



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR

**1474**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 10 JUNE 1969

NEW YORK

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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.

## FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 10 June 1969, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. M. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Algeria, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1474)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):  
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/9233).

### Expression of thanks to the retiring Presidents

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before proceeding to the adoption of the agenda, I should like to use the prerogative of my office to pay a warm tribute of appreciation and gratitude to Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan and Ambassador Khatri of Nepal, who occupied the Presidency of the Council in May and April respectively.

2. I do not intend to mention the outstanding qualities of these two distinguished colleagues of ours, because the Council is fully aware of them and because I do not wish to offend their modesty; but I trust that these very simple words will convey the profound feeling of sincerity behind them.

3. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, from this comfortable position of a past President, I am very happy indeed to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to assure you of the whole-hearted co-operation of my delegation in your tasks.

4. May I convey our appreciation to Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan for his leadership of the Council last month—a leadership which was so effective and excellent that the Council managed to dispense with the need for any meeting whatever.

5. I should also like to thank you, Sir, for your generous remarks addressed to me, and at the same time, express my gratitude to you and all members of the Council for the unfailing courtesy and co-operation rendered to me during my term of office during the month of April.

6. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, permit me to thank you most profoundly for the kind words that you have said in respect of myself in connexion with the Presidency of the Security Council; and may I in turn offer to you my heartfelt felicitations on your assumption of the Presidency for this month? We have important business to transact, and I have no doubt that under your wise and able leadership the Council will move forward unitedly towards unanimous action.

7. May I also extend my sincere tribute to Ambassador Khatri of Nepal for the conspicuous ability and wisdom with which he presided over the work of the Council in April?

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):**  
**Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/9233)**

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece have asked to be invited to take part in the debate on the item before the Council. In conformity with the usual practice, and if the Council agrees, I shall invite those representatives to be seated at the Council table so as to take part in the debate, without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Z. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. O. Eralp (Turkey), and Mr. D. S. Bitsios (Greece) took places at the Council table.*

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Security Council will now take up its agenda for today's meeting. In that connexion the Secretary-General has submitted a report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 3 December 1968 to 2 June 1969. This report was circulated in the middle of last week as document S/9233.

10. As a result of consultations held among the members of the Council before this meeting, a draft resolution has been prepared. Copies in all the working languages of the Council have been distributed to members. I shall, however, request the Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General to be good enough to read it out.

11. Mr. CHACKO (Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs): The text of the draft resolution reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 3 June 1969 (S/9233) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the Island,*

*"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the Island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 15 June 1969,*

*"Noting, from the observations in the report, that the improvement of the situation in Cyprus has been maintained during the period under review,*

*"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, and 247 (1968) of 18 March, 254 (1968) of 18 June and 261 (1968) of 10 December 1968, and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967;*

*"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;*

*"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period ending 15 December 1969, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress toward a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."*

12. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Several representatives have indicated that they would like to make statements before the Council votes on the draft resolution that has just been read out. Accordingly I shall call on them in the order in which they appear on the list of speakers. First I call upon the representative of Cyprus.

13. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The Council is seized of the question of renewal of the mandate of the United Nations force in Cyprus and has before it the report of the Secretary-General. The report depicts with accuracy and objectivity the developments during the six-month period now ending. It shows that the improvement in the situation has been maintained and that calm has prevailed; that relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots continue to show improvement and that there has been a marked increase in the number of contacts between members of both communities.

14. There are reassuring signs, the report states, of a better understanding at the village level as a result of the growing co-operation in public services and in agriculture. Thus, Turkish Cypriot farmers participate in soil conservation work financed by the Government, in the World Food Programme as well as in the development of water supplies for the benefit of Turkish-Cypriot villages. In this context, the report adds, the Government is prepared to issue loans to the Turkish Cypriots on the same terms as those provided to Greek Cypriot farmers; it will assist them in every way and offers to build new public roads to Turkish villages, provided, of course, these roads are to be opened to the use of the whole population and are not blocked.

15. The Turkish Cypriots can be fully assured that whenever and wherever co-operation takes the place of obstruction, the response from the Government will be both ready and generous.

16. However, in the economic field the report states that there has not been the desired rapprochement, because the Turkish Cypriot leadership aims at a separate economy with financial assistance from Turkey. In the report the Secretary-General expresses the hope: "that the present trend towards separate economic development may be reversed soon, so that the human and other resources of the whole Island may be fully utilized for the benefit of all Cypriots". [S/9233, para. 60.]

17. It is obvious that economic development in separativeness cannot possibly prosper and will be to the detriment of all, but more particularly of the Turkish Cypriots themselves.

18. In a number of reports issued since March 1966 the Secretary-General has mentioned the desire of the bulk of the people of Cyprus—Greek and Turkish alike—to live together in peace and harmony and to resume their former amicable relations in a spirit of conciliation and co-operation. I refer to the reports in documents S/8446 and S/8914 and previous ones. That is further borne out by the readiness on both sides to co-operate where no obstacles are placed to hinder such co-operation.

19. All these are encouraging developments. They may not be as rapid or as broad as we should have wished but they are steadily moving in the right direction. Notwithstanding impediments, gradually better understanding prevails between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, greater confidence is created, and there is growing awareness of the common interests which bind them together—by far transcending the artificial differences and divisions standing in the way of their joint advance towards peace and progress.

20. The Secretary-General rightly attaches importance to the need for a further move in normalization of the situation. This was stressed also in previous reports.

21. Normalization and intercommunal talks towards a solution of the problem are parallel and interdependent efforts. The solution of every problem—and the problem of Cyprus is no exception—depends to a great extent on the creation of mutual trust and confidence through contact and conciliation.

22. In that sense the report draws attention to two aspects that have not shown the requisite, or any, progress. They are: (a) the problem of military disengagement, particularly in areas of close confrontation; and (b) the continuing lack of response to the normalization measures of the Government regarding freedom of movement, as referred to in paragraph 55 of the report and also in paragraph 79 under "Observations". Both those aspects were also highlighted in the observations of the Secretary-General in his report of December 1968 [S/8914].<sup>1</sup>

23. With regard to the first, disengagement, my Government, in its desire to contribute towards normalization, had indicated its willingness to co-operate in such disengagement [1398th meeting, para. 20]. This, however, is a matter on which the Government cannot possibly proceed unilaterally, without corresponding action from the other side.

24. It should, however, be noted from the report that the Government has relaxed and de-emphasized the military aspect, by various measures; this is described in paragraph 20. But conversely and regrettably in the Turkish Cypriot enclaves, as appears in paragraph 21, increasing recruitment and the intensification of military preparation and training have been going on feverishly of late. We hope that the matter will be considered and that it may prove to be only a passing phase of anomaly.

25. Regarding the second aspect referred to in the report, namely, the lack of response to the Government's unilateral normalization measures, which results in the continued absence of freedom of movement for the whole population, I would merely cite paragraph 55 of the report which reads as follows:

"Whereas Turkish Cypriots may move freely throughout the Island except in a few militarily restricted areas,"—and it should be noted that in the militarily restricted areas no civilians of whatever origin are allowed to enter—"access to Turkish Cypriot enclaves, a number of Turkish Cypriot villages and certain roads continue to be denied to Greek Cypriots. Of particular concern is the lack of free access to the following public trunk roads" [S/9233, para. 55].

The Nicosia-Kyrenia and four other main communication roads are cited. The report continues:

"This abnormal situation, if not remedied, could mar the present favourable atmosphere . . . whilst the Greek Cypriots are still prevented from using some of the Republic's main roads." [Ibid.]

26. In his observations in paragraph 79 the Secretary-General reverts to this important aspect, urging that freedom of movement on all roads be made available to the whole population of Cyprus.

27. Regarding the intercommunal talks with which the report deals in paragraph 61, they have been proceeding at

a rather slow pace, but they have marked some progress and common ground was found on several points. They have also been a great asset in contributing to the creation of a better climate. In this sense the parallel normalization of the situation, to which I have already referred, is of vital importance to the progress of the talks.

28. The difficulties involved in the talks, however, ought not to be minimized, particularly having regard to outside influences and pressures which may not always be as constructive as would be expected. As Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash have aptly pointed out: "the talks were being conducted with goodwill and determination but quick progress was not possible". It was better to go slowly and carefully than to be led to a difficult situation through undue haste." The recent establishment of sub-committees to deal with certain matters is another step forward towards understanding and accommodation on a broader scale.

29. To be enduring and to bring lasting peace any solution must be workable and based on the conciliation and co-operation of the people in a unitary state—on an agreed basis in this case—not in their division and resulting antagonism. The wholesomeness and soundness, therefore, of the substance of the solution is and should be of primary importance to the people of Cyprus as a whole, and to all those who wish them well and desire to see their problem really solved. An unnatural, divisive or forced solution, and its concomitant abnormality and unworkability, can lead only to graver and more perilous problems and threats to peace.

30. My President, Archbishop Makarios, speaking recently on the subject said that:

"...there was certainly no desire to deprive the Turkish Cypriots of political or other rights; on the contrary it was the intention to cede in addition certain privileges to the Turkish community, but not to an extent exceeding the security zone necessary for the unity of the State and the future of the Island".

He also emphasized that the difficulties encountered in the intercommunal talks should lead to a further intensification of efforts towards a democratic solution which would safeguard the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole and guarantee permanent peace.

31. We hope and trust that perseverance in the talks, conducted in mutual goodwill and with a wider outlook, will permit the steering away from perilous excesses, and lead, in a spirit of understanding and unity, to a sound, workable and enduring solution in the interests of the whole people of Cyprus. Such a solution can only be one consistent with democratic tenets, the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Peace is the work of justice, not of force. And it is in justice, in understanding and in unity that we can build peace.

32. The Secretary-General considers the peace-keeping work of the United Nations Force indispensable in the present circumstances and the renewal of the mandate imperative. He therefore proposes a six-month extension.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1968*.

My Government has expressed its agreement with such an extension.

33. In this connexion I wish to place on record our sincere appreciation of the work of the United Nations Force in Cyprus both through the Force itself and through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. And I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his sincere and objective concern over the problem of Cyprus and its peaceful development. His dedication to the Charter and to the cause of peace is reflected in all his endeavours, and his intellectual integrity is the greatest asset of the United Nations. His efforts towards a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem are deeply appreciated.

34. Our sincere thanks also go to his advisers, especially the Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Bunche and Mr. Rolz-Bennett, for their devoted efforts and their important contributions. I also wish to make special mention of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, whose competence, diplomatic experience and tact have brought a most constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations in Cyprus.

35. We should also like to express to General Martola our esteem and our regard for his most efficient command of the Force.

36. Lastly, we should place once again on record our profound appreciation to those countries whose valuable contributions in military contingents and in funds make the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus possible.

37. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

38. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): The Council meets once again under more or less auspicious circumstances in order to extend the mandate of the Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. The report of the Secretary-General of 3 June [S/9233] reflects the atmosphere of comparative calm on the Island as well as the air of hope and anticipation which by and large prevails. For the continued improvement of the situation we owe a debt of gratitude to the Secretary-General, as well as to his immediate collaborators, for their patient and untiring efforts to maintain the present peace-keeping effort in Cyprus at the best possible level.

39. We are also grateful to the able and efficient leaders of UNFICYP, its Commander, General Martola, and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for their diligent and tactful handling of the many complicated and delicate situations with which they are often faced.

40. My Government fully appreciates the generous and public-spirited manner in which the countries which contribute in manpower and in funds for the peace-keeping effort in Cyprus maintain their valuable support. In this connexion, I cannot refrain from expressing the view of my Government that if the present promising trend is to continue in Cyprus and the attempts to reach a peaceful

solution and agreed settlement are to succeed, UNFICYP must necessarily be maintained in its present strength and efficiency, at all times capable of dealing with unexpected situations which may arise and which may jeopardize the peace-making endeavours.

41. The atmosphere of hope and anticipation to which I have just referred centres around the exploratory inter-communal talks which are now proceeding in Cyprus in the hope that they may lead to a final settlement with the agreement of all the parties concerned. The Secretary-General, in his appeal addressed to the parties on 26 March, expressed his concern at the slow rate of progress of those talks. My Government has put itself on record as being equally interested in seeing the realization of more speedy agreement, but is fully aware of the delicate nature of those talks and considers that the negotiators should be given every possibility of reaching common ground as to the constitutional régime in which the two communities in the Island are destined to live together in peace.

42. While those talks are going on, certain statements are being made by responsible Greek Cypriot leaders which are not calculated to contribute to the smooth progress of the talks. The Secretary-General refers to certain such statements in paragraphs 66 and 68 of his report. I have the texts of others which I could make available to the Council. The unfortunate impression which such statements attempt to convey is that a purely Greek Government has always existed and continues to exist in Cyprus which, out of sheer magnanimity, is now prepared to grant certain rights and privileges to a Turkish minority. Those initiated with the problem know of course that that is not the case.

43. The Republic of Cyprus was conceived and created on the basis of the existence of two communities. As co-founders of the Republic, the Turkish community which under the Constitution of the Island enjoys certain well-defined rights and for more than five years has been in a struggle for survival for the defence of those rights, is not asking for privileges charitably offered. It is not prepared to concede at the conference table those sacred rights which it has defended for five years at the risk of its existence. It has sat down to talk with the Greek community in order to work out a system whereby they can live together in a unitary State—I repeat, in a unitary State within which their identity as a community will not be impaired and wherein they will run their local and communal affairs themselves. There is no tendency to divisiveness in this approach. There is not the slightest intention of creating a state within a state, as the imputation has falsely been made. Yet the statements of the Greek Cypriot leaders and the tone of the Greek Cypriot press tends to create despondency with the Turkish community and doubts as to whether the Greek Cypriot régime will ever seriously attempt to reach a solution other than one which they would wish to impose.

44. My Government, which has pinned its hopes on the intercommunal talks, cannot do much more than to counsel patience and perseverance in the hope that reason and moderation will prevail.

45. There are a few points in the Secretary-General's report to which reference has been made here this

afternoon by Ambassador Rossides. One of them concerns the so-called freedom of movement. It would be useful for the Council to understand some of the aspects of this problem. Since the normalization measures adopted by the Greek Cypriot Administration, the Turks are in fact free to travel in most parts of the Island. This, of course, does not include the so-called restricted areas under Greek control, to which not only the Turks but even the United Nations Peace-keeping Force authorities are not admitted. It is interesting to point out that the area of these Greek restricted zones is in fact larger than the areas under the control of the Turkish community. Furthermore, the Turks proceed to the Greek-controlled areas subject to the unconstitutional control of the Greek police and into the illegal and unconstitutional jurisdiction of exclusively Greek courts of law. On the other hand, the Greek authorities would wish the Turkish-controlled areas to be completely open to the Greek Cypriots, on condition—on condition, and this is the hitch—that the writ of the Greek Administration should run in such areas, and thus in effect bring the Turkish areas under the sovereignty and control of an unconstitutional régime.

46. The intercommunal talks now proceeding in Cyprus are intended to reach agreement between the two communities as to how they can once again, live together under the aegis of a constitution worked out together. In the meantime, can it reasonably be expected for one side in practice to submit to the *de facto* authority of the other? Once the claim for such *de facto* authority is set aside, many Greeks are in fact entering the Turkish areas by giving previous notice. This is the least that can be done under the prevailing circumstances and until a lasting régime is set up by agreement.

47. Another point mentioned in the report refers to the alleged reorganization of the Turkish Cypriot defence units, their equipment and the claim that heavier armaments are being manufactured in the Turkish sector. The information we have from the Turkish community indicates that in fact no reorganization has taken place. As for the alleged increase in the numbers of the Turkish Cypriot defence forces, I should like to refer the Council to paragraph 22 of the previous report of the Secretary-General where he states that:

“The Turkish Cypriot leadership has announced a decision to reduce the period of service from three to two years. It was also indicated that approximately 750 young men who had completed their fighter service had left the island for studies at higher educational establishments in Turkey.” [S/8914, para. 22.]

48. What, in fact, has taken place is that the numbers of those released from the defence services is higher than of those newly conscripted. The allegation of the Greek Cypriots as to the setting up of an arms factory are entirely unfounded and are not corroborated by the observations of UNFICYP. But apart from all other considerations, I wonder if it does not strike the Council as absurd to dwell at any length on the defence preparations of the Turkish Cypriots. The imbalance between the opposing forces on the Island, from the point of view of manpower, resources and armaments, is colossal. The Greek Cypriots freely

import arms from abroad and maintain a large, illegal army capable of crushing Turkish resistance with one blow. That UNFICYP is not in a position to prevent such an onslaught was proved in the events of November 1967, which resulted in the well-known consequences.

49. Under such circumstances can, in all fairness, the Turkish Community be blamed for trying to maintain its meagre defence potential? Can they be blamed for beginning to show anxiety as to the motive for the Greek Cypriot press campaign against Turkish defence preparations, when they remember that it was just such a campaign which became the prelude to the Greek Cypriot attacks of December 1963?

50. It is not my intention to drag into this debate day-to-day matters concerning the situation in Cyprus. My Government's primary concern in Cyprus is to maintain an atmosphere of calm, free of inflammatory statements and provocative attitudes, so that the talks now in progress may continue towards their all-important objective. The way we see it, the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, will have to live together in peace and they must be allowed the chance to work out the democratic system under which they shall live together. As a Government we can only encourage the Turkish Community towards a peaceful settlement and try to allay the feelings of dejection and despair which sometimes come over them. It is our firm belief that with goodwill on both sides we may, in the words of Shakespeare, “Out of this nettle”, discord “we pluck this flower, safety”.

51. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

52. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, I should like in my turn to thank you and the members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to make some remarks on the question which is on the agenda of this meeting.

53. The tone of debates in the United Nations usually reflects fairly accurately the degree of tension engendered by a dispute. The Council has noted with satisfaction the atmosphere of relaxation which prevailed at its meeting [1459th meeting] in December 1968. That was in keeping with the developments towards calm in Cyprus itself. Today, as then, the stakes are too high and the situation is too delicate for us to harbour any thought other than that which leads us towards the hope of complete pacification, which is more necessary than ever.

54. The Council is about to vote on a prolongation of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. We hope that this vote will be in the affirmative, for the establishment and maintenance of a more favourable atmosphere in Cyprus is largely due to the peace-making work of the Force on the Island. The importance of the services it has rendered is obvious to all, and Cyprus may truthfully be called a striking example of the very effective manner in which the United Nations can contribute to the maintenance of peace in a specific case, however delicate it may be.

55. UNFICYP is a milestone in the history of international co-operation; and here I should like to assure the countries participating in the Force, as well as the countries which are helping to meet its expenses, that their gesture of international solidarity is greatly appreciated by the Greek Government. Greece, for its part, is continuing to do everything in its power to contribute to the steady improvement of the situation in Cyprus and to promote a rapid advance towards a solution of the problem. To this end it means to keep its contribution to the expenses of the Force at the same level as in the past, already over \$7 million.

56. We are happy to note that the Secretary-General's report, which bears that hallmark of clarity, objectivity and brevity to which we have become accustomed, mentions a substantial reduction in the number of incidents on the Island and confirms that, on the whole, there have been no important violations of the cease-fire.

57. On the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots the report sounds a somewhat optimistic note: they have, the Secretary-General tells us, continued to improve during the period that has elapsed and contacts between Greeks and Turks have increased appreciably, especially in economic and social matters. Nevertheless, some deterioration is mentioned in paragraphs 21, 22 and 23 of the report, under the heading "Turkish Cypriot armed elements". Certain anomalies persist, and the Secretary-General reminds us that Greek Cypriots do not yet enjoy freedom of movement in some areas of the Island, whereas the Turkish Cypriots can move freely throughout the territory. The Secretary-General expressed the hope that this situation will be corrected.

58. U Thant's statement that the atmosphere continues to be favourable for negotiations is indeed encouraging. We should also take note of his observation that, if the parties to the dialogue show "goodwill and statesmanship, it should be possible" for them "to find common ground".

59. The Council knows that my country has energetically supported and has encouraged to the best of its ability the beginning of the dialogue between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This dialogue, which has enabled calm to be re-established on the Island, is continuing. Some people wonder, at times not without a certain impatience, why it has lasted so long. Although I do not want to say that it is desirable for talks to drag on for ever, I must point out that their continuation for a relatively long time is not inexplicable. Indeed, anyone who has studied the Cyprus question must know that it hardly lends itself to an easy or rapid solution. Time, patience and prolonged maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere are essential factors which, as we knew from the outset, had to be taken into account.

60. It must not be understood from what I have just said that the Greek Government condones any unjustifiable delays in the conduct of the talks. On the contrary, Greece is fully aware of the financial and other difficulties entailed by the maintenance of the Force in Cyprus, and of the need to take advantage as soon as possible of the present favourable atmosphere. But even more important than the economic considerations is the political aspect, which is

directly linked with the time factor. We share the view which the Secretary-General expressed on 26 March this year "that the time factor is of importance in the present case", and also his concern that the passage of too much time may hamper rather than facilitate the settlement of the problem.

61. Before concluding, I should like to express to the Secretary-General the warmest and most sincere thanks of the Greek Government for the infinite patience with which he continues to deal with this problem. Historians of the Cyprus question will no doubt give him the praise he deserves for the immense effort needed for the maintenance of peace on and around the Island. I shall merely say that his profound wisdom, his great moral prestige and his vast experience have made him, in Cyprus and elsewhere, now as so often before, the inestimable ally of all who aspire towards peace and seek conciliation.

62. We are no less grateful to his immediate collaborators, both here in New York and on the spot in Cyprus. I should like to mention Dr. Ralph Bunche, Mr. Rolz-Bennett, General Martola, and Mr. Osorio-Tafall, who has carried out the mission entrusted to him by U Thant with zeal and a high sense of duty.

63. Greece, in its profound desire for peace, will continue to give its full support to this international team which, under the enlightened leadership of the Secretary-General, is working tirelessly to help to bring about the lasting pacification of Cyprus based on understanding between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. We are firmly convinced that this understanding is possible and necessary, and we shall continue our unremitting efforts to transform it into a tangible and lasting reality.

64. The President (*translated from Spanish*): My list shows no other representatives who wish to speak before the vote is taken. I shall now therefore put to the vote the draft resolution that was read out earlier.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>2</sup>*

65. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): A number of representatives have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the vote. I shall therefore call on them in the order in which they appear on my list.

66. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): Mr. President, I am pleased to have this opportunity to extend to you, as President of the Council, the most sincere best wishes of my delegation. With you in the Chair, we know that the powers of the Presidency will be used both effectively and impartially.

67. I am also happy to pay tribute to Ambassador Khatri of Nepal and to Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan, Presidents of the Council for the months of April and May, respectively, both outstanding representatives serving on this Council.

<sup>2</sup> See resolution 266 (1969).



68. According to the Secretary-General's latest report on United Nations operations in Cyprus, the improvement of the situation on the Island has been maintained. The Island has generally remained calm; there has been no major incident. The intercommunal talks which have been in progress for more than a year have produced some limited progress and contact is being maintained. The patient and discreet efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, are also continuing. Yet it must be recognized that no substantive progress on the basic issues which separate the two communities in Cyprus has as yet been made. This is cause for profound disappointment. The considerable difficulties in the way of an agreement are well-known and the repeated appeals for patience addressed to this Council cannot be ignored. Yet serious attention must also be given to the warning of the Secretary-General, that the passage of too much time might hamper rather than facilitate a settlement. A determined effort by the parties is now needed to set the intercommunal talks in motion in order to bring about a just and peaceful solution.

69. In present circumstances, the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus obviously must go on. In the words of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Force represents an indispensable element in maintaining and further improving the calm atmosphere on the Island and in promoting the steps towards normalization which constitute, as before, the major prerequisites for substantive progress in the intercommunal talks. The United Nations Force has thus been successful in carrying out its original mandate of preventing fighting and contributing to the maintenance of law and order and a return to more normal conditions. It has been a major factor in creating conditions conducive to a political settlement. It cannot be expected to do more than that. In many respects, UNFICYP could well serve as a model from which a great deal of valuable experience can be gained for use in future peace-keeping operations.

70. Having said that, I am bound to add that my Government strongly hopes that the current review of United Nations peace-keeping operations in all their aspects will remedy the one major defect of the Cyprus operation, which is the manner in which UNFICYP is being financed. My Government shares the view of the Secretary-General that reliance on voluntary contributions from a relatively small number of Member States is quite unsatisfactory. We firmly believe that a peace-keeping operation based on decisions that the Security Council has taken on behalf of all Member States should be paid for by all.

71. As the Security Council has just decided to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months, that is, until 15 December 1969, I am authorized to state that Finland is prepared to maintain a contingent with UNFICYP for that additional period, under the same arrangements as before. Finland is also continuing during this year its voluntary financial contributions for the maintenance of UNFICYP on the same scale as before, in spite of the reduction in the size of the Force. We do so in expectation that real progress towards a peaceful solution will be achieved, so as to bring this peace-keeping operation to a successful conclusion.

72. I would not wish to end my statement without commending, on behalf of my Government, all those who have worked and continue to work for a peaceful settlement in Cyprus. My delegation also takes great satisfaction from the tributes paid by the Secretary-General and others to the Finnish Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, General Martola.

73. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, let me first congratulate you as President of our Council. In my grateful congratulations I wish also to include Ambassador Khatri and Ambassador Shahi.

74. Until today the Council has not met for two months. That is an unusual, not to say welcome, interval of inactivity. Alas, it does not represent an absence of controversy and conflict in the world. There is plenty of both. But those of us who have long served on the Security Council know that perhaps the first unwritten rule of the Council is that it is unwise to call the Council until and unless there is a plain prospect that agreement can be reached. Only then can agreed and effective action be taken. To call the Council with no such confidence can often do more harm than good. It can sometimes embitter controversy and even intensify conflict.

75. Today however we met with a clear purpose. We have agreed. We have acted together. Whenever such achievement is recorded we have reason to rejoice. Every step forward in international co-operation is an advance on the long road to a safer and a better world.

76. We are happy that we have been unanimous. We are, moreover, glad to record our harmony under a President whom we have learnt to respect as a leader and as an example—a leader and an example in goodwill and good humour and good judgement.

77. Sir, we have today again emphasized and demonstrated our support for one of the most sustained international peace-keeping efforts ever mounted. The extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus which we have today approved will bring the Force almost to the end of its sixth year. Today we have reaffirmed the original mandate of the Force for the eighteenth time. No one can say that there has been lacking a perseverance in the pursuit of peace.

78. We must not weary in well-doing. My country, I am glad to say, has throughout played a leading part in this peace-keeping operation. We have from the start provided the largest military contingent in the Force; we have paid for the cost of that contingent. We shall continue to provide for that contingent for the new period of six months. We shall continue to meet its cost in full.

79. We shall moreover continue to make a substantial voluntary financial contribution towards the cost of the Force. Our voluntary contribution for the next six-month period will be £625,000 sterling. This will bring the total of British voluntary contributions since the Force was formed to a total of nearly \$22 million.

80. Though we should have preferred a shorter extension than six months, we should not have been content to be

second to any other country in the combination of military, material, logistic and financial support for this unique United Nations enterprise. We are proud to be practical peace-keepers and especially proud to be peace-keepers in such excellent company.

81. Having expressed that sincere satisfaction with our unanimous vote today, I have two other things to say on matters which are subjects for serious concern.

82. First, there is the question of finance. There has, I believe, been a very small reduction in the large accumulated deficit. But the remaining debt of over \$8 million is a reproach to the parties, to the members of this Council and to all Members of the United Nations. It is, as I have often said, intolerable that we should make demands on the Secretary-General and then fail to give him the means and resources to carry them out.

83. The size of the deficit and the financial burden which a few of us bear makes it important to be constantly watchful to see what economies can be made. The Secretary-General has spoken of the attention given to the possibility of reducing the operating expenditures of the Force without impairing its effectiveness. We very much welcome this. The effectiveness of the Force is our first concern, but we should warmly welcome a broad cost-effectiveness study promptly undertaken under the direction of the Secretary-General, the purpose being to achieve reduction in costs without impairing the capacity of the Force to help in keeping the peace.

84. The other matter in all our minds is the question of progress towards a final settlement. No one who reads the Secretary-General's report can be complacent about the future.

85. I have been brought up to believe that we should always count our blessings, and certainly it is well to do so in Cyprus. The Island is blessed in so many ways, and all of us pray for the day when it can be rid of the curse of communal distrust and factional dispute. When we met six months ago we were delighted that the Secretary-General could then report that "the last six months have been good for peace in Cyprus". Again we have the advantage of a perceptive and penetrating report from the Secretary-General. We have the advantage of the experienced United Nations Force under its able Commander, General Martola. We have the advantage of the capacity and skill of Ambassador Osorio-Tafall. We see the advantage of the discussions which have continued between Mr. Glafkos Clerides and Mr. Raouf Denktash, and we know that there could not be better representatives. We have good reason to believe that the Governments of both Greece and Turkey wish to see an early and final settlement.

86. Other advantages and advances have been noted in the Secretary-General's report. The absence of serious incidents of disorder continues. There have been improvements in the economic and social fields. The communities have been brought closer together at the village level. There is increased contact and increased mutual confidence and increased co-operation in constructive enterprises for the common good. All this is excellent news. There are indeed many favourable factors.

87. So satisfactory has been the past year from the point of view of freedom from violence and so many are the advantages which we count as we survey the present scene—and so great are the opportunities of further economic advance in friendly co-operation—that we can feel nothing but dismay when we are reminded that all these advantages and opportunities could even now be thrown away.

88. When we see that the people of the Island have come so far towards a happy release from their past differences and dangers, it would be beyond endurance to witness a reaction to bitterness or bloodshed.

89. Nevertheless the warning given by the Secretary-General and those who so ably represent him is real and alarming. The Secretary-General warns us that time may not run in favour of peace. The same concern was shown by the Ambassador of Greece in his speech to which we have now listened. We are bound to be deeply concerned when we see in the Secretary-General's report the ugly word "deadlock", though deadlock is still a danger and not yet a reality.

90. In all negotiations there comes a stage when favourable circumstances converge. So, I believe, they converge in Cyprus now. If that stage and that opportunity are allowed to pass they may never come back.

91. We have often said before that the solution of the problems of Cyprus will be for the people of Cyprus. So it must be. But all of us, and especially those who have endeavoured to help in the past, must surely use every influence we have to encourage and support the efforts of those who are working for understanding and co-operation. We are all on the side of those who work for removal of barriers and for prosperity in friendship and freedom.

92. All the favourable factors are still there. We now pray for and wait for a greater initiative, an initiative in generosity and faith and imagination. Permit me to follow the example of the representative of Turkey and quote Shakespeare. In Shakespeare's words, we may say to Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash what the people cried out from the walls of Famagusta as the ship of one of my predecessors, Governor Othello, was sighted:

"Bring renewed fire to our extincted spirits,

And give all Cyprus comfort."

93. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): When on 10 December 1968 the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a period of six months, many of us had hoped that that extension would constitute a sufficient period of grace for the current intercommunal talks to bear some concrete beneficial results. That hope has not been realized; but we also appreciate the gravity of the differences which divide the communities on fundamental issues and the necessity for the negotiators to proceed with patience and perseverance rather than with undue haste.

94. For the last fifteen months or so the Republic of Cyprus has been enjoying an intercommunal harmony and

tranquillity unknown in the Island's contemporary history. The past year has been a happy one. There have been definite and welcome signs—to which the Secretary-General refers—indicating that all concerned parties have shifted the emphasis from confrontation to negotiation, and from division to conciliation.

95. But the fact remains that despite this progress, the settlement of the Cyprus problem is still remote. Much as we may feel gratified at the limited success of the intercommunal talks, for example the setting up of two sub-committees, my delegation cannot but share the deep concern expressed by the Secretary-General “at the slow rate of progress” in those talks. The Secretary-General is rightly concerned “that the passage of too much time” may “hamper rather than facilitate” the settlement of the Cyprus problem.

96. My delegation would like to address an appeal to all concerned parties to pay heed to the misgiving voiced by the Secretary-General and to make an increasingly sustained and determined effort to expedite the intercommunal talks. As far as my delegation is concerned, it would seem to us that the parties would be well-advised, as an immediate step, to do all in their power to assure full freedom of movement for all people, irrespective of their communal attachment, within their country. We fully subscribe to the belief that such measures would undoubtedly help to bring the two communities closer together.

97. My delegation has noted with gratification that during the preceding six months there has been a substantial decrease in the number of shooting incidents. The United Nations Force should be commended for its persistent efforts to achieve military disengagement, wherever possible. The question of military disengagement is a tricky problem; but it seems to us that it is another area in which the parties concerned can usefully initiate conciliatory measures. It is our view that they should increasingly make use of the good offices provided by the Force for military disengagement and that whenever an allegation of bad faith is made on the part of either party, the Force should be given, rather than denied, an opportunity to inquire into the allegation. Such practice on all sides, I am sure, would be congenial to a favourable atmosphere of mutual goodwill, trust and understanding.

98. In this connexion, it is satisfying, however, to note that the pace of improvement in the situation in Cyprus which began since the spring of last year has been maintained, if not actually hastened, during these past six months. And, in the interest of peace and the success of the current intercommunal talks in Cyprus, it is the opinion of the Secretary-General, in which all parties concur, that the presence of the United Nations Force for a further period of six months is imperative.

99. My delegation respects the opinion and judgement of the Secretary-General. The intercommunal talks have reached a crucial stage, and we feel that it is incumbent upon the Security Council to contribute to the success of those talks by extending the mandate of the Force as recommended by the Secretary-General. Accordingly, my delegation has voted in favour of the resolution, trusting

that this additional period of six months will be more fruitfully utilized by the parties and that at the end of that period it will be possible for the Council to contemplate withdrawal of the Force.

100. In conclusion, I should like to pay my delegation's tribute to the Secretary-General, whose tireless efforts and abiding concern for peace we all recognize. Our gratitude and appreciation go to his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and to the Commander, General Martola, and the men and officers of the United Nations Force for the manner in which they have been carrying out their important tasks. Also our grateful thanks are due to those countries whose voluntary contribution in military contingents and funds has made possible this United Nations peace operation.

101. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): Allow me, Mr. President, to express our profound satisfaction at seeing you assume for this month of June the highly important duties of President of our Council. Your skill, high qualities of heart and mind and diplomatic talents are known to us all.

102. I should also like to congratulate your two predecessors, our colleagues from Pakistan and Nepal, for the exemplary manner in which they performed their duties.

103. The mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has just been extended by the Security Council for a further six-month period. I should like to explain in a few words the French delegation's reason for its vote on the resolution which has just been adopted.

104. The report by the Secretary-General, which my delegation has studied carefully, states that the situation in Cyprus has continued to improve during the past six months, despite the tension which still prevails in certain areas of the Island. We should certainly welcome this development unreservedly if we had not read in this report, as in that of last December, that “no substantive results on the basic issues which separate the two sides have as yet emerged” [*S/9233, para. 80*].

105. Our hopes for a lasting settlement of the problem—which we share with our Secretary-General—are based on the talks which are taking place at Nicosia between the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities. Without minimizing the existing difficulties, the French delegation sincerely hopes that the parties realize the need to intensify their efforts towards a rapid conclusion.

106. Indeed, the Council cannot perpetuate a provisional arrangement which circumstances may have imposed five years ago but which is all too likely to become a pretext for further delaying a final settlement of the Cyprus problem. Apart from the heavy financial implications of the operation, there is a risk that routine renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Force might incite the parties to reject the concessions which are indispensable for the success of the talks. In that event our Council would be pursuing an aim diametrically opposite to that which it set itself in 1964 to enable the situation on the Island to return to normal and to open the door to a lasting solution.

107. The French delegation has agreed that the mandate of UNFICYP should be prolonged for a further period of six months, in view of the wishes expressed by the parties. Nevertheless, my delegation considers it essential not to lose sight of the possibility of putting an end in the near future to the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

108. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations on your assumption of the high office of the Presidency of the Security Council. Your high abilities are familiar to every member of this Council, and even beyond the walls of the Council chamber. Your consideration, politeness and deep understanding of the problems facing the Council will greatly facilitate the carrying out of our duties during your tenure of office. I can only promise the full support of my delegation in your very difficult task.

109. At the same time I wish to congratulate my successor, Ambassador Khatri, who presided over the Council during the month of April, and who gave the final touch to the unfinished business I had to leave him, because of unfortunate circumstances. He conducted the business of the Council with the calm serenity so characteristic of his personality, with wise patience and understanding, always having regard for the abundantly different views in our Council.

110. I also wish to congratulate the representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Shahi, who, as an outstanding member of our Council has always displayed exceptionally clear perception, even in the most complex issues before our Council. His perspicacity succeeded in assisting our Council to forgo certain troublesome moments, and spared at least the non-permanent members of the Council from engaging in debates on the great problems facing mankind.

111. The position of Hungary on the question of Cyprus has been made clear in the Security Council and elsewhere on many occasions. Therefore I shall only try briefly to stress a few points.

112. This problem can and should be settled by peaceful means, and the people of Cyprus should resolve their internal and intercommunal problems by themselves, without foreign interference. Only the exercise of the right of self-determination will enable them to normalize the situation in their country, and it will genuinely strengthen the independence, sovereignty and integrity of Cyprus.

113. I cannot hide the fact that my delegation had expected a faster advance at the intercommunal talks. We had hoped for a speedier solution of the problem. Six months ago it seemed to us that the Security Council had given the last authorization to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP.

114. Nevertheless, my delegation learned with satisfaction from the report of the Secretary-General [S/9233] that the general political climate on the Island has improved in the last six months, and that the inter-communal talks have achieved important results and are promising further fruits. It was with this prospect in mind that my delegation cast a

vote in favour of the draft resolution, on the clear understanding that the six-month extension is in full accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 186 (1964), including the provisions concerning the financing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

115. Mr. YOST (United States of America): Mr. President, may I join my colleagues in expressing my congratulations and welcome you as you assume your high functions, which we know you will fill with your customary distinction and tact.

116. I should also like to express appreciation to our colleagues, Ambassador Khatri and Ambassador Shahi, for their distinguished service to the Council during the past months.

117. Eighteen months ago the threat of disaster had been narrowly averted as the Council met to consider the Cyprus situation and the future of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. Then it was clearly necessary to extend this peace-keeping force once more; and we came to this same decision again in March, in June and in December of last year.

118. During the first six months of 1968, considerable improvement in the situation on the Island took place, reflecting an awareness both of how close Cyprus had come to catastrophe and of the urgent need to find a framework in which a settlement might be sought which would bring real peace to the Island.

119. In the second half of 1968 that framework was found, and it is greatly to the credit of the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and to the representatives of the Secretary-General who assisted them in such distinguished fashion, that for the first time since the events of 1963 the two sides began negotiating directly with each other, and that intercommunal talks at last got under way. The talks have, however, now been in progress for a full year. That we in this Council are anxious to see progress in the talks is self-evident. We trust the parties themselves share this sense of urgency. The world has borne the weight of the Cyprus crisis too long; but its weight had been an even greater burden on those directly concerned. Patience is demanded from all of us, but we share with the Secretary-General the concern expressed in his report of 3 June that "no substantive results on the basic issues which separate the two sides have as yet emerged". [S/9233, para. 80.]

120. We agree with the Secretary-General that the work of UNFICYP "represents an indispensable element in maintaining and further improving the calm atmosphere in the Island and in promoting the steps towards normalization, which constitute as before the two major prerequisites for substantive progress in the inter-communal talks". [Ibid., para. 83.]

121. We therefore have supported the recommendation that UNFICYP's mandate be extended for another six months.

122. Looking ahead however, we solemnly urge the parties in Cyprus to build on the progress achieved to date, to press

on with measures designed to normalize the situation on the Island, and to pursue, with a determination to succeed, the search for a negotiated settlement of their problems. As Lord Caradon has just pointed out, there is too much at stake for them to allow themselves to fail. If, as we hope, an advance should take place towards an ultimate solution, with a commensurate reduction of internal tensions, all of us would, I am sure, expect the Secretary-General to contemplate a corresponding reduction of the size of the Force. I am convinced that the Council would be highly gratified if conditions of stability were to make it possible and safe to reduce the size of the Force and eventually, over the longer term, to terminate its mission when there was agreement that it was no longer required. My delegation hopes that the Secretary-General and the parties will keep those objectives in mind and that they will reassess the immediate situation with respect to UNFICYP during the next six months.

123. My Government has contributed heavily to the financing of UNFICYP, and, although we intend to continue our financial support to this peace-keeping effort, we are increasingly concerned over the burden it represents and over the mounting deficit caused, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, by the failure of some Members to shoulder an equitable part of the burden.

124. Therefore we should hope that the Secretary-General, who under the mandate of UNFICYP is responsible for the "composition and size of the Force", would undertake a full examination of the possibilities for effective economies in the operation of the Force, including a study of possible personnel adjustments consistent with UNFICYP's ability to continue fully to discharge its present functions.

125. In addition we urge other Members, particularly Security Council members, to review their own position on financial contributions. The entire world community profits from the maintenance of peace in Cyprus, and those with particular responsibility for international peace and security have a special obligation to carry a fair share of the burden.

126. We share Mr. Jakobson's concern that a more effective and comprehensive means of financing United Nations peace-keeping be found rapidly. In the meantime, however, the United States would hope that those Members that have not yet contributed financially to UNFICYP will now do so, so that the Force can continue to discharge its important functions with full assurance of a safe future.

127. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, before stating the views of the Soviet delegation on the substance of the question under discussion, I should like to associate myself with the good wishes and congratulations which have already been addressed by earlier speakers to you, Mr. President, and to your predecessors, our distinguished colleagues representing two States with which the Soviet Union maintains ties of friendship and co-operation, the Ambassadors of Nepal and Pakistan, who successfully occupied this eminent post before you assumed it.

128. Permit me to express the sincere hope that the Security Council, under your guidance as President, will succeed in reaching solutions of the problems before it, in the interests of strengthening international peace, developing friendship and co-operation between nations and effectively promoting the liberation of peoples which are still suffering under the yoke of colonialism and racism.

129. The position of the Soviet Union on the problem of Cyprus is well known. It has been expounded more than once in declarations by the Soviet Government and in the statements of its representatives, including those in the Security Council.

130. In connexion with this renewed discussion of the problem of Cyprus in the Security Council, the USSR delegation feels compelled to confirm that this position remains entirely unchanged and retains its full significance. The Soviet Union has always acted on the assumption that the problem of Cyprus can and must be settled by peaceful means, in the interests of the entire Cypriot people and of both its component national communities. Such a settlement of this problem would also alleviate tension in the Eastern Mediterranean area. The Soviet Union resolutely supports the struggle of the Cypriots for the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, the Republic of Cyprus, which as a State Member of the United Nations, pursues a policy of peace, a policy of non-alignment with military blocs.

131. The solution of the domestic problems of the Republic of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves; they must settle their domestic affairs for themselves without external interference. The legitimate rights of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus must be fully respected by every one.

132. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes any attempts to infringe the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, and intentions, not unfamiliar to certain States, to settle the problem of Cyprus behind the back of the Cypriot people in a manner prejudicial to their vital interests and favourable to the imperialist aims of certain States members of the NATO bloc. The Security Council and the United Nations as a whole must categorically oppose any attempts, intentions or aspirations to subordinate the fate of the Cypriot people to the interests of executing the military plans of this bloc in the Mediterranean basin.

133. This approach by the Soviet Union to the question under discussion arises from the general course of Soviet foreign policy, determined by the great founder of our State, V.I. Lenin, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth will soon be celebrated by mankind. Since the earliest days of its existence the Soviet Government, following Lenin's directives, has pursued a policy of peace and friendship between nations and has resolutely and consistently opposed the enslavement and subjection of peoples. Today also the Soviet people remains a determined advocate of the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

134. The Soviet delegation could not fail to notice the statement in the Secretary-General's report that talks are

now being conducted in Cyprus between representatives of the Greek and the Turkish communities and are directed towards the solution of problems subsisting in the relations between them. Unfortunately these talks are being prolonged. We sincerely hope for the success of these talks between the two national communities composing the people of the Republic of Cyprus. We maintain that these talks are a domestic matter for the Republic of Cyprus. Their successful conclusion will be in the interests of all Cypriots. It is obvious that the participants in the talks have to overcome considerable difficulties in achieving the goal they have set themselves. The reasons for these difficulties are well known to all. They, like the complexity of the problem of Cyprus as a whole, are the result of the 80-year domination of Cyprus by foreign imperialist colonialists, who tried to suppress the Cypriot liberation movement by their well-known traditional method "divide and rule".

135. Whereas the former foreign colonialists tried to use the intercommunal strife that they had fostered in Cyprus as the main tool for strengthening their domination, especially during the period of the Cypriot struggle for liberation, certain members of the ruling circles of NATO complicated the relations between these two communities in Cyprus in pursuing their over-all policy of military strategy in the Mediterranean area. Their plans apparently include designs to profit from the disturbed atmosphere on the Island and to try to turn it into an "unsinkable nuclear-rocket aircraft carrier" for NATO. It is not hard to see that those are the underlying reasons why the problem of Cyprus has not yet been removed from the agenda of the Security Council.

136. The Soviet delegation would also like specially to point out that under the Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 all States Members of the United Nations are bound to refrain from any activities which might complicate the situation in Cyprus.

137. Today the Security Council examined the report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 3 December last year to 2 June this year [S/9233]. The report contains a recommendation that the stationing of armed forces in Cyprus be extended for a further period of six months. In this connexion we feel obliged to point out that more than four years have passed since the armed forces of the United Nations, consisting mainly of military contingents from NATO countries, arrived in Cyprus. Such prolonged stationing of armed forces in Cyprus cannot be regarded as normal. Although the Soviet delegation has not raised the question of their withdrawal from Cyprus, in view of the position of the parties directly concerned, it nevertheless expresses the hope that their stationing in that country will be brought to an end in the not too distant future.

138. With regard to the resolution adopted at this meeting of the Security Council, the Soviet delegation feels obliged to point out first of all that the resolution confirms the provisions of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and subsequent decisions of the Council on the problem of Cyprus.

139. From the very outset the Soviet Union has never considered the stationing of troops in Cyprus to be

justified, and it continues to hold this view. At the same time, in view of the opinions and wishes of the parties directly concerned and, above all, of the Government of Cyprus, the USSR delegation did not oppose the Secretary-General's proposal that the stationing of those forces in Cyprus should be prolonged for a further six-month period. It is self-evident that, at the same time, we advance as an essential condition that this extension of the period of their stationing shall take place in full conformity with the provisions of the Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, namely that the present duties of the United Nations forces in Cyprus and the present method of financing the operation, that is to say on a voluntary basis, will be maintained.

140. Some speakers here have mentioned the question of the deficit that has resulted from such a prolonged stationing of these forces in Cyprus. However, we cannot, of course, agree with the views expressed in this connexion. Their acceptance would be unfair to many members of the Security Council and to many Members of the United Nations as well as unjustified.

141. There can be only one solution to this problem: those who bear the long-term responsibility for this problem should reimburse the costs and cover the deficit resulting from the need for United Nations forces to be stationed on this Island for such a long time.

142. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): My list shows no other representatives who wish to explain their vote after the voting.

143. I now call on the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

144. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Before exercising my right of reply, I should like to thank the members of the Security Council who have spoken on this question and who have shown understanding, particularly those who have referred to matters which are very important such as the need for the freedom of movement, and, in particular, I would thank the representative of Nepal for supporting what I said regarding the freedom of movement for the whole population.

145. In this respect I might answer the relevant point raised by the representative of Turkey who said that the restricted areas to which the Turks do not have access—and to which indeed no Greek or anyone else except the military has access—are extensive. The size of those areas, however, is of no importance because they are out of the way; there are no villages or roads there, and nobody is in any way restricted in his movements on the Island, unless it is someone who specifically wants to go into the military areas.

146. But conversely, where there are Turkish Cypriot enclaves, freedom of movement on important roads is restricted. Five main communications roads, are mentioned in the report; these are blocked and they are in inhabited areas. Persons who want to go from Nicosia to Kyrenia instead of taking twenty or twenty-five minutes, have to spend one hour doing so and go in a roundabout way,

because the Turkish Cypriots, quite unreasonably, hinder their movement. And this is being done at a time when negotiations are taking place in a spirit of understanding. It takes the villagers of the Trypimeni area more than an hour to travel in a roundabout way to bring their produce to the market. This constitutes hindrance to freedom of movement, and this is distinct from the fact that the Turkish Cypriots or the Greek Cypriots or anyone else cannot enter restricted out-of-the-way military areas. But this is characteristic of the manner in which these matters are treated.

147. I am grateful to the representative of Turkey for really making it clear now what the difficulty is, so that there can be an understanding here as to why there is such delay in the solution of the problem. We are at one with the representatives who urged that the negotiations should be speeded up. But what is the difficulty? Let us see. The representative of Turkey says, "In any case, we do not want to give up one iota of our rights, the rights of the Turkish Cypriots". Now what are those rights? Are they the rights that they had over the ages? No. Are they the rights that they had during the Turkish Administration? No. Are they the rights which they had under the British Administration? No. They are the rights—the so-called rights—derived from the Zurich and London Agreements. And what are those rights? They are mainly two: one, the essence of divisiveness and, two, the essence of imbalance.

148. These two elements, combined together, created the situation which led to the trouble and the fighting. By dividing the towns, by dividing the courts of justice, by dividing everything in the Island, and also by creating a constitutional imbalance, by which eight Turkish votes in the House of Representatives could defeat forty-two other votes, the stage for trouble and fighting was set.

149. This was such an abnormal situation that it could not last. It was unworkable. That is why a distinguished personality who dealt with it thoroughly called it the oddity of a constitution, an unprecedented situation. Therefore, when inevitably it broke down, we said: "We are going to remedy it". And how do we remedy it? By eliminating at least part of the divisiveness, by creating a truly unitary State. And it was agreed that it should be a unitary State. But the moment you come to speak about unity, then there is the objection.

150. The representative of Turkey is objecting to the statement of President Makarios merely because he spoke of unity. When the President speaks of "concessions", what does he mean? Concessions towards the demands of the Turks within reasonable bounds, but not to such an extent that separativeness of local autonomy will destroy the unitary State and again bring insecurity and fighting.

151. What does the Archbishop say? The representative of Turkey complains of the statement of the President contained in paragraph 66. Let us see what is objectionable there. Let me read it: "We have displayed a spirit of goodwill and we shall continue the talks in the same spirit". Is that anything to which one can object? The Archbishop says:

"We have submitted constructive proposals"—and constructive they are: I wish I could produce them here—"in

the hope of finding a peaceful and applicable solution. We have even made several concessions. But there are limits and a line beyond which we cannot retreat. We have stated and reiterate that in no case will the Greek Cypriots accept a solution creating a kind of state within a state and generally a solution running counter to the concept of a unitary State." [S/9233, para. 66.]

152. Now, that is the statement that creates opposition from the other side. That statement is the one about which the representative of Turkey complains. But I must say that I greatly appreciate what the representative of Turkey has said—that they do not want a state within a state. Well, if that is true, the problem is solved. The representative of Turkey also said: "We do not want divisiveness". I thank him for that; and I hope that it will prove true, because if such be the case the problem is solved.

153. It is not a question of depriving the Turks of any rights. They will have all the rights possible, rights that no minority ever had in any country. No matter what is said, a minority remains the minority, and it cannot be given the power of ruling over the majority and of obstructing and stalling the functioning of the State, as they had under the Zurich and London Agreements. What we want is simply to save the State from destruction and give the Turkish minority all the rights that they possibly can have within a unitary State.

154. Therefore, I do not consider the statement of the representative of Turkey, Mr. Eralp, as unconstructive, because he said that they are against divisiveness and against a State within a State. I think that along those lines we can agree, and get a solution of the problem.

155. Now, I shall have to say a few words with regard to the press campaign. The representative of Turkey complains about the press campaign in the Greek papers; however, there are many more complaints about the press campaign of the Turkish papers. But what is the essence of the press campaign of the Turks? Divisiveness. What is the essence of the press campaign on the Greek side? Unity. Thus, it can now be seen clearly that the opposing sides are: divisiveness and unity. I submit that we are on the right course. Ours is the course for unity, for harmony, for the Turks in Cyprus to enjoy the benefits of free citizens in a united country as a united people and in a united economy where they can prosper and live in peace. Now, what are the guarantees? We have offered every possible guarantee: a legally binding Declaration of Intent; United Nations inspection and a United Nations Commissioner who would ensure that all the rights given to them and agreed upon in the course of the negotiations are fully implemented.

156. So what is the reason for the difficulties in reaching a solution? I hope that this very discussion will encourage progress in the negotiations, and that the stumbling blocks of a State within a State and of divisiveness will disappear.

157. There is one more thing I should like to say. It has to do with the question of the arms factory in the Turkish sector. I did not raise the question but the representative of Turkey mentioned it. He says that it is not true and that UNFICYP does not confirm it. UNFICYP says that they



have not been given the opportunity to visit the shops in question. If it is true that there is no arms factory, why do they not allow UNFICYP to check on it? UNFICYP says: "We have seen new weapons of local manufacture in the hands of the Turkish Cypriots"—which means that they must be manufactured there—"but we have not seen the factory because we have not been given the opportunity". That is no reason to say that there is no factory.

158. But those are minor things. The important thing is that we hope that we shall move forward towards a solution of the problem, as a united people, in a truly unitary State, and, in a way that will ensure peace, progress and welfare for the people of Cyprus as a whole.

159. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The representative of Turkey has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

160. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I have asked for the floor not so much to exercise a right of reply as to specify that my replies to the points just made by Ambassador Rossides were amply given in my original statement. It is with much regret that I must classify certain portions of Ambassador Rossides' last statement as among those to which I took objection in my original remarks and which reflect a spirit not calculated to maintain the atmosphere of calm which is essential to the progress of the intercommunal talks.

161. I am not going to take up the points which were raised by Ambassador Rossides, in detail. He wished that he had the proposals recently made by the Greek Cypriot administration in the course of the intercommunal talks and that he could have shown how reasonable they were and how many concessions they contained. That is a matter which is being taken up in the Island and I am not going to go into it here.

162. I merely wish to say that the Turkish community has taken objection to it in the first instance, but they have approached the subject in a constructive manner. They have asked for clarifications and they will come back with counter-proposals. The main thing about the proposals is that we should understand that what is at issue is not a question of giving concessions to a minority, but the recognition of the rights of a community, which is recognized as such in the structure of the Republic. The Ambassador asked what those rights were. In our view, they are quite clear. They are communal rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Island. They are not the rights which go back to the British Administration or the Turkish Administration, but the rights freely negotiated, accepted and enshrined in the Constitution. And he quoted a certain authority as saying that this Constitution was an oddity.

163. Of course the Council is aware of the fact that the highest authority who could pass judgement on the Constitution, namely, the President of the Constitutional Court, who was a German, was quite convinced that with goodwill the Constitution could have worked. For having said that and for having held that view he was hounded out of the Island.

164. One minor point which is illustrative: I did bring up the question of the factory which was supposed to have been set up in the Turkish sector because it was mentioned in paragraph 23 of the report of the Secretary-General. Ambassador Rossides, of course, said that UNFICYP had previously noticed new weapons believed to be of local manufacture. He carefully omitted to complete the phrase: "UNFICYP had previously noticed new weapons of the small arms type, believed to be of local manufacture . . .", while, of course, the factory that was supposed to exist was supposed to manufacture bazookas, mortars and small arms.

165. These are minor matters which I would like not to have brought up and I hope that this will be the end of the debate at this juncture. We have to turn our eyes to the Island and hope that the intercommunal talks there will reach success.

166. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

167. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish to express the hope that after this meeting the negotiations in Cyprus may move forward at a better pace, with better understanding and towards a spirit of less mistrust and more confidence between the two sides so that we can reach a reasonable solution within a unitary State as agreed upon, without the elements of division that would destroy it.

168. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I have no other speakers on my list. At this point in our deliberations I wish to express my gratitude to the States, Governments and organizations, to various persons whose names I need not mention, and to the Secretary-General whom I do wish to mention, for their joint efforts and their generous co-operation in establishing harmony, peace, justice and prosperity in Cyprus.

169. The Council has completed the consideration of its agenda, but before closing the meeting I should like once more to use the prerogative of the Chair to add a few words on two particular topics.

170. What I have to say first is intended as a clarification. As a rule, in addressing those who wish to speak, the person holding this office usually prefaces the title "representative" by the word "distinguished". By not doing that, I have in a way upset an established procedure. I did so for one reason only, however, and I should like to explain it: to my mind, all the representatives who sit at the Council table possess qualities of the most outstanding order, and it is a pleasure for me to repeat that statement.

171. Secondly, I should like to express my appreciation to the members of the Council who have bestowed such extremely lavish praise upon me and in whose words I see the evidence of friendship. No President could perform his duties successfully without loyal and unstinting co-operation from the members. I rely on the loyal and unstinting co-operation of each and every one of the Council members.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*