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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document....

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 NINETY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 16 August 1974, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Yakov A. MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

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/1794)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
 - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
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 - (f) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11445)

The meeting was called to order at 7.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);

- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
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- (f) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11445)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Security Council previously [1779th-1781st and 1793rd meetings], I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, India, Mauritius and Algeria to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion.

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

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania, India, Mauritius and Algeria are also invited to take the places reserved for them at the sides of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they are called upon to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Job (Yugoslavia), Mr. Gheorgh (Romania), Mr. Jaipal (India) and Mr. Taleh-Bendiah (Algeria) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the Secretary-General.

4. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Members of the Council may be interested in a brief report on the

latest information received from the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

5. As the Council knows, the Prime Minister of Turkey announced that his Government accepted a cease-fire as from 12 noon New York time today, 16 August. The Force Commander reports that at 1900 hours local time today the cease-fire was holding, except for small-arms and mortar fire along the western part of the green line in Nicosia and on the edges of the Limnitis enclave. Up to 2100 hours local time the cease-fire continued to hold, except for sporadic small-arms fire in the western part of Nicosia. At 2300 hours local time the cease-fire was holding in all districts.

6. I deeply regret to have to inform the Council that a vehicle with five Danish soldiers of UNFICYP ran into a mine-field near Ambelikou, in the Lefka district. Two of the soldiers died, two are seriously wounded, and one slightly wounded. I wish to extend to the Danish Government and people, and to the families, my deepest sympathy at this tragic loss.

7. Mr. President, as I have the floor, I should like to take this opportunity to refer briefly to some remarks which you made at the end of yesterday's meeting of the Council with reference to the reporting on the situation in Cyprus in recent days. Members of the Council will be aware that I and my colleagues have tried to the best of our ability to keep the Council fully informed of the situation in Cyprus, both during the period when the negotiations were going on in Geneva and after the resumption of full-scale hostilities in Cyprus. These communications included immediate reports [S/11353 and addenda] as information became available and also an interim report by me in pursuance of resolution 355 (1974) [S/11433].

8. I wish to inform the Council that when I am away from New York I am in constant touch by telephone and cable with Headquarters and am kept fully informed of the reports which are being submitted to the Council, the contents of which are normally reviewed by me in detail before they are issued. These reports are based on information received by me from the Commander of UNFICYP in Cyprus. They give, I believe, an objective account of a very complex situation.

9. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): As President of the Security Council may I, on its behalf, express our sincere condolences to the Government of Denmark and to the families of the deceased on the death of the Danish soldiers serving in the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

10. I should like also to offer a small clarification in connexion with the Secretary-General's observations regarding my remarks yesterday concerning the reports of the Secretariat on Cyprus. I made my

comments in yesterday's statement not as President of the Council but as representative of the Soviet Union.

11. Now I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the fact that the draft resolution submitted yesterday by the French delegation in document S/11450 has been twice revised and has now been issued as document S/11450/Rev.2.

12. In accordance with the agreement reached among the members of the Council in the consultations held before this meeting was convened, I shall put to the vote draft resolution S/11450/Rev.2.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Iraq, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 3 abstentions.¹

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

13. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council will now proceed to hear those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote following the vote.

14. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): It seems to me that after all the consultations, collective and bilateral, occasioned since yesterday by the draft resolution submitted by my delegation I should be abusing the patience of the Council if I were to detain it too long. I will not, however, forget that parenthood means taking on special responsibilities and I shall attempt, in a few words, to state in public the reasons for our initiative.

15. Since the breakdown in the Geneva negotiations—and I say "negotiations"—the situation in Cyprus has steadily worsened, to the point that the office of the President of the Republic in Paris issued on 14 August a communiqué from which I take the following sentence:

"France formally disapproves of the unilateral resumption of military operations in Cyprus by Turkey. Only negotiations carried to a successful conclusion without the simultaneous quest for military advantage can lead to an equitable solution

¹ See resolution 360 (1974).

in conformity with the principles which should govern relations among European States."

16. In the same spirit I believe that the Government of the United States, through Mr. Kissinger, has stated its disapproval of the Turkish action in Cyprus and indicated its readiness to intervene on behalf of an equitable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. I could also mention many more statements by authorities of other countries which, in the face of the tragedy and the crisis in Cyprus, have taken up unequivocal positions.

17. Although a cease-fire has officially been accepted fighting is still continuing in several parts of the island and the prospects for an early resumption of the Geneva negotiations still remain far from certain. How, in these political circumstances, could the Security Council remain indifferent to the situation? How could it refrain from exercising its responsibilities under the Charter? How could it stand aloof, as a remote observer, while events endanger peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean, with all the risks that that entails for international security?

18. After our debate yesterday, of course, we did adopt two resolutions indicating the Council's concern. One of them [*resolution 359 (1974)*], which was essentially humanitarian in nature, answered the concerns of all Member States with regard to the functioning and the safety of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. We immediately gave it our support and our sponsorship.

19. The tragic events which have just been reported by the Secretary-General and which have led to more deaths among soldiers of the United Nations contingents underscore the unhappy relevance of yesterday's resolution and they indicate the importance of close attention to this resolution on the part of all the parties to the fighting in Cyprus.

20. The other resolution adopted yesterday, [*resolution 358 (1974)*] perhaps on the proposal of certain non-aligned countries, confined itself to re-echoing earlier resolutions and insisting on their complete implementation and on observance of the cease-fire. That was all very well and good, but it really was not enough.

21. The political implications of the Cyprus problem, and the immediate political implications in particular, also fall within the purview of the Council. That would be true if only because of the important role the United Nations has played throughout the past 10 years in an attempt to settle the Cyprus problem, but it is also true because a situation which could very well entail danger to peace and security in one region of the world does fall directly and primarily within the Organization's purview.

22. Yesterday, in introducing the draft resolution which is before the Council for consideration this

evening, my Government was acting out of a threefold concern: moral, legal and political.

23. In terms of morality, my delegation feels that it is the Council's duty to take a clear stand on the responsibility of the various parties in the Cyprus tragedy. We are the more at ease in emphasizing the Turkish responsibility in the present situation because at the beginning of the crisis Mr. de Guiringaud stated that the circumstances of the coup d'état in Nicosia and the Greek affiliation of the officers of the National Guard in Cyprus conferred particular responsibility on the Government in Athens.

24. From the legal standpoint it is incumbent upon the Council once again forcefully to reaffirm the importance of the parties respecting its earlier resolutions and to refer to the international agreements at the basis of the constitutional régime of Cyprus, as well as that of the forces that may be stationed there.

25. On the political level—and, I repeat, this is really where the draft resolution we have introduced belongs—it was the Council's duty, referring to resolution 353 (1974), to make another urgent appeal to the parties to resume without delay, in an atmosphere of genuine and finally constructive co-operation, the negotiations which were under way in Geneva, without those negotiations being affected by the outcome of the recent military operations. Here again, and most particularly, I should like to mention—I am unhappily constrained to do so—what France believes to be the responsibility of one of the parties.

26. The events that led to the resumption of military operations in Cyprus, which resulted in the Turkish army cutting the island in two and once again plunging Cyprus into the horrors of war are in everyone's mind, and we all mentioned them and condemned them, one after another, at the night meeting which followed the breakdown of the Geneva negotiations. It seems to me that those events are part of an inadmissible practice, a practice which one would have hoped had become outmoded thanks to the development of international co-operation: I am referring to what I shall describe as the ultimatum approach. I think it seemed to us all that at a certain point in the Geneva negotiations, precisely at the point when those negotiations were broken off, a much too brusque attitude motivated the decisions taken by the Turkish Government. This, unfortunately, cannot but bring to mind practices which, in other years, brought fire and bloodshed to Europe. That was exactly how the world wars began.

27. The fact that what is involved here is the territory of a State Member of the United Nations living in conditions of internal difficulties because of the opposition—often fierce opposition—between the two communities that must live together on the island is

something to which we cannot remain indifferent. The mere fact that it is a small and unhappy country does not give us the right to forget it or not to deal with the tragedy tearing it apart in exactly the same way as we would deal with a conflict or a crisis or a war between large States.

28. There is something deeply moving in the division of Cyprus, a division which did not prevent Cyprus from being a Member of our community however. We could not avoid taking a stand on the sense or non-sense of the events which were continuing to tear that unhappy country asunder.

29. I can only pay a tribute on behalf of my Government to all the sorely tried people of Cyprus and express the ardent hope that their ordeals will one day be over. For that, however, we should have paid rather closer attention to the real political situation which now prevails in Cyprus, a situation dominated by the attempt of one State, and a guarantor State at that, to seize advantages in the island—admittedly after having been disadvantaged there—advantages that finally were an obstacle to a real settlement of the crisis.

30. No war, no attempt to use force, can ever settle political problems. We all know that; we have all experienced it in the lives of our States and in international affairs. Unfortunately, we still have examples of this all too often in our international community, but it is our duty to do everything in our power to propose guidelines for the settlement, or the beginnings of a settlement, of the crisis.

31. I do not think, therefore that we could have contented ourselves with simply repeating in anonymous terms what is going on in Cyprus. Many of the resolutions we have adopted rest, of course, on a lowest common denominator we had to do better than that, and that is what the draft resolution submitted by my delegation was aimed at. I think this resolution is quite an accurate reflection of the general feeling in the Council.

32. I should like to thank the delegations that have been good enough to lend their support to the draft resolution we have submitted, and I would venture to find it encouraging that 11 States were able, here in this chamber, to express a judgement and urgently to put forward the basis for a solution.

33. I find it understandable that other States had to abstain or not to participate in the vote because they had difficulty in getting the necessary instructions from their Governments. Nevertheless, we were confronted with a matter of great urgency. The resolution we have adopted today does, I believe, correspond more or less to the reality as we must see it. I fear that tomorrow or the day after, that may unfortunately no longer be so. That is why, moreover, we remain permanently seized of the question,

something which France is entirely prepared to accept, despite the fatigue that it imposes on the members of our delegations, so firmly do we believe that the United Nations and the Security Council are the place where major problems, including those of Cyprus, should be brought up and discussed.

34. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): As everyone knows, the Chinese delegation has stated its position of principle at the meetings of the Security Council on a number of occasions since the Cyprus question has been under discussion. In keeping with this position, we decided not to participate in the vote on draft resolution S/11450/Rev.2.

35. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would like to make some comments in explanation of its vote in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

36. The events in Cyprus are, for many reasons, a bitter experience for the international community, because they imply the violation of principles enshrined in the Charter, to which my country is deeply attached. To be sure, the San Francisco Charter, which led to the establishment of the United Nations established a new international order based fundamentally upon the duty of all States to maintain international peace and security. The new international order was framed in such a way as to make it illegal for any Member State unilaterally to resort to the use of force to settle international disputes and to reserve for each State the inherent right of legitimate defence in the event of an armed attack. So that the prohibition of the use of force might be effective, machinery was established providing the Security Council with the powers necessary to achieve the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

37. Therefore, confronted with such a dramatic case as that of Cyprus, we wonder if—as serious as war itself—irreparable damage has not been done to the principles upon which international order is based.

38. My delegation fully shares the concern expressed yesterday by the Secretary-General in the conclusion of the report he submitted to the Council on the consequences of the non-observance of the measures taken by the Council in view of the repeated violations of the cease-fire in Cyprus. All nations should be jealous guardians of the integrity of the decisions of the Council if it is hoped that we may live in a world in which the settlement of disputes is entrusted to an international authority.

39. It is clear that, both because of devotion to the principles of the Charter and because that itself includes a fundamental interest in surviving as nations, small countries such as that represented by my delegation have the unswerving duty to support the Charter of the United Nations in order to safeguard their own security. We dare not imagine what might

happen if an era were to come in which, because it was not strictly abided by, that Charter was weakened, thrusting the world back once again under the reign of force.

40. When a nation refuses to comply with measures taken by the Security Council on behalf of the entire international community, that represents a serious erosion of the entire system of international security and, perhaps not deliberately, jeopardizes those small countries which prefer to devote all their efforts to the struggle to achieve their development. It would be most unwise for them to have to squander their scarce resources on weapons in the event of their feeling threatened by a lack of confidence resulting from being divested of all international protection.

41. After what has been occurring in Cyprus there are no grounds for optimism. The people of Cyprus itself did not desire this war, nor was it prepared to resist it. It must be frankly admitted that the measures taken by the Security Council fell into a vacuum.

42. Cyprus, a small country as is mine, has been the prey of the capacity of others. My country protests on behalf of Cyprus and on behalf of the international order which has been shaken in the process.

43. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): My delegation voted in support of the draft resolution contained in document S/11450/Rev.2. We did so only after a very long hesitation. We had difficulties with regard to paragraph 3. While recognizing the need for an immediate resumption of the negotiations between the parties concerned, my delegation believes that, from a realistic point of view, such negotiations cannot but take into account the realities created by the developments in Cyprus.

44. I should like to associate my delegation with you, Mr. President, and with the Secretary-General in expressing our deep sympathy to the Government of Denmark for the death of two Danish soldiers of UNFICYP, which followed so very closely upon the death of three men of the Austrian contingent.

45. My delegation would like to reiterate once again its tribute to UNFICYP for the manner in which it has performed its tasks in Cyprus under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

46. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): Mr. President, we too would like to join you in extending our sincere condolences to the Austrian and Danish Governments on the loss of life sustained by their respective contingents serving with UNFICYP.

47. My delegation has already had occasion to state before the Council Iraq's position with regard to the situation in Cyprus. I should like to reiterate very

briefly now the principles upon which our position is based.

48. Iraq, as a non-aligned State, is deeply concerned about the existence of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned State whose territorial integrity should not be threatened or compromised by any foreign intervention. In order to facilitate the attainment of this objective, my delegation has voted in favour of all the resolutions already adopted by the Council on the recent tragic events in Cyprus. What is of cardinal importance at the present stage is to get the parties concerned back to the negotiating table, with every effort on our part not to raise any obstacles in the path of the negotiating process. With the situation as it is now in Cyprus, the resumption of the negotiations appears to be the only way towards a settlement of the crisis.

49. We deeply regret the fact that force has been used. The return to the negotiating table still remains the only feasible means of achieving a solution acceptable to all parties concerned, of containing the highly explosive situation, of overcoming the bitter residue of the use of force, and of arriving at a state of normalcy and stability in the Republic of Cyprus.

50. Coming back to the resolution that has just been adopted by the Council, I should like to state that my delegation has referred to Baghdad the text of the original draft resolution submitted last evening by the French delegation in document S/11450. So far we have not received any instructions concerning that draft. In the meantime, we were presented this afternoon with two revisions of the original draft, which we again tried to refer to our capital. It was felt by the sponsor of the resolution adopted by the Council just now that no further delay could be accepted in the voting on it. Under these circumstances, my delegation has had to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution. We sincerely hope, however, that the parties concerned will find it possible now to negotiate again. The recent declarations made by the Greek and Turkish Governments would justify a measure of optimism about some progress being made towards a settlement of the problem that would guarantee the rights of the two communities on the island and the continuing existence of the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned State.

51. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): We can all derive satisfaction from the Secretary-General's report that at long last the guns are stilled on Cyprus. The cease-fire seems finally to be in effect. Regrettably, the United Nations peace forces, UNFICYP, have suffered further casualties. We extend our deepest sympathy to the Danish Government and to the bereaved families of those soldiers of peace who have given their lives selflessly in the service of others.

52. With the cease-fire now taking hold, we must also turn our attention to forging the peace, to establishing conditions under which the good people of Cyprus may live undisturbed and walk in paths of their own choosing. My delegation hopes that, on reflection, all parties to the Cyprus dispute will decide it is in their own national interest to move on to Geneva without delay to resume the peace negotiations suspended earlier this week. The success of these talks under the chairmanship of the distinguished British Foreign Secretary involves the peace of the eastern Mediterranean. The world is watching. The participants have an obligation to mankind to enter into negotiations in a spirit of conciliation and fair-minded compromise to reach an understanding that will renew and indeed reinforce the historic friendship of the peoples of the area.

53. Mr. MVOGO-ENAMA (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation supported the draft resolution just adopted by the Council because it continues to believe that the Security Council can still make itself heard by the parties concerned in the situation in Cyprus. However, we regret the negative attitude of certain parties involved in the painful situation in Cyprus. That negative attitude is reflected in the refusal to respect and to implement the various resolutions adopted by the Council from the very beginning of the present crisis. If the repeated appeals of the Council had been heeded, beginning with that of 16 July last, much loss of life and tremendous material destruction could have been avoided, and the two main communities on the island would have been spared much suffering, a suffering which seems recently to have reached an appalling intensity.

54. My delegation still hopes and indeed believes that the Security Council will never accept the use of brute force as the foundation of law. States great and small, States powerful and weak, have a right to existence as separate and distinct entities. The Republic of Cyprus has a right to exist as an independent State whose sovereignty and territorial integrity must be scrupulously respected by all States, and first and foremost by the States Members of the United Nations.

55. My delegation hopes that the guns will remain silent in Cyprus and that the Geneva talks will resume shortly in a genuine spirit of co-operation among all the parties concerned.

56. My delegation associates itself with the condolences that the President of the Security Council addressed yesterday to the Government of Austria and today to the Government of Denmark in connexion with the tragic deaths of their soldiers in the service of peace in Cyprus.

57. Mr. CAMPBELL (Australia): Because it is not a mere concept of Cyprus but the people who inhabit

that island with which we are concerned, we cannot welcome too warmly the establishment of the cease-fire reported by the Secretary-General—the fact, that is, that this people is presently freed from the threat of violence and also that the members of UNFICYP are no longer serving under fire. We take this opportunity to express our condolences to the Governments, the peoples and the families concerned in Austria and in Denmark.

58. In his statement in the Australian Parliament on 16 August, the Foreign Minister, Senator Willesee, made clear the extent to which the Australian Government found it deplorable that there should have been a renewed outbreak of serious hostilities on Cyprus and that the areas under control of the several sides should again have been shifted not by agreement but by force of arms—the more so when negotiations had been under way. These are not negotiating weapons which we would ourselves employ.

59. That having been said, the Australian Government recognizes the long and bitter political background to the Cyprus problem, and that in the past the Turkish minority on the island has been denied its constitutional rights in many respects. Moreover, the Turkish Cypriot minority is entitled, as indeed is the Greek Cypriot majority, to guarantees of security, safety and constitutional rights. At this time there can be no other course than to return single-mindedly to the Geneva negotiations in order to reach a solution to this problem, and thus ensure that peace and security are re-established on Cyprus for all the people of that island.

60. If negotiations are to succeed they must obviously be conducted in an atmosphere henceforth free of the threat or fact of ultimatum and of unreasonable demands. Such complex and far-reaching matters as future constitutional arrangements for Cyprus can be settled only after calm and careful consideration by all the parties concerned.

61. We need peace now, peace during negotiations and peace permanently as their outcome.

62. As further evidence of our concern, and in order to make a tangible contribution to the re-establishment of peace on Cyprus, on 8 August my Government announced its willingness to contribute 200 Australian troops to the United Nations Force on the island. We also intend to maintain our police contingent, which took up duty there in 1964.

63. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): Before explaining my delegation's vote, I should like to express the grief and consternation of my delegation at the fresh tragic news we have been given by the Secretary-General of incidents which this time struck members of the Danish contingent of UNFICYP. Allow me, Mr. President, to extend through you our most heartfelt condolences

to the Government and people of Denmark and to the families of these soldiers of peace so sorely tried.

64. This latest tragedy which has struck the United Nations peace corps in Cyprus once again underscores the great urgency of the action called for in resolution 359 (1974) adopted by the Council yesterday, because each new death, each new human sacrifice added to the previous ones, strengthens us in our belief that everything must be done to secure the base of UNFICYP's activity in Cyprus in order to provide effective protection for the life and safety of its members, whose operations continue to be essential to a restoration of peace in the island.

65. As regards the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted, my delegation did not hesitate to vote in favour of that text, introduced by France yesterday and given its final form in the course of long consultations today. We voted for the draft resolution in the conviction that it satisfies the urgent requirements of the moment. First of all, it answers the need for the Council unambiguously and with all due clarity to take a stand on the events that took place earlier this week, on the new and violent outbreak of hostilities after the failure of the beginning of the second phase of the Geneva conference. I have by need to reiterate at this time my delegation's categorical disapproval of this use of force and this reversion to the principle that might is right.

66. Secondly, we believe that this resolution that we have adopted does meet the requirement of calling on the parties to resume the negotiations without delay in an atmosphere of constructive co-operation as called for in resolution 353 (1974) of more than four weeks ago. The need for these negotiations is still imperative for a settlement of the conflict, and they are the more essential because for too much violence, too much force and too many threats of force have already accompanied a conflict the nature of which has repeatedly been evoked in this Council. It would seem that a solution would be difficult if not impossible in an atmosphere of warfare and violence. We believe that the prerequisites for a resumption of the negotiations have now been amply demonstrated by the present resolution.

67. We were happy to hear from the Secretary-General that a cease-fire has today been effected in Cyprus. If, after the latest eruptions, after further sufferings on a scale which will become known only after some time has passed, after all these events, a new cease-fire has in fact come about, then we have reason to be gratified. However, as before, a cease-fire can only be a first step towards a true peace. And we hope that with the goodwill of the parties at issue, that true peace will soon be a reality.

68. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): May I commence by expressing the condolences of my delegation and my country to the Danish Government

and people on the loss of two soldiers of UNFICYP and also on the wounding of three others. There is perhaps a tendency to take international peace-keeping forces somewhat for granted until a crisis arises, when all of us express I suppose slightly ritualistic condolences if any of the forces are wounded or killed. I think that particularly the last three or four days in Cyprus have shown not only the worth of the peace-keeping forces as such but also how much we, the international community, and indeed world peace, depend upon them.

69. Mr. President, in the course of your speech last evening you referred to the reports which had been supplied from time to time by the Secretariat. I think it should perhaps go on record that not all the members of the Security Council find themselves in the position that you do, of being dissatisfied with the amount of information that has been supplied to us by the Secretariat in the past few weeks. We have had regular reports, we have had regular information, particularly on the facts of the situation in Cyprus. Certain information has, or course, come into my possession as the representative of the United Kingdom because the United Kingdom is interested and has some forces in Cyprus. May I say that, judging by the independent information which has been available to me, the reports of the Secretariat are accurate and full.

70. In your speech last evening, Mr. President, you called for a report which would be an evaluation of the general state of affairs on the island. With great respect, I do not think that that is really the purpose of these reports. Surely, the purpose of these reports is to provide us with the facts upon which we, the Security Council, can then make either our own individual evaluations or our collective evaluations. I should have thought that that was a preferable situation. I repeat, again speaking for myself, that I find the reports that we have been supplied with perfectly adequate.

71. I am pleased too that today we are discussing Cyprus against a new background and in a new situation—that is, that the fighting has apparently stopped. What is important now is that the initiative that arises from that cease-fire should not be lost. It is important that there should now be an effective political settlement. And, as I have said on a number of occasions in the past few weeks, for there to be an effective political settlement in Cyprus there must be a readiness to accept the fact that compromise is the essence of such a settlement. Perhaps out of this truly dreadful war there may yet emerge a settlement acceptable to the people of Cyprus as a whole, both Greek and Turk, and perhaps this time it will be a settlement that will last. There is no point in anyone's making a settlement which proves to be unacceptable to the majority of either of the two communities in Cyprus. If there is one lesson to be learned from the experience of the past 15 years, it is that a settlement

which proved broadly acceptable to the Greek Cypriot population and unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot population could not last. The converse also will be true. One cannot guarantee a political settlement at the point of a bayonet, and if it is not acceptable it will fail.

72. The lesson to be learned from that is that negotiations must start and that both sides in those negotiations must be prepared to accept that they have to respect not only their own views but the views of the other party to the negotiations. For, I say again, otherwise the settlement cannot last.

73. I understand that both sides to the dispute are today under great pressure. I trust that as the fighting has died away and as some of the more bitter and more recent memories of it tend to fade, the spirit of compromise and moderation may reassert itself on all sides and that we may yet have a settlement in Cyprus of which that country, the two main nations concerned and we, the United Nations, may yet be proud.

74. Mr. OULD MOULOUD (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes first of all to extend its condolences to the Governments of Austria and Denmark on the death of their soldiers who were killed while they were carrying out the noble task entrusted to them by the United Nations. We express our deep sympathy also to the bereaved families on the tragic losses they have suffered.

75. My delegation has just voted in favour of draft resolution S/11450/Rev.2. That decision should not be taken to mean that my delegation is fully satisfied with that text. Indeed, we have expressed our opinion on this subject to the delegation that took the initiative of preparing the draft resolution, and I should like to thank the French delegation for having taken some of our suggestions fully into account.

76. I should like other delegations too to understand fully the meaning that we attach to the vote we have just cast; it is on the same lines as the meaning we attached to the vote we cast on the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council—on many occasions, I would stress, unanimously—during the past five weeks. All those resolutions reaffirmed the necessity of respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They called on all the parties to the conflict to cease all the military activities they had undertaken, either on 20 July or subsequently, on the territory of that unfortunate country. Those resolutions also called on the parties concerned to enter without delay into negotiations aimed at finding appropriate solutions to the problems facing the Republic of Cyprus as a result of foreign intervention.

77. The delegation of Mauritania has been deeply saddened by the fact that those appeals have not been

fully heeded. The fact that our urgent appeals for wisdom and moderation have been ignored has caused the population of the Republic of Cyprus indescribable suffering, and we have the most sincere sympathy for that population.

78. During the debates held by the Security Council on this subject, the delegation of Mauritania has stated in the clearest way the importance it attaches to the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to the well-being of its people. It was for that same reason that my delegation today voted in favour of this new resolution. Our firm hope is that all fighting will stop once and for all in Cyprus and that peace and the constitutional order will be restored without delay, by the method of negotiation, and that method alone.

79. In conclusion, my delegation wishes once again to thank the Secretary-General for all the efforts he has constantly exerted to facilitate the implementation of the Security Council resolutions and to lessen the suffering of the people of Cyprus. We wish also to pay a heartfelt tribute to all the members of the United Nations Force who are at present carrying out a vital task in extremely difficult conditions.

80. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): On behalf of my delegation I should like to express to the Government and people of Denmark our condolences on the loss of life involving that country's contingent to the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

81. As I have said before, my delegation will support any move, however weak or defective, which might assist the Republic of Cyprus to regain its independence. The resolution just adopted quite clearly constitutes another very small and weak move by the Council in its understandably weak efforts to save Cyprus. Therefore my delegation was content to support it.

82. The problem of Cyprus is not over. It is going to be with us for quite a long time, as far as we can see, and no doubt we shall have many occasions to say more when the subject comes up.

83. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

84. First of all, having already as President of the Security Council expressed condolences to the Government of Denmark and the families of the deceased on the deaths of the Danish soldiers serving in the United Nations Force in Cyprus, I should like also to express condolences in this connexion to the Danish Government and people and to the families of the deceased on behalf of the USSR delegation.

85. The Soviet delegation has already stated in detail the position of principle of the Soviet Union on the question of Cyprus at earlier meetings of the Council and, in particular, at yesterday's meeting, during the discussion and the voting on the two resolutions adopted by the Council at that meeting, resolutions for which the USSR delegation voted [358 (1974) and 359 (1974)].

86. There is no need today to repeat everything that was said by the Soviet delegation concerning the position of principle of the Soviet Union on the Cyprus question. I should like only to note a few points briefly. We pointed to the obsolescence and the inconsistency of the so-called "international guarantees" imposed on Cyprus in the past. We expressed our opposition to settling the fate of Cyprus and the Cypriot people within the narrow circle of the NATO countries following the recent breakdown in the Geneva negotiations. We supported the idea that this outmoded and bankrupt system of "international guarantees" of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be replaced by a more effective and reliable system of truly international guarantees and that the fate of the Cypriot people should not be settled by a narrow circle of States in the lamentable tradition of the past centuries of colonialism.

87. We supported the proposal of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries that future negotiations on Cyprus should take place under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, those who prefer to decide the fate of the Cypriot people and the State of Cyprus within the narrow circle of the NATO countries have rejected these important, urgent and timely proposals.

88. We also continue to hold the view that the Security Council, and hence the United Nations, must play a direct part in solving the problem of Cyprus.

89. The delegation of the USSR, as everyone knows, has made a proposal that a special mission of the Security Council, composed of its members, should be sent to Cyprus [S/11391]. The purpose of such a mission would be to determine on the spot what progress is being made in the implementation of the Council's decisions and to submit a report to the Council. We reserve the right to revert to all these considerations and proposals.

90. With regard to the draft resolution submitted by France [S/11450/Rev.2], the USSR delegation was unfortunately unable to receive instructions in time for today's voting on that draft resolution. As has often been the case in the past in the Security Council, there was of course a time difference involved here. Not long ago, on 31 July, a similar situation arose in connexion with the voting on a draft resolution concerning which the USSR delegation had been unable to receive instructions in time for

the vote. We appealed to the French delegation to postpone the vote on the draft resolution for a few hours. Unfortunately, the French delegation did not accede to our request. It insisted on pressing for a vote. Consequently, we found ourselves in a position where we had no alternative but to abstain in the vote on the French draft resolution.

91. In conclusion, I should like to reply briefly to the remarks of the United Kingdom representative. He is satisfied with the information on Cyprus supplied by the Secretariat. He has explained that, in addition to the reports of the Secretariat, he has had information on Cyprus from other sources as well. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has had a wealth of information and that he is fully satisfied with it.

92. And now, in my capacity as PRESIDENT, I call on the representative of Turkey.

93. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I deplore the fact that this resolution was ever tabled. I deplore the fact that it was accepted. I deplore the frame of mind of those who, in their Parisian ivory towers, even thought of such a biased approach in this issue at such a time.

94. I have great respect for many virtues which make France great, but I also happen to know, alas, that when it decides to climb down from greatness to petty considerations it also does so thoroughly. I wonder whether it is the kind of France the world hoped would never be seen again which is taking over. Despite my own and my people's great respect for France, I cannot help wondering whether it is the France of the Foreign Legion, the France of Sakiet Sidi Youssef, the France of the paratroopers, the France of Suez, and more recently the France of the Mururoa experiments which claims the right to judge Turkish actions and their relevance to United Nations principles.

95. It is obvious to anyone around this table, indeed anyone in this chamber since yesterday, that France in one of its moods of grandeur suddenly decided to play a role in this problem, a role which probably has long been denied it, and decided to begin by choosing the part of a judge, placing the blame for whatever happened in Cyprus on Turkish shoulders. I am, of course, talking about the original draft resolution circulated [S/11450] and not about the one which seemed to have been perhaps emasculated, in the minds of those who considered the first one a better one.

96. This resolution starts the clock some time last week, despite the fact of many resolutions implying that foreign intervention, foreign military presence, and even action had been taking place for months before the Council was seized of the problem in its most recent phase. France chose to look back to the last week, and this at a time when the wise

thing—morally, politically and humanely—would have been to look forward only, to a brighter future which might be created as a result of meaningful negotiations. The adoption of such a resolution can only be aimed at ruining the prospects of such negotiations.

97. We know full well the old Makarios tactic of signing agreements only to denounce them under the fallacious pretext of their having been signed under duress; and the origin of the Cyprus problem and the fact that we have now been gathered around this table almost every day for the past month, day and night, is due to this original sin attributed to the solemnly agreed treaties and constitution by the then head of the Cypriot Government.

98. Is it the aim of France to prepare the terrain for such future pretexts? Why this frantic action on the part of a country which had long been accustomed to remain silent on issues at least as virulent as the Cyprus issue? I know of other cases, also involving the Mediterranean, to which France is so much attached, where France's reaction was much slower in coming. It was not a question of hours—as you have yourself mentioned, Mr. President—for the adoption of resolutions in the Council. Different nations command probably different considerations. I wonder how many Mirages one had to be able to buy to achieve this aim.

99. I consider that if the representative of France, or rather his Government, had been content with a serious call for the resumption of negotiations in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution, without playing for favours at the same time, it would have been a constructive contribution by France to international relations which we have not been able to witness for a long time. Indeed, it is the first time that the Security Council has adopted a resolution because the President of one Member State had made a statement—which I, at least, consider biased—11 years after the inclusion of an international dispute on its agenda. One wonders where the conscience of that country was while unilateral action, including military action, against defenceless Turkish Cypriot civilians was being committed repeatedly over the past 11 years.

100. Now I will say this about the end result achieved through the French efforts today. My Government has declared its readiness to take part in the negotiations aimed at establishing the future framework of the constitution for an independent and sovereign State of Cyprus, but it is not on the basis of this unbalanced, biased, unequal, unfair and unrealistic resolution that it will do so. The moment this Council adopts—as I hope it will very soon—any other resolution that does not bear all these stigmas, my Government will be ready to reconsider its attitude in this respect and will do so gladly.

101. I want to point out once more that Turkey does not enter into negotiations under conditions

dictated on the basis of sentences extracted from statements dreamed up in Paris, even if it was in the Elysée Palace.

102. May I, as a final word, associate my delegation, my Government and myself with the condolences expressed by the Secretary-General and by you, Mr. President, on the sad occasion of the death of two gallant Danish soldiers of UNFICYP. Our condolences go also to the Danish Government and the bereaved families.

103. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I take the floor for one purpose and one purpose only. I am sure it was a slip on your part, and I am sure you would wish to correct any contrary impression you might have given to the Council and to the general public, but I thought you said that it was the Group of Non-Aligned Countries that had proposed that negotiations should take place under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General.

104. Mr. President, from time to time you have, of course, revealed in the Council what went on in informal consultations. I may, with your permission, follow your example. You will know, and I will know, and in view of what you said it is right that everybody else should know, that that proposal did not emanate from the group of non-aligned nations: it emanated, as far as one could tell, as a working paper proposal which was discussed yesterday in informal consultations, and which, as you will know also, could not get any support.

105. Therefore, to present it to the Council as something emanating from an extremely important and influential group of nations in this United Nations is inaccurate, and I am sure you would wish to correct any contrary impression that you might have given.

106. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Addressing myself to the United Kingdom representative, I would say this: your information does not accord with the facts. Not one of the six representatives of the non-permanent members of the Security Council from the non-aligned countries raised any objection to this proposal, which was in fact introduced by one of them.

107. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): I shall be very brief. I wish merely to express the regret I feel upon hearing the statement by the representative of Turkey, a statement that really grated rather badly. Bitterness is a bad counsellor. I can only remark that a large number of countries represented in this chamber did in fact join France in ensuring the adoption of this resolution, which is far from dealing only with insignificant considerations of detail. I would rather have seen the representative of Turkey address himself to the substance of the problem and give us some clarification, which we badly need,

as to how his country intends to respect the Security Council resolutions.

108. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Greece.

109. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): May I first express to the Council my personal sadness and grief, as well as that of my Government, at the new losses suffered by the United Nations Force in Cyprus, this time in the Danish contingent.

110. I should like to thank the representative of France for the efforts he has been making since yesterday morning—faced with many obstacles, including the fanaticism of the representative of Turkey, an example of which we have just been given—to enable the Security Council to add a few sentences to everything that it has been saying so ineffectively for over a fortnight.

111. The resolution just adopted may not help Cyprus very much, but it will enhance the prestige of the Council. As for my Government, I must be clear on one point. The interpretation it gives to the text which has just been adopted is that there can be no question of the negotiations envisaged in operative paragraph 3 before the implementation of paragraph 2.

112. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

113. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish, in the first place, to express my deep sorrow and condolences to the Danish Government and people on the loss of more men of the United Nations Force serving the cause of peace in Cyprus. It is regrettable that, with the other tremendous losses and tragedies brought to Cyprus, the United Nations too has had to suffer since that evil day, 20 July, when Turkey invaded the island.

114. I should like to say a few words now with regard to the resolution before us, but before doing so I wish to express my gratitude to the representative of France for speaking out and initiating an expression long delayed in this Council, of the real facts of the situation in Cyprus, evoking at least a shadow of indignation at the violation of human rights and at the violation by Turkey of the freedom, independence, sovereignty and integrity of Cyprus.

115. Yesterday I really wondered desperately whether the United Nations was even aware of the gravity of the situation—of this attack against a small country and its destruction by a great Power. But today the reality seems to be filtering through, and we have had more than one statement speaking of the victim and of the aggressor. You see, truth is there, and it comes out, in spite of the efforts of diplomacy to hide it. It is a case of an aggressor and a victim.

It is not a case of a war, when it could have been claimed to have been partly in self-defence. There was no question of defence. It was a downright violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter—and this by a country that was a supposed to be a guarantor.

116. If one goes through the various volumes of international law, one finds cases of similar treaties of guarantee, but they refer to past ages. It was never thought that this could happen today. Even before the establishment of the Charter of the United Nations—20 years before—it was mentioned in cases of such guarantees that to the extent that they are really means of aggression and subjugation they are invalid. Therefore, the Treaty of Guarantee is invalid now. It was always invalid under the law, but now it has become invalid in fact by reason of the attitude of Turkey.

117. Now, we have before us the resolution that has just been adopted, proposed by the representative of France. In paragraph 3 of its resolution, the Council

“Urges the parties to resume without delay, in an atmosphere of constructive co-operation,”

—“constructive co-operation” clearly means freedom of negotiation; it cannot mean negotiations under the threat or use of force; of course, that is not very palatable to the representative of Turkey, who looks forward to a resumption of the negotiations on the same pattern as before—at gunpoint, and now with the added advantage of having illegally imposed a military occupation on a sizable part of Cyprus—

“the negotiations called for in resolution 353 (1974) whose outcome should not be impeded or prejudged by the acquisition of advantages resulting from military operations”.

That, again, is distasteful to the representative of Turkey, because he wants to use the illegal occupation as a means to dictate Turkey's terms.

118. I note that the English translation of the original French text of the resolution uses the word “prejudged”. May I point out that the word “prejudged” is not an accurate translation of the French. The verb “*préjuger*” means “to prejudge”, but when it is used as it is in this text, the meaning is “without prejudice”. It is not a question of prejudging, but of there being no prejudice.

119. In this situation, any future negotiations should be free and unencumbered; they should be negotiations not tainted by what has already happened in Geneva under the imminent threat of force, rendering them invalid.

120. The occupation of the territory is illegal in every way because it is a violation of Article 2, paragraph 4,

of the Charter, which is solemnly reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)—the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Paragraph 5 of that resolution clearly states that

“every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force ... and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts”.

121. This is the situation, and for the representative of Turkey to object to the formulation that the territory illegally occupied should not be used for the purposes of getting advantages in the negotiations is obvious proof of Turkey's intentions.

122. Our position is that any negotiations that are to be conducted should take place in a free atmosphere and without any encumbrances or prejudice or threats. That is the spirit by which the representative of France was moved, and I hope the representative of Turkey will respond in the same spirit.

123. I come now to the point that was made concerning concessions. Of course, any negotiation implies concessions in a spirit of compromise. But the important thing is that the product resulting from the negotiation should be a workable and viable State. If, therefore, making concessions means divisive provisions that would disrupt the very concept of the State, creating a State within a State and an unworkable Constitution, that would not be constructive. For there is no point in creating a State in a manner calculated

to disrupt it, leading to new situations of war and an endless chain of attacks and counter-attacks.

124. I submit that the spirit of the resolution proposed by the representative of France must be seriously taken into account. Let us hope that this will be the beginning of the United Nations rising to the occasion and moving forward in a constructive and remedial way.

125. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

126. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I apologize for speaking a second time. Contrary to my newly adopted policy of not taking the time of members of the Council in answering Mr. Rossides, I will say the following. The words “It was always invalid”, pronounced by Mr. Rossides in regard to treaties solemnly signed by his head of State, are proof, if proof be needed, of what I said concerning the Greek Cypriot approach to the principle *pacta sunt servanda*.

127. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

128. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The agreement signed by the President of Cyprus was an obviously unpalatable agreement that was imposed upon Cyprus. Yet it was respected in every way. And this was reaffirmed by the attitude taken at Geneva by the Acting President, Mr. Clerides, namely, his willingness to apply fully the agreements of 1960 in spite of the difficulty in the application of certain of their provisions. But Turkey did not accept this. And it was the Turkish Cypriots who, by their withdrawal from the Government and from the functioning of the State, sought to bring about its disruption and collapse at the time of the trouble in expectation of Turkish intervention. Therefore any allegation of renegeing is not accurate.

The meeting rose at 9.05 p.m.

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