



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 37

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

1. Mr. M'TESA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation is gratified to see you continuing to preside over this resumed session of the General Assembly with renewed dedication and commitment to the search for solutions to the issues before us. We extend our heartiest congratulations to you on your illustrious leadership and renew our pledge to co-operate with you as you so expeditiously discharge your onerous responsibilities.

2. My delegation further wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General, whose call of duty has taken him to many corners of the globe during the first quarter of this year in his relentless pursuit of international peace and security. We commend his sterling leadership and determination to carry out his mandate to the fullest extent.

3. The question of Cyprus has persistently been on the world agenda ever since the unfortunate events of 1974. However, this persistence of the issue does not in any way reflect any lack of solutions to the problem. On the contrary, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have defined and constantly reiterated the various ways and means of resolving the Cyprus issue.

4. Essentially, Cyprus is under foreign occupation, and all the problems that it faces today emanate from that foreign occupation. In order to arrest the problems, Cyprus must be assisted in restoring its full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment, which are currently being seriously compromised by foreign occupation. There should be complete demilitarization of the island through an unconditional withdrawal of the foreign troops of occupation. There should be voluntary return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

5. Furthermore, the fate of the 2,000 or so missing persons following the events of 1974 is as sensitive a matter as it is emotive. It has created unceasing anguish in many Cypriot families, an anguish that will not diminish until the problem is resolved. The issue of tracing and accounting for the fate of missing persons, therefore, needs to be addressed with minimum delay. Its speedy solution would constitute a measure of far-reaching import in terms of confidence-building and cannot, therefore, be over-emphasized.

6. Since 1974, Cyprus has experienced neither internal cohesion nor internal peace and security. None of the efforts designed to resolve the issues has been crowned with success. This lack of progress has been all the more disturbing since we fervently believed in 1979, as did many others assembled in this body, that an interim period should be accorded to the interlocutors in which to negotiate the peaceful resolution of the Cyprus question. During that interim period, consideration of the question of Cyprus was deferred at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly. But, unfortunately, the optimism associated with the belief in a successful negotiation during that interim period did not generate any progress. This lack of progress has created the need to seek once again the avenue of the General Assembly in which to debate the issue.

7. The fact that the question of Cyprus is being discussed at this session is indicative of the trust that the people of Cyprus have in what the United Nations can do in terms of bringing an end to the crisis in that country. In this regard, we commend the peace-keeping role that has been performed by UNFICYP in Cyprus. We are also encouraged by the revelation that discussions have already taken place between the Secretary-General and President Kyprianou of Cyprus regarding the personal involvement of the Secretary-General in the settlement of this problem. We hope that all parties concerned will find it prudent to accept the Secretary-General's good offices in the matter. We also hope that such involvement will be crowned with success in terms of re-creating and sustaining momentum for the negotiation process.

8. One important medium in the search for an equitable, just and durable solution to the Cyprus debacle is none other than the intercommunal talks. In this regard, Zambia has been encouraged by the resumption of those talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We still have great confidence that much can be achieved through those intercommunal talks since they are one of the areas through which negotiations could be effected. The alternative to the talks, if indeed it may be termed such, is continuing conflict, which has led to the polarization of positions and the resultant stalemate.

9. We therefore appeal to the two Cypriot communities to reconcile their differences with a view to living as one heterogeneous nation of Cypriots again. They cannot afford to tamper with their fate, which has decreed two Cypriot communities. It is for this reason that we support those constitutional proposals concerning the restoration of Cyprus as a unified, harmonious and non-aligned State.

10. Finally, I wish to reiterate Zambia's full solidarity and support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus in their noble struggle to

rid themselves of foreign occupation, and also to reaffirm Zambia's respect for their country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status.

11. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): It is a pleasure, Sir, to see you once more presiding over our deliberations on a question of importance to peace and security.

12. Almost a decade has now elapsed since the political independence of Cyprus and the potential unity of all its people were dealt a deadly blow by the events of 1974. Today, the bleeding scars from the wound are far from healed. Sadly but undeniably, 30,000 foreign troops still parade over 37 per cent of Cypriot soil, a cruelly visible reminder of the use of foreign force, a prop for the division of the island and a drain on its resources.

13. Instead of serious efforts to restore unity, attempts continue to be made to perpetuate division. Thus, the beautiful island of Cyprus is denied the peace and progress in unity that all its people so richly deserve. In addition, the tension within the island casts a long shadow on relations between the countries closest to Cyprus and in the Mediterranean region, of which all those countries form a part.

14. The delegation of Malta has expressed itself in detail on the question of Cyprus in the past. Our considered point of view is therefore on record, and we do not wish on this occasion to repeat details we have already stated but only to highlight what we believe to be a few of the more important elements of the question which need to be recalled and on which remedial action deserves priority.

15. From the perspective of a small sister island in the Mediterranean which shares Cyprus's aspirations to peace and friendship, we must state once more publicly our acute concern at the present situation, after three years of silence—years during which, theoretically, solid progress should have been achieved, progress of which, unfortunately, we see barely a trace.

16. Despite years of alarmingly diminishing expectations at the United Nations, Malta remains staunch in the belief that strict adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations is the only medicine for the many maladies afflicting the world, not least among them the problem of Cyprus, victim of an armed invasion which no true believer in the Charter can condone, whatever the circumstances that may have been advanced as a pretext at the time.

17. It remains our collective responsibility to respond adequately to the need for progress, with enduring faith in the United Nations, so that the present stalemate may be overcome. It is, therefore, a positive element of fundamental importance that the Government of Cyprus continues to seek a peaceful solution through the Organization, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs reminded us again only yesterday [116th meeting].

18. The events of 1974 may have receded into the background in the mind of many of us here, overtaken perhaps by our concentration on more recent events, but this is certainly not the case for the people directly involved; nor is it the case for those who come from the area and feel the unwelcome repercus-

sions of unresolved conflict. The same concern should be felt by all those whose unyielding belief in the Charter is such that, whenever it is challenged and violated, they rightly contend that a serious wound has been inflicted upon the global body politic and, consequently, are determined to seek a remedy.

19. It is imperative, therefore, that on this occasion, after the largely unproductive outcome of three years of time and effort, this debate should not merely follow the road of previous ones. There are serious problems to be honestly faced and objectively analysed. If political debate gives the appearance that there is all the time in the world to solve problems, the human aspects of those problems are crying out for redress right now.

20. It should be evident to all that nine years is too long a time for the dispossessed and the uprooted to wait in any part of the world, not least in the formerly undivided land of Cyprus. The wounds that still fester cannot be healed simply by inaction; time in itself will not perform a miracle. We must work collectively if we are to produce a remedy. In particular, we have to build further on the foundations of hope laid by the imaginative offer made by the President of Cyprus at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [2nd meeting, para. 145] for the demilitarization of his island Republic and on the high-level agreements reached on 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979.²

21. All political problems are complex, and the Cyprus problem is certainly no exception. That complexity is, however, our challenge: it should not daunt us. A solution, though difficult, is not beyond our means. The principles for a solution have already been defined in the unanimously adopted resolutions of the Security Council, which themselves were the outcome of protracted negotiations, with the participation of all the parties concerned. Their validity has stood the test of time. They have been reaffirmed on many occasions, not only at the United Nations but also in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the Commonwealth and within the ranks of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—most recently at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.

22. The enduring roots of the Cyprus problem lie in its past history. While that history will continue to be a point of reference for future action, it would be wrong for the protagonists to assume today that the unhappy experience of the past cannot be corrected and that the future cannot but mirror the lost opportunities of the past.

23. Even the past pronouncements of leaders, including those of the wisest among them, were made in given circumstances and at a given time. They should therefore be interpreted not as timeless tenets of a political doctrine but rather as reflections of the times and the moods when they were uttered. Even less should they be quoted, frequently out of context, when recalled in efforts apparently designed to perpetuate fear and prevent progress. On the contrary, the time has come to cut the chains that in the past have hampered freedom and to look forward with hope, fortified by deeper wisdom acquired from the

same experiences, mastering them rather than becoming their helpless victims.

24. In our view, there are four main factors involved in the Cyprus question, each of which must be fully respected if a solution is to be found. The first three are that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus must be fully and truly restored. At the same time—and this is the fourth essential element—fully fledged guarantees, international if necessary, must be given to ensure equal rights to the full extent of the law for all its citizens, irrespective of origin. In such a comprehensive approach, the old, tired slogans and fears of the past will recede from memory and no longer obscure the horizon of practical politics. Respect for these four factors combined would give an added dimension to the non-alignment of Cyprus.

25. A deadlock of some years' duration exists, which the General Assembly should work assiduously to resolve by honest persuasion so as to allay the fears of all the protagonists, as we have indicated. Many influential countries close to the protagonists can make effective contributions, through the United Nations, to the achievement of the desired results. Influential persons with direct experience of the vicissitudes of the island's past history can also render valuable assistance.

26. We have to face the fact that the Cyprus problem can now no longer be brought to our attention merely through occasional exchanges of the negative notes periodically circulated by the two communities, mostly originating at the request of an illegal and unrecognized entity, while in the meantime the effects of armed invasion become more deeply entrenched. In the promotion of international peace and security, the countries of the Mediterranean, an area already unduly burdened with problems of an international character, have a particular stake and an interest in encouraging effective progress towards a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem in the shortest possible time. We all stand to benefit, none more so than the entire population of Cyprus and its immediate neighbours.

27. It is therefore all the more gratifying for my delegation to learn that, after consultations, the Secretary-General informed the President of the Republic of Cyprus that he intended to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process and to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his good offices mission. My delegation endorses this suggestion and wishes to encourage the Secretary-General in his inspiring dedication to the search for a peaceful and lasting settlement.

28. We invite the Assembly on this occasion to take unanimous action to endorse the Secretary-General's initiative. It is high time we avail ourselves of the tide of potential progress at its highest. Because of his previous experience and in the light of his present role, the Secretary-General knows the issues at first hand and is eminently qualified for a mediating role.

29. We believe that a wise course has now been embarked on. An important point of departure is that all parties concerned should have confidence in the person and in this approach; the Secretary-General needs our collective backing and support. Malta stands firmly behind this effort and will contribute in

any way it can to advance progress, if called upon to do so. We derive additional comfort from the knowledge that much preparatory groundwork has already been covered on the important constitutional aspects of the Cyprus question by the two eminently qualified interlocutors and that the atmosphere of the talks has remained co-operative and constructive.

30. There are compelling reasons which necessitate early solutions. We are starkly reminded that Cyprus is artificially divided by a line of barbed wire and minefields running right through the island. That is the most dismal sign of the malady inflicted on the island. Division has caused serious hardships and adverse economic repercussions to all, but primarily to those who had to leave their homes and their life's achievements—careers, belongings, relatives and friends—in order to flee to a safer place.

31. The problem of the refugees is the most human problem of all and particularly tragic if one is a refugee in one's own country. It is most unfortunate that procedural difficulties still persist in obstructing progress.

32. We therefore appeal once more, respectfully but firmly, to all concerned that this humanitarian aspect be given generous priority and swift positive action. An element of progress will go far towards reducing the bitterness and suspicion felt by so many for so long and will pave the way for the removal of at least one serious obstacle to progress in the national well-being of the entire people of Cyprus.

33. On this basis, my delegation will support draft resolution A/37/L.63 and trusts that it will receive virtually unanimous support.

34. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt): Mr. President, your eminent qualities and vision prompt my delegation to renew the expression of its full confidence in your ability to guide the deliberations of this resumed session of the General Assembly with the same distinction that has characterized your presidency over the work of the first part of the session.

35. The resumed session meets to pursue its deliberations on the question of Cyprus, a question that has rightly held the attention of the international community for many years but unfortunately has not as yet seen a solution that could ensure for its people a peaceful political settlement, bringing to an end an unsatisfactory *status quo*.

36. I should like to stress at the outset the particular importance the Government of Egypt continues to attach to the achievement of a just and lasting political settlement of the question of Cyprus. We have consistently felt that the basis for such a durable settlement is to be found in full respect for the independence of Cyprus, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and inviolability, its unity and its non-aligned status. This is in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which, through diligent efforts, have found expression in the agreements that served as a practical basis for intercommunal negotiations. The collective wisdom of the international community, we believe, still counsels that the best possible course is to encourage and urge the two

Cypriot communities to pursue their talks in a sustained and meaningful manner in order to achieve tangible results and attain agreed objectives that had been charted in United Nations resolutions.

37. The concern which Egypt continues to have regarding the question of Cyprus stems from many factors. Among them we would cite: first, Egypt's obvious interest, as a non-aligned and a Mediterranean country, that peace, security and stability reign in that region; secondly, Egypt's conviction of the necessity of achieving peace, real peace, for all peoples and its consistent upholding of the Charter principles, including those which call for the peaceful settlement of disputes; and thirdly, Egypt's concern for the unity, human rights and welfare of all Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike, and their right to pursue their lives and progress in peace and prosperity.

38. We therefore unhesitatingly join other delegations in expressing deep concern that, although principles and frameworks for the settlement of the question of Cyprus had been agreed upon between the highest representatives of the two communities, the progress made so far does not meet the hopes which the resumption of talks between the two communities had raised. We are now encouraged by the intention of the Secretary-General, as stated in his latest report [A/37/805 and Corr.1], to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his mission of good offices and, in particular, to make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process and to seek to encourage the parties to develop an overall synthesis covering the remaining unresolved issues.

39. Egypt will continue to seek promotion of all steps and efforts that pave the way for a meaningful dialogue and negotiation between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots aimed at the achievement of a just and, hence, durable settlement. Such a settlement can be achieved only through peaceful means and through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, which set the course for agreement between the two communities. We do not minimize the profound divergencies that exist; neither are we unmindful of the fact that a durable, satisfactory solution can be achieved only if it is based on the legitimate interests of the two communities. But we are sincerely hopeful that the will to peace will prevail and continue to sustain all concerned in genuine efforts to bring this long-drawn-out dispute to a satisfactory conclusion that will ensure unity, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status for Cyprus.

40. Mr. MARÍN BOSCH (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, we are pleased to continue working under your skilful guidance.

41. We would like, first of all, to express once again the gratitude of the delegation of Mexico to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts aimed at ensuring a constructive outcome of the intercommunal talks which have been held in the framework of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. We would also like to express our appreciation of the work accomplished by the Special

Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hugo J. Gobbi.

42. After a lapse of almost three years, the General Assembly is once again considering the question of Cyprus in its entirety, an issue, as we have already affirmed, in which many fundamental principles of international life are at stake. The United Nations has, of course, the obligation to maintain peace and security in the region. Essentially, however, what we must endeavour to guarantee is the very survival of a State, its territorial integrity and respect for the self-determination of all its citizens.

43. One of the most regrettable aspects of the events that began almost a decade ago has been the progressive isolation of each of the communities on the island. In fact, there has been a process of steady isolation of both the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot community. What is serious is the fact that, as the communities gradually lose contact with each other, the sense of nationality wanes.

44. Another deplorable consequence of the prolongation of the conflict is the number of missing persons. We wish to reiterate our concern and we urge the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances of the Commission on Human Rights to redouble its efforts in order to overcome the procedural obstacles that have created a deadlock in the humanitarian work of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus.

45. The role which at the beginning was assigned to UNFICYP has been changed. Its original task was to serve as a stimulus so that the parties would arrive at a solution of the problem, by preventing clashes between the two communities and, at the same time, facilitating contacts between them. Today, the Force has as its main task that of supervising the cease-fire lines between the Cyprus National Guard, on the one hand, and the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot forces, on the other; but the Force, whose work has always been exemplary, is also providing security for the civilians in the demilitarized zone established between the two lines, as well as discharging a series of humanitarian functions, as can be seen from the latest report of the Secretary-General.

46. The growing physical separation of the two communities and the slow pace of negotiations between them is a source of concern to the international community. The delegation of Mexico hopes that there are positive elements indicative of possible progress in the intercommunal negotiations, but, above all, we welcome the intention announced by the Secretary-General to increase his own personal involvement in order to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process and especially to encourage the parties to prepare an overall synthesis covering the remaining major unresolved issues.

47. Negotiations, on an equal footing, between the two communities offer the best course of action to find a just and lasting solution to this question. In this connection, it is highly important that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on this issue be heeded, in particular those relating to displaced persons and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island.

48. We therefore believe that any resolution adopted by the General Assembly as a result of this debate should reflect the main elements of the position supported in the past by the Assembly itself and should clearly chart the course for future negotiations, stressing the constructive role that the Secretary-General can continue to play.

49. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The General Assembly has on many occasions considered the question of Cyprus, yet no satisfactory solution has been reached so far after so many zigzags over the years, and the situation in this beautiful eastern Mediterranean island State remains unstable. Like the other third world countries, China is concerned over such a state of affairs and sympathizes with the people of Cyprus in their plight.

50. Thanks to the active mediation by the Secretary-General, the representatives of the two communities in Cyprus have resumed negotiations in the past two years and more. We highly value the persistent efforts of the people of Cyprus towards reaching a peaceful settlement of their problem through negotiations.

51. The two communities in Cyprus do have common interests. They all desire an early solution through negotiations free from super-Power interference, so that they can devote themselves to the rebuilding of their country. It is, of course, fully understandable that the people of Cyprus will still face difficulties ahead, and it will take time and efforts to cope with the complex problems left over by prolonged colonial rule. Nevertheless, we are convinced that, if only the two communities in Cyprus can set store by their overall interests and get united, and if they continue without let-up the process of earnest and patient negotiations and display a spirit of mutual accommodation, then they will surely overcome the obstacles in their way, narrow their differences and eventually arrive at a fair and mutually satisfactory solution.

52. China has always maintained that the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus should be respected. We sincerely hope that the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus will build on the progress already achieved and make renewed efforts to reach an early solution of their dispute, which will permit them to live in harmony and together build a prosperous Cyprus and contribute to stability in the eastern Mediterranean and peace in the world.

53. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The complexity and acute situation of the current international scene dictate the need for increased efforts to preserve the peace and strengthen international security in order to eliminate the existing focal points of tension and prevent the emergence of new ones and to seek a peaceful settlement of situations of conflict. As stated in the political declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, issued in Prague in 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 interfer-

ence, and to take part in international life on an equal footing; that everybody respect the independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of States, [and] observe the principle of the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force...”³

54. These generally recognized fundamental principles fully apply to the problem of Cyprus, the question which is once again before the Assembly. We must note with concern and regret that, despite the long time which has elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly and the Security Council of decisions laying down the basis for the political settlement on the island, no progress has yet been achieved towards their implementation.

55. As is well known, the General Assembly and the Security Council have constantly worked to find solutions to the Cyprus problem. As far back as 1974, the United Nations set forth its position of principle with respect to this conflict. In its resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted and subsequently endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974), the Assembly, in an authoritative manner, called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. It urged the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus, the cessation of foreign interference in its affairs and the guarantee of the return of refugees to their homes in safety.

56. At a number of subsequent sessions, the Assembly not only confirmed this decision and the principles contained therein, but also supplemented them with new, constructive provisions. In particular, resolution 34/30, adopted on 20 November 1979 by an overwhelming majority of votes, expressed support for the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979² and called for the urgent resumption of intercommunal negotiations in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner. Throughout that time, the Security Council also kept the problem of Cyprus within its purview and adopted a number of important decisions on the question.

57. Resolutions of the United Nations are in the interest of the Cypriot people and are aimed at securing the most speedy solution of this acute problem. In these conditions, one cannot fail to be seriously concerned at the fact that these decisions remain unfulfilled. The complex situation which continues on the island and in its vicinity is rightly a source of concern to those who cherish peace and international security. This concern with the fate of the Republic of Cyprus and its people was expressed 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 The Conference noted the absence of progress in the intercommunal negotiations, and called for a prompt, mutually acceptable solution to the problem in accordance with the resolutions of the Assembly, *inter alia*, resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council. The participants in the Conference reaffirmed their respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and policy of non-alignment of Cyprus and welcomed the proposal of

the President of the Republic of Cyprus for full demilitarization of the island.

58. The Soviet Union is deeply convinced that a durable and just solution of the problem of Cyprus is possible. It can be achieved on the basis of mutual understanding between the two national communities, with due account being taken of the interests of each of them and of their common interests in the preservation of the integrity, independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

59. In this context, in the Soviet Union considerable sympathy and interest have been shown in the efforts that have been made by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and the progressive, socio-political forces on the island to improve the situation there. Those efforts, however, have run into covert and overt opposition by the adversaries of a free and independent Cyprus, who are trying to complicate the ongoing dialogue and disrupt a true settlement. They are hatching plans to reach solutions which are quite remote from the aspirations and national interests of the Cypriots. The activities of these circles can only lead to the virtual continuation of the *de facto* partition of the island and turn the island into a military beach-head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the eastern Mediterranean.

60. The Soviet Union firmly supports the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and respects its policy of non-alignment. In this connection, we wish to emphasize the stable nature of Soviet-Cypriot relations, which continue to develop for the benefit of the peoples of our countries.

61. A further contribution to these good-neighbourly relations was the visit to the Soviet Union of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, in October-November 1982. That visit gave new impetus to the improvement and enhancement of co-operation between our countries. The Soviet Union advocates the prompt settlement of the Cyprus problem without military or other foreign interference, through constructive negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of the two communities, and we advocate the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the elimination of bases on Cyprus so that it can exist as a united, independent, sovereign and non-aligned State.

62. Guided by the interests of peace and international security, the Soviet Union, as is well known, has put forward a proposal, supported by the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of many other countries, for the consideration of the problem of Cyprus in a broad international forum and the convening for that purpose, within the framework of the United Nations, of a representative conference.⁵ The convening of such an international conference on Cyprus under United Nations auspices would be an important contribution to reducing the tension on the island and in the vicinity of the island and to establishing a climate of trust and co-operation. It would be a weighty factor for international détente.

63. The General Assembly can and must make its contribution to a just and durable solution of the Cyprus problem and promote the rapid implementation of the United Nations decisions on the matter. It must make its own weighty pronouncement in sup-

port of a united, independent, sovereign and non-aligned Cyprus.

64. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): It is a matter of considerable concern to the Australian Government and people that the situation on the island of Cyprus remains unresolved and that the General Assembly is called upon to consider it yet again. That troubled country deserves the peace and stability which are necessary for it to prosper and develop.

65. I am pleased to take this opportunity to emphasize again Australia's goodwill towards Cyprus and all its people and our strong support for a solution of the Cyprus dispute that takes into account the legitimate interests and concerns of both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

66. The search for such a solution has been protracted and painful, but my Government remains convinced that the intercommunal talks, conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General, using his good offices, offer the most promising avenue for a resolution of the dispute.

67. The Australian delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made in furthering the talks begun by his predecessor. We appreciate his strong personal commitment to a resolution of the problem and offer him our full support now that he has decided to extend his efforts.

68. Continuing efforts by the United Nations will be needed to assist in building up the political will necessary on both sides to facilitate the sometimes difficult decisions that have to be taken. Equally, if progress is to be made, efforts will have to be undertaken to establish confidence-building measures between the two communities.

69. The Australian Government calls for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, including General Assembly resolution 33/15, of 9 November 1978, and, more particularly, for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from the Republic of Cyprus.

70. Australia makes a modest contribution of policemen to UNFICYP, and we have a continuing commitment to its role and objectives. It is, however, a matter of some concern to my delegation that contributors to UNFICYP are being asked to bear an unreasonable financial burden because of the refusal of some countries to contribute to the upkeep of the Force, and we call on all Member States to assume their responsibilities in this regard.

71. When the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus was established in 1981, we had high expectations of it. Those expectations have not been realized. We urge that concerted and serious efforts be made to establish the fate of the missing people either through that Committee or by some other agreed mechanism.

72. We believe that, with goodwill and perseverance on all sides, progress should be possible on this complex issue, and we can assure the Assembly that Australia will extend its full support to any such programme that would bring peace and stability to the Republic of Cyprus.

73. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): The question of Cyprus has now been on the agenda of the international community for almost 20 years.

74. The conflict between the two ethnic communities on Cyprus has led to violence and killings, to uprooting of families and communities and to widespread economic and social damage. It has led the two mother countries—Greece and Turkey—to the brink of war and is still a major stumbling-block for the development of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. And as long as the Cyprus conflict remains unsolved, it is yet another potentially destabilizing factor in a corner of the world that already presents enough threats to international peace and security.

75. The costs of a continued unsolved situation in Cyprus are high, in human, economic and political terms. From a humanitarian point of view, there are still unsolved problems resulting from the Turkish invasion in 1974. The continued uncertainty about the future makes economic planning difficult on the individual, communal and national levels.

76. The United Nations also has a direct interest in a solution to the Cyprus problem. Since 1964 a United Nations peace-keeping force, originally established for a period of three months, has been deployed on the island. The continued need for keeping UNFICYP in place is a strain on the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations, on the troop-contributing countries and on other countries which are making voluntary financial contributions to UNFICYP.

77. The United Nations has also been directly involved in the efforts to find a peaceful and negotiated solution to the Cyprus problem. Both the present Secretary-General and previous Secretaries-General have made strong and personal efforts to bring the parties to the negotiating table. Constructive proposals for compromise solutions have been presented, and the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General have made numerous and continuous attempts to break the deadlock.

78. The basic elements of a peaceful solution have been identified. Such a solution will necessarily have to be based on a carefully balanced package deal, where none of the parties can expect to get a solution solely on their own terms. This package deal would have to include a withdrawal of foreign troops and a more just distribution of the territories occupied by the two communities than at present, coupled with safeguards and guarantees for the minority group which can ensure that past injustices will not be repeated.

79. Norway's policy on the Cyprus conflict is based on the following principles.

80. We support the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We recognize and fully respect its wish to stay non-aligned.

81. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to find a political and negotiated solution to the conflict: In our view, such a solution can best be found through the framework of the intercommunal talks. We have supported the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979² as a promising basis for a political solution.

82. We support the presence of UNFICYP as long as the Force is needed. We will continue to extend substantial financial contributions on a voluntary basis to UNFICYP. We strongly urge all Member States to fulfil their share of the collective responsibility under the Charter for United Nations peace-keeping operations, and we ask them to respond positively to the Secretary-General's appeal for more voluntary contributions to UNFICYP.

83. We urge the parties involved to show courage and flexibility in the negotiations to find a political solution. None of them can expect any political or economic benefits from a continued unsolved situation on Cyprus. All of them stand to gain if a compromise is found and the two communities can start planning for their joint future.

84. In conclusion, the Norwegian Government feels encouraged by the declared intention of the Secretary-General to renew his efforts to revitalize the intercommunal talks. My Government urges all parties concerned to lend their unqualified support to the Secretary-General in these efforts.

85. Mrs. CARRASCO MONJE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I would like to congratulate you most sincerely on the fact that you are once again presiding over our deliberations. I would also like to express my sincere hope that this resumed session of the General Assembly will achieve genuine progress in the task of implementing the objectives and principles for which the United Nations was created.

86. Since 1963, the United Nations, in particular the General Assembly and the Security Council, has been dealing with the question of Cyprus, a critical situation resulting from the dispute between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, in which the Governments of Greece and Turkey are also involved.

87. The Cyprus conflict is not new. It goes further back in time than the very existence of the United Nations. It is one of those cases characteristic of human nature and the survival of religious creeds.

88. The Republic of Cyprus, as a full State Member of the United Nations and a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has a right to full sovereignty without any foreign interference. None the less, and more than any other consideration, the fact that foreign troops remain, in violation of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cyprus, constitutes, in our view, a disrupting factor, under the pressure of which it is difficult for negotiations to take place on an equal footing and in a free manner.

89. At its twenty-ninth session, following the events of 1974, the General Assembly, in resolution 3212 (XXIX), affirmed the basic principles of respect of States for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and the obligation to refrain from any interference in its affairs. That resolution represents a valid frame of reference for the solution of the problem of Cyprus. It is precisely that framework that must be preserved, because any change may give rise to new factors that can render the implementation of those principles more difficult.

90. We would like to commend the contacts and negotiations conducted since that time, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, between the representatives of the two communities, in order freely to achieve a mutually acceptable political settlement.

91. The report of the Secretary-General [A/37/805 and Corr.1] describes a situation which cannot be sidestepped, namely, that the solutions for a just and lasting peace must be negotiated between the two communities on bases satisfactory to both of them. Any attempt by one party to impose its view on the other, far from contributing positively to the situation, would only widen the gap between the parties and prolong indefinitely the lack of communication.

92. At the Assembly's tenth special session, President Kyprianou solemnly declared the will of the Government of Cyprus totally to demilitarize the country [2nd meeting, para. 145], to disarm the inhabitants of the island and to give complete security to the Cypriot people. This is a very important declaration.

93. Since both communities have coexisted for centuries within the same habitat, we believe that, even with their differences, it should not be difficult to find a point of agreement to overcome the present difficulties and make it possible for them to live in peace. Because of this, it is in every way necessary that an end be put to all foreign interference and that the essential bases of agreement be established, as contained in draft resolution A/37/L.63, which we shall support.

94. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to greet you and to say how pleased the Dominican delegation is at seeing you presiding once more over our work. Your very presence is a guarantee that our work will be carried out with the moderation and wisdom which are one of your prime attributes.

95. The delegation of the Dominican Republic has come to this resumed session to restate its firm position on the subject of Cyprus.

96. First of all, the delegation of the Dominican Republic reiterates its full solidarity with and support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus. We also wish to place on record our profound concern at the fact that, despite the time that has elapsed, part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus remains under foreign occupation. That situation clearly does nothing to bring about an atmosphere favourable to the solution of the problem of Cyprus. Accordingly, my delegation feels that the prime condition for any solution to the problem is the withdrawal of all the occupation forces.

97. As for the situation of the refugees, we consider that it is desirable that they should be able to return voluntarily to their homes, with all due respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots.

98. I also wish to point out that we oppose any policy designed to alter the demographic structure of Cyprus.

99. We further believe that the *de facto* situation brought about by force of arms and unilateral measures must not influence the solution of the problem.

This principle, which should be shared by all States interested in the quest for a just solution, must predominate in any negotiations and efforts towards a solution which may take place.

100. We wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the Secretary-General for his valuable efforts to bring about an understanding and a solution of the problem. We believe that the Secretary-General should continue to provide his valuable co-operation for the cause of peace.

101. My delegation also wishes to state that it supports draft resolution A/37/L.63. We believe that the draft resolution is an objective expression of the true dimension of the problem and provides the basis and the measures for its solution, which we consider appropriate, constructive and, above all, just.

102. Lastly, the delegation of the Dominican Republic considers that the solution of the problem should be found within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

103. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador expresses its best wishes to you Mr. President, as you once again assume the presidency of this resumed session of the General Assembly. Your experience, skills and prestige guarantee that the work of this session will be successful.

104. The problem being considered today in the Assembly is of serious concern to Ecuador because it involves principles which are at the very foundation of Ecuador's international policy—principles strictly and consistently maintained, for whose respect and observance Ecuador has spoken in different forums of regional and world bodies.

105. Those principles are, in particular, those of the sovereign equality of States, rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations, non-recognition of territorial conquest achieved through the use of force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. A corollary of those positions is our continued support for any action by the international community aimed at achieving the withdrawal of foreign forces from territories that do not belong to them. Ecuador, in listing the cases in which such a withdrawal is required during debates in the United Nations, has always cited the case of Cyprus among the others, such as Namibia and Lebanon, that exist in other parts of the world.

106. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a large number of resolutions on this question aimed at achieving a just and lasting solution not only for the benefit of the Cypriot people but also to eliminate the conflict which involves imminent danger for the peace and security of the eastern Mediterranean. But, unfortunately, those resolutions have not been implemented, and this is precisely why the violation of the sovereign rights of a State Member of the United Nations has continued. My country believes that until certain prerequisites are met, this crisis, which so seriously affects the Cypriot population, will go on. These prerequisites include respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, the immediate withdrawal of any foreign military presence on the island and non-interference in the internal affairs of that State, as this

is the only way of achieving an understanding on equal terms between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the United Nations, from which a peaceful settlement to the problem can emerge guaranteeing the well-being and harmonious coexistence of those communities.

107. It has been encouraging for my delegation to note, as is indicated in the report of the Secretary-General, that the intercommunal talks are taking place in a constructive and co-operative atmosphere. It would therefore be desirable, as regards the points of divergence identified, especially in connection with freedom of movement and settlement and the titles to property, that as soon as possible agreements that are viable and acceptable to the parties directly concerned should be reached in order to speed up the process of negotiations and arrive at positive results. It would be highly regrettable if the broad field of common interest that may exist were to be jeopardized by disagreement on a few issues, however complicated those may be considered. What is needed is progress in those talks at a high level. A stationary situation, without any progress, is dangerous because the problem then tends to be perpetuated and the occupier might even allege that this constitutes acceptance of the *status quo*.

108. The Republic of Cyprus, a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has enjoyed the total support of the Movement, which has enunciated its position in this connection in many of its documents. Thus, recently, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, reiterated its full solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus and reaffirmed its respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of that State.

109. Since 1960, when the Republic of Cyprus was created, Ecuador, also a democratic country, has expressed its solidarity with it. The report of the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, of 26 March 1965,⁶ pointed out the criteria, fully shared by Ecuador, that a solution should be found to the Cypriot problem based on justice and on the interests of the inhabitants of that friendly country as a result of talks between the two communities that constitute the population of the island, without the pressure of foreign intervention and under the auspices of the United Nations. There can be no free discussions on the destiny of a people, even where different communities are concerned, while foreign troops are present on the territory.

110. Ecuador will resolutely support any draft resolution based on the above-mentioned principles, as it has done in keeping with the clear and well-defined position that it has maintained and continues to maintain on the problem of Cyprus.

111. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to commend the intelligent and tireless work of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, in the search for a solution to this problem.

112. I also wish to underscore the significant role which has been played by UNFICYP for almost 20 years, not only in maintaining tranquillity in the

island, but also by its participation in humanitarian work, such as the transfer of Greek Cypriots from the northern to the southern part of the island. We also extend our praise and appreciation to the countries that are able to contribute to the maintenance of that Force.

113. Lastly, we wish to appeal to the countries concerned with this problem to comply faithfully with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, especially General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), adopted unanimously and endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974), and other subsequent resolutions of both bodies, which contain the basis for a solution to the question of Cyprus. It is essential to achieve the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the island because otherwise there can be no success for the efforts that the community of nations have undertaken aimed at achieving a solution based strictly on the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, provisions that States in a free and sovereign way pledge to heed when they become Members of the Organization.

114. Mr. CHIKETA (Zimbabwe): As the current session of the General Assembly draws to its concluding stages, allow me to pay you a very richly deserved tribute, Mr. President, for the admirable manner in which you have presided over its business.

115. The question of Cyprus has been brought before this resumed session of the Assembly for a number of reasons, among which are: the Assembly's concern at the continued illegal military occupation of a large part of the Republic of Cyprus by a foreign Power; the international community's concern at the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks and the failure to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus; concern for the credibility of the United Nations, whose authority is being eroded and undermined by the defiance of a Member State; and concern at the degree and extent of Turkey's lack of respect for international law. The international community is also gravely concerned about the violations of human rights by Turkey in the occupied areas.

116. The delegation of Zimbabwe shares the concern of previous speakers that it is now almost nine years since Turkey invaded and occupied a large part of Cyprus. Those nine years have been characterized by countless violations of the human rights of the people of Cyprus, and the economy of Cyprus has been adversely affected by this foreign occupation. These have been years of defiance by Turkey of the international community's demands.

117. The Assembly must condemn the actions and attitude of Turkey and its insensitivity to the suffering of the people of Cyprus, as displayed during the intercommunal negotiations. Zimbabwe cannot accept any attempt to legalize what is illegitimate.

118. The Government of Zimbabwe believes in the inviolability and sacredness of internationally recognized national borders and firmly supports strict observance of, and respect for, the principles of the territorial integrity and sovereign independence of Member States as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We are, therefore, deeply concerned at the threat to Cyprus's sovereign independence,

territorial integrity and national unity. We are opposed to and reject the direct or indirect use or threat of force by any Power as a means of solving international disputes. We therefore call for immediate compliance by Turkey with United Nations resolutions and the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as the best means of restoring peace, harmony and co-operation among all Cypriots, whatever their origin.

119. Finally, the Government of Zimbabwe fully supports the call for the total demilitarization of Cyprus, as proposed by that country's President at the Assembly's tenth special session [*ibid.*], since we are confident that, left to themselves, the people of Cyprus will be able to find solutions to their own problems. We wish, however, to call upon the United Nations to take all the necessary measures to ensure Cyprus's non-aligned status, sovereign independence and territorial integrity against external threats and aggression.

120. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Syrian Arab Republic has the greatest hopes for a comprehensive and just solution of the problem of Cyprus. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, in reviewing questions of international importance, stated:

"A neighbour country of ours, Cyprus, is still suffering from the fact that it is the victim of a partition, which has caused severe hardship to thousands of its citizens. We favour a peaceful solution which would restore the unity of Cyprus and enable its people to regain their national unity and complete independence and to live in peace in their island, in co-operation with their neighbours, while maintaining the non-aligned status of their country. We favour negotiations between representatives of the two Cypriot communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in accordance with United Nations resolutions."

121. The interest consistently shown by the Syrian Arab Republic in the question of Cyprus, whether within the framework of the United Nations or outside the Organization, derives from its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to the objectives of the principle of non-alignment. That interest is also explained by the fears of the Syrian Arab Republic that prolongation of the conflict might give rise to heightened tension in the region of the eastern Mediterranean.

122. The strategic geographic location of the island of Cyprus and its proximity to the shores of the Syrian Arab Republic underline the anxiety that we feel particularly in Syria and in the region generally.

123. It should be remembered that, more than once in the past, military bases on Cyprus have been used for the dispatch of aircraft and ships for invasion and aggression against the Arab homeland, as was the case in 1956 and 1967. The Arab people have the highest esteem for the people of Cyprus and will never forget the opposition of both communities to the continued use of the territory of Cyprus as a

point of departure for aggression against the Arab countries.

124. The situation in the eastern Mediterranean has grown worse because of the strategic coalition between the United States and Israel and because of Israeli aggression against Lebanon, a fraternal country. And now we see United States and Israeli naval and air forces acting as if they were the lords of the sea and the air in this region. There is no doubt that the build-up of the Sixth Fleet in the region will inevitably lead to a steady deterioration in the security of the eastern Mediterranean.

125. In the light of this fact and of all these considerations, we see a clear link between the security of the Arab countries and the security, sovereignty and non-alignment of Cyprus. The close interrelationship between the security conditions existing in the region and in the Mediterranean is going to have an impact on international peace and security whenever tension rises in our region. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic therefore wishes to reiterate its concern at the failure to reach an agreement on the solution of the question of Cyprus pursuant to United Nations resolutions. When we review the successive reports of the Secretary-General, including the latest one dated 6 May 1983 concerning his good offices [*A/37/805 and Corr.1*], it seems evident to us that the talks have sometimes been continued and sometimes been interrupted. In any case, the situation in Cyprus remains unchanged and little progress has been made in the substantive negotiations. The areas of disagreement clearly outweigh those of agreement.

126. The resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly since 1974 have provided a unanimously acceptable basis which could serve as a framework for the solution of the question of Cyprus. By way of example, let me refer to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). The international community, and particularly the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, have placed great hopes in this fair and comprehensive resolution which includes the principle of negotiations between the two communities in the context of the concept of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and of the withdrawal of foreign forces and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

127. However, despite the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, starting with resolution 3212 (XXIX) and the two high-level agreements of 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979², negotiations between the two communities have hardly made any progress commensurate with the hopes which have been expressed.

128. We again call upon the two parties to the negotiations to do their utmost to speed up the solution of the dispute in the light of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the two high-level agreements.

129. Resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974), and other resolutions constitute the corner-stone of a just and lasting solution to the question of Cyprus.

130. All of these resolutions have embodied internationally recognized and agreed principles and

positions. There are three essential factors in these resolutions without which, in our view, a just and lasting solution to the conflict is impossible. The first of these is the principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus and of non-interference in its internal affairs. Clearly, this means, as these resolutions have stated, that all foreign troops have to be withdrawn and that the foreign military presence has to be brought to an end. Secondly, the constitutional régime of the Republic of Cyprus concerns only the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. That is why the General Assembly has always encouraged and welcomed any negotiations and contacts carried out on an equal footing, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, in order to bring about a political solution accepted by the two communities and based on their fundamental and legitimate rights, with no foreign interference whatsoever. The third factor concerns the return of all refugees to their homes: this is clearly an essential factor in the solution of the conflict.

131. We shall refrain from comment on the details of the negotiations or on the constitutional, regional, economic and social difficulties which impede solutions based on the concepts set forth in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. However, it is my delegation's duty to emphasize the dangers inherent in the prolongation or extension of this conflict, since the essential basis for international relations confirms that a *fait accompli*, however prolonged, is no way to resolve a dispute and that delaying the solution of the problems is fraught with dangers of an explosion which would inevitably extend beyond the region and the conflict would spread, thus posing a threat to international peace and security.

132. My delegation would again like to emphasize the need for even greater international efforts to encourage the parties involved—that is, the two communities in Cyprus—to speed up the resumption of negotiations between them, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on a basis acceptable to both parties and in a constructive manner, so that those negotiations may take place on an equal footing and in an atmosphere of freedom and on the basis of specific and comprehensive proposals made by the two parties, in order to reach agreements which would guarantee their essential and legitimate rights. Such negotiations must take place with due respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

133. We very much hope that the Secretary-General will be able to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process, as he states in his report [*ibid.*]. We trust that he will be able to encourage the two parties to devise a global formula covering the remaining issues. However, it is a matter of great regret for us that the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus has been unable to carry out its work despite its untiring efforts, as noted by the Secretary-General in his report.

134. Let me conclude by saying that there is a need for an atmosphere of mutual trust to dispel any distrust that may exist between the two communities, an atmosphere free from foreign interference whatever its purpose may be, so that the genuine trust,

brotherhood and goodwill which have historically existed between them may be restored and may prevail over all other considerations.

135. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The importance that Costa Rica has always attached to the question of Cyprus stems from its solidarity with that small and exemplary country and from its position of principle as a signatory of Charter of the United Nations. We concur in what was stated before this Assembly, at the thirty-third session, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Nicos Rolandis:

“Cyprus is one of the smallest countries in the world, but the pursuit of virtue has nothing to do with size. There is an equal moral value in a position of principle taken by a single individual as in that taken by the biggest nation in the world. For every Cypriot living on this planet, there are 7,000 people of other nationalities. Yet we feel that our voice can be heard loud and clear in this Assembly, as long as we stay on the side of justice.” [*45th meeting, para. 6.*]

Those words remain fully valid today.

136. Costa Rica has not had, in the course of its independent existence, the painful experience of being occupied by a foreign force, nor has it undergone the traumas which that produces in the character and spirit of the people. Small and unarmed, Costa Rica understands the importance of the adherence by the States Members of the United Nations to the principles of the Charter, of which it is a signatory, particularly those that relate to respect for the integrity and sovereignty of States, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes between them.

137. The situation of Cyprus is in fact confirmation of what the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, has said about the behaviour of certain States: “Governments that believe they can win an international objective by force are often quite ready to do so, and domestic opinion not infrequently applauds such a course” [*A/37/1, p. 1*].

138. Today, almost a decade after the beginning of that grave situation, the effectiveness and prestige of the United Nations in its efforts to induce States to contribute to improving the world in which we must live are once again put to the test.

139. My delegation has supported the quest for a peaceful solution to the question of Cyprus. It supported General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and intervention directed against it. As a member of the Security Council in that year, we also resolutely supported Security Council resolution 365 (1974), in which the Council endorsed Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX).

140. Costa Rica, in human solidarity, has supported the different initiatives taken in connection with the tragedy of missing persons in Cyprus, including co-sponsoring the draft resolution which became resolution 37/181. In this connection, my delegation is concerned by the statement in the Secretary-General's

report that the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus has not been able to make progress in the discharge of its responsibilities.

141. We therefore support draft resolution A/37/L.63, which highlights the steps that have been taken since the adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX) with a view to finding a solution to this serious problem which persists without any prospect of settlement because of the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks and because of unilateral measures taken to change the demographic structure of Cyprus or to present *faits accomplis*.

142. My country reaffirms, as does the draft resolution, the need for the question of Cyprus to be settled without further delay by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. As a peace-loving country which rejects the use of force, a country which has no army, we emphasize the importance of paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, which welcomes the proposal for total demilitarization of the island made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus. For the same reason, we attach special importance to paragraph 12, which states that the *de facto* situation created by the force of arms should not be allowed to influence or in any way affect the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

143. My Government hopes that the adoption of this draft resolution will have favourable results, so richly deserved by the Cypriot people, and that a renewed mandate will be given to the Secretary-General so that, in accordance with his expressed intention, he may continue to promote a just and lasting solution to the grave situation which has for so many years preoccupied the international community.

144. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Mr. President, I wish first of all to take this opportunity to congratulate you on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation, as well as on my own behalf, for the commendable manner in which you have conducted the work of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your able and proven leadership the current resumed session will achieve fruitful and constructive results.

145. After a period of a little over three years, the Assembly is again considering the Cyprus question, and we have before us the report of the Secretary-General.

146. May I also take this opportunity to offer our sincere felicitations to the Secretary-General for the dedication and perseverance that he has displayed in promoting progress under very difficult conditions, indeed. We are gratified to note from his report that he intends to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his mission of good offices.

147. I would also like to convey our deep appreciation to the distinguished members of the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries for their untiring efforts and ceaseless endeavour.

148. Bangladesh's position on the Cyprus question has been firm and unequivocal. We have consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. We are acutely conscious of the genesis of the present problem and hence have always advocated an early,

amicable settlement of the Cyprus question which would allow the Turkish and the Greek communities in Cyprus to live in safety, dignity and honour.

149. Bangladesh firmly maintains that no solution of the problem can be lasting unless it takes into account the legitimate aspirations and wishes of both the communities of Cyprus. Given the situation, it has been our confirmed belief that the only realistic options open to the General Assembly in the search for a solution are the continued encouragement of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities in accordance with the high-level agreements they themselves reached on 12 February 1977¹ and 19 May 1979². Those agreements, aiming at the establishment of an independent, bi-communal and non-aligned Federal Republic of Cyprus, with full territorial integrity, have been welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the world community.

150. It is unfortunate that the intercommunal talks have not so far made much progress. In his statement to the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, the head of our Government, Lt. Gen. Ershad stated:

“We note with deep regret that the intercommunal talks between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities have made little progress so far. We would urge both the communities to engage in meaningful discussions and apply themselves seriously to the aim of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement which would enable them to live in honour and dignity within the framework of a federated Cyprus where the rights of both the communities are fully protected.”

151. Our position on this issue fully conforms with the views expressed by the Secretary-General, most recently in his report of 1 December 1982 to the Security Council⁷, in which he stated 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.

152. Taking into consideration the delicate nature of the negotiations between the two communities, it would have been more prudent not to have had the question of Cyprus discussed at the current resumed session of the General Assembly. However, as the matter is before us for consideration and a draft resolution on this issue has been submitted, we have to express our views on it. We find that draft resolution A/37/L.63 is not a balanced one, as it does not fully take into consideration the situation that Cyprus found itself in before 1974. It was then on the point of losing its independence and its non-aligned character, which would most seriously have placed the Turkish Cypriot community in perpetual subjugation.

153. We are convinced that a just solution which ensures the determination of the rights and aspirations of the two communities on an equal footing must be found for ensuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We should emphasize the importance of the communal talks and support the efforts that the Secretary-General is making in this

regard. All other factors are of secondary consideration and should not have been reflected in the draft resolution. These only reflect the position of one side to the dispute and are likely to exacerbate feelings rather than produce an atmosphere of harmony, cordiality and a sense of unity and understanding between them.

154. We therefore firmly believe that it is the duty of the General Assembly to regenerate the momentum towards an agreed solution by building on the positive factors and encouraging early resumption of intercommunal talks. Instead of blaming one party or the other, we should urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions and to apply themselves seriously with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement.

155. In conclusion, I would urge the Assembly to take all possible measures to facilitate the progress of intercommunal talks, the only viable course left for an amicable settlement of the Cyprus question. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 9 of his report to the Security Council, has stated that: "Time appears to be eroding what some have called 'the window of opportunity' to resolve the Cyprus problem." It is the responsibility of all concerned not to let that window be closed.

156. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization. I call on him in accordance with resolution 3237 (XXIX); of 22 November 1974.

157. Mr. HUSSEINI (Palestine Liberation Organization): On behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], I would like to express to you, Sir, our deep appreciation and gratitude for your outstanding personal role as President of the General Assembly in responding to the suffering of our people. You, your Government and your people have taken a courageous and noble position, based on principle, and have truly worked for peace based on justice and freedom for the oppressed Palestinian people. You have taken a leading role as President of the General Assembly, and so it has been written with admiration and respect in the annals of Palestinian history.

158. On behalf of the PLO and the Palestinian people, I extend to the Government and people of Cyprus our appreciation for their unswerving support of the Palestinian cause. In our greatest hour of need, as we were besieged in West Beirut, the Palestinian people received aid and assistance from the people of Cyprus. Medical supplies came through Cyprus. The wounded were evacuated through Cyprus. Our freedom fighters were warmly received in Cyprus. When others turned their backs on the suffering and war-battered Palestinian people, this small island, Cyprus, in spite of its grave problems, shared and carried the burdens and suffering of our Palestinian cause. Today, the Palestine cultural and information officers work out of Cyprus. Our Palestinian culture and heritage live today in Cyprus.

159. The peoples of Palestine and Cyprus share a similar colonial legacy. Both were subjected to British military occupation and colonialism. Both have struggled and sacrificed for their freedom and independence. Both have experienced the bitter fruits of war, partition and foreign domination. Yet our peoples have never ceased to yearn for and aspire to a future based

on peace, justice and freedom, free of the ravages and devastation of war.

160. For the Palestinian people, the great leader and national hero of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, remains a symbol of struggle, dignity and freedom. Like the Archbishop of Jerusalem, Hillarion Cappuci, Makarios endured imprisonment and suffered persecution because of his strong commitment to freedom, justice and human dignity. While struggling for the rights and aspirations of his own people, Makarios never failed to speak of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland to live in freedom and human dignity.

161. On 7 October 1975, addressing the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, President Makarios said:

"The position of my country on this issue is that any sound settlement should be based on the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the territories occupied since 1967 and the respect of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Under no circumstances can the acquisition of territories by force be condoned or military occupation be taken as creating any rights... The situation remains grave and, if no comprehensive and just solution is found in the near future, there is a serious danger of conflagration with incalculable repercussions." [2378th meeting, para. 13.]

162. While yearning for the attainment of their own freedom and independence, the Palestinian people fully support the inalienable right of Cyprus to unity and independence, and also to the peaceful coexistence of peoples of different religions. The Palestinian people, too, yearn for a secular society in Palestine, where Jews, Christians and Muslims can live together with equal rights and in dignity. Hence our support for the right of Cyprus and Cypriots of all religions and ethnic groups to coexist with full and equal rights and in dignity. The artificial seeds of sectarian and tribal conflict, sown and nurtured by our former colonial masters, must and will be eradicated. Peace and security for all peoples on the basis of our historical tolerance as regards traditions and culture will be re-instituted and will flourish once again.

163. Western imperialist Powers, in particular the United States, seek to dominate the Middle East through the establishment of military bases in the region. We reject this military domination. We want the United States to get out of our region, to remove its military forces, to remove its weapons of mass destruction and suffering. The region must be free from the threat of United States intervention and military domination. Our region must be free of those threats so that we may rebuild our war-torn societies and work towards and enjoy peace.

164. Cyprus should be an oasis of peace and freedom. It should be an island of stability. It should not be used by imperialist and colonial Powers for military domination and occupation and intervention in the Middle East. This was precisely the message of its spiritual and national leader, Archbishop Makarios, and in these troubled times of conflict and war we remember his words:

“We want lasting peace, and lasting peace cannot be based on force but only on the exercise of reason, through mutual respect and understanding. Cyprus, located between three continents, could then become a bridge of unity in the whole region, as was its aspiration when it joined the United Nations.” [*Ibid.*, para. 42.]

165. The United Nations must make every effort to maintain the independence, unity and security of Cyprus. The PLO will use its good offices to assist in the attainment of that goal. We are confident that the people and Government of Turkey also seek peace and goodwill among peoples and do not want further conflict and war in the region, which only serve to benefit United States imperialism.

166. For too long the Middle East has endured war and strife, imperialism and colonial domination. It is time now to allow the peoples of the Middle East the opportunity to rebuild their future in peace and freedom.

167. From the dispossessed, persecuted and exiled people of Palestine to the courageous people of Cyprus,

our eternal gratitude. We wish them peace based on tolerance, coexistence and equality among all peoples.

The meeting rose at 5.40 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 *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex, sect. IV.

⁴ A/38/132, annex.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965*, document S/6253.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15502 and Add.1.