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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.

2378th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 15 June 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL
(France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2378)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/15149 and Add.1)

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/15149 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirça (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Nail Atalay in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Atalay in accordance with rule 39.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 December 1981 to 31 May 1982 [S/15149 and Add.1]. Members also have before them the text of a draft resolution which has been prepared in the course of consultations by the Council [S/15216].

4. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution which is before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 510 (1982)).

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

6. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I should like, Sir, at the outset, to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of this body and to express our appreciation for the efficient manner in which you conducted the consultations on the draft resolution for the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). My congratulations also go to the representative of China, Mr. Ling Qing, who presided over the work of this body in May in the most exemplary manner.

7. In paying tribute to your experience and skill, Mr. President, I should like to thank you and all the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to address this body and for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months, which was made necessary as a result of the circumstances brought about by the non-implementation by Turkey of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

8. It is a very pleasant duty for me to express again on behalf of my Government and our people our deep appreciation and warm feelings of gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring and devoted efforts in promoting the lofty objectives of the United Nations in the cause of peace and justice. His high moral standing, wisdom, diplomatic skills and in-depth knowledge of the problem of Cyprus qualify him as the man in whom the hopes and aspirations of our people

have justifiably been placed in regard to assisting in bringing peace and justice to Cyprus. Cyprus is a small country, but its problem involves principles and lofty ideals.

9. Tackling the problems of Cyprus effectively in a just, principled and farsighted manner will provide the impetus the United Nations so badly needs in order to solve other outstanding world problems.

10. I should also like to commend the significant contribution made by the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Brian Urquhart, and by his collaborators and colleagues of the Secretariat, Mr. Sherry and Mr. Picco, and to register our deep and sincere appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, and his assistants, for pursuing their difficult and delicate task in Cyprus with dedication and devotion.

11. I also wish to express appreciation to and commend the efforts of Major-General G. G. Greindl of UNFICYP and the officers and men serving under his command for the exemplary manner in which they have carried out the duties entrusted to them by the Council.

12. At the same time, we should like to express our profound gratitude to the friendly Governments which, through voluntary contributions of personnel and funds, enable the peace-keeping force to continue carrying out its important mission of advancing the cause of peace in Cyprus and, by projection, in the world. Their contribution over the years to the peace-keeping mission of UNFICYP in response to the call by the United Nations demonstrates in action their adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

13. The hall of the General Assembly and the hall of the Council still echo with the statements of disappointment made by representatives of a number of States Members of the United Nations concerning the inability of the Organization to implement its resolutions. The debates on the questions of Palestine, the Falklands (Malvinas) and Lebanon brought to the foreground once again, and demonstrated in times of tragedy, the impotence of the world Organization to fulfil its paramount responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.

14. This main weakness of the United Nations was long ago pre-eminently demonstrated in the case of Cyprus, where resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and was later unanimously endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), thus making its implementation mandatory, remained and still is, regrettably, unimplemented. Subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Council on the question of Cyprus in confirmation of the aforementioned resolutions, also remain unheeded.

15. The mandate of UNFICYP having just been renewed, I believe it would be useful to underline the imperative and basic need for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and to state the main issues and salient aspects involved in the question under consideration. In a world as turbulent as the one in which we live today, routine renewal of a peace-keeping mandate without some reference to the reasons dictating it and to the causes which perpetuate it may be regarded as a disservice to United Nations involvement in Cyprus and as a light approach to a very serious matter.

16. Allow me to state at the outset that the problem of Cyprus is not one of a difference between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots or a religious difference, as Turkey, for reasons of its own, often represents it; rather, it is a problem of the invasion and occupation of a small non-aligned country, Member of the United Nations, by a big and powerful neighbour, Turkey, which is a hundred times the size of Cyprus.

17. The ferocity of the attack, as seen purely in terms of the size of the aggressor and of the victim, was of unprecedented dimensions. As a result of this bloody and ruthless invasion, thousands of our people perished, 200,000 defenceless people have been rendered desolate refugees in their own country and 2,000 men, women and children are missing. About 40 per cent of our territory is at present under foreign occupation and over 75 per cent of our national resources have fallen under the control of the Turkish invader.

18. The problem of Cyprus is therefore a cause of regaining occupied homes and lands. It is the cause of a small State striving to protect its precious independence against the expansionist policy of a neighbouring country. It is an international problem which directly affects the peace and security of the area and of the world in general. The fact that Cyprus is strategically situated at the crossroads of three continents and in the Middle East, which is at present in a state of war, makes the problem of Cyprus even more acute and makes the need for an appropriate and just solution to the problem a matter of paramount importance to the United Nations. The problem has been described by the previous Secretary-General as one of the world's three major problems, the other two being the Middle East and southern Africa.

19. That the problem of Cyprus is international in nature is evident from the above and from the fact that it has for years been inscribed on the agenda of the two main organs of the United Nations. If it were not an international problem, the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth Heads of Government, would not have repeatedly considered the issue and would not have adopted resolutions and declarations of support for the people and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

20. These resolutions call for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. They demand the speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops and foreign military forces and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus and the cessation of all foreign interference in its internal affairs. They further call for the return of all refugees to their homes in safety.

21. In spite of the provisions of these resolutions there has been no respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, no withdrawal of the Turkish troops, and not a single refugee has been permitted to return to his home and land. Turkey has absolutely and contemptuously disregarded all General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and by its aggressive actions it continues to challenge the world Organization and especially the Council.

22. The right to return to one's home and land is an inalienable human right, and no passage of time can affect it. The *de facto* situation brought about by the invasion and occupation cannot create acceptable realities. At no time will the Government of the Republic relinquish the right of the refugees to return to their ancestral lands.

23. In the case of the missing and disappeared persons, Turkish intransigence and outright hostility concerning any effective investigation to establish their fate has so far frustrated the basic human desire of families to be informed about missing relatives. As a result, not a single case of a missing person has been investigated. Eight years have passed since the invasion and occupation, years of pain and agony, and the families of the missing still do not know whether their loved ones are dead or alive.

24. On the other hand, Famagusta, which continues to be a priority issue, still awaits resettlement by its lawful residents as a matter of urgency.

25. The freedom of movement of the Greek Cypriots enclaved in the occupied areas has been further restricted. This is substantiated in the Secretary-General's report, specifically in paragraph 27. This restriction is of special importance because it shows the bad faith and the renegeing on the Turkish side on a solemn agreement reached in August 1975 at Vienna [see S/11789, annex].

26. The intercommunal talks to which the United Nations resolutions also refer have been proceeding since May 1980 at an accelerated pace, using the Secretary-General's evaluation as a method or vehicle of discussion. These talks, which are carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General and on the basis of the United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements [S/12323, para. 5 and S/13369, para. 51] for the solution of the internal aspect of the problem, have not made any progress whatsoever on

matters of substance because of Turkish intransigence in pursuing separatist positions. That no substantive progress was made is also borne out by the Secretary-General's report.

27. Even on matters such as human rights and fundamental freedoms, in the field of which we have a plethora of international instruments setting uniform internationally binding standards, we are faced with a total refusal to comply with these standards and rights.

28. Despite these serious obstacles and difficulties, it is my Government's intention to proceed in good faith with the now speeded-up intercommunal talks and to exhaust all avenues within a reasonable span of time in search of a solution to the internal aspect of the problem of Cyprus in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

29. The problem of Cyprus has an external aspect, the invasion and occupation of our territory, and an internal aspect, constitutional matters, which it is for the two communities to solve. We feel that any progress in the external aspect will no doubt have a beneficial effect on the dialogue. Therefore, the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops from Cyprus should be of paramount concern to this body, for it constitutes the basis for the solution of the problem. The Council and countries not members of the Council should bring pressure to bear on Turkey to end its aggression and withdraw its troops from Cyprus.

30. As far as the Government of Cyprus is concerned, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, speaking last week at the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second session devoted to disarmament, reiterated his proposal for the total disarmament and demilitarization of Cyprus and the creation of a mixed police force composed of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots under the control of an international United Nations police force.¹ We believe that this proposal provides a rational way out of the Cyprus problem.

31. Furthermore, the President described as "most commendable and generous" the proposal of the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Andreas Papandreou, who offered to withdraw the Greek contingent stationed in Cyprus under the 1960 agreements provided that the Turkish troops were also withdrawn and a United Nations police force, as strong as necessary, were stationed in Cyprus. Greece would be prepared to undertake the additional expenses of such a United Nations police force.²

32. The presence of the Turkish troops in Cyprus contrary to the United Nations resolutions, the bitterness felt by the refugees who are forcibly kept away from their ancestral homes and lands, the occupation and usurpation of their properties, the unending suffering of the relatives of the missing persons, the

outright denial of the basic human rights of the enclaved people of Cyprus, the bringing into Cyprus of settlers from the Turkish mainland and the actions taken by Turkey to change the demographic character of Cyprus make up today's grim picture of tragedy and despair.

33. The Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who lived and worked together amicably for centuries, are now divided by foreign force of arms by an artificial barrier that runs from east to west. The historic links that were forged between the two communities have been interrupted by tanks and the Attila Line. Cyprus, the island of love, destined to be a bridge of brotherhood and co-operation for the three continents which surround it, is today a centre of conflict and strife.

34. The question remains: will Cyprus again be an island of peace? Will its people, all its people irrespective of ethnic background, be they Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites or Latins, be allowed to live together as they have done before for many centuries, in peace and harmony? The answer depends on the will of the United Nations, and especially on the Council. The answer is simple and positive, if the Organization will take it upon itself to ensure compliance with the decisions of the Council so that it may be the Organization not only of peace-keeping but also of the maintenance of peace and security in the world, the paramount purpose for which it was created. So long as the United Nations lacks the means to enforce its decisions through an effective system of collective international security as provided for in the Charter, there will always be acts of aggression, whether in Cyprus, the Middle East or elsewhere. As long as the peace-maintaining process of the United Nations remains incomplete, there can be no end to the aggressive use of force. Peace will continue to elude us. Peace-keeping such as that in Cyprus, no matter how constructive, is not enough. We need peace-making and peace-maintaining.

35. The credibility of the United Nations depends on whether it lives up to its declarations. Lip-service is not enough. The United Nations must speak out with a firm voice and couple that with effective action when the situation warrants.

36. The apparent calm and tranquillity which at present prevail in Cyprus are the result of the suppression of the victim by the occupation and armaments of the invader. The situation in Cyprus may appear mercifully dormant, but it remains as explosive as the high principles and lofty ideals which are put to a severe test there. If mankind upholds these principles the world can look forward to a brighter and a peaceful future. If the principles are allowed to be trampled upon, however, the repercussions from this injustice will be felt all over the world, because freedom is one and indivisible. When people in Cyprus or anywhere else in the world are deprived of their freedom, each man, no matter where he lives, no matter which

country or continent he comes from, loses a part of his own freedom.

37. Today, as they have for the past eight years, the bells toll for Cyprus. If the world community, through the United Nations, does not act effectively, decisively and fully to implement its resolutions, the bells will continue to toll again and again for other invasions, occupations and violations of human rights. The choice before us is as clear as the blue skies of Cyprus: whether to give the Organization the means to carry out its task or to allow it to become a helpless debating society, where General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which have been unanimously adopted, even voted for by the parties directly involved, remain ironically and tragically unimplemented.

38. Speaking on behalf of a country half-free and half-occupied and on behalf of a people separated against its will by force of arms—one third of whom are refugees in their own land—I pledge our support for the strengthening of the Organization, because we believe that Cyprus's future is directly tied to the world's future and that Cyprus's continued tragedy will without doubt be mankind's tragedy.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

40. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Mr. President. I thank you and the members of the Council for acceding to my request to participate in this debate.

41. I should like at the outset to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. The traditional ties of friendship which unite our two peoples and Governments are well known. Hence, in the performance of your tasks you can be assured of the co-operation and assistance of my delegation. This co-operation will for me be all the more agreeable because of your many and distinguished personal and professional qualities.

42. I should like also to pay a special tribute to the representative of China, Mr. Ling Qing, whose skill, ability, zeal and competence were proved during the month of May, which was so critical for world peace.

43. Before stating some basic positions of my Government concerning the Cyprus crisis, I wish to express my Government's highest esteem for the Secretary-General, a man of rare character and intellect, who is most distinguished for his humanity and professional skills. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the Governments which are contributing to UNFICYP, and in particular to those participating with contingents.

44. As an interested party, my Government agrees that the mandate of UNFICYP in the Republic of Cyprus should be renewed for another six months, since the Government of the Republic has given its consent.

45. As far as the report contained in documents S/15149 and Add.1 is concerned, I believe that it constitutes an improvement compared to the previous ones as to the description and the assessment of facts. Our attention has been caught, in particular, by the first part of paragraph 57, which reads as follows: "This does not mean that the well-known major substantive elements of the Cyprus problem are about to be resolved." Although this assessment does not fully reflect our own, it is close to it, since we believe that there has been no progress at all as far as the very substance of the problem is concerned and that some mobility on issues peripheral to the crucial ones might only create a misleading impression of progress.

46. In the eight years that have elapsed since Turkish troops invaded the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, in total disregard of the fundamental principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has undertaken many efforts in good faith and in a spirit of compromise with a view to achieving a just solution and to restoring normalcy in the island. It is most regrettable that the tremendous amount of energy that has been consumed so far has been spent in vain because of the intransigence of the other side in maintaining extreme positions. Unfortunately, this attitude on the Turkish side does not allow much hope for a breakthrough. The situation becomes more complicated because the Government of Cyprus is forced to act under duress, namely, under the pressure exerted by the Turkish military presence in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

47. It is for this reason that my Government, in reviewing the priorities of this highly complex international problem, has reached the conclusion that it is inconceivable to have free and meaningful negotiations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots as long as the aggression started with the invasion of 1974 continues in the form of military occupation of a substantial part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

48. My Government, in its earnest desire to contribute positively to the search for a way out of the present impasse, after reassessing the situation has reached the following conclusions as to its fundamental components. More than 36 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is occupied by Turkish troops. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is unable to exercise its sovereign rights over the whole area of the Republic. Thousands of Greek Cypriots have been displaced and live as refugees in their own country. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot minority expresses deep concern over its

own security. Similarly, the Greek Cypriots are deeply concerned over their own security because of the permanent threat arising from the superior military might of Turkey, a threat which materialized in a dramatic manner through the Turkish invasion. Moreover, we cannot overlook the determining factor of the Cyprus problem, namely, that 80 per cent of the population of the Republic of Cyprus are Greek Cypriots, whereas only 18 per cent are Turkish Cypriots.

49. Faced with this situation, my Government feels that perhaps the best way out with regard to these realities in Cyprus might be found through the following proposals. The Turkish troops should withdraw from the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the norms of international law in general and, more particularly, with General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), as endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). That would not only restore legality in Cyprus but also alleviate the concern of the Government of Cyprus about the security of the Republic. The Greek contingent should also withdraw. An enlarged United Nations peace-keeping force should be established to meet the security concern of the Turkish Cypriot minority. My Government is willing to assume all additional expenses which this increase of the Force would entail. Immediately after this step, inter-communal talks should start with a view to drafting a constitution which would be based on internationally accepted democratic principles and would comprise all the internationally recognized safeguards for the protection of minorities. A demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, coupled with international guarantees, should complement this settlement in order to meet further security demands of the parties concerned.

50. The long road we have followed for eight consecutive years has led us nowhere as far as a solution is concerned. It is therefore worth trying another course. In so doing, we would be guided by international law and widely accepted principles, while taking due account of the legitimate interests of all parties concerned.

51. I should like to assure the Council that in submitting this set of proposals my Government is inspired by the most genuine desire for a solution of this problem, one which, we hope, might also affect in a positive way the relations between Turkey and Greece—a goal for the attainment of which our two countries should spare no effort.

52. Greece is a small country and, believe me, cannot afford the luxury of polemics, of military preparations and of wars. We only want peace, so that, free from external threat, we may be able to dedicate all our limited natural resources and all our intellectual potential to the prosperity and progress of our people.

53. The distinguished statesman and former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Mr. Ihsan Sabri

Caglauangil, once said to a Greek colleague of his that, according to a Turkish proverb, "A nation can live without bread but not without dignity". We in Greece could not agree more. We whole-heartedly share this sensitivity and wisdom of the Turkish nation. Our whole history is witness to it. We therefore firmly believe that long-lasting co-operation between Turkey and Greece can be made possible if the two Governments are inspired by mutual respect for the dignity of both nations. Such co-operation would serve the manifold interests of our neighbouring peoples. While not intending even remotely to endanger either the sovereignty and security or the legitimate rights of the Hellenic nation, my Government is prepared to work to this noble end most sincerely and in a spirit of understanding.

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is Mr. Nail Atalay, to whom the Council has extended an invitation in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

55. Mr. ATALAY: Mr. President, before I begin to make my statement, I should like to express our appreciation, on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government, to you and all the other members of the Council for having invited me to participate in this debate.

56. I have requested to be allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Council on the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months in order to express the views of the Turkish Cypriot community, which is solely represented by the Turkish Federated State of Kibris.

57. Allow me also, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the outstanding efforts he has been making with devotion to resolve the Cyprus conflict, which has been on the Council's agenda since the Greek Cypriot onslaught in December 1963.

58. I wish also to express our thanks and appreciation to the staff in the Secretariat and in the field, especially Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Gobbi, Mr. Sherry, Mr. Schlittler-Silva and Mr. Picco, and to the military and civilian personnel for the exemplary, impartial and efficient manner in which they have discharged their important duties.

59. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to those countries that have contributed men and funds to the Force in Cyprus, and especially to Turkey for its unreserved contribution to the maintenance of intercommunal peace in the island and its efforts to maintain our security while helping in the economic development of the Turkish community which continues to be subjected to the Greek Cypriot embargo.

60. The Council has just adopted resolution 510 (1982) to extend the mandate of the Force until 15 December 1982.

61. Despite our well-founded and irrefutable objections, in the third paragraph of the resolution reference continues to be made to the so-called "Government of Cyprus", which, as members of the Council are well aware, is a title unjustifiably "owned" by the Greek Cypriot wing of the bicomunal Government of Cyprus; hence, our legally and politically valid proposition that, since the disruption of the bicomunal partnership Government in 1963, there has not been a government legitimately representing Cyprus as a whole. This terminology therefore reflects neither the *de jure* nor the *de facto* reality in the island and is misleading from all points of view. The two national communities in Cyprus are and have been the two constituent elements of the Cyprus dispute since December 1963, a dispute which arose as a result of the Greek Cypriot armed attempt to destroy the communal partnership and unite the island with Greece. Moreover, this unwarranted reference to the Greek Cypriot wing of the bicomunal Government of Cyprus as "the Government of Cyprus" is incompatible with the state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of the 1960 Constitution and is totally unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot partners of the Republic, as it tends to give to the Greek Cypriot side, at the expense of the Turkish Cypriot people, what the Greek Cypriots failed to achieve through force from 1963 to 1974.

62. Nevertheless, I have been authorized to consent, on behalf of the Government of the Turkish Cypriot community—the Turkish Cypriot wing of the partnership government to be re-established—to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP until 15 December 1982. We shall continue to co-operate with UNFICYP as hitherto to help to make its operation a success.

63. We continue to hope, as I emphasized on numerous occasions at meetings of the Council in the past, that UNFICYP's *modus operandi* and mandate will be revised in accordance with the realities in Cyprus.

64. In paragraph 3 of resolution 510 (1982), the Council "requests the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices". My Government welcomes and supports that request. We shall give our full co-operation to the dedicated Secretary-General in his mission. The intercommunal talks are continuing on the basis of the Secretary-General's opening statement of 9 August 1979, contained in the annex to document S/14100, which refers to the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979 [*ibid.*] and the bilateral agreements between the two communities, and also on the basis of the "evaluation" paper of the Secretary-General. On this issue, in paragraph 55 of the report, the Secretary-General states that:

"During the period under review, the search for a negotiated, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, as envisioned by the Security Council in 1975 when it entrusted the mission of good offices to the Secretary-General, entered a new phase. At the intercommunal talks in Nicosia, the two interlocutors, under the auspices of my Special Representative, embarked on 7 January on a systematic review of the main elements of the constitutional aspect. They have been following the 'evaluation' paper as a method of discussion and a framework for the talks. As stated in my last report, the intercommunal talks continue to represent the best available method for pursuing a concrete and effective negotiating process, and the 'evaluation' paper represents a determined effort to lend structure and substance to that process."

I am sure, therefore, that members of the Council will agree with me that the fifth paragraph and paragraph 2 of the resolution do not accurately reflect the actual basis on which the talks are continuing.

65. Be that as it may, the fact remains that progress has started to be made at the talks, as is reported by the Secretary-General in paragraph 56 of the report:

"The interlocutors have succeeded in arriving at common formulations of the 'points of coincidence' in a number of cases. In addition, there has been a significant narrowing of differences as regards many of the general provisions of the Constitution as well as of the articles concerning fundamental rights and liberties and certain organs of the federal government. The atmosphere has been co-operative and constructive throughout, as acknowledged by both interlocutors. The process is continuing at a deliberate but reasonable pace, which moreover has now been accelerated to two meetings a week."

66. It is pertinent to point out here that, in spite of that fact, which should give us all cause for optimism, the Greek Cypriot leaders have chosen recently to take the Cyprus problem to different international forums and to present a picture of events which is diametrically opposite to the findings of the Secretary-General. We hope that the Secretary-General's report to the Council will be duly taken into account and will result in an objective evaluation of the situation in Cyprus by all concerned. Only with a more balanced appreciation of the problem of Cyprus can those interested make a positive contribution to its solution.

67. The very fact that the two sides in Cyprus have been negotiating continuously since 1980 is an achievement and constitutes progress in itself, and the Secretary-General should be commended. The Turkish Cypriot side believes in the continuation of the talks. The problem is a complex one. The talks provide a realistic basis and an avenue for arriving at a just result, which was formulated as early as 1977 in the Denktas-Makarios guidelines [S/12323,

para. 5]. Let us hope that with the help of the Secretary-General and his staff further progress will be made towards that end.

68. As members of the Council know well, nearly a year ago a Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, sanctioned by both the Turkish Cypriot side and the Greek Cypriot side, was established to deal with the issue of missing persons from both sides.

69. From the outset, the Turkish Cypriot side has, in goodwill and in good faith, discharged its responsibilities towards the Committee on Missing Persons, with the aim of resolving this humanitarian issue and bringing relief to the afflicted families. In a genuine effort to help the Committee, the Turkish Cypriot side accepted in full the proposals put forward on 2 September 1981 by the impartial third member of the Committee on the method of investigating individual cases, the remaining issue that was preventing the Committee from functioning.

70. But the Greek Cypriot side has created a pseudo-difficulty for the Committee on Missing Persons by insisting on the attendance at its meetings of the Greek Cypriot observers. In fact, the presence of those observers at the meetings of the Committee has no relevance at all to the substantive work of the Committee on Missing Persons. Moreover, the very people whom the Greek Cypriot side has proposed as observers have flouted the Committee on Missing Persons by grossly violating the confidentiality principle of the terms of reference of that Committee, as well as by publicly insulting two of its members; as a result of that, the presence of the observers in the Committee will unavoidably place its work in jeopardy. Even today, at this very moment, the same persons who so grossly violated the confidentiality of the Committee have embarked on a new propaganda campaign by patronizing an exhibition in New York, later to be shown in London and Bonn, of pictures of the Greek Cypriot missing persons.

71. Having boycotted the meetings of the Committee on Missing Persons, first from 1 September to 26 November 1981, then as of 25 February 1982, the Greek Cypriot side has deliberately inactivated the Committee and is now exploiting the inactivity imposed on the Committee on Missing Persons as a pretext to continue its internationalization of the issue of missing persons in Cyprus for political propaganda purposes. It is with such a purpose that the Greek Cypriot side is again attempting actively to internationalize this humanitarian issue, despite the fact that the Committee is ready to embark on its actual task of investigating the cases as soon as the Greek Cypriot side agrees to do this.

72. It is clear from the failure of the Greek Cypriots to turn up at the Committee's first meeting, its refusal to consider individual cases, its breach of confidence, and even its violent public criticism of, and unjustified

accusations against, the independent member of the Committee, Mr. Claude Pilloud of the International Committee of the Red Cross, that the Greek Cypriot side has shown no inclination to get down to the human question of missing persons. I must point out the fact that the Turkish side has had missing persons since 1963; they were taken by the Greek Cypriots from their homes and roads and were not seen again. Had the Greek Cypriot side not approached the problem merely for propaganda purposes, this matter, which affects both sides, would have been closed long ago.

73. We earnestly hope that the Greek Cypriot side will end its boycotting of the Committee so that the Committee can embark on its humanitarian task without further delay.

74. I should like to direct the Council's attention to the continuation of the inhuman economic blockade imposed on the Turkish community of Cyprus by the Greek Cypriot administration, which, under the self-assumed title of "Government of Cyprus" and despite ongoing intercommunal talks, is still pursuing a relentless war of economic attrition and political isolation against us, in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of point 6 of the 1979 summit agreement between my President and the Greek Cypriot leader [S/13369, para. 51].

75. Within the past four months, two Danish captains, a West German pensioner and a Syrian captain have been imprisoned by the Greek Cypriot courts for sailing to Turkish Cypriot ports. The matter is all the more serious when viewed in the light of the excuse advanced by the Greek Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Mavrommatis, to the effect that the Greek Cypriot administration has to prosecute these people as proof of its legitimacy *vis-à-vis* the international community. This excuse aggravates the offence committed by the Greek Cypriot administration against shipmasters all over the world. The Greek Cypriot administration's pretence to be the legitimate Government of Cyprus and its illegal prosecution of innocent shipmasters for allegedly calling at illegal ports are the main obstacles in the way of re-establishing intercommunal accord. This excuse proves beyond any doubt that the Greek Cypriot side is determined to continue its aggressive policy against the Turkish people of Cyprus under various pretexts.

76. At a time when accelerated intercommunal talks are going on, this negative and unconstructive attitude on the part of the Greek Cypriot side, in conjunction with the crusade launched against us by Mr. Papandreou of Greece and his determination to end the talks, are indicative of the serious problems facing us at those talks.

77. Considerable concern and anxiety as to the future of the intercommunal talks have recently been felt on the Turkish Cypriot side and, no doubt, on the part of the vast majority of world public opinion,

which had pinned all its hopes for a solution of the Cyprus problem on the talks, as a result of the unconstructive and irresponsible statements made by the new Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou. Apart from having made unconstructive and harmful statements during his election campaign, Mr. Papandreou has unfortunately continued to make similar statements even after he assumed the responsible office of Prime Minister. For example, in his Independence Day message of 28 October 1981, Mr. Papandreou went so far as to say that "Cyprus is a part of the territory of Greece." On the following day, he publicly stated that "part of our national territory"—which means Cyprus—still remains under foreign occupation". Such irresponsible statements by Mr. Papandreou have been criticized in the Greek Cypriot press, if only because such statements give the lie to the false Greek and Greek Cypriot propaganda that tries to portray south Cyprus as an independent State which is trying to protect its independence in regard to Turkey.

78. In order more fully to appreciate the very serious harm which the unconstructive and obstructive conduct and attitude of the new Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, is doing, not only to the prospects for a successful outcome to the intercommunal talks but also the very continuation of the talks, it is useful to recapitulate briefly the present position taken by the Greek Prime Minister.

79. This is what Prime Minister Papandreou said on 23 March 1964, on the eve of his departure from Cyprus to Athens: "The union of Cyprus with Greece will be the union of two Greeces. Now we shall make them one."

80. The unconstructive and unhelpful views expressed by Mr. Papandreou about the Cyprus problem before his election, such as the allegation that the Cyprus problem "is merely a question of the occupation of an independent United Nations Member State", are only too well known. Some had hoped that such statements were merely irresponsible electioneering gimmicks. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Papandreou made a statement, after meeting with Mr. Kyprianou on 26 October 1981, to the effect that "we shall remain faithful to our pre-election pledges". I am sure that all of those present are well informed about and well acquainted with the aspirations of the Greek dream. That dream is to unite the island with Greece. The father of Mr. Papandreou having failed to fulfil that dream in the early 1960s, his son—the present Prime Minister of Greece—has now taken it up in turn. He is dreaming of the Hellenization of Cyprus. I should like to invite him to see and accept the realities. Cyprus has never been and will never be a Greek island. Turks have always existed and will continue to exist on Cyprus.

81. Turning now to the problem of the invasion of the island about which my colleague spoke, I should

like to state the following. Turkey did not invade the island in 1974. Following the July 1974 *coup* by Greece on the one hand and Nicos Sampson, his followers and the Greek Cypriot National Guard on the other, Turkey merely upheld its right and fulfilled its obligation under the Treaty of Guarantee.³ The Turkish intervention had the object of re-establishing the state of affairs instituted by the 1960 treaties that brought the Republic of Cyprus into existence.

82. So real was the danger of annihilation that had Turkey failed to perform its legal and moral duty, there would have been no Turkish Cypriot community today, nor would there be an independent Cyprus. The island would have been annexed to Greece.

83. Indeed, judgement No. 2658/79 of the Athens Court of Cassation 21 March 1979, reads:

“Turkey’s intervention in Cyprus as a guarantor power within the framework of the Zurich and London agreements is legal. Actually, the Greek officers against whom court cases have been brought are responsible for the intervention.”

84. The Greek Government, under the premiership of Mr. Karamanlis, forbade announcement of that decision on the grounds that it would endanger the national interest.

85. Furthermore, it is worth noting that on 19 July 1974 Archbishop Makarios stated before Security Council [1780th meeting] that the *coup* was aimed at destroying the independence of Cyprus and that both Greek and Turkish Cypriots were suffering because of it. It is also worth noting that in this statement, which was made a day before the inevitable Turkish intervention of 20 July 1974, Archbishop Makarios had openly accused Greece of invading Cyprus.

86. The following excerpt from the official records of the Council should suffice to prove that it was Greece, not Turkey, that actually invaded Cyprus and that Turkey was left with no alternative but to intervene in exercise of its rights and obligations under the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960 in order to save the Turkish people of Cyprus from annihilation at the hands of the Greeks and to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the binational Republic of Cyprus. This is what Archbishop Makarios said in July 1974 in this chamber:

“What has been happening in Cyprus since last Monday morning is a real tragedy. The military régime of Greece has callously violated the independence of Cyprus. Without a trace of respect for the democratic rights of the Cypriot people, without a trace of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, the Greek junta has extended its dictatorship to Cyprus [*Ibid.*, para. 9.]

“... The *coup* of the Greek junta is an invasion, and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks.” [*Ibid.*, para. 32.]

87. Viewed within the framework of these compelling circumstances, the necessity and inevitability of the Turkish intervention will be much better understood and appreciated.

88. Before concluding my statement I should like to express the deep sorrow felt by the Turkish Cypriots at the sudden death of Major-General Quinn, former Commander of UNFICYP. He was regarded as a good, upright, impartial soldier who unreservedly did his best to keep the reputation of UNFICYP at the highest level. He had served in Cyprus prior to taking over the command of UNFICYP and was quite aware of the facts of Cyprus. We pay a tribute to his memory and, in so doing to the principles for which he stood in the island.

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I call upon him.

90. Mr. KIRÇA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I wish you every success in your work, and I assure you of the cooperation of my Government. I must thank you in particular for the very able and impartial manner in which you conducted the consultations with the parties concerned before this meeting.

91. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Linq Qing, representative of China, who demonstrated his great ability as a diplomat in the deliberations of the Council during the month of May and presided over its meetings with wisdom and efficiency.

92. I should like to take this opportunity to express the condolences of the Government and people of Turkey to the family of Major-General Quinn, former Commander of UNFICYP, who has just died. I should like to address our appreciation and thanks to the people and Government of Ireland for the services and contributions of one of its sons to the cause of conciliation and peace.

93. In the light of the positive developments that have taken place in Cyprus following the resumption of the intercommunal talks in September 1980, the position of the Turkish Government on the renewals of the mandate of UNFICYP was that a debate which would inevitably involve more or less acrimonious exchanges should be avoided. Indeed, we find it quite incomprehensible that the Council should be obliged to carry out this basically unproductive exercise every six months at a time when talks between the Turkish

and Greek communities are under way in a remarkably constructive atmosphere. The present exercise in the Council seems to us all the more ironic in that in other parts of the world parties to conflicts are not even able to meet together to resolve those disputes in a peaceful manner, whereas the search for a solution in Cyprus continues steadily between the two parties. And yet, despite this, the parties are obliged to enter into polemics over a formality which this body has to discharge.

94. The Turkish Government is of the view that the best way to arrive at a solution in Cyprus is to encourage the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Accordingly, we firmly believe that everyone should refrain from actions or initiatives that could directly or indirectly jeopardize this process of intercommunal talks or encourage any of those who desire to internationalize the problem, for the result would inevitably be a breakdown of the talks between the two communities.

95. My Government has noted with satisfaction that on the initiative of the Secretary-General the two communities decided to accelerate the talks in Nicosia and that following that decision the two parties are now holding two meetings a week instead of one. This decision provides further proof of the encouraging potential of these talks, and the constructive atmosphere that prevails in those talks justifies our hopes for the future. At a time when there is not the slightest reason for rejoicing at what is happening in other parts of the world, the following lines, in paragraph 55 of the Secretary-General's report, offer us some comfort. I shall now quote from that report:

"During the period under review, the search for a negotiated, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, as envisioned by the Security Council in 1975 when it entrusted the mission of good offices to the Secretary-General, entered a new phase. At the intercommunal talks in Nicosia, the two interlocutors, under the auspices of my Special Representative, embarked on 7 January on a systematic review of the main elements of the constitutional aspect. They have been following the 'evaluation' paper as a method of discussion and a framework for the talks. As stated in my last report, the intercommunal talks continue to represent the best available method for pursuing a concrete and effective negotiating process, and the 'evaluation' paper represents a determined effort to lend structure and substance to that process.

In paragraph 56, the Secretary-General continues:

"The interlocutors have succeeded in arriving at common formulations of the 'points of coincidence' in a number of cases. In addition, there has been a significant narrowing of differences as regards many of the general provisions of the Constitution as well as of the articles concerning fundamental

rights and liberties and certain organs of the federal government. The atmosphere has been co-operative and constructive throughout, as acknowledged by both interlocutors. The process is continuing at a deliberate but reasonable pace, which moreover has now been accelerated to two meetings a week."

96. On instructions from my Government, I should like to inform the Council that my Government fully shares that evaluation of the Secretary-General of the progress made during the intercommunal talks.

97. I would also take this opportunity to reiterate the full support of my Government for the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and the process of the intercommunal talks which, in our view, are the best and only way of arriving at an overall just solution of the question of Cyprus. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for acting as an enlightened guide and to Mr. Hugo Gobbi, his Special Representative in Cyprus, for the statemanship he has demonstrated during the intercommunal talks. It is thanks to their determination and their patience and the efforts of the Turkish Cypriot side that progress has been made.

98. It is true that this question of Cyprus is very complex and that the search for a successful outcome requires quite a lot of time and difficult negotiations. However, this fact should not make us forget the progress that has been made or be used to bypass the process of the intercommunal talks. That is why my Government is particularly glad to see that the Secretary-General, who is best placed to evaluate the situation at the negotiating table, shares the view that the intercommunal talks are the best way of finding an overall settlement and states that in fact progress has been made in the talks.

99. I must also note that world public opinion now understands the true nature of the question of Cyprus and supports the process of intercommunal talks and the efforts made by the Secretary-General in exercise of his mission of good offices.

100. We trust that these realities will become even more persuasive during the months to come and that this perception will facilitate the continuation of negotiations.

101. It is not by invoking unrealistic resolutions, which the Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey have rejected in part or in full, that this complex problem will be solved; rather, it is by serious negotiations, carried out in good faith at the table of the intercommunal talks. That is the only method in which any hopes can be placed.

102. For its part, the Turkish Government will continue actively to support the intercommunal talks and to give encouragement to the Turkish Cypriot community on the path to the establishment of an independent, sovereign, bicomunal, federal and bizonal—and, if it desires, non-aligned—Republic of Cyprus.

103. It is now time for me to make comments on some passages in the report of the Secretary-General. It is regrettable that the principle of the equality of the communities, a constituent element of the Republic of Cyprus, is not respected in the titles used to designate individual officials of the two communities. Moreover, in the report the administration of the Greek Cypriot community is called the "Government of Cyprus", a status which that administration cannot claim.

104. My first comment on the resolution that has just been adopted by the Council relates to the reference in the third paragraph to the so-called Government of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus is an entity that was established by international treaty. The "state of affairs" which was created by the Basic Articles of the 1960 Constitution of Cyprus is guaranteed by an international treaty, and the State of Cyprus has committed itself to not amending them or violating them unilaterally. But the leaders of the Greek Cypriot community have been responsible, since December 1963, for the complete reversal—for their sole benefit—of the Basic Articles of that Constitution. That is the true nature and sole origin of the Cypriot conflict.

105. Those who now complain about Turkey's intervention should learn henceforth to keep their word. Unfortunately, we see today that they persist in being unable to learn the lessons of past events; indeed, the representative of Greece has just used the word "minority" in referring to the Turkish Cypriot community, thereby demonstrating complete ignorance of those Basic Articles of the Constitution.

106. Just a few days ago I was informed by my Minister that during the Atlantic Summit the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece had reached an agreement to try to improve the atmosphere between the two countries. We have just seen what Greece's understanding of that agreement is.

107. If the provisions of the Constitution and the relevant treaties were respected, if the Turkish Cypriot community had not been prevented from exercising its constitutional rights, if it had not been besieged, if it had not been constantly harassed, there would be no Turkish troops on the island today. It is ridiculous to see these cynical aggressors against the Turkish Cypriot community talking today about aggression by Turkey. Turkish troops are on the island at the request of the Turkish Cypriot community and in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee.³ They will remain there until a final solution is reached in the intercommunal talks.

108. By constant *coups d'état* against the Constitution and its Basic Articles—which are also rules of international law—the leaders of the Greek community have placed themselves in the position of usurpers of the title "Government of Cyprus". Turkey does

not recognize that they have that status—and that is what matters. And, incidentally, it does not in any way correspond to the actual situation, in which two distinct community administrations govern their own communities in their own respective zones, as was recognized in the Geneva Statement of 30 July 1974 [see S/11398].

109. In this respect, I should like to quote the description of the situation given by the late Archbishop Makarios to the Security Council on 19 July 1974, after the tragic events that had begun on 15 July. He said:

"The *coup* did not come about under such circumstances as to be considered an internal matter of the Greek Cypriots. It is clearly an invasion from outside, in flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus . . . And the invasion is continuing so long as there are Greek officers in Cyprus". [1780th meeting, paras. 18 and 23.]

And they are still there. I quote again from Archbishop Makarios' statement:

". . . the events in Cyprus do not constitute an internal matter of the Greeks in Cyprus. The Turks of Cyprus are also affected. The *coup* . . . is an invasion, and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks. The United Nations has a peace-keeping force stationed in Cyprus. It is not possible for the role of that peace-keeping force to be effective under conditions of a military *coup*". [Ibid., para. 32.]

110. The Republic of Cyprus will not have a legal and legitimate government until the state of affairs is guaranteed by international treaty, as a result of intercommunal talks; in other words, until the essential bicomunal nature of the Republic is restored and, this time, is reflected in institutions and arrangements able to make any infringement of the principle of the equality of the two communities absolutely impossible. That can be done only in a Cypriot Republic based, not on the notion of minorities, but on the equality of the two communities—Turkish and Greek—each with its federated State, within a bizonal and federative framework. In this respect, I would once again emphasize the contents of my letter circulated in document S/14445 of 15 April 1981.

111. Those are the imperative reasons why the third paragraph of resolution 510 (1982), which has just been adopted, is unacceptable to Turkey.

112. I should also like to inform the Council that the various reservations made and positions taken by Turkey on the texts cited in the resolution and in the report of the Secretary-General have not changed and remain valid both for the resolutions adopted today and for the report of the Secretary-General which we have before us.

113. You will no doubt recall, Mr. President, that during the consultations on this matter that you were good enough to hold, my Government supported the view of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus that the important events that have taken place since the conclusion of the high-level agreements of 1979 [S/13369, para. 51] should be reflected in the text of the resolution.

114. First, it was possible to resume the inter-communal talks because of the opening statement of the Secretary-General on 9 August 1980 [S/14100, annex]. That statement contains additional elements of capital importance which now constitute one of the bases of those talks. The Turkish Government does not understand the reason for avoiding reference to that statement. However, my Government reiterates its view that that statement is also one of the bases of the talks.

115. Secondly, the presentation of the Secretary-General's "evaluation" paper is in itself an event of primary importance, and account should have been taken of it in the resolution.

116. It is even more disconcerting not to find in the resolution any encouragement to the two communities to continue along the lines of the Secretary-General's report.

117. The resolution extends the stationing in Cyprus of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. Since Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has just informed the Council of the consent of his authorities, the Turkish Government for its part gives its agreement to this extension of the mandate. However, I should like to draw the Council's attention to the request made by the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, which he has already made several times on similar occasions in the Council, that the mandate of the Force, drafted in 1964, should be revised to make it more in keeping with existing conditions in Cyprus. The Turkish Government fully supports that request.

118. Lastly, I must not fail to express here once again the gratitude of my Government to those States that contribute to UNFICYP and also to the gallant officers, non-commissioned officers and men of that Force, not forgetting civilian personnel attached to it.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

120. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): Mr. Atalay was invited by the Council to speak as an individual under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, which states:

"The Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it considers

competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence."

121. It is up to the Council to decide whether he has been of any assistance. We feel that he took advantage of the opportunity accorded to him as an individual to be "his master's voice". He supported the Turkish aggression, the invasion, the occupation and the rape of a small non-aligned sovereign State, a member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth. He supported the usurpation of the homes and lands of our people—whether Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites or Latins.

122. The Turkish representative and Mr. Atalay rejected the existence of the Government of Cyprus. It is probably the only case in the history of the United Nations in which the aggressor, having dealt a massive and inhuman military blow against its victim, a small State, having burned its people and its forests with napalm bombs and having dissected part of its territory, declares triumphantly before the body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security that the victim had died and that the State and the Government of Cyprus do not exist. This is not merely a case of adding insult to injury; it goes beyond that.

123. Cyprus was invited to address this body under rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, as a sovereign Member State of the United Nations, and you, Mr. President, were kind enough to call on me, referring to me as the representative of Cyprus. This is sufficient answer to the representative of Turkey.

124. On the other hand, Mr. Atalay was invited under rule 39, as an individual and not as a representative of the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, which is recognized by no one. The members of the Council are aware that the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is an illegal, fictitious and non-existent entity representing no one. Its self-declaration was regretted by the Council [*resolution 367 (1975)*] and condemned at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.⁴ The so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has no territory of its own, since the sovereignty of the Government of Cyprus extends over the whole of the territory of Cyprus, including the occupied part of the island. The General Assembly, in paragraph 3 of its resolution 34/30 of 20 November 1979, not only affirms the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective sovereignty and control over the whole of its territory but also calls on all States to support and help the Government of Cyprus to exercise the above-mentioned rights.

125. The so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was set up by the Turkish military forces to occupy in order to serve their own purpose.

126. With regard to the allegation of economic embargo, if the usurpation of our homes and lands were not so tragic, it would be ironic indeed for anyone to assert that the sovereign State of Cyprus and its people cannot exercise their inalienable right to protect by all legal means what by their sweat and tears they have created and what is rightfully theirs. It is not an economic embargo to refuse to accept the *de facto* situation of usurpation of our properties and lands where we have lived, built and prospered for centuries.

127. The Government of Cyprus, far from imposing an economic blockade on the Turkish Cypriot community, has an obligation to all its citizens, be they Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites, or Latins, to protect their property rights. On this legal basis, the Government has declared illegal all ports of entry in those areas that have fallen under the occupation of the Turkish troops and warned that arrivals of ships at those ports would constitute a violation of the Republic's laws. Besides the Government, the legitimate owners of properties in the occupied territories which have been usurped by the invaders have the duty and the legal and moral right to take measures, by recourse to courts of law or to international organizations, to stop the exploitation of their properties by those who illegally hold them.

128. The allegation of "onslaught" on the Turkish Cypriot community is pure political propaganda being used by Turkey and its organs to justify the brutal invasion and continued military occupation of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus under the pretext of protecting the Turkish Cypriot community.

129. For centuries all Cypriots, whether Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Maronite or Latin, lived and worked side by side in peace and harmony in mixed villages, proof of their peaceful coexistence and the historical links forged between them.

130. It was Ankara's policies of segregation and partition implemented by the extremist elements of the Turkish Cypriot leadership that brought about the artificial barriers between the Greek and Turkish communities.

131. Ample evidence of this is provided by the regular six-monthly reports of Secretary-General U Thant, which demolish the allegation and show irrefutably the falseness of the accusation of mistreatment of the Turkish-Cypriot community by the Government of Cyprus.

132. It will suffice to quote two excerpts from reports of the Secretary-General, the highest independent authority:

"... the lack of movement of Turkish Cypriots outside of their areas is also believed to be dictated by a political purpose, namely, to reinforce the

claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation." [S/5764 of 15 June 1964, para. 113].

And

"... the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file" [S/6426 of 10 June 1965, para. 106].

133. The representative of Turkey and Mr. Atalay asserted that Turkey acted in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee. That assertion is unjustified and is a baseless distortion of reality. Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee provides that

"In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, [the guaranteeing Powers] undertake to consult together with respect to the representations or measures necessary to ensure observance of those provisions.

"In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty".³

Turkey has never complied with those provisions because, first, it invaded Cyprus on 20 July 1974, three days before an agreed meeting of the three guaranteeing Powers was to take place in London, and, secondly, as the facts show, it did not invade with the sole aim of re-establishing the constitutional order in the island but rather with the sole aim of destroying that constitutional order—and Cyprus itself. Even today they do not accept the constitutional order which prevailed at the time the invasion and occupation took place.

134. But most important, even if we assume that article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee gives Turkey the right to use force—which it does not, and which it could not possibly do—then that article would be null and void, because it would be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

135. The Turkish invasion was an absolute act of aggression, as defined in article 3 of the General Assembly's Definition of Aggression, which states that aggression is, *inter alia*, the

"invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State ... or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof".⁵

Moreover, article 1 of the Definition of Aggression states:

"Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity of polit-

ical independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this Definition”.

136. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus constitutes an act of aggression; the use of the term “peace operation” or the notion of entering Cyprus in order to protect the *status quo* are ways of hiding Turkish guilt.

137. A reference was made to equality. We too believe that—as the Preamble to a certain Constitution has it—all men are created equal. We also believe that they must have equality of opportunity, and that they should be treated with equality. But what the Turkish representative is referring to is not equality among individuals, but numerical equality. We cannot accept the notion that 80 per cent equals 18 per cent. We cannot accept that because it strikes at the roots of democracy, and when that happens an imbalance is caused. That imbalance cannot bring about federation, which is supposed to be based on balance.

138. A complaint was made about “internationalization”. As we have had occasion to state before, the problem of Cyprus is an international problem. It is a problem of invasion and occupation, and the competent international bodies, including the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth Heads of Government, cannot but be seized of that problem.

139. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Greece has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I call on him.

140. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Mr. President, I should like to assure you and the other members of the Council that I am not going to embark upon polemics or to take a great deal of the Council’s time. My only motive for speaking in this debate was to present the Council with a set of proposals by my Government concerning the solution of the Cyprus problem. In doing so, I had to describe certain facts of the Cyprus scene as we see them.

141. I think that the proposals I submitted were constructive ones. Perhaps I was naive, but I was expecting some sort of comment from my Turkish colleague. Instead, the Council heard blatant and cynical assurances that the Turkish troops will remain in Cyprus. I leave it to the members of the Council to draw their own conclusions from that most sincere statement of Turkish intentions.

142. On a second point, the representative of Cyprus has dealt in detail with the question of invasion and its legal aspects. I shall not try to be as comprehensive and thorough as he was in his presentation; indeed, he has exhausted the subject. I should like simply to ask the members of the Council a question: If about

30,000 troops enter a foreign State, illegally and against the will of 80 per cent of the population of that State, against the will of its Government, what is that action if not an invasion? In our very humble view, it is indeed an invasion, but perhaps there are some other views. I reply completely on the knowledge and experience of the members of the Council, and I am confident that they will draw the proper conclusions from Turkey’s actions in Cyprus.

143. As to what constitutes a minority or a majority, I think that things are equally simple: if in a State 80 per cent of the population is of a certain ethnic group, and 18 per cent of the population belongs to another ethnic group, then we would conventionally call the community of 80 per cent the majority and the community of 18 per cent the minority.

144. As I said before, it is far from being my intention to comment further on what has been said. I will completely avoid commenting on what was said about my Government by the gentleman who spoke in an individual capacity. He is an individual and he is free to state his views.

145. I think that with these brief remarks I have completed the comments I wanted to make. I should simply like to invite the members of the Council to direct their attention to the very constructive proposals I have just made with regard to the future of the Cyprus question.

146. As British lawyers say, I have made my case and I rest my case.

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

148. Mr. KIRÇA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I shall be very brief. First of all, I should like to say that it is an affront to the Secretary-General to try to put words in his mouth to the effect that he considers the aim of the federalist thesis of the Turkish-Cypriot community to be the partition of the Republic of Cyprus. This is a falsification.

149. From a desire to safeguard the intercommunal talks and in deference to the Council, I refuse to be the instrument of provocations on the Greek and Greek Cypriot sides. I shall therefore not respond to them. I shall not deign to reply to falsification by further falsification, or to discourtesy by further discourtesy.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, para. 34.

² *Ibid.*, para. 36.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

⁴ A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, Political Declaration, para. 65.

⁵ General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex.