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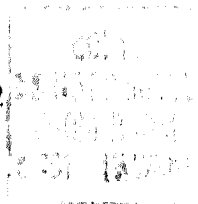
SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

1646th

MEETING: 15 JUNE 1972

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.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 June 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1646)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1).

The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the Presidents for the months of February, March, April and May and expression of welcome to the representative of France

1. The PRESIDENT: This is the first meeting of the Security Council since 28 February this year. At that meeting the presidency was occupied by Ambassador Fakhreddine of the Sudan, who had presided with skill and impartiality over a number of meetings of the Council. Since then the Council has been served by three illustrious ambassadors, who have been equally skilful and dedicated and during whose presidencies we were all engaged in many important and fruitful consultations, without holding formal meetings of the Council. I should like, therefore, to express the appreciation of all the members of the Council to Ambassadors Yakov Malik of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Sir Colin Crowe of the United Kingdom and George Bush of the United States for all the work they did for the Council in the course of the consultations conducted on a number of important subjects.

2. Ambassador Louis de Guiringaud, the newly appointed representative of France on the Security Council, is with us for the first time. I should like to welcome him most warmly to the Council table and to assure him that all the members of the Council look forward to close and fruitful co-operation with him in the days and months ahead. We are fortunate in having Ambassador de Guiringaud rejoin the Council, for he brings with him not only wide experience in the world of diplomacy but also a good

working acquaintanceship with the practices and procedures of the Council acquired during his previous service with the permanent mission of France to the United Nations.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

3. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in letters addressed to the President of the Security Council, have requested to be invited to participate without the right to vote in the discussion of the item on our agenda. In accordance with the usual practice of the Council and with the provisional rules of procedure I propose, if there is no objection, to invite those representatives to take seats at the Council table in order to participate without vote in the Council's discussion.

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

4. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, is attending the first meeting of the Security Council devoted to the question of Cyprus since he assumed his post at the beginning of this year. He has just returned from a visit to the area concerned in this question, where he had an opportunity to become more thoroughly acquainted with the work of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the mandate of which is before the Council for renewal this morning. He has also had the opportunity to consult with the authorities of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, who have always been most interested in the question before us, and was present at the meeting in Cyprus reopening the important intercommunal talks between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, which he and his predecessor have so ably advocated and supported.

5. The Secretary-General is prepared to address the Council and I accordingly call on him now.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I am grateful for this opportunity to report briefly to the Council on the visit I

made last week to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. As you know, the main report on Cyprus [S/10664 and Corr.1], was issued before my trip to the island. In a second report [S/10664/Add.1] I informed the Council of the inaugural meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks which I attended on 8 June in Nicosia. May I say at once how gratified I was that, thanks to the co-operation of all the parties and to the efforts of my Special Representative in Cyprus, it was possible to hold this inaugural meeting during my stay in Nicosia. I earnestly hope that when the working meetings of the talks begin in early July the interlocutors will find it possible to tackle the problems before them with determination and a sense of real urgency.

7. I wish to emphasize the word "urgency". Although the reactivation of the intercommunal talks is a positive and encouraging development, I would be misleading the Council if I did not say that, in my opinion, the present situation in Cyprus is anything but encouraging—in fact it is deeply worrying.

8. I was much impressed by my first direct contact with the realities of the Cyprus problem. It is a situation which is difficult to grasp if one has not seen it for oneself. One side of the coin is a beautiful and prosperous island with an active and gifted population. The other side of the coin is the political situation, the relationship between the two communities and all that results from that relationship. The lack of contact between the two communities, together with their deep suspicion of each other, is everywhere apparent. It blights the economic and social life and prospects of the island and gives rise to a political instability and an atmosphere of tension and recrimination which is extremely dangerous, especially in view of the relatively large number of persons bearing arms on the island and the wider geo-political setting of the Cyprus problem.

9. At many points in the island, including the capital city, the parties are in armed confrontation, separated only by the United Nations flag and the soldiers of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

10. Almost equally disturbing is the lack of any normal contact between the communities and especially between the young people, many of whom have never spoken to members of the other community.

11. The current situation is well known to the members of the Council and, since it has been the subject of a full written report, I shall not go into further detail. But I wish to emphasize to the Council my strong conviction that this situation cannot and must not be allowed to continue, or indeed to deteriorate. Means must be found to assist the parties in reaching agreement on a peaceful, just and lasting settlement so that the population of this island, so richly endowed by nature, can face the future together, freed from the fears and suspicions which now haunt them.

12. In my statement to the inaugural meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks I said that the United Nations "has a strong interest in seeing its peace-keeping function progress into the phase of peace-seeking, and,

hopefully, of peace-making". In my talks with all the parties in Nicosia, and later on in Ankara and Athens, I pursued this theme and explored, in detail and with great frankness, the possibilities of making progress in this direction.

13. The Governments of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and the representatives of the two communities, although they naturally approach the problem from their own viewpoints, all showed in their talks with me their wish and their willingness to continue the search for an agreed, peaceful, just and lasting settlement.

14. May I say here how much I appreciate the warm welcome which I and my colleagues were given wherever we went and the friendly and positive spirit in which the discussions took place.

15. Although I have no illusions about the difficulties of the problem, I am encouraged by the fact that those difficulties are fully recognized and that there is a general desire and determination to press on with the search for a solution. For my part I shall continue my contacts with all concerned and my efforts to ensure that we in the United Nations do whatever we can to help.

16. Naturally I hope for the full support of the Council in my efforts to assist in finding a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. I would welcome any comments and suggestions which the Council might express. I am sure that the Council shares my view that a settlement of the Cyprus problem is long overdue—perhaps even dangerously so. Quite apart from other considerations, we must find a way to relieve the Organization of the burden of peace-keeping in the island as soon as it is feasible and safe to do so.

17. I should like to repeat here one part of the statement I made at the inaugural meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks, namely that

"what is needed more than anything else is a mutual willingness to understand and preserve the vital interests of all sides, a spirit of forward-looking conciliation, a readiness to compromise, and a clear realization that an agreed, peaceful, lasting and just settlement is not only feasible but essential to the welfare of all concerned".

My Special Representative will certainly do whatever he can to assist and encourage the interlocutors in their efforts.

18. I cannot conclude this statement without paying tribute to my Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Force Commander, Major-General Prem Chand, the officers and men of the Force, the civilian police and the personnel, both military and civilian, of UNFICYP Headquarters. To see these devoted, objective and skilful servants of the United Nations at work was for me a moving and unforgettable experience. Their bearing, their dedication and their pride in their mission are an inspiring spectacle in a world where so many things are discouraging. We also owe much to the Governments which have made contingents available as well as to those Governments which, in making voluntary contributions to UNFICYP, have made this vital peace-keeping operation possible.

19. In conclusion, may I say that I shall keep the Council informed of developments. I hope my future reports may show the progress which we all seek in Cyprus.

20. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his inspiring statement.

21. Prior to this meeting intensive consultations were held among all members of the Council and also with the representatives of the parties concerned in order to prepare a draft resolution which the Council could consider at this time. As a result of those consultations a draft resolution has been prepared which is now before the Council in document S/10699. The text of this draft resolution follows closely the wording of the resolutions which the Council has previously adopted on this question and, like them, is very carefully balanced in its presentation. The wording, it seems to me, is also appropriate to the present circumstances and covers the situation adequately. As it appears from the consultations that this text is generally acceptable, it is my intention now to put it to the vote, in accordance with the practice the Council has often followed in the past, and to call upon speakers to take the floor after the voting has been completed, in the order of their inscription on my list of speakers. Accordingly, I put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/10699.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Belgium, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: China.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.¹

22. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now proceed to hear statements concerning the question before it by those whose names are inscribed on my list of speakers. The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

23. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I am grateful for this opportunity to participate in the Council's deliberations on this item and may I extend to you our sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of this Council, a function for which you are so highly fitted by your wide experience, objectivity and diplomatic skill.

24. The Council meets for the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further six-month period and we have before us the report of the Secretary-General. I wish at the outset to place on record the consent of my Government to such a renewal, for it is essentially Cyprus that is required to signify its consent as provided in the relevant Security Council resolution.

25. In this connexion I should like to express our deep appreciation for the most exemplary manner in which the Force is discharging its responsibilities in Cyprus and to pay a tribute to its distinguished Commander, Major-General Prem Chand, and the officers and men under his command. I should indeed be remiss if I did not mention the outstanding performance of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, who has given us new instances of his diplomatic skill, and if I did not, in no less measure, refer to the performance of the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer, to whose untiring efforts so much is due. Our warm appreciation also goes to those countries that render the continuance of UNFICYP possible through their contributions in military personnel and financial assistance.

26. This is the first Security Council meeting on the question of Cyprus with the participation of our new Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, whose deep concern for the solution of international problems through the United Nations and dedication to the Charter have won for him the profound respect of the international community. By his enterprising initiatives and relentless efforts he has given a new dimension to the function of Secretary-General and has once more displayed the qualities of statesmanship that characterize him.

27. I take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation for the active interest the Secretary-General is taking in the solution of the Cyprus problem within the Charter principles and for his effective contribution to the resumption of the local talks. The Secretary-General's determination to see these talks guided to a successful conclusion through the United Nations is particularly valued. His recent visit to Nicosia, Ankara and Athens has at the present juncture been a wise gesture, bringing right into the heart of the problem the positiveness of a United Nations breath in an effort to smooth away differences and overcome obstacles. We welcome the statement he has made today in this Council. It shows the value and the importance of his visit and the significance of his seeing at first hand the situation in regard to the problems with which the Security Council deals. He has given us his thoughts arising out of his experience in visiting the country and his study of the case. We can see that the problem is the situation of separateness in Cyprus, the lack of confidence, the lack of conciliation and the lack of a climate which would help the talks toward a solution of the problem.

28. The resumption of the talks in their new form, with the interest shown by the Secretary-General and with the participation of his Special Representative and the availability of the constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey, acting in an advisory capacity as provided in the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971 [see S/10401, para. 79], holds out a positive promise. My Government is determined to do its utmost for the success of these talks.

29. It should, however, be borne in mind that the creation of a general climate of conciliation and trust is necessary to bring a new spirit and enhance the possibilities of the talks. This aspect was very pertinently emphasized by the Secretary-General during his statements in Nicosia to the

¹ See resolution 315 (1972).

people of Cyprus, when he repeatedly referred to the need for "contact and confidence". Speaking on 8 June at the inaugural meeting for the resumption of the local talks, the Secretary-General said in this respect the following—he has just quoted this statement, but I will quote it again:

"I am profoundly convinced that what is needed more than anything else is a mutual willingness to understand and preserve the vital interests of all sides, a forward-looking conciliation"—

"a forward-looking conciliation": that is the important element, and the Secretary-General then referred to the other elements which follow from such conciliation—namely:

"a readiness to compromise and a clear realization that an agreed, peaceful, lasting and just settlement is not only feasible but essential to the welfare of all concerned".

30. It would, therefore, seem—and I put this issue before the Security Council—that it is not enough to have the talks, but parallel to the talks there should be a genuine effort by all concerned to facilitate and encourage such a climate of conciliation and confidence through normal association. This inevitably calls for freedom of movement and association, which is, regrettably, still lacking. In the present report, the Secretary-General states: "Restrictions on the freedom of movement of civilians remain one of the most serious problems in the island" [S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 54]. That was stressed in almost all previous reports, beginning with that of 3 June 1969, where it was stated:

"Whereas Turkish Cypriots move freely throughout the Island except in a few militarily restricted areas, access to Turkish Cypriot . . . villages and certain roads [amongst them main communication roads] continues to be denied to Greek Cypriots. . . . This abnormal situation, if not remedied, could mar the present favourable atmosphere. . . ." [S/9233, para. 55]

31. Repeated reports have also remarked on freedom of contact and association. I would quote the following from the report of 11 March 1965:

". . . the [Turkish] community leadership discourages the Turkish Cypriot population from engaging in personal, commercial or other contacts with their Greek Cypriot compatriots, from applying to government offices in administrative matters, or from resettling in their home villages if they are refugees" [S/6228, para. 55].

32. I do not want to criticize at all, but this policy of apartness, preventing the two sides from having any normal social or trade contacts, is counter-productive of the requisite climate of conciliation and mutual confidence, which, as the Secretary-General emphasizes, is an indispensable factor for peace and a peaceful solution, apart from hindering economic development, to the detriment of all, and more especially of the Turkish Cypriot community.

33. The report refers to another reason for lack of progress in normalization, that is, the lack of an integrated economy, which is the result of the same policy of

apartness, already mentioned. The need for an integrated economy has been stressed in a number of the Secretary-General's reports and has been generally recognized. Thus in the report of 2 December 1970 it is stated:

"The need for intercommunal economic co-operation which, as previously stated by both Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, could greatly contribute to reducing and even overcoming political differences, has again been stressed in many quarters." [S/10005, para. 75.]

The same idea has been repeated in subsequent reports.

34. It is therefore important that, first, there should be the possibility of contact, because without the possibility of contact and association there cannot be conciliation and without conciliation the success of the talks is endangered.

35. But another aspect of normalization that is still lacking—and this was referred to also by the Secretary-General—is that of deconfrontation and military disengagement. The present report notes the absence of progress in this matter. Armed confrontation, particularly at close quarters, is a source of tension and an element of danger. It is a source of tension because of the psychological climate of fear and apprehension it creates; and it is an element of danger because of firing incidents that are likely to occur by the very reason of such unnecessary confrontation. For instance, in paragraph 33 of the report, it is noted that an armed fighter from one side of the confrontation on the Green Line fired two bursts of his sub-machine-gun, killing a soldier on the other side. Due to a commendable exercise of restraint on both sides there was no sequel to the incident. This, however, is mentioned to show the need of minimizing confrontation and military engagement, particularly in view of the resumption of the talks—it is to be hoped in a new and more positive approach.

36. My Government has taken, over the years, a series of constructive measures for the purpose of pacification and normalization, as recorded in previous reports of the Secretary-General, and has at all times shown willingness to comply with UNFICYP proposals for deconfrontation and military disengagement. Furthermore, my President recently proposed disarmament of both sides and demilitarization in the territory of the Republic as a further important step in the process of normalization, as will be seen from document S/10586 of 3 April 1972.

37. I have so far spoken of the situation in Cyprus on the line of the remarks made by our Secretary-General after his visit to the island. At this juncture, when the talks are to be resumed with the close co-operation of the United Nations, it is pertinent perhaps to see the whole United Nations operation in Cyprus in perspective.

38. It may be recalled that the basic Security Council resolution for this operation [resolution 186 (1964)] provides for a two-pronged action by the United Nations: namely, that of pacification and normalization through the establishment of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force and that of peace-making, through the appointment of a mediator

“for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem . . . , in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security”.

39. These two aspects of the United Nations involvement are closely interdependent and equally important: the peace-keeping effort, on the one hand, in order to promote the return of peaceful and normal conditions, thereby creating the climate conducive to the solution of the problem; and the peace-making effort, on the other hand, in order to promote a just solution, thus completing the operation and rendering no longer necessary the United Nations military presence on the island. It follows that the termination of the mandate of the peace-keeping force is, in a sense, dependent upon the progress in the peace-making effort.

40. My Government earnestly looks forward to such progress towards solution in the near future as to make the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus no longer necessary and particularly hopes that the Security Council will exercise its influence towards facilitating normalization and the peaceful solution of the problem, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Council.

41. In respect of peace-keeping *per se*, without reference to normalization, the United Nations Force established under the aforesaid resolution has been fully successful in its task, with the ready co-operation of the Government and the people of Cyprus. In fact, it has been considered as one of the most successful United Nations peace-keeping operations. The latter effort, however—that of peace-making—ran into difficulties in the course of its development. The mediation effort conducted by Mr. Galo Plaza resulted in a relevant report.² That report was fully endorsed by the Secretary-General and has been regarded as a carefully prepared and studied document that struck a balanced middle course in a manner consistent with the realities of the situation and in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the interests of international peace and security. Its substance is so realistically sound that the passage of time has not detracted from its merit, and it can at any time serve as guidance towards solution of this problem.

42. Since 1968 a different procedure of peace-making has been followed: that of bilateral talks within the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General. These talks were for a time pursued in a positive and useful manner. A number of misunderstandings and obstacles were overcome and tentative agreements reached. The talks, however, came to a long and complete deadlock on the so-called local government and its degree of divisiveness.

43. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the resumed talks may take off from a more auspicious premise and be pursued in a more vigorous spirit towards achievement, in a

climate freed from outworn habits of antagonism and division. The effort can and should become more co-operative in the common search for a solid structure of a just and workable constitution on the agreed basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary State, with due regard to the legitimate interests of all concerned and the welfare of the people of Cyprus as a whole. Such constitutional structure would find its sound basis on universally accepted precedents and on the applicable principles of the Charter, particularly as spelled out in the relevant resolution on Cyprus adopted by the Security Council on 4 March 1964 [*resolution 186 (1964)*] and the General Assembly resolution of 18 December 1965 [*resolution 2077 (XX)*].

44. In charting such a positive course in a spirit of goodwill and genuine co-operation—and we were very happy to hear that the Secretary-General was satisfied that that was expressed during his visit to Cyprus—the talks cannot and should not fail. Division yields but bitter fruits for all, and life is too short and too precious to be destroyed by such concepts in any part of the world, and least of all in a small island like Cyprus.

45. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

46. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to you on assuming the Presidency of the Security Council. We consider your distinguished qualities as the sure guarantee for the successful conclusion of today's meeting, as well as of other debates which may take place in the Council during the course of this month.

47. I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to express the Turkish Government's views on the item which is before the Council today. Personally, in my new capacity as the Permanent Representative of Turkey, I feel privileged to be making my very first statement in the United Nations in front of this august body on a subject which is of paramount importance to my country.

48. The Cyprus question has been before the Council for many a year. We are pleased to note that the Council in its wisdom has always recognized the indisputable fact that a peaceful and lasting solution can be effected only by agreement among all the parties concerned and has always acted in accordance with this reality.

49. I feel privileged also to be witnessing the first appearance before the Council on the Cyprus question of our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. The Secretary-General was warmly welcomed a few days ago in Ankara, where discussions on questions of common interest were conducted amicably, constructively and realistically. I was pleased to have confirmation of that from the Secretary-General himself a moment ago. We believe his trip to the region and his consultations with the leaders concerned have been most beneficial in enabling him to acquire through personal observation and contacts a closer insight into the realities underlying the problem of Cyprus. We should like once more to thank him and the Under-

² Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6253.

Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer, as also their staff, for their untiring efforts in assisting the interested parties in their search for a peaceful solution.

50. I am fully aware that efficiency is one of the characteristics which should, and I believe does, dominate the deliberations of the Security Council. I also happen to believe that brevity is often an element of efficiency. I shall therefore try to be as brief as possible.

51. As usual, the Secretary-General's periodic report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus [*S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1*] provides the terms of the deliberations of the Council on Cyprus.

52. We are happy to note from paragraph 77 that the period under review has been one of the quietest in terms of the number of intercommunal incidents in Cyprus. However, one cannot help but be depressed reading chapter III of the report, which indicates that there has been no significant improvement with regard to return to normalcy. Indeed, paragraphs 44 to 54 indicate that after almost a decade the Turkish community still continues to live under conditions of extreme hardship and deprivation.

53. As I pledged earlier, I want to be brief in my statement and I have no inclination to draw a dark and gloomy picture, though there exist many reasons for doing so, some of which have, again, been touched upon by the Secretary-General in his statement of a few moments ago. But at a time when there may be some room for optimism for the days ahead I shall not enter into details. However, as representative of Turkey I could not but at least mention this aspect of the problem concerning the daily life of the Turkish Cypriot community, the voice of which has difficulties reaching this audience, and which is the major if not the exclusive sufferer from the conditions and problems mentioned in the report. In drawing attention to these facts I also want to indicate that I share the Secretary-General's observation where he mentions in paragraph 78 of his report "the necessity and the feasibility of pursuing more urgently the search for a settlement of the basic problems and bringing it to a successful conclusion". His statement of earlier this morning further stressed that point.

54. Time and again, within or without the United Nations, the Turkish Government has unequivocally expressed its dedication to the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Being a directly interested party in the Cyprus problem, the Turkish Government feels all the more determined to help promote a peaceful, just and permanent solution to this question. In this context, during the last meetings of the Security Council on this subject, as representatives then present will no doubt remember, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, Mr. Bayülken, said:

"... Turkey and Greece, motherlands to the two ethnic communities living in Cyprus, which shared the privilege of bringing about the independent bi-communal Republic of Cyprus in 1960, share also a responsibility in the search for permanent peace and stability. Indeed both countries are entrusted with moral and contractual obligations towards their respective communities. In fact, strengthened by a denominator common to both, in the

search for a permanent and just solution, they can be most effective in promoting and speeding the common objectives of all." [*1612th meeting, para. 53*].

55. It was with this sense of responsibility for the happiness and well-being of both communities in Cyprus as well as for the preservation of international peace and security in the region that my Government, together with the Government of Greece, started exploring the possibility of resuming the intercommunal talks in a new form as yet another attempt in search of a peaceful settlement. Following long deliberations and consultations we consented to the Secretary-General's suggestion of 18 October 1971 [*see S/10401, para. 79*] to pursue the peaceful efforts for the promotion of a solution through the broadening of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus.

56. Following the visit of the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, to Ankara, Athens and Nicosia in February 1972 an agreement in principle was reached for the reactivation of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971. An eminent Turkish professor on constitutional law, Mr. Aldıkaçtı, has been designated by the Government of Turkey in accordance with the agreement reached in this respect.

57. I believe the addendum to the Secretary-General's report [*S/10664/Add.1*], to which I referred a moment ago, containing the information that the inaugural meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks in their new form was held in Nicosia on 8 June 1972 is most welcome to the members of the Security Council. It is needless for me to stress that the members of the Council could have heard that good news about the inaugural meeting some four months earlier had it not been for the negative developments created by the illegal importation of arms and ammunition into the island by the Greek Cypriot administration.

58. I prefer to refrain from dwelling on the legal and political aspects of this matter. However, I cannot but say that this gravely imprudent and most unfortunate action not only increased the atmosphere of tension and mistrust in the island but also blocked for a time the peaceful efforts in search of a solution to the problem. Its manifold consequences have also been brought to the attention of this Council in the Secretary-General's reports.

59. The nature of the arrangement reached in connexion with the storage and control of these arms and ammunition, which has not totally dispelled the threat imposed on the Turkish community's security of life and property, and further subsequent developments rendered necessary a reclarification of certain points in order to create a reasonably favourable atmosphere for the talks.

60. The elements of agreement and necessary assurances in connexion with the resumption of the talks found a happy expression in the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire dated 18 May 1972 [*S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 62*]. That aide-mémoire assured that the arrangements in connexion with the storage and control of the arms and ammunition will be fully observed and their implementation ensured by UNFICYP. Making reference to all the directly interested

parties, the Secretary-General stated that the reactivated talks should continue, as had been the case since 1968, to be based on the equal status of the representatives of the two communities, to be exploratory in nature and to be limited to the internal situation of the independent State of Cyprus and to the constitutional matters relevant thereto.

61. That agreement among the parties coupled with the efforts of the Secretary-General contributed to the creation of a tolerable atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill in which the talks could be inaugurated in their new broadened form.

62. Now we seem to have reached, at long last, a stage where there is room for optimism. However, I should like again to join the Secretary-General in sounding a note of caution in that respect, since, in the Secretary-General's words, "the reactivation of the talks is only the first step, although an essential one, towards the final goal, and many difficulties lie ahead" [*ibid.*, para. 78].

63. I need not repeat that the problem of Cyprus is complicated and difficult. But, however difficult a political conflict may be, positive results can be reached if all the parties approach the problem in a constructive spirit of accommodation, a spirit consistent with finding a solution preserving in goodwill all the vested rights and interests of the parties to the conflict and, in this particular case, a spirit consistent with the general principles which gave birth to the Republic. No solution can ever be reached, no matter what imaginative measures are taken or suggestions made by others, so long as the interested parties in a dispute do not come to a mutually satisfactory understanding between themselves.

64. The Turkish Government, in its endeavours to contribute to a peaceful settlement of the conflict, has always been and remains sincere and constructive.

65. The Turkish community in Cyprus which has shed enough blood and tears in the past decade intends to continue to strive only for peace, justice and prosperity—in a word, for a healthy partnership in its own State. That is also my Government's long-standing policy on Cyprus. We hope to see Cyprus change from an island of intercommunal strife into a model of bi-communal society where, as originally conceived and created, the two national communities will live as masters of their homelands, neither one dominating the other—a society where the two ethnic communities co-operate and participate in and share the responsibility for the administration of their island, whose independence should also be their common responsibility. Furthermore, we hope that as a result of those efforts, Cyprus may one day constitute a strong link of friendly relations and exemplary co-operation rather than a subject of dispute between Turkey and Greece and that the island may become a true haven of peace in the Mediterranean region.

66. We believe that whatever the difficulties which may lie ahead, those are not impossible goals to achieve. They merely require the deduction of a lesson from past experiences as well as a sincere acceptance of the rights and realities of the Cyprus problem. They require an earnest

civic courage and a determined spirit of mutual accommodation.

67. I should like to reaffirm to the Security Council that, to those ends, the Turkish Government will continue to spare no effort. It is my Government's earnest hope that, taking into consideration the past experiences and the basic realities of the Cyprus problem, all the interested parties will reciprocate this spirit and sincerely participate in the search for a final, just, honourable and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

68. In the concluding part of his report, the Secretary-General recommends the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months until 15 December 1972. Given the present circumstances, my Government agreed with that recommendation and we are happy that it has been accepted by this august body a moment ago. In that connexion, last but not least, allow me to express once again my Government's appreciation to our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and to his assistants both here and in Cyprus, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, and the Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand, as well as to all their staff and the members of the Force for their dedication and constructive work. My Government's appreciation extends also to the countries contributing to the Force as well as to the members of the Security Council which make it possible for UNFICYP to continue its valuable services, thus providing the directly interested parties with the opportunity to try to find a solution to their grave problem in the relative security provided by the presence of those valiant troops.

69. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece.

70. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is very happy to see you presiding over the Security Council, particularly at this meeting devoted to Cyprus. We should like to congratulate you and offer you our best wishes.

71. Apart from the various facts of which we are periodically apprised in the reports of the Secretary-General analysing the situation in the Republic of Cyprus, what we look for essentially in those reports, each time the Council meets, is progress in the search for a lasting solution to the problem. There is hardly any need to say that only a lasting solution will provide the necessary solid basis for calm and peace in the island, a return to normality as advocated in the resolution of 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)], which has been the constant objective of my country's policy.

72. It is encouraging to note that, despite their differences over detail, the parties are in agreement on one fundamental point, that is, that the solution to the Cyprus problem can be achieved only by negotiation. With regard to negotiation, it is appropriate to highlight a sentence contained in the Secretary-General's report of 20 May 1971. It is stated there:

"These talks [the intercommunal talks] are unquestionably not only the best but in the present circum-

stances probably the only way to an agreed settlement.”
[S/10199, para. 81]

73. We note with the greatest satisfaction that Mr. Waldheim has endorsed this idea and that, ever since he took office, he has spared no effort to have the inter-communal talks resumed. His initiatives in that regard are carefully detailed in his report.

74. The point of departure of this new effort to resolve the constitutional aspect of the problem is U Thant's aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971 [see S/10401, para. 79]. Members of the Council will remember that the Greek Government immediately accepted that text, without any conditions. In explaining our position in the Council on 13 December 1971 I said that we thought, as did the Secretary-General, that the Nicosia talks were the most propitious, if not the only way of arriving at a constitutional solution of the problem, that the Greek Government felt that it was its duty and in keeping with its previous efforts not to refuse the appointment of one of its experts in constitutional questions who, acting in a purely consultative capacity, might contribute to the success of the negotiations and, finally, that it felt that the participation of the Secretary-General's representative in these conversations, as part of the Secretary-General's good offices, was in keeping with paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967 pursuant to which the Nicosia dialogue was begun in the first place [1612th meeting, para. 68].

75. In keeping with that initial position, we responded affirmatively, and without imposing any conditions, to all the subsequent appeals of Mr. Waldheim. Finally, we accepted his aide-mémoire of 18 May 1972 [S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 62]. Thus, the Secretary-General has noted, as did his predecessor, that he met with no difficulties at any time on the part of Greece; that, on the contrary, we had taken every opportunity to indicate to him our keen desire to see the two parties in Cyprus settle their differences, establish State machinery capable of functioning effectively and thus find the means of living together in an independent, sovereign and unitary State.

76. The new phase of negotiations opened in Nicosia on 8 June in the presence of the Secretary-General. We believe this to be a good omen and we hope that the calm which despite certain difficulties has reigned in the island during the period under review will be maintained and strengthened.

77. Here the United Nations Force will once again have an important role to play. That is why we have supported the proposal of the Secretary-General to maintain the Force in Cyprus for another six-month period. I should like to add that the Greek Government will continue to contribute to the expenses of the Force. To date the contributions of Greece have amounted to \$10,450,000. We very much appreciate the peace-making work of the United Nations Force in Cyprus under the highly competent and impartial command of General Prem Chand. This service to peace goes beyond Cyprus and gives living proof of what the United Nations can do in this area. I would venture, therefore, to express the hope that this operation will

receive the financial support of more Members of the Organization.

78. To the Secretary-General, who is so effectively assisted by his colleagues in New York and by Mr. Osorio-Tafall in Cyprus, we would like to extend our deep gratitude for his active interest in this matter. We are indebted to him for the statement he has just made to the Council about his visit to the three capitals. His contacts on the spot have crowned his efforts over the last few months, efforts conducted with such tact and discretion with the purpose of reviving the Nicosia negotiations. His activities in this area, we firmly hope, will soon bear fruit.

79. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The Belgian delegation would like to explain very briefly the reasons that led it to vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10699, in which the Council decided to extend for a new period of six months the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. It shares the conclusions and the recommendations contained in the report submitted by the Secretary-General covering the United Nations operation in Cyprus [S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1].

80. There can be no denial of the fact that, both in the maintenance of order and on the diplomatic level, the United Nations has played a determining role. The pacification mission has been particularly significant since in the period from 1 December 1971 to 26 May 1972, as in the preceding period, the Force suffered no losses arising from incidents between the two communities. Furthermore, paragraph 36 of the report stresses that: "It is encouraging to note that the period under review has seen the smallest number of shooting incidents since the establishment of UNFICYP". Later, in paragraph 77, the Secretary-General notes that: "the period under review has been one of the quietest in terms of the number of intercommunal incidents".

81. My delegation has every confidence in the Commander of the Force, as well as in all its officers and men. Their devotion, vigilance and effectiveness do honour both to the Organization and to the countries they represent. In paying a tribute of appreciation and thanks to them for the exemplary way in which they have carried out their mission, Belgium expresses the hope that the Force will continue to fulfil the mission that the Security Council entrusted to it in accordance with the terms of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, so that conditions of peace may be guaranteed over the entire territory of Cyprus.

82. There can be no doubt that the fruitful search for a political solution can be successful only if public order is first re-established and if the climate of tension is eased. We therefore share the regret expressed in paragraph 43 of the Secretary-General's report, which concludes that: "there has been no significant progress towards a return to normal conditions".

83. Furthermore, we listened with great interest to the oral report submitted this morning by the Secretary-General on the conversations he has had with the leaders of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. His assessment of the political

situation in the island concerns us deeply. We would accordingly urge the Cypriot authorities and, generally speaking, the entire population, to persevere in their efforts to eliminate the obstacles still in the way of healthy and effective co-operation in the economic and public service fields, as well as in the exercise of civic rights.

84. My delegation is, however, reassured by two major political developments that portend the creation of an atmosphere more conducive to a new lasting political solution.

85. First, we have noted with interest the two arrangements arrived at between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General regarding the safe storage and supervision of the arms and ammunition imported by the Government of Cyprus in January 1972. Generally speaking, these two documents can be considered as satisfactory. They have solved a thorny problem and, in any case, greatly contributed to reducing the increased tension caused by the importing of those arms. Obviously, the usefulness and effective operation of an agreement depend basically on the spirit in which it is concluded and on the political will to implement it. We are fully confident that the Government of Cyprus will implement the terms of the arrangement in a spirit of co-operation with the United Nations, in order to preserve the return to the calm it presaged.

86. Another source of satisfaction is the opening meeting, held on 8 June 1972, of the reactivated intercommunal talks, with the participation, as advisers, of Greek and Turkish experts in constitutional law. This is undoubtedly an important step along the difficult road towards the establishment of political conditions satisfactory to the entire Cypriot population. Once again the Belgian Government expresses the hope that it will be possible to find a solution which, within the framework of an adequate constitutional system, will ensure the security and the welfare of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus. Furthermore, we urgently appeal to all parties concerned to continue, without any unnecessary delay, the conversations begun a week ago.

87. My delegation is happy to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts, which led to the happy conclusion of the arrangements of 10 March and 20 April 1972 on the supervision and storage of the imported arms and to the reactivation of the conversations between the representatives of the two communities. There can be no doubt that Mr. Waldheim's good offices since he took over his post have been fruitful and decisive in certain critical situations confronting the Organization. The ability and the perseverance which are characteristic of his diplomacy have given us further proof, if it were needed, of the importance of the role he is called upon to play under the Charter, which the international community drew attention to in paragraph 6 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

88. May I also express the appreciation of my delegation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and the Under-Secretary-General for

Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, for their untiring negotiating and peace-making efforts.

89. Having approved the resolution extending for another six months the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, my Government renews its commitment to continue making a voluntary contribution to the financial costs of the Force.

90. My delegation has given particular attention to chapter VI of the Secretary-General's report. Paragraph 71 states that the costs of maintaining the Force up to 14 December next, the payment of arrears and reimbursements to Governments will call for total contributions of \$17 million. We took note of the Special Account deficit of the Force, which is estimated at \$10.1 million as of 15 June 1972. We cannot conceal our surprise at the fact that as of now only four members of the Security Council are contributing to financing the United Nations operation in Cyprus. We trust that the other members of the Council whose budgetary situation allows them to participate in the financing will add their names to the list of voluntary contributors. We unreservedly echo the appeal of the Secretary-General and we support any steps he may take vis-à-vis the Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies in order to clear up the financial situation of the Force. This is a duty of international solidarity conceived in a better understanding of our obligations towards the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

91. In reiterating the commitment of the Belgian Government to continue as in the past making a voluntary contribution, I nevertheless wish to stress its concern at the absence of a political solution. Our participation in the financing cannot be considered as a routine gesture or taken for granted. Hence, may I again appeal to all the parties concerned to continue without stint the constructive efforts they have made so generously of late so that the meeting of 8 June last may not be without sequel but may justify the hopes placed in it by the international community.

92. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The position of the Chinese delegation on the question of Cyprus is as follows.

93. First, it is very unfortunate that the Cyprus question has remained unsettled over such a long period. In our view, there is no conflict in the fundamental interests between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and it is entirely possible for them to live in harmony. The dissension between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots was caused by imperialist incitement and sabotage. Therefore, fundamentally speaking, the Cyprus question is an issue left over by imperialist colonial rule. Only by eliminating imperialist meddling and intervention can this question be settled. We believe that a reasonable settlement can be found by the parties concerned through consultations on an equal footing taking into consideration the interests of the entire people of Cyprus.

94. Secondly, with regard to the question of the United Nations forces, the Chinese Government has had its own

principled stand. This is well known to the representatives on the Security Council. Therefore, we abstained in the voting on the draft resolution for extending the mandate of the United Nations forces.

95. Thirdly, we support the Cyprus people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and sovereignty. We hope that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots will settle their dispute in a spirit of mutual friendship and understanding and live in harmony on the basis of equality.

96. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): Mr. President, we are glad to be meeting on this occasion for the first time under your distinguished presidency. We acknowledge with thanks and admiration the skill with which you have already prepared the ground for this debate and we wish you every success for the remainder of your term in office.

97. I should like also to thank the Secretary-General and his collaborators for another admirable, clear and succinct report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, a report which has been ably and, if I may say so, graphically supplemented this morning in the Secretary-General's oral report to the Council. The Secretary-General personally has lost no time in acquainting himself at first hand with the important problems involved. With the initiative and vigour which have distinguished his first six months of office he has already found time to visit the three Member States most closely concerned and, as has already been pointed out, during his recent visit to Cyprus he was present at the opening session of the reactivated intercommunal talks for which we have so long been hoping. My delegation wishes to thank and congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff for all they have done.

98. How much we are in debt to the Secretary-General can, I think, be gauged from a comparison between the situation which has prevailed for most of the time since the Council last met to renew the mandate of UNFICYP and the situation today. In many ways the Secretary-General's main report makes gloomy reading. It is true that, thanks to the good sense on all sides and to the presence of UNFICYP, the situation has happily remained quiet. However, on the vital question of the intercommunal talks, as paragraph 55 of the report makes clear, until the inaugural meeting on 8 June, the "channel of communication between the two communities" had remained virtually inactive since well before our last Security Council meeting on the subject. In the early part of the year good progress was made towards reactivating the talks. What the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, was able to achieve during the visit which he paid on behalf of the Secretary-General to the area in February is proof—if any proof were needed—of the value and importance of the Secretary-General's good offices role. But there then supervened certain events which, as paragraph 72 of the report points out, were not all related to intercommunal relations but which delayed the resumption of the intercommunal talks. But here again with patience it was happily possible to reach a satisfactory arrangement on the storage of the imported arms; here again, therefore, we should be grateful to the Secretary-General and his collaborators. It is as a result of a lot of patient work and understanding by all concerned that it has been possible finally to reactivate the talks.

99. It is therefore permissible now for us to be more optimistic. But there is still much to be done; the reactivation of the intercommunal talks is, as the Secretary-General has said, not an end in itself. In our previous debates I, and other United Kingdom representatives before me, have drawn attention to the need not to take the renewal of the UNFICYP mandate for granted as a kind of automatic event, nor to allow the presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces in Cyprus or elsewhere to become a substitute for genuine efforts at peace-making.

100. We have stressed that, while the United Nations can and should do all it can to help preserve peaceful conditions in this sensitive area, only the parties directly involved can bring about a lasting settlement of their differences. My Government still believes that this is true. We are all the more encouraged to see that a start has been made in that direction and, as I have said on previous occasions, we have a particular concern that there should be a successful outcome.

101. Meanwhile, the Secretary-General in his report has said that he considers it essential to maintain the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for at least a further limited period. He recommends that the mandate should be extended until 15 December 1972 and reports that the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece and Turkey have informed him of their agreement with this recommendation. In these circumstances, my delegation had no hesitation in voting in favour of the resolution which the Council has adopted. We are also willing to maintain our troop contingent in Cyprus for the period of the renewed mandate and to continue our financial contribution.

102. I think this is also an appropriate moment to remind ourselves that we cannot have something for nothing. The Secretary-General's report has set out in detail the financial aspects of the operation and we all know that hitherto these have been the least satisfactory aspects of it. My delegation believes that the time has come when many more members of the Security Council and of the United Nations should be prepared to make a contribution or to improve on their existing contributions towards putting the financing of this important peace-keeping operations on a sound and healthy basis.

103. Finally, I come back to what I said earlier about the importance of making substantive progress in the intercommunal talks. As a fellow member, with Cyprus, in the Commonwealth, as friends and allies of both Greece and Turkey, as a party to the 1960 Treaties of Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and of Guarantee and as a primary contributor of troops and of financial and material support to UNFICYP over many years—in all these respects my Government has a close and continuing interest in a successful solution of the outstanding difficulties. As the working sessions of the intercommunal talks start in the very near future, the participants can be assured of our best wishes for their success and also of our earnest hope that all concerned will do their best to ensure this.

104. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): Sir, I should like to congratulate you warmly as the President of the Security

Council for the current month. I can assure you of my delegation's full co-operation. There is no doubt that under your wise and experienced guidance our discussions in this Council will be successful.

105. I also wish to welcome Ambassador Louis de Guiringaud. Before coming here Ambassador de Guiringaud served for six years in Japan as Ambassador of France, and my delegation is particularly happy to welcome him to the Security Council.

106. A few minutes ago we once again adopted unanimously a resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months. My delegation once again cast an affirmative vote.

107. Regularly, at six-monthly intervals, this Council has been called upon to consider a report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. As if it were a routine, quasi-automatic practice, we have now adopted an almost identical resolution for the twenty-first time. It was not without some reluctance and reservation that my delegation supported this apparently indefinite perpetuation of UNFICYP.

108. The support by my delegation of the recommendation of the Secretary-General, as stated in paragraph 81 of his report, stems directly from the basic assessment of the present situation of Cyprus which is so lucidly and comprehensively presented in the same report and which was amplified and brought up to date a few minutes ago by the Secretary-General himself.

109. In spite of some encouraging developments which may prove to be a constructive step towards a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, persisting intercommunal confrontation and tension do not allow us any optimism. Although the military situation has remained comparatively quiet during the past six months and, in fact, the same period has witnessed the smallest number of shooting incidents since the establishment of UNFICYP, there has been no tangible progress in the matter of deconfrontation. Across the streets, in the crowded cities and between the rugged mountain ridges overlooking the Mediterranean, the military posts of the two communities continue to confront each other.

110. The Secretary-General rightly summed up the sensitive situation on the island when he reported:

"The events of recent months have shown that despite the quiet that has prevailed in Cyprus for some years, the situation in the island is still essentially unstable. The distrust and suspicion which have divided the two communities remain strong, and any action by one side which may be considered as provocative by the other may all too easily lead to a crisis with unforeseeable consequences." [S/10664 and Corr. 1, para. 76]

111. This assessment of the present situation in Cyprus has convinced us that the continued presence of the United Nations Force is necessary in order to prevent a recurrence of fighting between the two opposing forces. Indeed, no

one will deny that it is because of UNFICYP's presence that relative calm has been maintained in Cyprus.

112. Having examined closely the report of the Secretary-General and also having listened most carefully to his first-hand observations on the situation in Cyprus, my delegation feels that there have been some significant developments in the affairs of the island.

113. For example, the Secretary-General reports that the two opposing sides have shown an increasing willingness to co-operate with UNFICYP in efforts to decrease tension in sensitive areas. It is also to be noted that the prompt and determined efforts made by the Special Representative and the Force Commander brought about an agreement regarding the arms and ammunition imported into the island last January. This agreement reached in April for supervision by UNFICYP of the imported arms and ammunition was, in our view, a positive development which made possible the break-through in the impasse of the intercommunal talks.

114. The most significant development, however, has been the reopening, in Nicosia on 8 June in the presence of the Secretary-General, of the intercommunal talks in their new, broadened form. It is a matter of congratulation as well as a source of deep gratification that the timely and persevering efforts of the Secretary-General have led to this break-through in the impasse. My delegation wishes to voice the ardent hope that the reactivated talks will progress smoothly in a spirit of mutual trust and accommodation and will prove fruitful.

115. Eight years have elapsed since the initiation of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. Its mandate has been renewed for the twenty-first time. The delegation of Japan wishes to record its sincere hope that as a result of successful intercommunal talks a drastic reduction in the size of UNFICYP as well as a substantial financial economy can be achieved. In such an event, UNFICYP might be transformed into an observer group or some such small-scale peace-keeping machinery.

116. Before concluding my statement I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to pay tribute, first of all, to the Secretary-General who has shown great statesmanship in taking the initiative for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. We also wish to thank Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Osorio-Tafall who have acted as the representatives of the Secretary-General. Our deep appreciation goes also to Major-General D. Prem Chand and all the officers and men in blue berets, as well as to the civilian staff, who have been performing their duties with devotion, courage and exemplary discipline. We also wish to take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the Governments which have patiently shouldered the burden of providing the contingents for the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

117. Finally, I wish to reiterate our sincere hope that a peaceful solution to the Cyprus question will be finally arrived at in a spirit of compromise and accommodation on both sides.

118. It was in this expectation that Japan supported the draft resolution which the Security Council has just

adopted and will continue to support the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus by voluntary contributions and other appropriate means.

119. Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina voted in favour of the draft resolution that we adopted this morning prolonging for a further period of six months the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to maintain peace on the island. My delegation cast that vote without hesitation since we fully share the view of the Secretary-General when he states in paragraph 81 of his report [S/10664 and Corr.1] that, "in view of the continued tension in the island and the imminent resumption of the intercommunal talks," he considers it essential to maintain the Force in Cyprus for at least a further limited period.

120. I wish to point out however that, although we had no doubts in our mind, that vote was cast without much satisfaction of heart. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has been in existence for eight years and I do not believe that if we consider the matter realistically we can possibly state that the progress achieved towards a solution of the problem is in any way considerable. The Secretary-General tells us:

"Since my predecessor's last report, there has been no significant progress towards a return to normal conditions." [*ibid.*, para. 43].

and adds, further on, that

"despite the quiet that has prevailed in Cyprus for some years, the situation in the island is still essentially unstable. The distrust and suspicion which have divided the two communities remain strong, and any action by one side which may be considered as provocative by the other may all too easily lead to a crisis with unforeseeable consequences." [*ibid.*, para. 76].

Together with the political tension "the trend towards separate development of the economies of the two communities has continued" [*ibid.*, para. 43].

121. No one can note such a state of affairs with satisfaction nor consider optimistically the situation of a State that has to develop under the burden of such obstacles. This being the case, it is in the interests of all—the international community and, primarily, the parties concerned—to renew and intensify to the full all possible efforts to devise formulae that will allow the Cypriots to live in peace and ensure a common destiny.

122. It was for that reason that my delegation was happy to hear of the Secretary-General's decision to send the Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, to the island to ensure the resumption of the intercommunal talks, on the basis of the aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971 [see S/10401, para. 79], to which was later added that of 18 May 1972 [S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 62].

123. Those efforts bore fruit thanks to the good will of the parties, and in fact on 8 June of this year the opening

session of the intercommunal talks took place in the presence of the Secretary-General himself. The words spoken by Mr. Waldheim a few moments ago have rounded out the picture described in the previous reports and allow us now to hope that, once the machinery of negotiation is under way, its role will be no longer one purely of a channel of communication but an effective way of achieving a permanent solution to the problems confronting the island.

124. We are not unaware of the fact that the situation in the island is one of extreme complexity and that to find a final solution is not an easy undertaking. But we trust that moderation and a constructive spirit will obtain, and that the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the talks will bring to them the necessary vigour and sense of urgency that the moment calls for.

125. A united independent and sovereign Cypriot State in which the active and full participation of all the inhabitants is possible, will constitute the best guarantee of happiness for all its inhabitants and of peace for the region, and will prove right those who trust and hope that the efforts and dedication expended by the United Nations for so many years in the search for a peaceful, lasting and just solution of the problem will not have been in vain.

126. I do not wish to conclude these words without paying tribute to those at all levels, civilian and military, who have taken part in the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus for the constant and exemplary endeavours which they have deployed on the island and which are a source of prestige for our Organization.

127. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the Soviet delegation would like to associate itself with the congratulations and best wishes which have been extended to you, as the President of the Security Council and the representative of the fraternal Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose efforts towards consolidating international peace and security and developing friendly relations between peoples we value highly. Our appreciation was demonstrated clearly and with new force during the recent visit of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, to the Soviet Union.

128. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Farah of Somalia, who has actively and with great success presided over the Security Council, and the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Crowe, under whose presidency in April the Council drew up and adopted an agreed decision on the important question of sending, in accordance with the Charter, a supplementary group of United Nations observers to the Israel-Lebanon sector. Further developments have confirmed the correctness and usefulness of the Council's action. I should also like to welcome Ambassador Bush, the representative of the United States, who was President of the Council in May.

129. Permit me to congratulate our new colleague, taking part in the work of the Security Council for the first time. I refer to Ambassador de Guiringaud. We congratulate him

warmly on his appointment to the high post of Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations and to the Security Council. At the same time, we hope that his extensive and varied diplomatic experience and his future active participation in the work of the Council, together with other members of the Council, will help to enhance the international political role and effectiveness of the United Nations and of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. Action to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations has, as is well known, been advocated by France and the USSR in documents signed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, and by President Pompidou in Paris. Similar obligations were accepted by the USSR and the United States in their joint communiqué recently issued in Moscow on the occasion of President Nixon's visit to the USSR. In that connexion, we note with satisfaction the high opinion of Mr. Schumann, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, about the Soviet-American talks which were recently held in Moscow. He stated: "France, faithful to the principles of détente, can only welcome the recent Soviet-American meeting in Moscow".

30. We also welcome our new colleague, the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations, Ambassador Olcay, whose first speech in the Security Council we listened to with great attention.

31. Turning to the Cyprus question, which is on the Security Council's agenda today, the Soviet delegation wishes to point out first and foremost that the Soviet Union's attitude to questions discussed in the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole is consistently dictated by the necessity of strengthening international peace and security. That approach is in full accordance with the main purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

32. The view of the Soviet Union is that the full capabilities of the United Nations should be used for the purposes of strengthening peace. The Organization was established more than a quarter of a century ago to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations can and must do considerably more to strengthen peace and international security. In this connexion, we do not share the view of those who seek to depoliticize the United Nations and replace its proper role, the struggle for peace and security, with measures to combat drug abuse. In this regard we are in full agreement with the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who, in her speech at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, pointed out the importance of man's struggle to preserve his environment and at the same time emphasized that the principal and most vital present-day problem is the maintenance of peace. It should be pointed out in this connexion that the Security Council and its members bear a particular obligation to do everything in their power to prevent conflicts or situations which might increase international tension and threaten peace. Therefore, they must ensure that all countries, both Members and non-members of the United Nations, can live in conditions of peace and security, free of outside pressure and interference in their internal affairs. This position of

principle is the Soviet Union's approach to the solution of contemporary international problems and it determines its attitude to the Cyprus question.

133. Great attention is paid in the Soviet Union to current developments in Cyprus and to the Cyprus problem as a whole. Soviet statesmen have repeatedly drawn the attention of world public opinion to the situation facing this independent Republic in the Mediterranean. Permit me in this connexion to refer to a statement by the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. V. Podgorny, which he made in Ankara on 11 April 1972.

"Neither should it be ignored", he said, "that recent events in the Mediterranean area may produce new complications. I refer above all to the attempts at gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. The Soviet position on the question of Cyprus remains unchanged. The USSR consistently speaks out in support of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, against *enosis*, and for the solution of the Cyprus question by peaceful means, without any external interference and in the interests of the entire population of the island. We treat both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots with due respect and wish them success in settling their disagreement through talks, and we favour an agreement which would be acceptable to both communities in Cyprus, Greek and Turkish. A great contribution would be made to solving the present problems in the interest of the people of Cyprus by eliminating foreign military bases from Cyprus. It is important that a further aggravation of the situation should not be allowed, and that everything should be done to maintain peace and tranquillity in Cyprus . . .".

134. As the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR stressed, the Soviet Union has considered and considers that the Cyprus question should be settled by peaceful means in the interests of the people of Cyprus, in the interests of détente in that important part of the world. Such a solution should be based on observance of liberty and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus which, as a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs. There is not and cannot be any doubt that solving Cyprus' internal problems is a matter for the Cypriots themselves—as citizens of the Republic of Cyprus.

135. The Cyprus problem should be solved without interference from outside. The lawful rights of all citizens, of both Greek and Turkish nationality, should be observed by all. The Soviet Union speaks out firmly against any attempt to infringe the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, against any idea of solving the problem of Cyprus without consulting the people of Cyprus, to the detriment of its basic interests and to the benefit of the selfish imperialist aims of external forces. We are deeply convinced that, in order to ensure the complete independence, integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from its territory and the foreign military bases on Cyprus should be removed.

136. The Soviet delegation would also like to emphasize that, in full conformity with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, all States should refrain from any action inconsistent with that resolution likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus.

137. Today the Security Council is once again considering the Cyprus question in connexion with the report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 December 1971 to 26 May 1972. We note with satisfaction a statement in the report that the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus have accepted the Secretary-General's proposal for the resumption of the intercommunal talks aimed at solving the problems between them. As is well known, those intercommunal talks were resumed on 8 June after an interval of almost nine months. The USSR delegation also notes with satisfaction the positive efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, which contributed to the resumption of the talks.

138. In the Security Council and the United Nations, the Soviet delegation represents a multinational State uniting more than a hundred nationalities, peoples and ethnic groups. In December this year we shall be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the multinational Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On the basis of the Leninist principles of equality and friendship between the peoples of our country, for the first time in the history of the peoples of the world national discord and enmity, racial and national discrimination and oppression have been eradicated. We have created a genuinely equal society based on the friendship and brotherhood of peoples. All nationalities have equal rights and opportunities. For that reason we sincerely and whole-heartedly hope that national discord and hostility between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus will be eliminated, and that conditions of equality, mutual respect, friendship and co-operation between the Turkish and Greek communities will be established. We sincerely hope for success and an early positive conclusion of the intercommunal talks in the interests of the Republic of Cyprus, of all its citizens and of strengthening peace in that region. It has long been obvious that the talks are essential, and the USSR delegation shares the concern expressed in the Secretary-General's report at the instability of the situation in Cyprus. It is well known to all that the situation is the result of interference by outside forces in the internal affairs of Cyprus. The report contains a recommendation that the stationing of the United Nations forces in Cyprus should be extended for another period of six months. In that connexion it must be pointed out with regret that many years have passed since foreign military contingents, under the United Nations flag, appeared in Cyprus for the first time because of the unfortunate circumstances there. As our delegation and a number of delegations of other countries have already pointed out,

such a lengthy stay on the island can in no sense be regarded as normal in present international conditions. The extraordinarily protracted United Nations peace-keeping operation in this area cannot, unfortunately, serve as a model for similar United Nations operations in other parts of the world, however much certain representatives may praise it. As before, the USSR delegation firmly holds to the view that the operation cannot and must not continue for ever. In itself the presence of foreign forces on the territory of an independent sovereign State, even if they come under the authority and in the name of the United Nations, can be only a short-term exceptional measure which should be brought to an end as quickly as possible.

139. If such a possibility became a reality before the end of the present six-month mandate of the foreign forces in Cyprus, a considerable contribution would have been made to normalizing the position in the eastern Mediterranean. The Security Council should once again study all possible means of settling the situation in Cyprus so that United Nations forces on the island may be reduced and then completely withdrawn. On that understanding, and also bearing in mind the views of the interested parties, especially the Government of the Republic of Cyprus itself, the Soviet delegation will not now raise the question of the complete withdrawal of those forces from the territory of Cyprus and, similarly, did not oppose the Security Council resolution extending their stay. The USSR delegation wishes to point out that today's Security Council resolution extending the stationing of those forces in Cyprus for a further six months reaffirms the main provision of the first Security Council resolution on the Cyprus question, adopted on 4 March 1964. The USSR delegation considers that fact extremely important and vital in determining the attitude of the Soviet Union to today's resolution.

140. On that basis, the Soviet delegation did not object to the adoption by the Council of the resolution extending the stationing of United Nations forces on Cyprus until 15 December 1972, on the understanding that their extended stay on Cyprus will take place in complete accordance with the provisions of the original resolution adopted on 4 March 1964 and with subsequent Security Council decisions on the Cyprus question—in other words, provided that the present functions of those forces are maintained and that the present, voluntary, method of financing will be retained.

141. The PRESIDENT: There are several more names inscribed on the list of speakers, but the hour is growing late and it would appear desirable that the Council now take a break. It is therefore my suggestion that the Council adjourn at this stage and reconvene this afternoon at 3 o'clock in order to conclude its work for today.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.