the world, and the position should be no different for Cyprus. The draft resolution is neither hostile nor vengeful. It merely reiterates fundamental principles which have been put into effect everywhere and which, as has been stressed in the past, are indispensable in the case of Cyprus. It sets out a situation of fact which cannot be challenged by any observer of good faith. Finally, it recommends certain ideas which we are convinced are constructive and will help to bring about the attainment of the common goal of finding a solution for the Cypriot problem.

141. I should like to stress one particular point in the draft resolution—that concerning the initiative of the Secretary-General. I think that we should all be pleased that the Secretary-General is ready to take a personal initiative on the subject of Cyprus. His well-known interest in Cyprus and his profound knowledge of the problem undoubtedly constitute particularly encouraging factors. We especially appreciate his intention to take an initiative, and we support his efforts. We hope that those efforts will be successful. His personality and his profound knowledge of the problem are encouraging elements which should make us optimistic about the success of his efforts. We can only hope that this time the Turkish side will give up its determinedly negative attitude and make its contribution to this new attempt so as to bring closer the solution that we all desire. I should like to be even more optimistic but I cannot conceal a doubt, a doubt which is caused solely by the disappointments of the past. However, the Greek Government will sincerely support the initiative which the Secretary-General is ready, as he has said, to undertake.

142. I do not wish to weary my audience. The facts are well known; the decision to be taken is a simple one. I simply wish to stress the following. It may well be that today we have a last chance to solve, or at least to promote a solution of, the question of Cyprus. We cannot believe, and we must not delude ourselves, that the present situation can continue indefinitely. No one can require the Cypriot Government to consider itself bound by a procedure which not only is sterile and empty of content but also entails serious long-term dangers for the interests of the Republic of Cyprus. The draft resolution includes the idea of rejecting *faits accomplis*. Time is passing and the *faits accomplis* are being consolidated. A development of this kind would be unfortunate for Cyprus, unfortunate for the region of which Cyprus is a part and unfortunate also for world peace. Today we have an opportunity to promote a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus. We must not fail to seize it.

143. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since the tragic events

of 1974, France has constantly defended the cause of right and justice and spoken in favour of a spirit of dialogue and tolerance. It has followed closely and taken part in every effort to reach a settlement. This must necessarily be based on respect for the sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. It necessarily involves the withdrawal of the foreign forces of occupation, whose intervention was condemned by France at the time. It also involves restoring a climate of trust which will enable the two communities on the island—to which France offers its sympathy—to prepare for negotiations involving concessions on both sides.

144. There is a framework for negotiations: the inter-communal talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Noting the progress—obviously both too slow and too limited—that has been made in those talks, France would like to see them develop further and lead to a balanced settlement which would respect the legitimate needs and aspirations of both communities.

145. Tribute must be paid to the Secretary-General for what he is doing personally and through his Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi. France will study sympathetically the initiatives that the Secretary-General deems fit to take under the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council. Similarly, we welcome the action of the officers and men of UNFICYP.

146. One particular aspect of the Cyprus problem is of concern to the French authorities: that of the missing persons. No effort must be spared to promote the success of the work of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus in dealing with this painful problem.

147. France, moreover, deplors the adoption of any measure liable to widen the gap between the two communities.

148. Time presses, and it is in the interest of both communities of Cyprus to draw up promptly the main lines of a settlement which would bring about the necessary reconciliation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Lack of such a settlement, which the parties concerned and the international community earnestly desire, would lead to a long freeze in this problem that would limit the possibilities of reconciliation and alienate those two communities whose historic destiny decrees that they live together.

149. The nine years since 1974 have unfortunately widened the gap between the two parties, and no further pointless delay should be added. France urges all the parties concerned to act with resolution and good faith to find a settlement.

150. Mr. FREYBERG (Poland): Since 1954, when the question of Cyprus was first brought before the United Nations, the Cyprus file in the Organization has grown very considerably. New pages were added to it almost every year, even after the island Republic attained its hard-won independence in 1960, with new additions becoming ever more numerous after the ominous events of the summer of 1974.

151. I am sure that everybody present in this Hall would agree that the time is long overdue for finding a solution that would finally bring lasting peace, stability and justice to the long-suffering people of Cyprus.

152. But our concern over the existing situation does not stem only from this consideration, although it alone would have sufficed to justify our position. We are equally concerned that this serious international issue, a grave source of tension in our already much too tense world, posing as it does a threat to international peace, is allowed to continue to exist in spite of more than two score United Nations resolutions—some of them unanimous—calling for its speedy solution.

153. As we have stated on many occasions in the past and, in particular, when the Delegation of Poland took the floor on this item during the previous sessions of the General Assembly, we are deeply convinced that the action of paramount importance for achieving a prompt solution of the Cyprus problem is the urgent, comprehensive and effective implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which, in our opinion, contain all the ingredients necessary for such a solution. The implementation of those resolutions is also necessary to prevent further erosion of the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations.

154. We share the opinion of those who, like the Secretary-General, to quote from para. 58 of his report of 1 December 1982,⁷ believe that the intercommunal talks “still represent the best available means of pursuing a concrete and effective negotiating process with the object of achieving an agreed, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question”.

155. On the basis of the latest report of the Secretary-General [A/37/805 and Corr.1], we hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General will give fresh impetus to that negotiating process.

156. It is in the same spirit that we have supported the call of the General Assembly—as contained in resolution 34/30, of 20 November 1979—“for the urgent resumption in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner of the negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General between the representatives of the two communities, to be conducted freely on an equal footing on the basis of the agreement of 19 May 1979, with a view to reaching, as early as possible, a mutually acceptable agreement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights”.

157. Similarly, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, while noting with concern the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks, at the same time “expressed the hope that they would be carried out meaningfully and constructively so as to lead to a speedy, mutually acceptable solution of the problem, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, starting with General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), the decisions and declarations of the Non-Aligned Movement, which it reaffirmed, and the High-Level Agreements of 12 February 1977 and of 19 May 1979”.⁶

158. We are convinced that, given the necessary political will, it would be possible without delay to elaborate, within this framework, the internal constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus, acceptable to all those concerned. Our conviction is strengthened by the firm belief that it is not the difference of language, culture or religion of the two Cyprus

communities that is the real root cause of the Cyprus problem as some would want us to believe.

159. The question of Cyprus, besides its very complex internal issues, has also, as is well known, some equally important and even more alarming external aspects. It also raises the problem of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

160. It is precisely because of those aspects that the General Assembly, in resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted on 1 November 1974, called upon all States “to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus” and, in resolution 34/30, of 20 November 1979, called once again for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs, demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from Cyprus and welcomed the proposal of President Kyprianou for the total demilitarization of Cyprus.

161. Based upon the principles and practical measures I have mentioned, we wish to lend our support to the draft resolution [A/37/L.63] submitted by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries. We are doing so because that draft takes into account all relevant United Nations resolutions and declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and, in particular, calls for intercommunal talks conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Furthermore, it affirms the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective control over the entire territory of the island and its natural and other resources.

162. Finally, we would like to stress that *de facto* situations created by force are inadmissible and should in no way affect the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

163. In our opinion, adoption of the draft resolution would create the basis for result-oriented negotiations between the representatives of the two communities and thus contribute to a just and lasting solution of the whole problem.

164. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): It is now over three years since the General Assembly considered the question of Cyprus. During this period, intensive efforts have been undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, to bring the positions of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities closer together. The intercommunal talks have also produced results in certain limited areas. A final comprehensive solution of the problem has, however, remained elusive. We continue to face a situation that not only affects the peace and stability of Cyprus but also has far-reaching consequences for the security of the whole sensitive Mediterranean region.

165. The necessary elements on which any comprehensive and just solution of the Cyprus question will have to be based were outlined in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and have most recently been reiterated in the political declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.⁴ They include respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cy-

prus and for its policy of non-alignment, and the demand for immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. Those principles are supported by a wide international consensus, in which Austria joins.

166. In Austria's opinion, the intercommunal talks are still the best available means to obtain an agreed, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, and we fully support the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. As we learned from the Secretary-General's report of 1 December 1982 to the Security Council,⁷ the interlocutors have completed discussion of the constitutional aspect and have begun discussion of the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem on the basis of Mr. Gobbi's "evaluation" paper. Austria is firmly convinced that those efforts will have to be continued at an accelerated pace and with greater determination and stronger political will on the part of all parties.

167. We welcome the declared intention of the Secretary-General to seek in the future a stronger personal involvement in the Cyprus negotiating process, and we are confident that his long personal experience of this problem will help in tackling the unresolved issues; but, as the Secretary-General himself has stated in his report on the work of the Organization, the adoption of a resolution and the good offices of the Secretary-General can serve only as a springboard for government action [see A/37/1, p. 3]. Concerted diplomatic efforts and the political will of the Governments involved are the essential complement to bring a mediation effort to fruition.

168. As one of the countries contributing substantially to UNFICYP by putting troops and police force and hospital personnel at the disposal of the United Nations, Austria has translated its concern over the prevailing situation in Cyprus into concrete action, and a number of Austrian soldiers have given their lives in fulfilment of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations on the island. Our participation in UNFICYP is a commitment which we are ready to continue for the maintenance of international peace and security. We cannot, however, hide our profound dissatisfaction with the present financing modalities of UNFICYP, nor can we ignore the huge budgetary deficit which has accumulated over the years. We therefore strongly

reiterate what we have stated on various other occasions—namely, that peace-keeping operations are a collective responsibility of the international community and that new ways and means must be found for a more equal sharing of the financial burdens arising from those operations.

169. Furthermore, the presence of a peace-keeping force creates an obligation for the parties to a dispute to make use of its stabilizing and calming effects in a determined search for a political settlement. A peace-keeping operation does not create a *status quo* which can be prolonged indefinitely.

170. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize once again that in Austria's view the best way to re-establish the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is through the continuation of the diplomatic efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and his collaborators to bring together the two communities. Time is of great importance, because the longer the problem remains unresolved the deeper the division between the two communities will grow and the more embittered relations will become. We hope that this will be borne in mind by the parties to the conflict when the negotiations are resumed.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

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

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

³ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁴ A/38/132, annex.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. I, paras. 128-130.

⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 131.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15502 and Add.1.

⁸ A/36/702.

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex, sect. IV.