

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

**1771<sup>st</sup>** MEETING: 29 MAY 1974

NEW YORK

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1771) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488): Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11294) .....	1

## NOTE

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

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

## SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 May 1974, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Charles Gatere MAINA (Kenya).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1771)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):  
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11294)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):  
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11294)

1. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, in letters addressed to the President of the Security Council, have requested to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council. Accordingly, I propose, in accordance with the usual practice, under the provisional rules of procedure, and if there is no objection, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to take places at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: Prior to this meeting, consultations were held among all members of the Council and also with the representatives of the parties concerned in order to prepare a draft resolution which the Council could consider

at this time. As a result of those consultations, a draft resolution has been prepared and is now before the Council [S/11301]. The text follows closely those of the resolutions the Council has previously adopted on this question and, like them, is very carefully balanced in its presentation. As it appears from consultations that this text is generally acceptable, it is my intention to put it to the vote now, as the Council has often done in the past and, after the voting has been completed, to call upon representatives who wish to speak.

3. Accordingly, I shall now put to the vote draft resolution S/11301.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* China.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.<sup>1</sup>*

4. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

5. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to thank you and the members of the Council for inviting my delegation to participate in this meeting. May I also congratulate you on your assuming the presidency of the Council. We are convinced that with your high personal qualities you will guide the deliberations of this august body in the best possible way. It is a source of gratification for my delegation that the presidency of the Council is held this month by the representative of a friendly and forward-looking country which has played a constructive and leading role within the great continent of Africa and on global issues in the United Nations, as shown by its hosting of the United Nations Environment Programme. Kenya and Cyprus, which have had a great deal in common in their struggles for independence, have always maintained friendly relations and co-operation in many fields of common endeavour, both in international forums such as the United Nations and the non-aligned group and on a bilateral basis. This is particularly true of the close relations between my President and the President of Kenya, Mr. Ken-

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 349 (1974).

yatta, a towering figure of this century and a living example of the struggle for freedom and human dignity. It is also for that reason that it gives my delegation particular pleasure to appear at this meeting of the Council.

6. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General [S/11294] regarding the situation and the development of the United Nations operation in Cyprus. We are happy to note from the report that the implementation of the second phase of the reduction of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has been carried out in a manner leaving unaffected the ability of the Force for deployment and interposition, an essential function under the mandate of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. We have also noted with understanding and appreciation the Secretary-General's considered view that it would be wise to allow time to assess the effects of the reductions already made and that he does not contemplate an additional reduction of the Force at the present moment.

7. Ten years have elapsed since the Council adopted its main resolution on Cyprus in the effort to bring peace and normality to the island and provide the means for a peaceful solution of the problem. A glance at the reports of the Secretary-General over this period may serve as a useful guide in seeing an integrated picture of the situation and its development and assessing its significance.

8. It may be pertinent to recall at this juncture that resolution 186 (1964) provided for a two-pronged effort: first, that of peacekeeping, which includes deconfrontation and normalization through the establishment of the United Nations Force in Cyprus; and, secondly, that of peacemaking through the appointment of a mediator for the solution of the problem. That was the position at the time of the adoption of the resolution from which we started. The former task, namely that of peacekeeping, for which UNFICYP was established, has been and is being performed in respect of the maintenance of peace in a most useful and effective way. However, in respect of military deconfrontation, normalization and freedom of movement, consecutive reports over this period have expressed the concern of the Secretary-General at the lack of progress in this field. It is, however, on record in all those reports that the Government of Cyprus has consistently and fully co-operated with UNFICYP in all its relevant efforts towards peace and normality.

9. Regarding deconfrontation, my Government has on all occasions shown its willingness and readiness to accept general and island-wide deconfrontation as proposed by UNFICYP and has itself also taken all possible initiatives and proposals in this respect from the earliest period. It has also accepted partial or phased deconfrontation as suggested by UNFICYP, including its last proposals which appear in the report [S/11137 of 1 December 1973]. Regrettably, the relevant posture by the Turkish Cypriot leadership has been an unchanging pattern of non-compliance with the repeated appeals of the Secretary-General over the years for at least a measure of deconfrontation. This long-continuing military confrontation, still persisting at close quarters, is wholly unnecessary; it is a source of tension and danger and, at the same time, involves a most wasteful expenditure that could profitably be used otherwise. We

hope that UNFICYP will continue its patient and commendable efforts towards eliminating or reducing confrontation and that the Turkish Cypriot leadership will see the advisability of a more co-operative spirit in this respect.

10. In regard to freedom of movement, again the relevant posture of the Turkish Cypriot leadership has been the same unchanging pattern of non-compliance with the repeated appeals of the Secretary-General over the years and the proposals of UNFICYP for the lifting of checkpoints, proposals with which the Government has all along expressed its willingness to comply. But there has been a considerable improvement in that respect since 1968. Unfortunately, however, the traffic has been only one-way. Thus in order more effectively to assist the efforts of UNFICYP for freedom of movement, the Government in 1968 took the initiative of unilateral action to eliminate all checkpoints and restrictions, despite the risk involved in the situation, in the expectation by the Government and UNFICYP of a reasonable response from the other side. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report of 9 March 1968:

"... Now that the Government of Cyprus has extended its normalization measures to the whole of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot leadership should find it possible to make those necessary concessions for a full return to normal conditions and, as a first step, to abandon its policy of preventing Greek Cypriots from moving freely in the Turkish Cypriot-controlled areas". [S/8446 para. 155.]

In the same report it was pointed out:

"The relaxation of restrictions [on freedom of movement]"—by the Government—"has unmistakably demonstrated that Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live in peace and harmony and seem already prepared to accept and support reasonable compromises". [*ibid.*, para. 153.]

In the same report it was stated that the increased co-operation in economic matters among various sections of the Cyprus population and the progressive extension of public services to the Turkish Cypriots were among the few really encouraging features of the period under review.

11. Regrettably, the repeated appeals of the Secretary-General in that tenor—appeals which continued in the following reports—fell on deaf ears, as the Turkish Cypriot leadership's action was rather to clamp down upon these positive and hopeful developments. Thus the important improvement in the freedom of movement resulted in the imbalance of only one-way freedom of movement, as pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General, whereas Turkish Cypriots have freedom of movement over the whole island, the Greek Cypriots are prevented not only from entering the enclaves but also from entering a great number of public roads, among which are main communication roads. Yet the initiative of the Government has had a very happy consequence, and the Government is assisting in this effort by taking all possible initiatives towards improving the situation, in spite of the pattern of non-co-operation on the part of the Turkish Cypriot side.

12. Similarly, in the economic field—and I am still talking about this 10-year period—the appeals of the Secretary-

General for the necessary integration of the economy in the vital interest of the whole population of Cyprus and more particularly of the Turkish Cypriot community met with the same unalterable pattern of non-co-operation on the part of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and an illogical resistance to all measures for economic co-operation, as emerges from the reports of the Secretary-General. The unchanging pattern of separatism and segregation imposed on Turkish Cypriots by their leadership extends to all fields of life, including ordinary social contacts and trade and commercial relations with their co-citizens of Greek origin. This policy unavoidably has its adverse impact on the progress towards solution of the problem.

13. To turn now to the actual development of the United Nations effort towards solution through mediation and the good offices of the Secretary-General, the Mediator appointed in 1964, Mr. Galo Plaza, submitted an objective report [S/6235 of 26 March 1965] fully endorsed by the Secretary-General for a realistic and balanced solution of the problem. Regrettably, for reasons that I need not enter into now, the report was rejected by one side. Because of its intrinsic merit, however, that report is ever alive as a useful guide for a just and lasting solution of the problem in accordance with the Charter and the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

14. Now we are following another course, that of negotiations through local talks, begun in 1968, on the basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary State. This agreed basis was more than once expressed by both sides, and the relevant consensus was recorded by the Secretary-General in his report of 2 December 1970:

"The two sides have also indicated that a settlement can be worked out on the basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary State of Cyprus in which the two communities participate. This limited consensus indicates that there is a basis for at least some kind of accommodation." [S/10005, para. 120.]

The substance and correctness of the foregoing statement was not questioned and was accepted by both sides at the 1564th meeting of the Council that followed on 10 December 1970, the representative of Turkey at that time having referred specifically to paragraph 120 of that report in terms of full approval. Subsequent reports of the Secretary-General confirmed that basis for the talks [See S/10199 of 20 May 1971, S/10401 of 30 November 1971, S/10842 of 1 December 1972 and S/11137 of 1 December 1973].

15. When these talks, as they proceeded, ran into difficulties over the structure and functions of local government, they were reactivated in a procedurally expanded form by the Secretary-General's aide-mémoires of 18 October 1971 [S/10401, para. 79] and 18 May 1972 [S/10664, para. 62], which provided for the participation in the talks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the presence of two constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey in an advisory capacity. With this expanded form it was hoped that the difficulties could eventually be smoothed out. The Secretary-General, in his report of 1 December 1972, following those aide-mémoires, stated:

"I have no doubt that the reactivated intercommunal talks are the best instrument for achieving a satisfactory, lasting and agreed solution based on the concept of an

independent, sovereign and unitary State with the adequate participation of the two communities." [S/10842, para. 80.]

16. As indicated in the present report, there was a measure of progress on the outstanding questions concerning the structure and functions of the local government on which the two constitutional experts were engaged in an effort towards a package deal.

17. The talks, however, came to an abrupt standstill following upon a statement at Ankara by the Prime Minister of Turkey interjecting from outside the concept of a federal State for Cyprus, contrary to the basis on which the talks had been conducted until then. The statement brought sharp reaction from Cyprus, as described in paragraph 61 of the report. This, however, was inevitable, particularly bearing in mind, apart from other aspects, the partitionist connotations that the concept of federation is considered to have when used by Ankara with respect to Cyprus. My Government has made it abundantly clear that it rejects outright any concept of federation.

18. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that, aside from the agreed basis of a unitary State, a federal structure is entirely inapplicable in Cyprus—and this ought to be known by all who have studied the question of Cyprus—by reason of the realities of an intermingled population throughout the island, with a Greek majority and a Turkish minority in every one of its six districts and cities. There exists, therefore, no pattern of territorial separation on which a federal structure could possibly be based or even conceived. This was emphatically declared by the eminent constitutional authority, Lord Radcliffe, who was commissioned by the British Government in 1956 to study the constitutional possibilities for Cyprus. Lord Radcliffe declared<sup>2</sup> that Cyprus could not be organized in a federal way for, as he actually said, there was no pattern of territorial separation between the two communities and the idea of federation of communities which would not involve federation of territories was not practically feasible. Mr. Galo Plaza, in his studied report, came to exactly the same conclusion.

19. The concept of federation in Cyprus was considered to be wholly abandoned. Its recent mention, therefore, has naturally caused no little surprise and disappointment as a move towards putting up barriers of impossibility to an agreed solution at a time when the talks were progressing hopefully, according to the report. My Government, I must say, has made it crystal clear that it will not accept or consider any deviation from the agreed basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary State of Cyprus on which the talks have been conducted, and on which alone a solution can be found. Any such deviation would in reality completely frustrate the very foundation upon which the talks have been conducted for over five years and upon which they are based, thus rendering their continuance nugatory and useless.

20. However, it is fortunate that through the energetic action of the Secretary-General and his assistants, Under-

<sup>2</sup> *Constitutional Proposals for Cyprus*, Cmnd. 42 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1956), para. 28.

Secretary-General Mr. Guyer and his Special Representative Mr. Osorio-Tafall, an agreed formula was arrived at, by which the talks will be resumed on the same basis on which they have been so far conducted. This formula aims at the resumption of the talks started in 1968, which are to be continued, with regard to procedure—on the basis of their expanded form of participation in accordance with the aide-mémoires of 18 October 1971 and 18 May 1972—and with regard to substance—on the same basis on which the talks were being conducted before they were suspended. That basis is that of an independent, sovereign and unitary State as established in the consensus, expressed by the Secretary-General in his report of 2 December 1970 [S/10005], to which I have already referred.

21. The agreed formula is thus a positive step in the right direction leading to the resumption of the talks and at the same time eliminating any confusion by providing that the basis of the talks shall remain unchanged from that on which the talks have been conducted until now.

22. We express the hope that with the resumption of the talks on 4 June there will be a rebirth in a new and more co-operative spirit towards a common purpose: that of the establishment of a sound and workable constitution within the universally established constitutional norms and with the adequate participation of the Turkish Cypriot community. It should be realized that the interests of that community do not lie in artificially perpetuated antagonism and friction but in goodwill and co-operation for the common good of all concerned.

23. In our present time and age of a rapidly evolving interdependent world when there has never before been such widespread recognition of the necessity for unified political and social structures, Cyprus could not be compelled to move regressively and perilously in the opposite direction; nor could it do so without dire consequences to its people and to the cause of peace. In an age of growing integration, Cyprus cannot be driven to its internal disintegration.

24. The solution of the problem cannot be advanced through the negativeness of division and the sterility of imposed separatism, but only through genuine co-operation in a spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding. This spirit, I am happy to add, is ever alive in the hearts and minds of the Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks alike, and has been pointed out in five consecutive reports by the Secretary-General. In that spirit a just, democratic and enduring solution of the problem in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations can well be reached to the benefit of all the Cypriot people.

25. We are not unmindful of the pervading influence of outdated habits of thinking and the effects of their momentum. In fact this is one of the main sources of difficulties and troubles in our fast-changing world of today. But I would appeal in the Security Council to the leadership of our co-citizens of Turkish origin to reconsider in a broader spirit and in a more positive way the excessive separativeness in their policy with a view to more reasonable and workable limits, so that positive progress may be achieved towards a just solution in the interest of all concerned and that of peace.

26. Before I conclude, it is my pleasant duty to express my Government's profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and to his assistants, both here and in Cyprus for the constructive and dedicated work they have been carrying out in discharging the responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the question of Cyprus. More particularly, our gratitude goes to Under-Secretaries-General Guyer and Urquhart and to General Prem Chand, the Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. A special tribute is due to Mr. Bibiano Osorio-Tafall, who carried out with outstanding dedication his functions as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus for seven and a half years. Mr. Osorio-Tafall has consistently discharged his functions in the best traditions of the international civil service, as we have had recent occasion to witness in connexion with his efforts for the resumption of the local talks—efforts which were crowned with success. My Government and I personally wish to extend to him our best wishes for his future activities. The one consolation for the vacuum left by his impending departure is that his successor, Mr. Luis Weckmann-Muñoz, with his outstanding personal qualifications and long experience in international affairs, will, we have no doubt, fill the post of Special Representative of the Secretary-General at a correspondingly high standard. We wish to extend to him our best wishes for success in his new post and to pledge our sincere co-operation in this regard.

27. I would also wish to express once again our deep appreciation and gratitude to those countries which, by their noble dedication to the concept of peace keeping by the United Nations, make the continuation of the United Nations Force in Cyprus possible through their contributions in men and money.

28. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Turkey.

29. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, although I have had the honour to meet you on previous occasions, it gives me great pleasure to express to you the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you preside over the Security Council. I am sure that under your wise guidance the Council will successfully complete the work it will have to do during your tenure of office. The excellent relations between our two countries guarantee the full co-operation of my delegation with you during the consideration of the present agenda item, in which my delegation is participating.

30. For more than 10 years, it has been customary for my delegation to make its appearance before the Council every six months because of a conflict which was created neither by Turkey nor by the Turkish Cypriot community. This is my own fifth appearance in the two years I have been here. The search for a peaceful solution has been going on for quite some time and my delegation feels that a great deal of time has been lost over semantic arguments because of efforts to introduce unacceptable terminology into the literature of the intercommunal talks. I shall elaborate on this later on.

31. My delegation has again carefully studied and considered the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus [S/11294] which constitutes

the basis of the Security Council's deliberations. As regards the reduction of UNFICYP, I should like to emphasize that the views and reservations of my Government mentioned in paragraph 13 of the report remain unchanged. We are not able fully to share the satisfaction expressed by the Force Commander with regard to the possible effects of the operational changes resulting from these reductions. It goes without saying, therefore, that we endorse entirely the Secretary-General's view that "a further reduction would be premature at this stage", that, despite the present quiet, the situation in the island is still tense and potentially dangerous and that "it would be wise to allow time for an assessment of the effects of those reductions before making further moves in that direction." [*Ibid.*, para. 79.] Furthermore, the need to avoid reductions in the sensitive areas of the island, underlined in our reservations, is not compatible with the idea of further reductions in the Force, which we consider already reduced to its minimum level of effectiveness.

32. In several paragraphs of the report there are references to disturbances and "anti-Government" demonstrations within the Greek community. The report was carefully drafted so as not to offend any particular quarter in mentioning those disturbances. This careful language, however, compels me to dwell briefly on the nature of those disturbances and demonstrations so that the causes for concern by the Turkish community can be better understood by the Council.

33. Those disturbances and those demonstrations within the Greek Cypriot community have one professed goal: the realization of enosis. The Greek community continues to be engaged in extensive arguments over how, when and by whom enosis will be achieved. The outcome of these arguments is irrelevant from the Turkish point of view as long as all the Greek contestants agree about the ultimate goal: unification of Cyprus with Greece. Although Archbishop Makarios freely speaks of Cyprus as "the territory of southern Greece" and never ceases to emphasize that his ultimate objective is the realization of its unification with what he calls "the northern Greece", it seems that certain more impatient Greek quarters are not content with the way and the expediency with which this issue is being handled. They fail to see that under the disguise of the concept of "a unitary State", the Archbishop is pursuing the very same national goal. Some of these Greek quarters which create the disturbances do not understand his stage-by-stage approach to enosis which in the first instance requires getting rid of the bi-communal structure of the State and replacing it with a unitary State. This is, unfortunately, a common misunderstanding arising from the confusion of the Greek Cypriot policy with the Greek Cypriot propaganda, which in the instance of the Greek Cypriot community results in violence and disturbances. These disturbances include large amounts of arms thefts from the military camps of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, which the report does not mention, shootings and bomb explosions, the creation and expansion of a paramilitary Police Tactical Reserve Unit, which has already been used once in an intercommunal situation, as reported in paragraph 30 of the said report, smuggling and importation of new arms by all sections of the Greek community, whose ultimate use may be against the Turkish community and, last but not least, an actively hostile and extensive campaign against the Turkish community. Even

schoolchildren have been used in demonstrations where they were made to carry placards asking the Greek Cypriot administration to expel the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus.

34. What was really deplored by what is described in paragraph 35 of the report as "most sections of the Greek Cypriot press" was the fact that those demonstrations were also directed against the Greek Cypriot administration; it was certainly not their anti-Turkish character. As reported in the same paragraph, there have been incidents of Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen acting in a provocative manner against the Turks. It was only through the restraint exercised by the Turkish Cypriots that a serious clash was avoided in the particular incident given as an example.

35. In the light of all those developments, I hope it will be better understood why no progress has been made towards achieving a measure of military deconfrontation, "regrettable" as this may be, to quote paragraph 28 of the report. The true nature of the developments within the Greek Cypriot community which I explained cannot but cause concern, an increased sense of insecurity and a reluctance within the Turkish Cypriot community to reduce its military precautions. This is only natural in the light of its hard experience for the past 10 years. I shall revert to this subject.

36. There are references in paragraphs 33 and 77 respectively of the report to the indications and reports that "arms have been brought into the island recently" and that "additional weapons are being introduced into the island". The answer to the question which first comes to mind, "by whom were these weapons introduced into the island?", is not readily available to the reader of the report. I would therefore try to clarify it on the basis of Greek Cypriot press reports, which point to one or the other faction of the Greek Cypriot community. Probably both versions are correct. And they are as correct as they are disquieting to the Turkish community. I should like to place on record once again my Government's deep concern over these developments.

37. Paragraph 32 of the report, speaking about the present arrangements to prevent the use of Humber armoured trucks imported by the Greek Cypriot Administration, once again indicates that the UNFICYP Commander does not consider these arrangements satisfactory. Furthermore, at a time when there are widespread rumours that the armoured vehicles already imported will be turned over to the above-mentioned Police Tactical Reserve Unit and that new ones are on their way, such a vague undertaking as "the Government... is hopeful of being able to assist in finding a satisfactory solution in the near future" cannot be a source of satisfaction for my delegation.

38. On the question of the return to normal conditions, the report mentions the hardships and deprivations endured by the Turkish community for over 10 years because of the political conflict. Ambassador Rossides tried a moment ago to reduce the whole problem to a kind of whim of the Turkish leadership in Cyprus not to allow the Greeks to enter Turkish sectors. No mention could of course be expected from him of the reasons which led the Turks to entrench themselves behind barricades to defend their very existence.

39. The list of the hardships resulting from the political situation created by the Greek Cypriots is a long and sad one, and the report speaks for itself. The Greek Cypriot Administration, which obviously is not the Government envisaged in the Constitution of Cyprus, cannot of course expect to gain recognition for its unconstitutional authority by coercive methods.

40. Pending a political solution which could hopefully resolve all questions of a return to normal conditions, these humanitarian problems require practical solutions which would not affect the political position of the parties. It is to this end, rather than to the freedom of movement of what the report calls "government officials in Turkish Cypriot areas" [*Ibid.*, para. 57], that UNFICYP should, I think, direct its efforts.

41. Before concluding my remarks on this chapter I shall, for the benefit of the members of the Council, supplement the report on some problems whose existence is not adequately reflected. The lengthy remarks made by Ambassador Rossides on the subject of freedom of movement and normalization compel me to give some more clarification.

42. For instance, there is the question of the Turkish Cypriot refugees. It has not yet been possible to make progress on this question. The Greek Cypriot Administration continues to reject the Turkish proposal to set up a joint committee under United Nations chairmanship to arrange the rehabilitation of the Turkish Cypriot refugees, free from all political motivation and bias. The Greek Cypriot side is doing everything possible to impede the return of the Turkish Cypriot refugees to their villages by creating artificial difficulties such as the refusal to supply their homes with drinking water, electricity and other facilities and claiming a variety of accumulated prohibitive sums as taxes or dues for water, rural constable fees and so on, in respect of which the refugees have had no benefit for the last 11 years.

43. Some of the Turkish Cypriots who have returned to their villages with the help of the Turkish Cypriot Administration are being harassed by the Greek Cypriots and their Administration. This is the case in three of the four villages mentioned in paragraph 51. The prohibition on the return of the Turkish Cypriot refugees to six major villages is still in full force. The Turkish inhabitants of these particular villages are also being denied access to their properties, even for agricultural purposes.

44. With reference to paragraph 52, concerning normalization of the postal services, I would add—again to complement the report—that UNFICYP is well aware that the Greek Cypriot Administration is not honoring the *ad hoc* arrangement of 15 October 1966 on postal services [*S/7611 and Add. 1, para. 145*] in that it opposes its extension to the full implementation level. Under these circumstances, the Turkish side had no alternative but to establish an inter-Turkish areas service to serve villages and Turkish areas which were not benefiting from the *ad hoc* arrangement.

45. I have perhaps dwelt too long on this subject and I apologize for it. Some of these things may seem to be questions of mere detail, but for those whose daily life is

made impossible in Cyprus they are of course very important. And, as I had occasion to mention before in the Council, the Turks of Cyprus have no other voice in this chamber but mine. I am therefore bound sometimes to explain various problems.

46. With regard to section IV of the report of 22 May 1974, on intercommunal talks and good offices of the Secretary-General, I have several observations which I think will supplement and complete the picture, especially after the description of the situation that we have heard from Ambassador Rossides.

47. The 1960 Constitution—I am sorry to have to go back to history but it seems that that is what we have to do—established a bi-communal State based on the partnership of the Turkish and the Greek communities under a functional federative system. A brief review by anyone of the institutions of that Constitution can establish this fact. The Turkish side has never accepted any change in these basic principles of the 1960 Constitution on which the independent Republic of Cyprus was born and on which alone it can survive as an independent State.

48. In 1968 the Turkish community began exploring with the Greek community the possibilities for a package deal under which it would acquire local autonomy as an additional safeguard in the light of its past experience and give up certain of its rights under the 1960 Constitution, without however renouncing its basic principles. In this connexion I have to place on record here that the words "degree of local authority", used in paragraph 60 of the report, do not properly describe the Turkish position. The Turkish Cypriots have always used the words "local autonomy".

49. In 1968, when the intercommunal talks started, there were no terms of reference for these talks. They were conducted without any pre-conditions and in an exploratory manner. Against this background, it is a grave mistake for anyone to think that the idea of a unitary State was ever accepted by the Turkish side as a framework for discussions. The fact that the former Secretary-General made several statements—which I consider unfortunate—about the intercommunal talks, which he should not have done without first getting the agreement of the parties, could not impose a framework for the intercommunal talks, which started much before the first of those statements.

50. It was the Greek Cypriot intransigence, encouraged by these statements, which brought the talks to a deadlock in 1971. It became very clear that the Greek Cypriot policy of a unitary State was meant to reduce the Turkish community from an effective element and a partner in safeguarding the continued independence of Cyprus to that of an insignificant minority. It was meant to alter the basic principles of the 1960 Constitution.

51. Both in my private conversations with the former Secretary-General and in my public statements in the Security Council, I have emphasized many, many times, and with some authority at that time and with first-hand knowledge, that a unitary State has never been the agreed basis of the talks and that it will not be accepted at any stage. During these official conversations with the former Secretary-



General we agreed to reactivate the intercommunal talks, and he issued an aide-mémoire dated 18 October 1971 [S/10401, para. 79]. Nowhere had there been any mention of a unitary State. Several consultations then took place between the Turkish delegation and the present Secretary-General and his assistants.

52. I distinctly recall having been told when I came here, after I started taking part in the consultations, of the request of the Secretary-General that the talks should be reactivated without any pre-conditions. The talks were therefore and thereafter reactivated on the basis of the Secretary-General's aide-mémoires of 18 October 1971 and 18 May 1972 [S/10664, para. 62], as stated in paragraph 58 of the report. These aide-mémoires, which were duly negotiated with all the parties, do not include any pre-conditions and reaffirm the exploratory nature of the talks. Accordingly, the participants in the enlarged intercommunal talks began exploring satisfactory constitutional arrangements in 1972, and very substantive proposals were made.

53. Now, the new Turkish Government, which was elected to office early this year—that is to say, two years after the talks had already begun—favours an independent, sovereign and federative system for Cyprus. This Government found the substantive proposals made long before by the Turkish side in the discussions over the future of the Cyprus Constitution satisfactory, and the talks continued for yet another two months on the same basis. I must emphasize once again that there have been no changes in the substantive proposals of the Turkish side since they began, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General must bear witness to this fact.

54. In view of the allegations of the Greek Cypriot leadership mentioned in paragraph 61 of the report, the Turkish Prime Minister and the Turkish Foreign Minister have made several clarifications, of which I am sure the Secretariat is aware. They have explained that in favouring a federative system the Turkish Government does not intend to create a geographic basis for it, nor does it envisage a population exchange between various areas of Cyprus. They have contended that the Greek Cypriot allegations that Turkey has partitionist intentions are therefore entirely baseless. They have emphasized that a federative system is the only safeguard of the continued independence of the island because it is the only way for the side which does not want this independence to end to make itself felt in the decision regarding the future of the island.

55. Before concluding my supplementary remarks with respect to the report, I wish to refer to paragraph 66 and to state most unequivocally that the Turkish side shares the Secretary-General's hope "that the parties will return to a consideration of the substance of the problems that face them, and seek to reach agreement on constitutional arrangements that will be satisfactory to all concerned." And it is in this spirit that the Turkish side will continue the talks when they are resumed on 4 June 1974.

56. I think that at this stage, as the talks are about to be resumed, I also have to indicate that Turkey has never had and will never have—and I have had occasion to proclaim this here—any *arrière-pensée* with regard to partition of the

island. And here again I have to make a clarification. Ambassador Rossides referred today to the divisive attitude on the part of Turkey or the Turkish Cypriots and in doing so he also referred to the Cypriot people's wish. Now, let us see what his own head of State has to say on the subject. I have here a copy of the *Cyprus Mail*. Archbishop Makarios recently gave an interview to a correspondent of a Federal Republic of Germany newspaper, *Frankfurter Rundschau*. The correspondent observed that, despite the existence of an independent Cyprus for 10 years, seldom could one see a Cypriot flag and that there was the Greek flag on the one side and the Turkish flag on the other. The correspondent then asked: "What is the Government doing to promote a Cypriot national consciousness?" Archbishop Makarios responded: "It is only in governmental buildings that the Cypriot flag can be seen". The Greek inhabitants of Cyprus use the Greek flag and the Turkish inhabitants use the Turkish flag. This way they express their national feelings, because, in fact, the Cyprus Republic is a new State but not a new nation, and it is not the intention of the Cypriot Government to create a Cypriot national feeling. What is important—and to be correct I have to read out the end of his sentence—is the peaceful coexistence of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the Cyprus State. I could not agree more with Archbishop Makarios.

57. Now, let us see what Vice-President Denktaş has to say on the same subject, and here I shall quote from paragraph 61 of the report:

"There is no change of policy. In a State like Cyprus, where the nationalism of the two communities is so deep while the necessity for coexistence is so necessary, the idea of 'federalism' is not incompatible with the idea of peaceful coexistence, co-operation and the ultimate realization of a common identity . . . . Turkey believes that this is a reasonable way of settling the problem. As the Turkish Premier explained, it does not involve a geographical division in Cyprus in any sense."

58. I draw the Council's attention to the fact that, while the President of the Republic of Cyprus says that it is not the intention of the Cypriot Government to create a Cypriot national feeling, the Vice-President speaks of the ultimate realization of a common identity. So much for this aspect of the problem for the time being.

59. In conclusion, may I avail myself once more of the opportunity offered to me to express our appreciation to all the members of UNFICYP as well as to the Governments that make this operation possible. I wish also to pay a tribute here to the Secretary-General, his assistants and his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, who, we understand, is now leaving his post and the service of the United Nations after 25 years of a distinguished career. We have known him in his present post, and under the most difficult and trying circumstances. I know I am expressing the views of both my Government and the Turkish community in Cyprus when I say that his dedication to the cause of peace will long be remembered.

60. On this occasion I should like also to congratulate Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz, who has been appointed by the Secretary-General to succeed Mr. Osorio-Tafall as

his Special Representative in Cyprus. I wish him success and the best of luck.

61. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Greece.

62. Mr. MEGALOKONOMOS (Greece): Mr. President, it is a particular honour for me to participate in the debate of the Security Council under the presidency of the representative of an African country whose relations with Greece have always been friendly and excellent. I should on this occasion like also to thank all the members of the Council for allowing my delegation to take part in the deliberations concerning the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

63. The report of the Secretary-General of 22 May 1974 [S/11294] once more provides proof that the Cyprus problem is a complex one and its solution calls for a great deal of patience, tenacity in peace-minded efforts and a serious display of statesmanship in its handling. In fact, the last semester was a period during which feelings of hope and disappointment succeeded each other repeatedly. The report of the Secretary-General clearly exposes the developments concerning the intercommunal talks on the island. Hopes were revived in the first months of this year when, as stated in paragraph 60 of the report of the Secretary-General "it appeared that a measure of agreement was being reached on a 'package deal' concerning the structure of the State, the division of powers and the degree of local authority". At that very moment, when everyone concerned with the Cyprus problem was gaining assurance that after so many years of difficulties a solution was perhaps not so far away, came an official statement advocating federation as a solution to the Cyprus problem. It came not from the negotiators themselves but from a high-ranking personality whose influence upon the Turkish Cypriot leadership cannot be questioned. That was done in disregard of the fact that, the Republic of Cyprus being an independent State, the solution of its constitutional problems should have been left to the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The details and a quotation of that statement are carefully given in paragraph 61 of the report of the Secretary-General, and need not be elaborated here.

64. Following that development, the Greek Cypriot side considered that they had the right to know clearly and without any ambiguity whether the talks were to continue on the same basis on which the parties had been working for almost six years or whether they were in fact facing a change in the position of their interlocutors concerning the very basis of the discussions. It was the confusion created by the Turkish side's statements on federation that brought about the suspension of the discussions.

65. In that respect, my delegation would like to lay stress on the contents of paragraph 65 of the Secretary-General's report, which reads as follows:

"In previous reports to the Security Council, the Secretary-General has said more than once that in his view 'the reactivated intercommunal talks are the best instrument for achieving a satisfactory, lasting and agreed solution based on the concept of an independent, sovereign and unitary State with the adequate participa-

tion of the two communities'. When these statements were first made, the framework of an independent, sovereign and unitary State seemed generally acceptable to all parties. In 1971, however, Mr. Denktas expressed his opposition to the continued use of the term 'unitary'. He contended that the Greek Cypriots had a different interpretation of the term and that he could not tie his side to any terminology, the exact interpretation of which had not been agreed upon."

In the opinion of my delegation, that paragraph sheds ample light on the matter of the basis of the intercommunal talks and certainly clears up the confusion created by much that has been said on the subject. It is clear from that paragraph, first, that the concept of a unitary State, together with the concepts of an independent and a sovereign State, has right from the beginning been the basis of the discussions and in the opinion of the Secretary-General was accepted by all parties concerned, and, secondly, that the Turkish Cypriot side expressed their opposition to the term "unitary" not because they had set their face against the concept itself but because "the Greek Cypriots had a different interpretation of the term".

66. However, the official Turkish statement, as well as the subsequent Turkish Cypriot statement, both quoted in paragraph 61 of the Secretary-General's report, do not contain a new interpretation of the term "unitary" but an attempt to substitute for that generally accepted principle the concept of a federative State. Such a substitution was unacceptable to the Greek Cypriot side and quite naturally caused the interruption of the talks.

67. My delegation would like to open a parenthesis here in order to express its deepest appreciation for the untiring efforts made on this occasion by the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, and the Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, aimed at finding a formula which by confirming that the basis of the talks had never changed would permit the negotiators to continue their work. Thanks to those efforts, a formula was agreed upon, and that happy development will permit the talks to continue in the next few days and at the same time assure the parties that no shift has taken place from the original basis of the talks. This temporary crisis nevertheless showed once again the great importance attached by all concerned to the intercommunal talks, a fact pertinently pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General.

68. The Greek Government, continuing a long tradition of seeking solutions in the context of and in conformity with international law, is hopeful that a solution will be found and agreed upon in Cyprus by the interested parties within the framework of the Charter and in accordance with Council resolutions 186 (1964) and 244 (1967)—a solution that will take into due consideration not only the interests but also the well-being and the right to happiness of the whole Cyprus population. To that end my Government expects that the intercommunal talks, regaining, as soon as they begin, the momentum they had during the first three months of the year, and taking into consideration the progress made on the outstanding questions concerning the structure and the functions of the local government bodies, will hope-

fully result in a solution that will govern the fate of the Republic of Cyprus.

69. My Government attaches great importance to respect for and observance of all and of every one of those three basic concepts of the Republic of Cyprus—that is, independence, sovereignty and unity—concepts so many times confirmed by the reports of the Secretary-General as the basis of the intercommunal talks. In that context, the solution to be adopted should comply with the result of the talks between the two communities, because we believe that only the outcome of the understanding between the parties immediately concerned could be a viable solution.

70. In that respect we fully agree with the observation of the Secretary-General, who very rightly considers the talks to be the most constructive way of carrying out the search for an agreed settlement to the Cyprus problem.

71. We also share the feelings of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 28 of the report, and we equally regret that no progress has been made towards achieving a measure of military deconfrontation.

72. Another main point my delegation would like to make concerns the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. We had the occasion, during the consultations which preceded this meeting, to stress the necessity of maintaining UNFICYP in Cyprus for another six-month period; we are now very happy that a new resolution has been adopted by the Council to that effect.

73. My delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the fact that the so-called second phase of the reduction of the Force was carried out smoothly and without decreasing the effectiveness of the Force, thanks to the diligence of the Secretary-General and of the Force Commander, General Chand, and to the co-operation of the parties concerned.

74. The Greek delegation is aware of the fact that some Member States would like a further reduction of the Force. Although the reasons for such a trend are fully comprehensible, we nevertheless agree with the Secretary-General that such a further reduction would be premature. Greece, having contributed vastly to this operation and continuing to contribute to an extent disproportionate to its own budgetary means, is very well aware of the difficulties faced by all the contributing countries.

75. That is why we think that a new effort should be made in order to bring more Member States to contribute to the budget of UNFICYP. The Hellenic delegation has repeatedly expressed its disappointment that so few Members of the Organization felt the need to finance the Force. My delegation has the honour to refer once more to the proposal made by the representative of Canada, in his statement of 28 November 1973, at the 899th meeting of the Special Political Committee, regarding guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations. That statement by the representative of Canada was quoted at the last meeting of the Security Council on Cyprus [1759th meeting, para. 63].

76. In fact we feel that a generally agreed equitable system of financing the United Nations peace-keeping operations,

including UNFICYP, would be in fuller compliance with the objectives of the Charter since it is well known that peace—especially in that sensitive region—is indivisible and crises nowadays cannot be easily withheld in limited geographic spaces.

77. Before concluding I should like to express once again my Government's feelings of gratitude and appreciation for the unrelenting efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, as well as of Mr. Guyer, Mr. Urquhart and General Chand.

78. Last but not least, my delegation would like to refer to paragraph 7 of the report, by which we are informed that, after seven and a half years of distinguished service, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, is scheduled, at his request, to retire on 30 June 1974 and that the Secretary-General has decided to appoint Mr. Luis Weckmann-Muñoz, of Mexico, as his Special Representative in Cyprus as from 1 July.

79. Let me say that the Greek Government fully shares the feelings of the Secretary-General, so aptly expressed in paragraph 82:

“Mr. Bibiano F. Osorio-Tafall . . . is about to relinquish his post and to leave the service of the United Nations after 25 years. For seven and a half years he has served UNFICYP with great distinction and unswerving dedication. For this work, as well as for his earlier contributions to the Organization, the United Nations owes him a great debt of gratitude.”

I should like to add that indeed all the parties concerned in the Cyprus problem owe Mr. Osorio-Tafall a great debt of gratitude for this tireless, constant and impartial efforts towards an agreed solution to the problem.

80. Furthermore, my delegation wishes to express its confidence that the presence in Cyprus of Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, whose long and rich experience in international affairs is well known to us, will not fail to contribute towards a happy conclusion of the problem.

81. Our expression of gratitude is also addressed to the Governments and the men that take part financially or send contingents in order to safeguard the noble objective of peace in Cyprus.

82. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom voted for the resolution we have just adopted because we agree with the Secretary-General that in present circumstances it is necessary for the United Nations Force in Cyprus to be maintained for a further period of six months. And we are therefore ready, subject to parliamentary approval in Britain, to maintain our troop contingent in Cyprus for the period up to 15 December. Subject to the same provisos, I also pledge continued British logistic support for UNFICYP at the level appropriate to the size of that Force following the reductions reported by the Secretary-General.

83. My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for explaining in detail, in paragraph 78 of his report, how the second phase of the troop reductions has been carried out

over the past six months. We fully support his decision to implement these reductions in the way he explained in the Council last December [1759th meeting, para. 167].

84. The reductions have had a welcome effect on the financial situation of the Force. But the need for further economies remains. Whatever the size of the Force, it is essential that there should be stringent control over expenditure. This is an aspect to which I am confident that the Secretary-General and his able staff will continue to pay very close attention indeed.

85. The Secretary-General has said that he believes it would be wise to allow time for an assessment of the effects of the reductions before making further moves. He evidently intends to keep the question under review. We hope he will make his views on possible further reductions known to the interested parties well before the mandate of UNFICYP expires in December. We look forward to receiving a considered report and further recommendations from the Secretary-General by that time.

86. I make no apology for speaking about Force levels and expenditure. Despite the welcome, if slight, improvement in the UNFICYP Special Account following the troop reductions, the financial burden carried by the individual troop-contributors continues to grow. The cost of the British contribution to UNFICYP is now estimated to be running at close to £2.5 million per year. When the basic costs of the British contingent are included, the total value of our contribution is something in excess of £5 million a year.

87. I wish to make only one further comment on the financial situation. We look to others to contribute voluntarily and to do so generously. The small financial improvement reported by the Secretary-General must, in our view be maintained. In paragraph 69 of the Secretary-General's report, one sentence reads: "The costs to be borne by the United Nations for the operation of UNFICYP for the periods from the inception of the Force to 15 June 1974 are estimated at \$172.1 million." That, of course, is only the cost to the United Nations. If one then considers the additional burden to Member States that have contributed the cost of maintaining contingents in UNFICYP over the decade it has been in Cyprus, the full costs must be running at somewhere near \$350 million. It is perhaps sobering but not inapt to bear that figure in mind when one considers that we have just emerged from a special session of the General Assembly at which we have considered the problems of some of those nations of the world most grievously affected by the present economic situation.

88. I shall refer only briefly to the substance of the Cyprus problem itself, on which we have now heard the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. It is deplorable that we should be celebrating—if that is the right word—the tenth anniversary of the establishment of UNFICYP. Successful as the Force has been in contributing to the maintenance of peace, in our view a return to normal conditions is long overdue. The fault cannot be laid at the door of those who are conducting the United Nations operation in Cyprus itself.

89. Indeed I would wish to join those who have paid a tribute to the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General, the Force Commander and all those who have worked both here and in Cyprus to try to achieve a peaceful settlement of the dispute. In particular, the role played by the United Nations in achieving agreement between the parties concerned on a resumption of the intercommunal talks has been of great value. Those talks, in our view continue to offer the best approach to the solution of the problem.

90. It should be said that we really do now look to the parties to the intercommunal talks to achieve an agreement which would be acceptable to both the communities in Cyprus itself. It would be unfortunate if the continued presence of a United Nations Force in Cyprus were in any way to lessen the sense of urgency with which those intercommunal talks should be approached. We could not really be satisfied with a situation whereby a virtually permanent force stationed in Cyprus holds the ring while intercommunal talks drag on indefinitely and indeterminately. It is perhaps not reasonable that the international community should be expected to acquiesce in such a situation.

91. My Government therefore feels that it is entitled to join in asking for a renewed and a sustained effort to find solutions for the outstanding problems by reason of the fact that we have provided now for many years the principal military contingent to the Cyprus peace-keeping Force and we have also made substantial annual voluntary contributions towards the cost of the Force.

92. If those words are familiar to some of the older representatives in this room today, it is not surprising; they were in fact uttered by my predecessor, Lord Caradon, as long ago as 11 December 1969 [1521st meeting, para. 87]. It is perhaps a reflection on the way in which the Cyprus situation has progressed—or perhaps one should say has not progressed—in the last four and a half years, that a paragraph uttered by the British representative in this chamber four and a half years ago is as apt today as it was apt then. We therefore do look to the parties to make the mutual concessions which are required to reach a settlement and to co-operate in the measures UNFICYP suggests for building confidence.

93. Last, but by no means least, my delegation would wish fully to subscribe to the tributes which the Secretary-General pays to Mr. Osorio-Tafall on his retirement from the service of the United Nations. His long and varied career has been one of great distinctions; his wisdom and his statesmanship will be greatly missed in Cyprus. I think the United Nations, the Security Council, the Secretary-General and, not least, Cyprus itself owe him a very real debt of gratitude.

94. May I therefore welcome his successor, Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz. He is now undertaking a grave and a difficult task. I am sure he will discharge it with great distinction.

95. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, neither my delegation nor I have previously had an opportunity to congratulate you officially

on occupying the presidency of the Security Council for the present month. In the informal consultations and at the formal meeting over which you have presided, we have had occasion to appreciate your fine qualities as a diplomat, and I would like to wish you complete success in your term of office as President of the Security Council, and in your future work as the Permanent Representative of your country to the United Nations.

96. My delegation very carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, and we would offer the Secretary-General our sincere congratulations on the orderly and detailed nature of that report.

97. The contribution that the United Nations is making to the maintenance of peace in Cyprus is further proof of the efficiency and the need for this body. But we see with some concern that over 10 years have elapsed since the United Nations Force first went to Cyprus and that an agreement among the parties has still not become possible. However, we fully share the hope of the Secretary-General that the renewal of the conversations will bring about a lasting settlement in the region.

98. We are sure that the good faith of the parties and the goodwill of the people, both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, will contribute to the achievement of a solution that will satisfy the interests of all.

99. My delegation is extremely gratified at the nomination by the Secretary-General of Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz who, during the Iraq-Iran dispute gave sufficient proof of his great capacity as a negotiator, and therefore we have no doubt that his efforts as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus will also be the cornerstone of the future negotiations.

100. We supported the resolution that the Security Council has just adopted, because we consider that it is necessary—well-nigh vital—to prolong for a further period the existence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, and particularly in the light of the Secretary-General's statement in paragraph 79 of his report, that "despite the present quiet, the situation in the island is still tense and potentially dangerous".

101. Mr. KUSUMASMORO (Indonesia): My delegation has little to add to what has been said on the numerous occasions in the past when this question was considered. There are, however, one or two points concerning the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus which, in Indonesia's view, deserve some further comment. In the light of the information contained in the comprehensive and enlightening report of the Secretary-General, for which we congratulate him, we are aware of the necessity for extending the mandate of UNFICYP, especially in view of the slight progress that has been made in the efforts to arrive at a final settlement of the issues in Cyprus to date.

102. My delegation feels, however, that in voting for the draft resolution to extend the mandate of UNFICYP, it is important to stress the need for greatly increased efforts to

be undertaken by all the parties concerned to ensure that a final settlement of the Cypriot disputes is speedily achieved. As the Indonesian representative to the Security Council observed at the 1759th meeting, on 14 December 1973, it is the hope of my delegation that the two communities on Cyprus may find themselves able to exert further efforts in order to achieve a permanent solution of this sensitive issue. Such a solution will ensure the integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus as an independent and non-aligned country, and will enable all of its people to live in peace, unity and harmony.

103. My delegation welcomes the efforts towards the reduction of UNFICYP and the evidence that the plans for this reduction of forces are being carried out in accordance with the terms set forth in the previous reports of the Secretary-General to the Council.

104. We are pleased to note that the concurrence of the interested parties to this reduction has been obtained. At the same time, however, Indonesia is concerned that no progress appears to have been made with regard to securing the reduction of the conditions of military confrontation in Cyprus. It is most regrettable, as the Secretary-General notes in paragraph 28 of his report, that neither side is prepared to reduce its military preparations for fear that military security will be threatened. These attitudes clearly show the need for a spirit of accommodation and new determination to achieve a settlement which has so far been lacking in this dispute.

105. The same regrettable conditions prevail with regard to efforts to develop a basis for unity between the two Cypriot communities. The Secretary-General observes in paragraph 44 of his report that "the trend towards the separate development of each community has continued unabated", and this, surely, is a formula for continued conflict.

106. Clearly, these attitudes greatly hinder the development of the complex constitutional and institutional framework which is required if the two communities are to live in harmony with one another. It is greatly to be hoped that additional efforts will soon produce a new determination among the members of both communities to co-operate for the common good of all the people of Cyprus.

107. Indonesia's view remains that the goal of peace, unity and harmony is the goal towards which all our efforts should be directed. It is our hope that in the talks between the two sides which are soon to be resumed, the negotiators will be able to produce a workable solution to the problems which face them and will achieve a constitutional structure which will satisfy the needs of the people of Cyprus as a whole.

108. I cannot close without remarking on the retirement of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, from the service of the United Nations. We are all indebted to him for his untiring efforts in seeking the solution of the problem in Cyprus and for his other contributions to the work of the Organization. All the States Members of the United Nations are greatly in his debt. It is a matter of great satisfaction that his place is now entrusted to Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz, whose services in the Iran-Iraq dispute have earned the Council's admiration.

109. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In connexion with the adoption by the Security Council of the new resolution on the Cyprus question, the delegation of the USSR would like to state that the Soviet Union has always believed and continues to believe that the problem of Cyprus should be settled by peaceful means and in the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole. Such a step would contribute to an easing of tension in that important part of the world.

110. As to the position of the Soviet Union on the substance of this problem, I should like in this regard to recall the statement made on 7 May 1974 at Nicosia by A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. He stated that the Soviet Union had pursued and continued to pursue a consistent and principled policy designed to strengthen the national independence and sovereignty of the Cypriot State.

111. In the view of the Soviet delegation, the settlement of the Cyprus problem should be based upon the maintenance of freedom and upon respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as a State Member of the United Nations which has consistently pursued a policy of peace, non-alignment with military blocs and the fostering of friendship and co-operation among peoples. It is quite obvious that the strengthening of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and the elimination of foreign bases in its territory will make an important contribution to the cause of peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

112. In advocating a peaceful settlement of disputes in the interests of all Cypriots and in helping them to achieve that end, we must accept the principle that the solution of the internal problems of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves, and in that sense the legitimate rights of every Cypriot, without regard to his nationality or the community to which he belongs, must be observed and respected by all, under conditions of an independent sovereign State of Cyprus.

113. The Soviet Union has always opposed attempts to settle the Cyprus question by means of external intervention or by means of attempts to infringe the sovereignty of that country and has also always opposed any intentions to resolve this problem against the will of the people of Cyprus, behind their backs, to the detriment of their vital interests and for the benefit of external imperialist forces. It is quite obvious that the elimination of foreign bases in Cyprus would represent an important step towards ensuring the genuine independence and integrity of Cyprus as a sovereign State.

114. Having studied the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 2 December 1973 to 22 May 1974, the Soviet delegation notes with favour the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve progress in the intercommunal talks. Those talks are extremely important, and it is precisely such talks that will make it possible to reach an agreed settlement of the questions still outstanding. In that connexion, the delegation of the USSR would like to express the hope that the agreement between the parties for the resumption of the intercommu-

nal talks on 4 June will give impetus to the process of overcoming the remaining difficulties in the course of the forthcoming meetings between the representatives of the parties. A successful conclusion of those talks will truly serve the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole and strengthen peace in that important area.

115. In his report, the Secretary-General notes that the second phase of the reduction of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, sanctioned by the Security Council, has now been carried out. In that connexion, the Soviet delegation regards as justified the statement in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that the possible consequences of a new reduction must be carefully weighed.

116. The Soviet delegation does not oppose the adoption by the Council of the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months. We also regard with favour the proposals for resumption of the intercommunal talks and hope, as I have already said, that they will reach a successful conclusion.

117. In voting in favour of the resolution just adopted, the delegation of the USSR has been guided by the belief that the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for the next period ending 15 December 1974 conforms fully to the provisions of Council resolution 186 (1964) and of subsequent Council decisions on the Cyprus question, with continuance of the present functions of the Force and retention of the present system of voluntary financing for it.

118. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): It is now 10 years since the United Nations Force in Cyprus was created by the Security Council by its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. I think that this not wholly happy anniversary and the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for the twentieth time a short while ago should constitute ample reason to reflect on the past experience of the operation, to review the present and to take a look into the future.

119. The phrase which we have again included in the resolution adopted this morning, namely, "the expectation that ... sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force", sounds very familiar, and we have voiced similar hopes many times before. But so far the events in Cyprus and the progress achieved have not substantiated our expectations. There can be little doubt that the Force's presence has rendered invaluable service to the young island Republic of Cyprus and to the international community in general in maintaining peace and in providing an atmosphere of at least relative calm for the past several years. Thus the necessary and, indeed, indispensable basis on which efforts towards a political solution could begin, and progress has been established.

120. It is with great regret therefore that we have to take note again of the sobering and discouraging statement in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that only little progress has been made with respect to the return to normal conditions. In particular, the process of military deconfrontation between the two communities seems to have come to



a halt because, among other things, of the introduction of new, additional weapons in the island. This should be a matter of no little concern to all of us.

121. The facts pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report underline more convincingly than ever that there exists only one possibility of progress, that is, a political settlement once and for all which is acceptable to both communities on the island. In the absence of any other machinery, the intercommunal talks have so far proved to be the only existing avenue to encourage such a process, which will hopefully lead to a solution.

122. We must be aware, of course, that even after agreement on such a settlement has been achieved and accepted by both sides, it will only be a first step to alleviate gradually and to remove finally the mutual distrust and fear which is still so much at the heart of all problems of the island. The way before us therefore still appears to be long.

123. The question has often been asked whether the continued presence of the United Nations on the island is in fact conducive to a strengthening and acceleration of the political determination to come to an agreement or whether, perhaps, the opposite is true. This is, I believe, largely an academic question to which I could not offer ready answers. One fact, however, seems to remain obvious: political talks, political negotiations are the only way, and, as experience in Cyprus shows so clearly, they have so far progressed much better in an environment free from open military confrontation. A further conclusion to be drawn seems equally obvious: continued United Nations presence on the island—and by “presence” I mean both the military Force and the political representation exercising the Secretary-General’s good offices—is still necessary, whatever attitude we might take towards the seemingly unending commitment on the part of the United Nations.

124. It was for those reasons that the suspension of the intercommunal talks was a matter of grave concern to my Government, and we are greatly relieved to find that these talks will shortly be resumed, owing to the highly commendable efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his representative in Cyprus.

125. At this point I wish to pay a very special and sincere tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus for the past seven and a half years, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, who, as we have learned with great regret, will leave his important post in the near future. Mr. Osorio-Tafall has indeed rendered a great service to the international community in a most difficult and sensitive function, and we are all deeply indebted to him.

126. At the same time, we wish to welcome the Secretary-General’s decision to appoint Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz as his new Special Representative. Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz has already demonstrated considerable skill in a recent assignment, and we wish him every success in his most challenging and difficult task.

127. For quite some time now the question of reducing the Force without jeopardizing its effectiveness has been uppermost in everybody’s mind. As a troop contributor, my Government understandably has great interest in seeing the Force carry out its functions effectively and, at the same time, in efforts to alleviate the serious financial difficulties in which the operation finds itself. We are therefore pleased to witness an apparent success of the first and second reduction phases, bearing in mind of course that the final judgement and evaluation of the second phase will be possible only at a somewhat later stage.

128. So far as further reductions at the present time are concerned, I have already stated in my last intervention on this matter, on 14 December 1973 [1759th meeting, para. 123] that we understand those who—not least for financial reasons—would wish the Force to be further reduced at the present time. Although we can understand the motives, we would again advocate a cautious approach to this question and we therefore support and endorse the Secretary-General’s opinion and recommendations in paragraph 79 of his report. Nevertheless we, like others, feel that the momentum gained in reducing and restructuring the Force by the first and second phases should not be lost and that the question should therefore be kept under constant review by the Secretary-General and his associates.

129. Austria remains deeply committed to maintaining peace on the island of Cyprus and to bringing about a lasting political solution. This wish is motivated by the sincere feelings of friendship of the Austrian people for the people of Cyprus.

130. To this end, my Government, in conformity with its policy in the past, will again be ready to maintain its support for this peace-keeping mission of the United Nations both in manpower and financially, in the fervent hope that at the time when we consider the question again in six months our expectations expressed in paragraph 3 of the resolution that we have just adopted will have come closer to reality than on past occasions.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

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