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1521st MEETING: 11 DECEMBER 1969

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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.

FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 11 December 1969, at 10.30 a.m.

President: M. V. J. MWAANGA (Zambia).

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/1521)

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 of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/9521 and Corr.1).

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 of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/9521 and Corr.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the usual practice of the Council when dealing with the question now before it, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, pursuant to their requests [S/9553, S/9551, S/9547] to participate in the discussion of the question without the right to vote, to take seats at the Council table.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the question relating to Cyprus on the basis of the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General on 3 December 1969.¹ Members of the Council have also received copies of the text of a draft resolution, prepared for our consideration in the course of informal consultations, which is contained in document S/9550.

3. In the process of further consultations held with the members, it has been decided to make a slight modification to the third preambular paragraph of that draft resolution. I shall now read out the new text of the third preambular paragraph.

"Noting, from the observations in the report, that the improvement of the situation in Cyprus has continued during the period under review."

4. The parties directly concerned have been consulted and have agreed with the new formulation.²

5. The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus on whom I now call.

6. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The Council meets again to renew the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus under circumstances that may, on the whole, be considered as not discouraging. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General for the six-month period since last June. The report is, as previous ones, studious, objective and comprehensive. The atmosphere of peace and calm that has prevailed in the Island since December 1967 has continued uninterruptedly and there has been a steady improvement in the situation from certain aspects of a return to normal conditions of life. Contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots have continued to spread to higher levels. The holding of some United Nations and other international conferences in Cyprus, with the participation of Turkish Cypriots, has greatly contributed to the improvement of the climate. The United Nations Seminar on Human Rights, held this year in Nicosia, has in particular been a significant factor in this improvement process. The General Assembly in a recent resolution has expressed its appreciation of that seminar.

7. Equally important in this respect has been the plenary assembly of United Nations Associations which was also held in Nicosia, as well as other regional international meetings, bringing the positive United Nations spirit of friendly co-operation closer to a people who are ready and eager to receive it. This is perhaps why the holding of such international conferences in Cyprus have proved a particular success.

8. The report notes the progress towards normalization which has been achieved in various fields. Thus, for example, in the field of agriculture there has been a

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1969, document S/9521.

² The revised text of the draft resolution was later issued as document S/9550/Rev.1.

significantly better co-operation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, resulting in more extensive cultivation, particularly by Turkish Cypriot farmers, of the lands falling within the militarily restricted areas and in the return of Turkish Cypriot landowners to their villages.

9. Also encouraging has been the participation of Turkish Cypriot farmers in soil conservation and mixed farming projects financed by the Government and the World Food Programme.

10. Furthermore, Turkish Cypriot villages will be benefiting substantially from a number of irrigation development projects sponsored by the Government and the United Nations Development Programme.

11. In the field of public services there has also been improvement as a result of the arrangements whereby the Government is able to proceed with the Famagusta water supply project. Turkish Cypriot co-operation has been fostered in the provision by the Government of electricity to a number of Turkish Cypriot villages and in the renewal or repairs of water systems in several Turkish villages, in the Nicosia and Kyrenia districts. However, water resources generally and the provisions of relevant services, as the report noted, "continue to pose problems especially since Greek Cypriots are denied access to Turkish Cypriot-controlled areas" [S/9521, para. 47]. And, in this sense, also to the personnel required for such repairs. The situation, however, is markedly improving.

12. In the economic field, through rapidly increasing contacts, there are, the report states: "encouraging signs pointing to a growing awareness of the desirability of reversing the trends towards separate economic development" [ibid., para. 40]. This development bears out the hope expressed by the Secretary-General in his previous report of 3 June 1969 for such needed reversal of trends so that: "human and other resources of the whole Island may be fully utilized for the benefit of all Cypriots" [S/9233, para. 60].

13. There can be little doubt that separativeness in economic development, as in other fields, cannot be to the benefit of either side and is certainly more to the detriment of the Turkish Cypriots themselves.

14. The Cyprus economy, just as the Cyprus State, is one unit. Only as such can it go forward to a future of peace and progress for all its peoples as one undivided whole. This is both desirable and achievable for, as the Secretary-General noted in a number of his previous reports, since March 1966, the bulk of the people of Cyprus—Greek and Turkish alike—earnestly desire to live together in peace and harmony, as they did over the years in the past and are eager to resume their former amicable relations. This desire is also evidenced by the prompt co-operation from both sides where no outside impediments are placed to obstruct it.

15. Notwithstanding these encouraging developments, however, two major aspects of normalization, with which the Secretary-General dealt in his report of 3 June and in previous reports, have not shown any appreciable improve-

ment, as was expected. They are, one, freedom of movement, and two, deconfrontation.

16. Regarding the first—freedom of movement—although the policy of goodwill and conciliation, which the President, Archbishop Makarios, initiated about two years ago in lifting all restrictions and roadblocks impeding the movement of persons and goods in and out of the Turkish Cypriot enclaves, has continued to be scrupulously adhered to by the Government, the expected positive response from the other side has not as yet emerged by the lifting of corresponding restrictions of movement in the enclaves. As a result, the Secretary-General's report of 3 June noted: "Whereas Turkish Cypriots may move freely throughout the Island except in a few militarily restricted areas"—in which they are now allowed, as I said before, to cultivate—"access to Turkish Cypriot enclaves, a number of Turkish Cypriot villages and certain roads continues to be denied to Greek Cypriots". The Secretary-General also remarked that "This abnormal situation . . . could mar the present favourable atmosphere" [ibid., para. 55]. The present report shows that this situation, regrettably, continues practically unchanged. Normalization, however, cannot be conceived as a one-way traffic. It should come from both sides and be seen in its intrinsic merit as such, not narrowly in relation to the accompanying advantage it may bring to the one or the other side. We hope, however, that the appropriate response may soon come, thus doing away with an unnecessary anomaly which is incompatible with the present climate.

17. As regards the second aspect—deconfrontation—my Government has all along shown its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to that effect. Last August, in the light of favourable developments, the Force Commander, General Martola, proposed certain modest measures of simultaneous relocation of forces with the purpose of lessening the acuteness and closeness of confrontation along the Nicosia Line; he proposed that they should move back a little so that they would not be in sight of each other in a rather provocative manner. As stated in the report, the Government accepted the proposals, but the Turkish Cypriots did not agree. The Secretary-General in his observations shows particular concern over such military confrontation and expresses the hope that the Turkish Cypriot leadership will give renewed consideration to the proposals of the Force, to which the Government has already agreed. The Secretary-General points out that "as long as the present close military confrontation persists tension will inevitably remain high, and with it the risk of 'accidental clashes'" [S/9521, para. 77].

18. Having regard to the present improved climate in the Island, such continued military confrontation at close quarters would seem hardly to serve any useful purpose and would rather be likely to create tension, thereby prejudicing the normalization effort and the current talks.

19. I turn now to the intercommunal talks. Those talks have, no doubt, been proceeding at a slow pace. That is regrettable. But, as both the interlocutors have stated, there is no impasse, and the talks are conducted with goodwill and determination, so that the hope of results is not lost. In

fact, the value of the talks does not lie so much in their expeditious conduct as in their outcome in reaching agreement on a sound solution.

20. Despite the difficulties encountered, it is our sincere hope that it will eventually be possible to make progress in the talks towards a just, democratic and workable solution. My Government is therefore determined to persist in its policy of goodwill and to continue the local talks in a constructive spirit.

21. The agreed basis of the talks is that of a unitary State. Such a State must, however, be unitary in substance, not only in name, so that a solution may be reached and the resulting product may be workable. Workability in any solution is most vital, for without it the solution will not be viable.

22. Settlements based on division, as experience has invariably shown, bear the seed of conflict, unavoidably leading to a more precarious situation and graver threats to peace. My Government has gone to all lengths to meet the other side within the framework of a unitary State. It is ready to do anything within that framework to reach accommodation. But it cannot possibly go outside that framework and as my President has stated that "security zone" necessary for the unity of the State. For then the whole structure of a unitary State would crumble, with all the dire consequences for the people of Cyprus and for the interests of international peace. To be sound and enduring, a solution must be consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Cyprus.

23. What we wish to achieve, therefore, is an independent unitary State, free from outside intervention in its internal affairs and firmly based on conciliation, unity and co-operation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, in a spirit of justice and freedom. In that way the people of Cyprus, as an integral whole, may go forward on the road of peace, towards the attainment of their common advancement and welfare within the world community.

24. The Secretary-General, in his report, considers the work of the United Nations Force in Cyprus necessary in the present circumstances and recommends the renewal of the mandate proposing a six-month extension. My Government is in agreement with that proposal.

25. I take this opportunity to emphasize again our sincere appreciation of the work carried out by both the United Nations Force and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. During the last six years their patient and relentless efforts in co-operation with the Government have resulted in significant progress in the pacification of the situation in the Island. The case of Cyprus is perhaps the one case in which the United Nations pacification work has been so successful, bringing out the importance of the United Nations peace-keeping functions and thus helping to strengthen the Organization as an instrument of peace.

26. In that connexion, I wish also to express once more our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his genuine concern about the problem of Cyprus and his dedicated

efforts towards a just and peaceful solution. His renown as a great world leader in the cause of humanity is the most valuable asset of the United Nations.

27. Our sincere thanks also go to his distinguished advisers and especially the Under-Secretaries-General Dr. Ralph 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, and his assistants, whose diplomatic tact, experience and skill have brought a most constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations in Cyprus.

28. Before concluding, I should like to place on record the gratitude of my Government to the outgoing Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, General Martola, for the efficient task he performed on the Island. He takes with him our esteem for his most competent command of the Force, and our admiration for his dedication to duty and to the principles of the United Nations which he had been called upon to serve. He also takes with him the friendship of the Government and people of Cyprus and our best wishes for success in his future endeavours.

29. We wish once more to place on record our deep appreciation to those countries whose valuable contributions in military contingents and in voluntary funds make possible the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Turkey.

31. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): Mr. President, let me first of all thank you and the members of the Security Council for giving me the opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the Council on the present agenda item.

32. The Council meets today for the consideration of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and has before it the report of the Secretary-General of 3 December 1969 [S/9521].

33. It is gratifying to see that the Council is meeting again under more or less auspicious circumstances as calm continues to prevail in Cyprus. In fact, this situation and the encouraging developments which have taken place on the Island since the previous meeting of the Council on the question of Cyprus [1474th meeting] are reflected in paragraph 2 of the introduction to the Secretary-General's report, which I now quote:

"The situation in the last six months has remained calm with only a few incidents causing tension. The continuing general desire to maintain peaceful conditions has been clearly evident throughout and there has been a steady improvement towards a return to normal conditions of life."

34. My delegation considers this report of the Secretary-General as an encouraging document. In its paragraphs 34 to 49, the report cites many cases which denote the

emergence and the strengthening of a desire for a continuous process of improvement in the relations between the two communities. It will be deduced from these concrete examples—and I know that this will be noted with satisfaction by the members of the Council—that the Turkish community is ready to reciprocate with goodwill any gesture that does not entail an implicit or explicit infringement of its constitutional rights and prerogatives.

35. The events referred to in the report are good and encouraging examples of the need for mutually considerate and understanding attitudes on the part of both communities towards each other, and also clearly demonstrate how much more could be achieved in the near future through the adherence to such auspicious attitudes.

36. Speaking of the continuing 'calm and improving atmosphere in Cyprus, let me say in the same breath how deeply we are indebted to, and conscious of, the unceasing vigilance, understanding and efforts of the Secretary-General, U Thant. We indeed owe much to him and to his immediate collaborators here at Headquarters as well as in the field in Cyprus, and to the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I should like to mention with deep appreciation the patient, untiring and devoted efforts of the Under-Secretaries-General Dr. Ralph Bunche and Mr. Rolz-Bennett; as well as those of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and General Martola, Commander of the Force. As General Martola is leaving his command soon, let me say how much my Government appreciated his services, which were rendered with great devotion, and the highest sense of duty and competence. Wishing him well for the years ahead, I want to assure him that he will be remembered with gratitude by all concerned.

37. My Government extends its full co-operation, whenever required, to the efforts of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, and considers its continued existence and effective operations vitally important for the maintenance of calm and peace, and for the establishment of conditions that will make possible the complete return to normal life in Cyprus.

38. The Turkish community also attaches the highest importance to the maintenance of full co-operation with the Force. My delegation is gratified to note from the report of the Secretary-General, in paragraphs 16 and 30, that close liaison and good working relations at all levels have been maintained between the Turkish Cypriot leadership and the Force.

39. While speaking about the peace-keeping operations in Cyprus and the vital role played by the Force in this field, I should like to emphasize once again the full appreciation of my Government to the contributing countries without whose help in manpower and funds the United Nations Peace-keeping Force could not fulfil its task.

40. In spite of some positive developments in the relations of the two communities, which I have briefly touched upon, the balance sheet of the past six months regrettably leaves much to be desired; not only because the work and the phase of normalization moves slowly and cautiously,

which is not surprising in view of the most painful period of long years of strife, bloodshed and deep-seated mistrust that preceded it, but also because of certain happenings, some decisions and actions taken on the Island which were—to say the least—of a disquieting nature. I am afraid that such developments cannot be construed as contributing to the process of confidence-building in the mutual relations of the two communities.

41. It is not my intention to dwell upon them at length. However, let me point out that some of them can be found in the report. As examples I cite paragraphs 20, 32, 50, 58, 59 and 64. Among them a bill entitled "The National Guard (Special Orders) Law of 1969", empowering the Minister of the Interior to organize a special task force of the National Guard to assist the police in dealing with the domestic security situation—as cited in paragraph 20 of the report—has been passed by the Greek members of the House of Representatives since the publication of the Secretary-General's report. This action brought on a strong protest by the Turkish community, not only because it was a violation of the basic articles of the Constitution, but also because it was a measure likely to increase tension. I think that in addition to its being a violation of the Constitution, the serious nature of using military units for police duties, and its self-evident repercussions on the Turkish community's security, requires no comment. However, I am gratified to learn—before I came to this meeting of the Security Council—through the press reports that Archbishop Makarios, who gave an interview to a Greek newspaperman, said that this law would possibly not be put into force.

42. As regards certain statements made by the Greek Cypriot leaders, I have to mention with regret that there have been certain recent public statements which could hardly be considered compatible with the efforts undertaken during the last two years, that is, since 1967, and especially during the intercommunal talks. Such statements openly reverted to the theme of *enosis*.

43. But, as I have already stated, I do not wish to elaborate on those statements because my delegation does not intend to get involved in an unnecessary argument, and also because among the promising developments of the last six months there have been some constructive statements and helpful press comments which I should like to mention with satisfaction. I believe that we should all be well advised to concentrate on those positive developments and encourage them with all the means at our disposal.

44. The few examples that I have mentioned point to the inherent difficulties which exist in the pursuit of normalization and which remind us how much patience, goodwill, understanding and realism will be necessary if the process of confidence-building—and, thereby, a complete return to normal life—is to be achieved. I shall even go further and say that a spirit of generosity and magnanimity will be required in order to facilitate and accelerate this vital process.

45. As a point at hand on this subject—which Ambassador Rossides touched upon a little while ago—I should like very briefly to refer to the matter of freedom of movement,

mentioned in paragraphs 54 and 56 of the Secretary-General's report, and say that the rather limited response of the Turkish Cypriots in this matter should be viewed within the foregoing context, and their reservations should be considered with the proper understanding. Indeed, the Turkish community's minimum requirements of security should not be summarily labelled by the other party as an unco-operative attitude and its viewpoints, as referred to in paragraph 55 of the report, should not be ignored.

46. I think that the suggestion contained in paragraph 56 of the report as to exploring some means "of a pragmatic nature" could be given consideration by the parties.

47. On the subject of normalization, we should also recall that the Turkish Cypriots are still deprived of certain basic benefits and rights to which they are entitled as citizens of the Republic of Cyprus, although there have been many encouraging developments, as is stated in the Secretary-General's report and to which Ambassador Rossides also referred, and I agree that this reality should be borne in mind when considering this problem.

48. My Government's position in regard to the intercommunal talks is well known, and the Turkish Government continues to give every encouragement and every possible assistance to the continuation and successful outcome of these exploratory talks. On this subject, I shall now quote from paragraph 65 of the report of the Secretary-General:

"On 23 October Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey, following his party's victory at the elections, stressed that his country wanted to solve the Cyprus problem through peaceful means, and expressed the hope that the current intercommunal talks would lead to a positive result. He felt that no time-limit should be set, and, pointing out that peace and mutual understanding prevailed in the Island, emphasized that this was a gratifying development. His Foreign Minister, Mr. Caglayangil, after meeting with Greek Foreign Minister Pipinellis in the beginning of October, had expressed similar thoughts, stressing the necessity and usefulness of continuing the intercommunal talks."

49. We believe that the talks, at the stage now reached, provide a basis for the two communities to make further concrete moves, enabling them to agree on a democratic constitutional scheme which would in turn pave the way to a peaceful, just and honourable settlement among all the parties concerned. To achieve this, we believe that the two sides—not one side alone—should make further sincere and sustained efforts in a spirit of reciprocal accommodation and of give and take.

50. On this point, with your permission, Mr. President, I shall quote from the address of my Foreign Minister at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly:

"More than a year has elapsed since the beginning of talks between the two communities of Cyprus. The purpose of these talks is to seek out and explore the basis for a return to normal conditions and to constitutional order in the Island. We believe that this dialogue should

have a successful outcome, since the future of Cyprus closely depends on complete agreement between the two elements of the Island and on their fair and balanced participation in all the activities of an independent State.

"To this end, the two communities must display understanding and tolerance towards one another in order to prepare the basis for an administration of the State of Cyprus that would be founded on mutual respect for their separate identities as national communities. If one of the parties should develop the illusion that it had a monopoly of wisdom and reason and expect the other party to make all the concessions, it must be recognized"—my Foreign Minister said—"that such a state of mind is not conducive to achieving a solution."³

51. My Government attaches the greatest importance to the intercommunal talks and desires that they should be successfully concluded as expeditiously as possible. We believe that the tragic events of the past, which stand out as a grim reminder, should cause all concerned to intensify their efforts with renewed determination towards a peaceful and just settlement.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Greece.

53. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): In renewing the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus in June, the Security Council acted in accordance with the wish expressed by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece. The three of us agreed that the presence of the Force was useful and made an enormous contribution to the maintenance of calm and the progressive establishment of order in Cyprus. We realized that, if the talks then under way between the two segments of the population were to have any chance of success, this would occur only in an atmosphere of peace and internal tranquillity, for which an essential factor is the pacifying influence of the United Nations Force. Today these observations are still valid and have just been repeated by my colleagues from Cyprus and Turkey. I therefore associate myself with them and assure you that the Government of Greece is also convinced that the presence of the Force is necessary in the present circumstances, and I should like to express the hope that the Security Council will extend the mandate within the limits of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964.

54. In so doing, I feel bound to add that we are more than ever convinced that the two parties in Cyprus must intensify their efforts to ensure that the talks they are holding will lead to useful results. In the past, I have had occasion to assure the Council that we on the Greek side consider the time factor important, and we maintain this opinion. We accordingly note with satisfaction the resumption on the first of this month of the talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash, and we cannot but praise their determination to continue their task despite the difficulties which they inevitably encounter.

55. Encouraging indications also come from another source. I am referring to the report of the Secretary-General

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1772nd meeting, paras. 185 and 186.

which was distributed on 3 December. After a thorough analysis of the situation as it has evolved and as it is today, U Thant ends by saying that he remains convinced that the Cyprus problem can be settled peacefully if the conflicting parties have the will and the determination to achieve agreement.

56. It can, I think, be affirmed without exaggeration, that this will and determination to settle the problem peacefully is present among all the parties. The Secretary-General's report records a number of statements to this effect which, without minimizing the complexity of the problem, show the will which exists on both sides to resolve their difficulties peacefully. The statements from the Turkish side were particularly noteworthy. For my part, may I repeat the statement recently made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Mr. Pipinellis, who said that with goodwill, patience and continued efforts, the existing difficulties in the search for a viable solution serving the interest of the Cypriot people as a whole could be overcome.

57. The major crisis of December 1963 and the events which followed are factors which still weigh on the daily lives of the inhabitants of Cyprus and create inconveniences for both sides. This observation emerges clearly from a reading of the report. It nevertheless seems to us that while awaiting a general settlement to come from the negotiations already under way, partial arrangements could be made to render life easier for all. Thus we believe, like the Secretary-General, that much remains to be done in respect of deconfrontation, and particularly in respect of freedom of movement. We think that the representatives of the United Nations in Cyprus have reason to believe that the measures taken to this end will contribute to a greater improvement in the political atmosphere and facilitate the talks at Nicosia. In approaching the question from another point of view, the Secretariat Survey Team arrives at the same conclusion. I refer to its report which appears as annex I to document S/9521, which indicates that such measures are necessary, among others, to make possible a further over-all reduction of the strength of the Force, and consequently a reduction in the expenditures entailed by its maintenance at the present level.

58. We are well aware of the financial difficulties which the Secretary-General will continue to face if the Council renews, as we hope it will, the mandate of the Force. That is why we should like to assure him that, although this is a heavy burden for Greece, it will maintain its contribution to the costs of the Force at the same level as in the past. It is my pleasant duty to reiterate to the Secretary-General our gratitude for his invaluable contribution to the pacification of Cyprus. We should also like to express our deep appreciation to those who work with him, both here and in Geneva, as well as in the field in Cyprus. In this connexion, I should like to add that we regret the departure of General Martola. He was impeccable in the discharge of his duties, and proved to be competent and impartial. He fulfilled his mission with honour and deserved the confidence which we all placed in him from the beginning of his term of office.

59. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Soviet Union who has asked for the floor to make a statement before the voting.

60. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The position of the Soviet delegation on the question of Cyprus is well known. It has been repeatedly set forth in declarations by the Soviet Government and statements made by its representatives, *inter alia*, in the Security Council. Regarding this latest discussion of the question of Cyprus in the Council, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to confirm that that position retains its full validity and significance.

61. The Soviet Union continues to believe that the question of Cyprus can and should be settled by peaceful means, in the interest of the entire Cypriot people of both its constituent national committees. The Soviet Union is firmly in favour of supporting the struggle of Cypriots for the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their homeland, the Republic of Cyprus, which, as a full-fledged State Member of the United Nations, is carrying on a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs.

62. Settlement of the domestic affairs of the Republic of Cyprus is the business of the Cypriots themselves; they should settle their domestic affairs themselves without outside interference. The lawful rights of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus should be fully respected by everyone.

63. The Soviet Union is strongly opposed to any attempt to encroach upon the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and to intentions, so far as we are aware not altogether unknown to certain States, to try to solve the question of Cyprus behind the backs of the Cypriot people, to the detriment of their vital interests and the advantage of the imperialist aims of certain Powers belonging to the military bloc of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Security Council and the United Nations as a whole must decisively resist any attempts, intentions or efforts to subordinate the fate of the people of Cyprus to the interests of the military plans of that bloc in the Mediterranean basin and the adjacent region of the Middle East.

64. That approach on the part of the Soviet Union on the question of Cyprus flows from the general course of Soviet foreign policy as laid down by the great founder of our State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the centenary of whose birth will soon be celebrated by all mankind. From the first days of its existence the Soviet State, in accordance with Lenin's directions, has pursued a policy of peace and friendship among peoples and has firmly and consistently spoken out against the enslavement and oppression of peoples. To this day the Soviet Union remains a convinced supporter of the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in all its manifestations everywhere, in all parts of the world where colonialism has not yet been totally eradicated.

65. The Soviet delegation cannot but draw attention to the information contained in the report of the Secretary-General that talks are now going on in Cyprus between representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities aimed at settling outstanding problems in their relations. We regard these talks as within the domestic affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. We sincerely look forward to the early success of these intercommunal talks, since only by means of such talks on the basis of mutual understanding and

goodwill will it be possible to create conditions ensuring a peaceful life and security for all Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish. At the same time, we think we should point to the obvious validity of the Secretary-General's observation in his report that "the passage of too much time might hamper rather than facilitate the settlement" [S/9521, para. 75].

66. The Soviet delegation also considers it necessary to emphasize once again its deep conviction that, in order to ensure the complete independence and integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from its territory and the foreign military bases situated there eliminated.

67. The Soviet delegation would also like to emphasize more particularly that, in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, all States Members of the United Nations should refrain from any action likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus, and that, of course, applies to all States of the world as well.

68. Today the Security Council has before it the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period 3 June 1969 to 1 December 1969, containing his recommendation that the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus should be extended for an additional period of six months.

69. In this connexion we must draw attention to the fact that almost six years have now elapsed since the United Nations Force first appeared in Cyprus. Such a lengthy stay of the United Nations Force in Cyprus cannot be accepted as normal. Although the Soviet delegation is not now raising the question of their recall from Cyprus, given the position of the interested parties and, primarily, of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, it does consider it necessary to stress that this United Nations peace-keeping operation cannot continue indefinitely. By its very nature the stationing of foreign troops, even United Nations troops, in the territory of an independent and sovereign State can be only an extraordinary measure, which should be stopped at the first opportunity. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that such an opportunity will arise not later than at the time of the expiry of this latest six-month extension of the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus.

70. So far as the draft resolution now before the Security Council for consideration is concerned, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to point out, first of all, that this draft resolution, in connexion with the further six-month extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, reaffirms the provisions of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and subsequent decisions of the Security Council on the question of Cyprus. We regard that as a key consideration in determining our attitude to this draft resolution. The delegation of the Soviet Union is authorized to declare that the Soviet Union does not object to the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months, on the strict understanding that this extension will be effected in full accordance with the provisions of the above-mentioned resolution of the Security Council of

4 March 1964, namely, that the present functions of the United Nations Force in Cyprus shall be maintained and that the existing procedure for its financing shall remain on a voluntary basis.

71. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on my list of representatives who expressed the desire to speak before the voting. If no other representatives ask for the floor at this time, the Council will now proceed to vote on the revised draft resolution contained in document S/9550/Rev.1.

72. There are no further speakers. Accordingly, I shall put to the vote the revised draft resolution.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.⁴

73. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked for the floor to speak in explanation of vote after the voting. I shall call upon them in the order in which they signified their desire to speak.

74. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In speaking after the unanimous vote today, I wish first of all to express my admiration for the report which the Secretary-General has presented to us. In this and other matters we are apt to take for granted the fact that we can expect a lead from the Secretary-General. When he reports to us, he rightly and necessarily speaks in words most carefully weighed. He speaks with a restraint which gives to his comments and recommendations additional force. At the same time, he does not hesitate to state the facts, even when to some they may be unwelcome or unpalatable. There is a fairness, firmness and steadiness about his words which carry conviction and command the greatest respect.

75. The report which was presented to us on 3 December is an excellent example of the invaluable contribution which the Secretary-General can make to our deliberations in the Councils and committees of the United Nations. What he has said in the report makes it almost unnecessary to make substantial speeches here in the Council, since the report itself speaks to the people of Cyprus and to the Governments primarily concerned in maintaining peace in the Island in a way which we in this Council could not better. In saying that, I am sure that I should associate with our gratitude for the report before us the contribution which has been made, and is being made, by Ambassador Osorio-Tafall. We know how well he is trusted by all concerned. Our hopes for further improvement in the situation in Cyprus are sustained by our knowledge that he is there representing us all and maintaining constant, friendly and constructive relations with all the leaders of the Island.

76. I also take this opportunity to express gratitude for the report prepared on the Cyprus Force by the Secretariat Survey Team [see S/9521, annex I].

77. We sometimes hear accusations of financial irresponsibility in the United Nations. There is indeed cause for

⁴ See resolution 274 (1969).

concern on that ground. I think that some of the criticism is justified, but it is directed not at the Secretary-General but at ourselves, the delegates. Sometimes we, the delegates, call on the Secretary-General to undertake tasks without giving him the financial means to carry them out. Too readily, we call for reports and conferences without adequately considering the cost. But no charge of financial irresponsibility can be brought against the Secretary-General.

78. Many of us have been greatly disturbed at the deficit on the Cyprus operation. The Secretary-General has not failed constantly to warn us of the dangers of allowing that deficit to persist. But he has not been content merely to bring the serious situation to our attention. He keeps the financial situation constantly under close and exacting review. Now he has followed this up by sending a surveying team to Cyprus. The team carried out its task with thoroughness and penetrating good sense. What they have reported and recommended deserves respectful and urgent attention.

79. Let me join with others in paying tribute to General Martola, who is shortly to relinquish his command of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. For three and a half years he has commanded the Force with diligent, skilful and confident authority. British troops have been proud to serve under his distinguished command. He needs no praise from us. I know that he regards it as sufficient reward that two years of peace have been won and maintained. During the six months covered by the Secretary-General's present report, there has been no grave incident of intercommunal disorder. That is the achievement and that is the reward of the United Nations Force. It is a success for which we are all duly and deeply grateful.

80. Let me go on to make a general comment on the situation in Cyprus. In doing so, I should like to express my admiration for the spirit of conciliation and co-operation which has been shown in the speeches to which we have listened this morning. I apply that description to the speeches by the ambassadors of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, and I think I would also use the same words in referring to the speech made by the representative of the Soviet Union. I think I can say that, referring perhaps also to one or two routine or irrelevant references, I speak of conciliation and co-operation; I realize that that entails for my distinguished colleague a considerable effort, and I thank him for the speech he has made today.

81. In the light of the reports we have received, I see the situation in Cyprus dominated by four factors. The four factors are human, economic, political and military. The first two—human and economic—are making for good relations, for reconciliation and for peace. The other two factors, political and military, could work the other way—for separation and segregation and the perpetuation of dispute and division.

82. Political and military barriers can be formidable indeed, but I believe that the longing of the ordinary people to be enabled to earn their living quietly and in peace and equality, and even more the yearning to live together in mutual understanding, respect and affection, are powerful

instincts and incentives. I believe that those instincts and incentives are well at work in Cyprus now.

83. For more than a hundred years the people of Cyprus lived together in friendship. That did not mean that they were all of the same outlook or religion or character. Far from it. The Greeks and the Turks have very different characteristics, but they are both equally proud of their traditions and their loyalties. They are both, I am sure, determined to maintain their own social and religious systems and beliefs. But they have shown before that their differences need not be quarrels. They have lived together for generations in amity in every town and in more than a hundred villages in the Island. There is no reason why they should not do so again.

84. We already see the human need for reconciliation at work, and we also see the urge for economic co-operation so that the welcome prospect of increased prosperity can extend to every village and every district in the Island. That is the natural and healthy development which we witness today; so it already appears from the Secretary-General's report. We must encourage and welcome equivalent action in the political and military spheres.

85. We can do so confidently because we believe that all concerned, including certainly the Governments of Greece and Turkey, have deliberately and finally rejected any intention of military imposition and any attempt to force a conclusion by military action. All have recognized that no other settlement but a political settlement is possible.

86. We cannot review the situation in the Island without urging that the Greek and Turkish communities in the Island, and the Greek and Turkish Governments too, should consequently, with due sense of opportunity and urgency, now move at once to resolve the problems which are still under discussion between Mr. Glavkos Clerides and Mr. Raouf Denktash. We know that there could not be two more able representatives and skilled negotiators. We pray that they may be given the encouragement and the support to find solutions to problems which have so far eluded all attempts at settlement. The Secretary-General still has to describe the situation in the Island as "unstable and uncertain", to use his words. May all concerned with the negotiation remember the honoured English maxim: "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom."

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

88. I am glad today to be able to announce that we will maintain our contingent in the Cyprus Force for the period of six months. We shall meet all its costs. During the six years of the existence of the Force we have contributed an amount of altogether \$36 million, just over \$12 million in troop costs and nearly \$24 million in voluntary financial contributions. The voluntary contribution we shall make for the forthcoming period of six months remains at the

figure which we have provided for the six months now coming to an end. Our voluntary contribution for the new period will be £625,000.

89. The money we have contributed has been well spent to buy time and peace. It would be wasted if it were expended to support delay in negotiation or postponement of a settlement. We would not wish to waste it. Indeed we would not agree to waste it.

90. It is with those thoughts in mind that my Government comes forward, as we have done regularly and promptly before, to make our practical peace-keeping pledge.

91. Mr. BÉRARD (France) (*translated from French*): The Security Council has just adopted a resolution to extend for a further period of six months the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I should like to explain briefly the vote of my delegation in favour of the resolution which we were happy to see was adopted unanimously.

92. In his report, which deserves the highest praise, the Secretary-General indicates, as he had already done in June of this year, that the improvement in the situation in Cyprus has been maintained. He mentions in particular that "the atmosphere of mutual restraint and the prevailing quiet have helped to create a climate of progressively better understanding between Greek and Turkish Cypriots" [*S/9521, para. 73*]. Thus, despite certain isolated incidents, progress towards a return to normal conditions on the Island has fortunately been confirmed in the period that has elapsed. My delegation can but welcome the encouraging prospects offered by such an atmosphere of confidence.

93. It is nevertheless regrettable to have to note, once again, that despite this progress we see no solution to the fundamental problems which arise between the two communities. It is to be feared that this immobility will lead not to new concessions but to a hardening of the conflicting positions. With our Secretary-General, we express the fervent hope that the representatives of the two parties to the conflict will exert every necessary effort so that the negotiations which have been started may lead to a final agreement.

94. In the meantime, it seems to us that any measure of military disengagement on both sides would limit the zones of confrontation and favour a return to a situation of lasting peace on the Island. Peace is what Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots at all levels of the population, and mainly at the level of the two negotiators who are responsible for the success of the intercommunal talks, must determinedly strive for.

95. As the French delegation emphasized here in June 1969 when we renewed the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, and I apologize for quoting myself, "the [*Security*] 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 a 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." [*1474th meeting, para. 106.*]

96. The financial difficulties entailed in this peace-keeping operation are once again recalled in the report submitted for our consideration. In this connexion the suggestions of the Secretariat Survey Team substantially to reduce the maintenance costs of the Force have been of particular interest to us. We can only give our support to the implementation of these recommendations provided that the Secretary-General and the parties concerned deem that possible, as we hope will be the case.

97. Once again, the delegation of France has assented to the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. However, our Council must not lose sight of the possibility of putting an end to the mandate of the Force if, as we hope, the situation in Cyprus continues to improve, which all of the delegations most sincerely hope for.

98. Finally, in closing I should like to pay a special tribute to the eminent services rendered by General Martola as the Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus when he is about to go into well-deserved retirement.

99. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): The Council has once again voted unanimously to continue the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, this time until 15 June 1970. This is evidence, I think, not only of the conviction of all of us that the presence of the Force is important to the continuance of the present relative quiet on the Island and conducive to further progress to a permanent solution, but also, I am sure, of our recognition of the effective way in which the United Nations Force in Cyprus has continued to carry out its mandate. No small credit in this latter connexion is due to the fine performance of the Force Commander, General Martola, who has served the United Nations and the cause of peace so well for three and a half years in Cyprus. As he leaves his position at his own request, we join with others in extending our grateful thanks and bidding him Godspeed.

100. We have before us today a particularly interesting and useful report from the Secretary-General. That portion of it reviewing developments in Cyprus of concern to the United Nations is in many respects encouraging. The indications of greater contacts between the Greek and Turkish communities and of improvements in such fields as agriculture, economic activities, and public services give rise to hope that the periods of pronounced tension and instability which we all recall are in the past and will remain there. We regret that comparable progress was not possible in the areas of freedom of movement and deconfrontation and we support the continuing efforts to resolve the problems in these spheres.

101. We also welcome the fact that the intercommunal talks are continuing and that both sides evince a desire to pursue them in a constructive manner. We should be less than frank, however, if we did not register some concern at the very slow pace of the talks. While fully recognizing that rapid and easy progress toward agreement on issues of major significance and of long-standing duration cannot be

expected, we had hoped that a broader area of agreement would have been achieved by this time than apparently is the case. We urge both participants in the talks, and the communities for which they speak, to maintain attitudes of compromise and accommodation. We urge them to examine their positions and all proposals presented with a view to what will in the long term be best for the people of Cyprus as a whole rather than what may seem to strengthen in the short run the hand of one community or the other, or to give one or the other a temporary advantage.

102. My Government has been pleased to note that the Greek and Turkish Cypriot negotiators, Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash, have, in fact, throughout the talks, taken a broad and positive view of their role. We are confident that they will continue in this manner as they persist in their efforts on which so much depends. We are also sure that the Secretary-General's able personal representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, will continue to give all possible assistance to the parties and provide whatever good offices they find useful.

103. If the conduct of the intercommunal negotiations is largely in the hands of those directly involved, there is one situation on which every Member of the United Nations has it in its power to have a direct effect. I refer to the financial situation of the Force. The Secretary-General has again called our attention to the unsatisfactory situation that exists and I can only reiterate that my Government fully shares the concern he has expressed. On this point, we should like to express our approval of the step taken by the Secretary-General in appointing the Secretariat Survey Team to review systematically and thoroughly the financing of the Force. The team's report, annexed to that of the Secretary-General, testifies to the comprehensive review that the three Secretariat officials assigned this important task carried out.

104. The report submitted by the survey team obviously requires careful study; study to be followed by consultations among the parties, the troop and financial contributors, the Secretary-General and other United Nations officials who are directly involved in operations of the Force, including the Secretary-General's representative in Cyprus and the Force Commander. I do not wish to comment in detail on the various ideas presented before there has been sufficient opportunity for such study and consultation. I should like, however, to clarify one point of particular concern to my Government.

105. It has long been the position of the United States that a multilateral peace-keeping operation such as that in Cyprus should not be too heavily dependent on any one Member State. We continue to hold that view and for that reason continue to believe that a United States contribution of approximately 40 per cent of the total costs to the United Nations of the Force in Cyprus is appropriate, and that the remainder should be met by the other more than 125 Members of the United Nations family of nations. Moreover, the condition that has been attached to the United States pledge is not simply a limitation. It is designed largely to encourage others to make contributions. It is a maximum pledge, the full value of which can be realized through co-operation of other members in supporting in tangible fashion this important United Nations

activity. I therefore once again urge every Member State, and particularly those with special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the three Governments most directly involved, to re-examine their positions and to contribute as generously as possible to the support of the Force.

106. I also second the suggestion of the survey team that the Secretary-General consider approaching Member States "with a view to securing from them contributions or increases in their former contributions to UNFICYP" [*S/9521, annex I, para. 58*]. The fact that only 23 Governments have made pledges in connexion with extensions of the Force since June 1968 is indeed disturbing.

107. The suggestions outlined by the survey team on ways in which the Force might be reconstituted or reorganized so as to enable it to continue effectively to carry out its assigned task at somewhat less cost deserve, in the view of my Government, the most serious and careful consideration. Hopefully, any decision on reorganization of forces could be taken prior to the next troop rotation in March 1970. We would also hope that other suggestions could lead to prompt actions that would result in significant savings.

108. My Government expects to maintain its support for the Force during the next period of its life, but it, along with others participating in this effort, will welcome any measures that can be taken to reduce the burden while maintaining the capacity of the Force to fulfil its mandate. We note in this connexion that the Secretary-General finds generally sound the survey team's suggestions on steps to achieve savings without impairing the effectiveness of the Force. We, too, believe that steps along the lines of a number of those suggested may well be feasible. Perhaps the Secretary-General will have occasion to report to us during the ensuing mandate period on developments in this connexion, as well as any other significant events with regard to Cyprus which are of concern to us.

109. In closing, may I once again express the appreciation of my Government to the Secretary-General and his staff for the useful report that has been given us, and to the United Nations Force in Cyprus, including its Commander, and the Secretary-General's Personal Representative for their devoted service. They deserve the full support of all of us.

110. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): The Secretary-General states in his report, which is as always lucid and comprehensive, that the situation in Cyprus has remained generally calm and has continued to develop in a favourable direction. No major incidents have occurred during the period under review. In fact, there has been some modest advance towards normal conditions of life on the Island. Yet it must be recognized that for the past six months since the Security Council last considered the matter, no substantive progress has been made on the basic issues which separate the two communities in Cyprus. This is a matter for profound disappointment.

111. We are, of course, aware of the complexity of the issues involved in the intercommunal talks, and do not underestimate the difficulties in the way of a solution, but

now even the momentum towards a negotiated solution seems to have come to a standstill. Thus the warning given by the Secretary-General that the passage of too much time might hamper rather than facilitate a settlement remains valid.

112. While the basic problems of Cyprus remain unsolved, the Secretary-General has had no choice but to suggest a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the presence of which in a large measure has been the guarantee for continued tranquillity on the Island and a prerequisite for any prospect of progress in the intercommunal talks.

113. Since the Security Council has now decided to extend the mandate of the Force, I am authorized to state that Finland is prepared to maintain a contingent with the Force for the next period, under the same arrangements as before. Finland is also prepared to continue voluntary financial contributions for the maintenance of the force on the Island. We do so in the expectation that the two parties most directly concerned make a major effort to break the present deadlock, in order to find a peaceful solution to the problem and bring this peace-keeping operation to a successful conclusion as soon as possible.

114. With regard to the manner in which the Force is being financed, I feel bound to reiterate my Government's view that reliance on voluntary contributions from a relatively small number of Member States is unsatisfactory. We firmly hold the view that peace-keeping operations based on decisions that the Security Council has taken on behalf of all Member States should be paid for by all.

115. My delegation fully concurs with the views expressed by the Secretary-General, that the solution of this problem can be achieved only by devising a more adequate method of financing, or by a substantial increase in voluntary contributions, both as regards the level of contributions and the number of contributing countries.

116. My delegation also wishes to draw attention to the very valuable and thorough work that has been carried out by the Secretariat Survey Team. The team has made some specific proposals regarding the reorganization of the Force in order to reduce its costs. These proposals concern the Finnish as well as the Swedish and Danish contingents and we note that the Secretary-General has indicated his intention to consult with the Governments concerned in putting these proposals into effect.

117. Let me conclude by commending, on behalf of my Government, all those who have worked and continue to work for a peaceful settlement in Cyprus. Nearly six years of patient and persistent efforts, in which the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has played a vital role, has resulted in a great improvement in the situation in Cyprus.

118. We, in Finland, take great pride in the fact that for the past three and a half years the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has had a Finnish Commander. General Martola is now about to retire after a long and most distinguished career in the service of his own

country and in the service of the United Nations. My delegation has taken great satisfaction from the many tributes paid to him by the Secretary-General and by representatives around this table. It will give me great pleasure to report these tributes to my Government.

119. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): After listening to the enlightening statements at the initial stage of our meeting by the representatives of the interested parties, and after having carefully studied the competent report submitted by the Secretary-General, the Hungarian delegation confines itself only to emphasizing a few basic points regarding the question of Cyprus.

120. We regard the problem of Cyprus as an internal affair of the people of Cyprus which consequently should be solved exclusively by themselves by peaceful means and without any outside interference on the basis of the principles of national sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity. That is why we welcomed the commencement of the intercommunal talks which we regarded, and still regard, as a good instrument for arriving at a solution acceptable to the parties involved. We learnt, however, with regret that these talks have been interrupted for a long period resulting in further delay in arriving at a conclusive settlement of the dispute.

121. The facts have clearly shown that such talks have produced a better atmosphere in Cyprus. Their continuation, therefore, is a matter of the utmost importance and urgency. Thus, we can hardly be satisfied with the very moderate, almost staggering, pace of progress, the less so because the situation, as we have learned from the report of the Secretary-General, "remains basically unstable and uncertain".

122. Under those circumstances, where the Secretary-General saw no reasonable alternative but to recommend a further extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, we cannot but share his hope that "the parties will find it possible to exert a determined effort to expedite the progress of the talks and achieve agreement on substantive issues".

123. Regarding the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, my delegation did not object to the relevant recommendation, with the usual understanding that the extension is based entirely on the provisions of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, including the provisions concerning the financing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

124. The PRESIDENT: There are no further names on my list of speakers who wish to explain their vote after the vote, and with the permission of the Council, I shall make a brief statement in my capacity of representative of ZAMBIA.

125. In a century marked by incessant conflict, the cry for peace is almost universal. My Government has very closely followed the developments in Cyprus. We are gratified to note from the excellent report of our Secretary-General, U Thant, contained in document S/9521 of 3 December 1969, that the situation in Cyprus has continued to improve since his last report.

126. We welcome the general calm that has characterized the period under review, noting in particular that there have been no major breaches of the cease-fire and that those directly involved in this problem have continued to exercise restraint and have shown a desire for peace and stability in the Island.

127. It is our firm conviction, however, that the United Nations cannot indefinitely continue extending the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus without the necessary funds. It is also clear that the parties directly concerned must with a sense of great urgency move with deliberate speed to make progress towards resolving the basic problems dividing the two Cypriot communities.

128. Peace is dear, and it therefore goes without saying that it has to be paid for. In keeping with our policy of pay as you talk, I have been authorized by my Government to pledge a further sum of \$10,000 as its humble voluntary contribution to the cause of peace in Cyprus. We shall make the necessary administrative arrangements to make these funds available to the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

129. May I take this opportunity to thank those Governments that have made generous voluntary contributions in support of the United Nations peace-keeping efforts.

130. To those with contingents in Cyprus, we pay tribute. To the leaders of the parties directly involved, we have the following to say: "Continue to be of goodwill and never be accused of being wanting in statesmanship." To the Secretary-General and his staff, to the Special Representative, the Commander of the Force, the officers and men, as well as the civilian staff, we pay a tribute in the following words, to borrow a phrase used by a well-known Englishman, the late Sir Winston Churchill: "Never in the history of mankind has so much been owed by so many to so few."

131. By supporting the draft resolution which has just been adopted unanimously, extending the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for yet another period of six months, it is our expectation that by the expiry of that period sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible the withdrawal or at least a substantial reduction of the Force.

132. Speaking as PRESIDENT, I call on the representative of Cyprus, who has asked for the floor in order to exercise his right of reply.

133. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): First, I should like to thank the members of the Security Council for their constructive statements on this problem. Also I wish to extend our thanks to those who have declared their contributions towards the upkeep of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

134. I particularly wish to thank those members of the Security Council who have more substantively contributed to this debate on the question of Cyprus by stating two premises on which we are very much in accord and on which we believe the problem of Cyprus rests.

135. The first is that Cyprus is an independent State, a Member of the United Nations with full sovereignty and that it is entitled to and should have complete independence and territorial integrity without outside intervention. That is the first premise, and we are grateful to those who mentioned it.

136. The second is the need for conciliation, unity and co-operation among the people of Cyprus, particularly in their own problems which are matters of their own internal affairs, and which should be solved between them in an amicable way. Considering that the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus have lived over the ages, over the generations, in friendliness, peace and amity, as the United Kingdom representative, Lord Caradon, has just pointed out, there is no reason why they should not return to that friendliness, that peace, amity and co-operation, in a unitary State as a united people, and we hope that will come about. In spite of little differences that may appear, and it is natural that they should appear in the process of reconciliation, the broad picture that we can see, as the representative of France has pointed out, is that of continuing progress, continuing amelioration and continuing conciliation, and this is really the basis of the solution of the problem. Therefore, a little time is required, and by time much will be gained in the right direction, because the problem cannot be solved in any sense of division. It has to be solved, and there is no other way to solve it than by conciliation, by unity, and I believe this will be achieved.

137. I also wish to thank my colleague, the representative of Turkey, for his constructive statement and for the willingness on the part of his Government to co-operate towards the positive solution of the problem of Cyprus. I should like, however, to refer to one or two points which he mentioned, and to reply to them.

138. First he referred to the paragraphs in the report which referred to the National Guard, and that a bill had been introduced in the House of Representatives to enable part of the National Guard to be trained for use in cases of emergency, when it had to go to the assistance of the police. This is surely completely an internal matter, one on which no discussion can take place here, the more so since, as my colleague has said, the President of the Republic has stated that the law is not going to be used, but that it will be there in case of need. That disposes of that question.

139. The next point mentioned by my distinguished colleague from Turkey concerns statements made and actions that have taken place. I believe he referred to statements and actions that are not mentioned in the report. Now with regard to those statements and actions, I would say that there are far more statements and actions which have been of concern to my Government and about which I have sent a letter to the Secretary-General on 1 December 1969. But we do not wish to enter into this subject nor do we wish to comment on statements made in Turkish newspapers purporting to be coming from Turkish Foreign Ministry sources, which refer to Turkish intervention in Cyprus, partition and so on. We do not want to refer to those matters. I think they are extraneous to our discussion here; what we are concerned with is simply to

see how we can help the situation and consider the report of the Secretary-General.

140. With regard to the talks, my distinguished friend from Turkey said that concessions must come from both sides. Surely, that is what we also say; it appears that each side feels and thinks that the other side is not making any concessions. He also referred to what was stated by his Foreign Minister, Mr. Caglayangil, to that effect in the general debate of the General Assembly, at its 1772nd plenary meeting, namely, that concessions must come from both sides. Equally, I can refer to what was said in reply, at the 1780th plenary meeting, by my Foreign Minister, Mr. Kyprianou, that he is in agreement, namely, that concessions must come from both sides.

141. May I, in a few words, explain why this phenomenon exists—each side thinking that the other is not conceding. It can be gauged by looking at paragraph 63 of the report concerning the talks, which mentions what Mr. Clerides has said and what Mr. Denktash has said. What emerges from those statements and from the present discussion in the Security Council, the broad picture that unfolds is very clear: one side wants unity, the other side wants division. Which of the two is the proper course? I leave it to the members of the Security Council as Members of the United Nations to decide. But it is obvious that this is the real difference.

142. It is clear that we want a unitary State to be a truly unitary State—not a divided one. So we cannot go beyond a unitary State into divisions that would create partition or any other concepts which we cannot accept, which are not workable and which are outside the agreed basis of the negotiations. Therefore, the concessions that each side expects from the other are these: the Turkish-Cypriot side expects concessions to move the whole structure of the State outside the framework of the unitary State. On the other hand, the concession that the Greek-Cypriot side expects is that the Turkish side should come within the framework of the unitary State. That is the crux of the problem.

143. I hope that on this question, which is the real, the cardinal, the basic question, accommodation will be found within the concept of the unitary State, considering that Mr. Denktash in his reply agrees that it should be a unitary State. So I say this is a hopeful sign that we shall have an accord—I hope so—in the not too distant future on which is fundamentally and basically sound, namely, a solution based on conciliation, co-operation and unity.

144. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Turkey who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

145. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): It is not so much in the exercise of the right of reply that I take the floor at this very late stage—I am also thinking of the responsibilities I shall be shouldering in about 20 minutes for an important social event. I only wish to say that I would agree with Ambassador Rossides when he says that goodwill is the necessary thing. As regards his remarks on the unitary State, the leader of the Turkish community did not object

to a unitary State. The whole question is how the unitary State will be framed.

146. In this respect, I would consider it a rather auspicious augury that three representatives who have worked for the independence of Cyprus just happen to be, almost 10 years later, around this table—Ambassador Rossides, Ambassador Bitsios and myself. And I think that those who have worked for the independence of Cyprus should not be expected to speak against the independence of Cyprus. But the problem is, really, that the independence of Cyprus should be maintained and within the context of this independence the two communities should have prosperous, good working relations, keep their identity and not fear each other. This is the framework for which the two leaders, Mr. Denktash and Mr. Clerides, are working.

147. I do not want to enter into the subject of the talks because the talks are being carried on by the leaders of the two communities. As I have said in my statement, my Government encourages to the fullest possible extent the continuance of these talks and hopes that they will succeed in a very short time. In view of the difficult nature of the problem, I think it is very impractical to expect a solution in the very near future. But this is the attitude of my Government: it encourages the talks and gives every assistance so that these talks may be concluded successfully.

148. As for my statement to the effect that the two sides should really make concessions, that is true. But, again, this is the problem: Ambassador Rossides thinks that the Turkish community has not made enough concessions. The situation as the Turkish community sees it is that they have made enough concessions and they now expect concessions from the Greek community. Since we are not going to settle that problem here, I think it should be left to Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash to find a way.

149. Another thing I should like to say—and that I think Ambassador Rossides would also be ready to accept—is that when we worked for the independence of Cyprus 10 years ago—in that work the United Kingdom, Lord Caradon's country, was of course just playing a role and the Turkish community's representatives were present—we did our best to bring about, and to contribute to, the framing of an independent State. I think that Ambassador Rossides will recall that the Turkish representative at those talks in London made many, many gestures of concession and facilitated the happy, successful conclusion of the work.

150. The question, as we see it, is the maintenance of independence, and I think that in the treaties that brought about the independence of Cyprus it was also prescribed that there should be no union, no partition. There was a balance between divisiveness and union. So, therefore, in the search of the Turkish community to bring about co-operation with the Greek community, I think that the continuance of independence is very primordial, very important; furthermore, the Turkish community's desire to have a secure and honourable life within the State of Cyprus should not be considered as being divisive. I think that the most difficult and dangerous point is another

divisiveness which may give away the independence of Cyprus. These were the points I wanted to make.

151. I am very grateful to the members of the Security Council who spoke so constructively about the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. As I said, my Government believes sincerely that the continuation of the Force is very necessary.

152. So far as the contributions are concerned, I should like to say a few words, especially as some members just referred to this fact. As is seen in the report, Turkey ranks in fifth place among the contributors. In fairness, however, I think it should be also remembered that since 1963 the Turkish Government has supplied the Turkish community, for their survival, with about £6 to £7 million annually. I hope that when the question of contributions is being considered this part of the Turkish contribution might also be kept in mind.

153. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus who wishes to speak in exercise of right of reply.

154. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I shall be very brief. Having listened to what my colleague from Turkey said, I want to assure him that the security of the Turkish Cypriots will be found through co-operation and unity, not

through division. That is the fundamental premise on which such a solution can be found.

155. Whatever troubles we have had in Cyprus during the last 10 years were due to the untoward and uncalled for division that has come about. Before that there was no trouble. That is the real basic premise. So, we both have the same purpose, a life of security, peace and progress in Cyprus. I believe we shall achieve it, in accordance with what the Charter prescribes under its principles, and under the accepted pattern that a unitary State provides. That is the main point on which I should like to close the debate, on a note of hopefulness that, with this discussion, we may move forward, in the proper way, with the talks. In this respect, I should like to mention that the question of union does not enter into the talks. The difficulty about the talks lies in the opposing positions between unity or division. That is where the trouble lies—in Cyprus.

156. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers is now exhausted. Before I adjourn the meeting, I should like to announce that the Council's next meeting is scheduled to take place on Monday, 15 December 1969, at 3 p.m., to begin consideration of the complaint submitted by Guinea and contained in document S/9528 of 4 December 1969.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.