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NOTE

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 June 1972, at 3 p.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/1647)

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 3.25 p.m.

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)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council this morning [1646th meeting], I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to participate without vote in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

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.

2. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, first of all I should like to offer to you my congratulations and my most cordial good wishes on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for June 1972. Our pleasure is all the greater as you represent a country with which we have close ties of friendship and of views. My delegation is confident that the Security Council will greatly benefit from your experience and wisdom. I assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation.

3. May I associate my delegation with the warm welcome you, Mr. President, gave to our new colleague the French Ambassador Mr. Louis de Guiringaud. We are certain that he will continue the high tradition that his delegation has established in the United Nations.

4. We shall have other opportunities for welcoming the new Ambassador of Turkey, Mr. Osman Olcay, but since this is the first time he has appeared before the Council may I extend to him my delegation's compliments and good wishes.

5. I should also like to thank the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Malik, for his reference this morning to the statement recently made by my Prime Minister in Stockholm. I am also thankful for the kind references to the work of General Prem Chand made by several delegations.

6. The Security Council did not meet during the last three months, but it was not idle. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Presidents for the months of March, April and May—the Ambassadors of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States—for the efficient and thoughtful manner in which they dealt with our work during their presidencies. At the same time we should like to express our appreciation for the labours during that period of the two Committees established by the Security Council and their Chairmen, the Ambassadors of Argentina and the Sudan.

7. We welcome the Secretary-General who has just returned from his last journey abroad, or at least the latest journey abroad. For our present debate his return is as timely as his journey was significant. We had earlier studied his report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus [S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1] and his special report on recent developments there [S/10564 and Add.1 and 2]. These reports gave us an informed assessment of the developments in Cyprus, and of the role and the scope of the United Nations presence there during the last six months. They also confirmed our view that the situation in Cyprus is indeed complex. We have now been fortunate to receive, at the beginning of our present discussion [1646th meeting], the Secretary-General's report on his recent visit to the area, during which he had personal contacts with the parties concerned and was also present at the first meeting of the renewed talks among them. This shed further light in coming to the decision we have taken.

8. My delegation is pleased that the perseverance and the dedication of the Secretary-General and of his predecessor

in their efforts to find suitable means for reopening the talks between the parties has now been successful. We should welcome this development with relief and congratulate the Secretary-General and his colleagues, both here and in the field, for their work. The co-operation shown by all the parties is a significant factor for current, yet subdued, optimism.

9. In his last report the Secretary-General has cautioned us, as indeed he has done again this morning, with regard to the difficulties which still remain in the achievement of a return to normal and peaceful conditions. While keeping these in mind, we also note the several indications given in the report of some welcome developments which have taken place during the period under review. It is encouraging that the military situation in Cyprus has remained quiet, if not completely satisfactory: the period covered by the report has seen the smallest number of shooting incidents since the establishment of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The Secretary-General has noted an encouraging improvement in the co-operation extended to UNFICYP and the increasing trend towards making efforts to decrease tension in the interest of maintaining peace. Some of the outstanding problems mentioned in the report have been settled; in other instances certain improvements are also noticeable. The Secretary-General has praised the restraint shown by the Government of Cyprus in limiting to the utmost the impact of the most serious incidents during the period. There has also been continued co-operation in United Nations sponsored development projects.

10. If I have mentioned these developments it is not to present a one-sided or over-optimistic picture of the situation. I mention them because we hope that they will be further consolidated at a time when the prospect of progress has again been opened. The simple fact of the resumption of the talks and the successful overcoming of the difficulties described in chapter IV of the Secretary-General's report give legitimate basis for this hope. The accommodation, understanding and restraint, of which the resumed talks are a result, need to be further expanded and encouraged to ensure their success.

11. Cyprus, like many other countries, has a multiracial and multireligious society and its people have lived together in their island for centuries. They will have to do so in the future and that future can only be safeguarded by continued efforts at all round co-operation. The time has come when all the people in Cyprus can and should, consciously and conscientiously, seek solutions to their problems in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation and firmly abandon any move which may produce division and discord. We would hope that all the communities in the island would realize not only that this is in their best national interests, but also that through co-operation alone can the best results be achieved for their social and economic progress.

12. India has consistently supported the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We believe that a harmonious and just resolution of the relations between the different interests is essential for safeguarding

peace and security, not only within the island but also in the region as a whole. We believe that this can best be achieved through negotiations between the parties, without external pressure or interference. Any successful conclusion of the problem of Cyprus will have a very healthy effect on areas far beyond its shores.

13. It is in this spirit and in this hope that my delegation voted for the draft resolution, the text of which is contained in document S/10699. We have once again extended the mandate of UNFICYP for six months and all the Governments concerned have accepted this extension. Finally, we join other delegations in hoping that an early agreement on the current resumed talks will soon make it unnecessary for UNFICYP to continue to be in Cyprus.

14. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, since the Security Council has not met for a long time I shall break the self-imposed rule we have followed of dispensing with complimentary remarks. I shall do so by extending to you the warmest congratulations of the Italian delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June and expressing our satisfaction at seeing in the Chair the representative of Yugoslavia, a country with which Italy has developed fruitful relations of good friendship and neighbourliness based on mutual confidence. The highest international body of the United Nations can only benefit from your wise guidance and far-sightedness, your well-known qualities of humanity and your great knowledge of the problems with which we are confronted. We are therefore confident that you will continue to steer our work this month to a successful conclusion, as has been presaged by these two meetings held today.

15. We fully share at the same time the expressions of appreciation you and previous speakers have expressed to Ambassador Malik, Sir Colin Crowe and Ambassador Bush for the effective and constructive way in which they discharged their high responsibilities as President of the Security Council during the previous three months.

16. Once again the Security Council has been convened to consider the extension for another six-month period of the UNFICYP mandate, and once again the Italian delegation has lent its support to the renewal of this important peace-keeping operation in the island, voting in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10699.

17. In doing so the Italian delegation wishes, first of all, to reiterate its unswerving support of the United Nations operation in Cyprus, which reflects the general policy consistently followed by my Government in the maintenance of international peace and security. It reflects at the same time our firm conviction that under the command of General D. Prem Chand UNFICYP during the last six months has shown its ability in carrying out with remarkable success, as it has done for so many years, the very important task of maintaining peace in that sensitive and delicate area of the world. The report of the Secretary-General, whom we welcome here today back from his tour, gives full evidence of the performance of a high order by the United Nations Force and all the different national

contingents. We notice in fact from the report of the Secretary-General that although the situation continues to be unstable in the island and there is persistent political tension, the co-operation extended to UNFICYP has improved during the time under review. Furthermore, it has now been possible to reactivate the intercommunal talks based on the proposals put forward by the former Secretary-General of October 1971 [see S/10401, para. 79], and by the present Secretary-General in his aide-mémoire of 18 May [S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 62]. We were somehow encouraged by the news that on the occasion of the recent visit of the Secretary-General to Cyprus, he was able to make all practical arrangements for the speedy resumption of the intercommunal talks and to attend and make an opening statement at the inaugural meeting which took place on 8 June.

18. I have listened with the utmost attention and interest to the statement which Mr. Waldheim made this morning providing the Council with an up-to-date and very realistic report of the situation as it now stands. Altogether it sounded a note of concern but it also indicated some reasons for hope. For our part we feel indebted to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, as well as to the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, for the efforts they have deployed to prevent as far as they could a deterioration of the situation and to bridge the differences still dividing the parties. In so doing they have fulfilled their main duty, namely, to lay the ground for the achievement of the ultimate goal of this United Nations operation, as well as all other, past or future, peace-keeping operations: an agreed long-lasting peaceful and just settlement of the problem. We sincerely hope that the expectations which the Secretary-General has reiterated today and which we fully share will be met by the parties concerned by overcoming suspicions and recriminations and by building up mutual trust and goodwill. In fact it is only by adopting a more flexible position, a spirit of compromise and of conciliation—as the Secretary-General himself stated in Nicosia and as he repeated here—that it will be possible in the present circumstances to achieve the aims enshrined in our Charter. A positive outcome of the intercommunal talks under the so-called United Nations formula could result not only in benefit for the people of Cyprus but also in benefit for all countries since it would pave the way for the final political settlement of the Cyprus problems, which in turn would have a favourable impact going far beyond the borders of the island.

19. Of course we are aware of the complexity of the many issues involved. We fully realize at the same time that the reactivation of the intercommunal talks—which in our view provide the best hope for progress—represents only a first step—an essential step, to use the words of the Secretary-General. However, the talks should, we hope, clarify the atmosphere and create a better climate for the following steadier and concrete steps towards the final goal.

20. If the presence of the Force in Cyprus has proved to be useful and even indispensable, we cannot fail to note that too many years have passed without bringing closer the solution for which the whole operation was set up. In this

connexion we must not forget that “peace-keeping”, “peace-making” and “peace-building” are, after all, three different facets of the whole operation through which the role of the United Nations can be asserted and that “peace-keeping” cannot be a substitute for “peace-making”. But no peace-making is possible unless there is the full, sincere and unrestricted co-operation of the parties concerned.

21. It is clear from all the reports we have received from the Secretary-General that a number of events—and more recently the importation of a substantial amount of arms and ammunitions into the country—have delayed a return to normal conditions. However, now the situation is under control, as the Government of Cyprus has agreed to put these armaments under the supervision of UNFICYP. We appreciate the wisdom shown on this occasion by the Cyprus Government. We wish also to pay a tribute to that Government as well as to the Governments of Greece and Turkey for their statesmanship, which has made possible at least some encouraging subsequent development. We now hope that during the next months some concrete progress will be achieved and that, as the representative of Turkey stated when discussing the same problem in December 1971 in the Security Council [1612th meeting], the year 1972 may really become the year marking the establishment of peace in Cyprus. We trust that all the parties concerned will make every possible effort to render these talks successful in their stated purpose, taking full advantage of the assistance and co-operation of the United Nations and giving new life to one of the ingenious means conceived in order to achieve the first purpose inscribed in Article 1 of the Charter: the maintenance of peace and security through collective measures, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

22. For our part we will not fail to continue to make our voluntary financial contribution to this United Nations peace-keeping operation and we hope that, as the representative of Belgium so eloquently advocated this morning, other members of the Council, especially those which are in the best position to do so, will contribute in a commensurate measure. We see no better way to implement Article 1 of the Charter.

[The speaker continued in French.]

23. I should like to conclude my statement by endorsing the warm expressions of welcome that you, Mr. President, were good enough to address to the new representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud. My delegation, and I personally, have enjoyed the closest co-operation with the French delegation in the Security Council and with the distinguished predecessors of the representative of France. We are sure that that co-operation will continue and even increase in the most constructive way with our new colleague, in the spirit of confidence and deep friendship underlying the close co-operation in all fields, between Italy and France.

24. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Mr. President, I should like to express to you the heartfelt congratulations of my

delegation on the excellent and competent manner in which you are conducting the work of the Security Council as its President for the month of June.

25. The Council is once again called on to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in view of the recommendation expressed in paragraph 81 of the Secretary-General's report covering the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 December 1971 to 26 May 1972. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution that the Council has adopted, in the light of the observations made by the Secretary-General in the last chapter of his report. As a matter of fact we share the Secretary-General's concern about "the necessity and the feasibility of pursuing more urgently the search for a settlement of the basic problems and bringing it to a substantial conclusion" [S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 78]. My delegation has also taken note of the encouraging fact that the intercommunal talks have been reactivated and that the inaugural meeting took place in Nicosia on 8 June in the presence of the Secretary-General.

26. Since the outbreak of the intercommunal conflict, soon after the attainment of independence by Cyprus, we have been watching with concern the various developments of the crisis in that island; we have been witnessing disquieting events that have had marked effects on the political, social and economic life of the people of the island and we regret to note that there are not yet any tangible signs of improvement in the general situation.

27. The position of my Government on the question of Cyprus has been clearly stated in the past in many forums, including this Council. We consider the problem of Cyprus to be a purely domestic one, an affair of the Cypriot people of both communities, whose independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity must be respected by all.

28. In the settlement efforts, in our view, there should not be any attempt to change the status of the island as an independent and sovereign State. There should not be interference or impositions from outside. This does not mean that we do not recognize the interest which both Turkey and Greece have in the island. However, we know that throughout its history the island of Cyprus, located in a strategically important part of the Middle East, has always been considered of value by every foreign Power that has either dominated or had vested interests in the eastern Mediterranean. But times have changed and any interference in the internal affairs of the island might have unpredictable and dangerous consequences.

29. In the view of my delegation the political conflict in Cyprus is not going to be resolved by the mere adoption of the same Security Council resolution renewed *mutatis mutandis* every six months. Therefore we feel that the Council should come to grips with the problem in a more realistic way in order to find a practical and effective means of assisting the parties concerned to achieve a peaceful settlement in the island. However, we have said on other occasions when the question of Cyprus was debated in this Council and we repeat today that the responsibility and the

imperative task of finding a lasting solution lies squarely on the people of Cyprus, without distinction. They must negotiate and find the ways and means of solving their internal political differences. They must indicate clearly their strong stand, their will and determination to face up to the challenge of this crucial and complex problem which threatens their very nationhood.

30. On the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of Cyprus in 1960, President Makarios said that Cyprus became "a State but not a nation". Judging from the general situation now prevailing in the island, as described in the report of the Secretary-General, it appears that 12 years later that remark still holds. Regardless of the difficulties of the present, the Government and peoples of Cyprus must try more determinedly to rely primarily on their own efforts.

31. It is the hope of my delegation, which stands ready to support any initiative that might contribute to the pursuance of the goals of peace and unity, that the day will soon come when members of the two communities will work together hand in hand in an atmosphere of reconciliation, understanding and mutual trust and without any fear of domination by one group over the other.

32. Finally, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and his collaborators for the efforts they have made in carrying out with efficiency the duties assigned to them by this Council.

33. Mr. DIOP (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10699, in which the Security Council decides to extend for a further six months the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. This is justified by the concern of the Government of Guinea to see the successful conclusion of the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a peaceful, speedy and lasting solution to the Cyprus conflict.

34. The Secretary-General's report [S/10664 and Corr.1 and Add.1] does not stress any tangible improvement in the situation in Cyprus. Perhaps relative calm does exist, but there is still tension between the Cypriot communities on the island. That is why my delegation believes that the Cyprus problem should be solved by peaceful means, on the basis of the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of the island. The domestic affairs of Cyprus should be settled by the Cypriot people themselves—without outside interference. My delegation is convinced that a just and lasting solution to the Cypriot problem can only be found by that people itself. The search is a domestic affair.

35. The Government of the Republic of Guinea rejects any attempt to violate the national unity and sovereignty of Cyprus, or to solve the problem in a way deleterious to the people of Cyprus and advantageous to any outside interests. We believe that the ways and means must be found for the gradual withdrawal of foreign troops in the next few months. We are still optimistic regarding the results of the

intercommunal talks just resumed between the two communities. However, the prolonged presence of the United Nations Force could neither be justified or indefinitely continued if at the end of the now renewed mandate no progress has been made towards the freedom of movement of civilians, the coexistence of the two communities and Cyprus's security in an atmosphere of peace and equality.

36. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): I am glad to join others around the Council table in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the leadership of this Council and to express appreciation for the distinguished presidency you are providing this month in the consideration of this and other problems before the Council.

37. I am particularly gratified to be able to congratulate the Secretary-General and members of his staff, both here at Headquarters and in Cyprus, as well as the parties to the intercommunal talks, for their statesmanlike efforts leading to the resumption of those talks on 8 June. It has long been the hope of this Council that the intercommunal talks would enable the parties to the Cyprus question to settle their differences peacefully through negotiation. We appeal to the parties to the talks to exercise their best efforts to make progress, as quickly as possible, towards a settlement of Cyprus' intercommunal problems which will enable all elements of the Cypriot population to participate fully and without fear in the national life of a single, independent and sovereign Cyprus.

38. The United States delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. We find it particularly heartening that the Secretary-General and the Government of Cyprus have found effective ways to co-operate in an arrangement for the safe storage and inspection by UNFICYP of the arms and ammunition recently imported by the Government of Cyprus.

39. We too are encouraged by the Secretary-General's report that although tensions greatly increased in Cyprus in recent months, "the period under review has seen the smallest number of shooting incidents since the establishment of UNFICYP" [*S/10664 and Corr.1, para. 36*]. That is due in no small measure to the stabilizing presence, the judgement, and the activity displayed on the ground by UNFICYP, and great credit is due also to the parties more directly concerned. We are glad to note that while some incidents have marred the peace of the island, "there has been an encouraging improvement in the co-operation extended to UNFICYP in this regard" [*ibid., para. 28*].

40. However, all members of this Council must share the concern expressed by the Secretary-General that there has been no significant progress towards normalization, particularly in the important areas of deconfrontation, freedom of movement, economic development, public works and the resettlement of displaced persons. We hope that the resumption of the intercommunal talks will create the atmosphere of mutual confidence required to arrive at mutually acceptable interim agreements on normalization measures. Such measures would enable the Greek and

Turkish Cypriot communities to enjoy greater security and prosperity while negotiations for a permanent settlement are under way.

41. The Security Council has just approved the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for another six months. Such a force has been in Cyprus now for over eight years, and has done invaluable work in preventing a further outbreak of civil strife on the island. However, I think we are all aware that the Security Council cannot afford to continue to extend UNFICYP's mandate indefinitely. It is therefore imperative that the parties to the intercommunal talks move swiftly towards a negotiated political settlement of the Cyprus problem, with which the Council has been occupied now for over a decade.

42. Turning to the financial implications of the renewal of this mandate, the United States delegation notes with regret that the Secretary-General's estimates of the costs of UNFICYP to the United Nations for the six-month period beginning 16 June come to approximately \$6.9 million. This figure represents an increase of at least \$400,000 over the last six-month extension period. In the face of the large UNFICYP deficit, which we and the other current contributors are working to eliminate, we earnestly hope that these costs can be reduced. Otherwise, this increase will have to be completely absorbed by substantial additional regular contributions to UNFICYP from Governments which at present contribute inadequately or do not contribute at all. At this juncture, no United Nations agency can afford to continue to operate on a deficit basis.

43. We are pleased to note that in paragraph 82 of his report the Secretary-General pledges his efforts, working with all Members of the Organization, to find a way to get the current financial situation of UNFICYP on a sound basis and to begin to liquidate the deficit. The United States pledges its support to the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard. We think that now is the time for all of the Members of the United Nations to accept their collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. The financial burden of United Nations peace-keeping missions should not fall upon only a few. We urge all Members of the United Nations, and in particular the members of the Security Council that have voted for the resolution extending UNFICYP's mandate, to support the Secretary-General's efforts to place UNFICYP financing on a sound basis by contributing their fair share to this peace-keeping operation which continues to play such a significant part in averting the tragedy of civil war in Cyprus.

44. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I had not intended to make a statement after our vote, which was in favour of the resolution, but I am prompted to say a few words in order to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the Presidency and to express my appreciation for the wise, able and impartial way in which you have been conducting our present meetings; I also wish you all success during the rest of your period of office.

45. I wish also to extend my congratulations to the Secretary-General and his staff, both here and at the other

end, for the efforts which they are making to help the Cypriots in solving their present problem.

46. I also take this opportunity to welcome our new colleague the permanent representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, whose experience and wisdom will be of great help to us in the Council. I wish to tell him that we are ready to co-operate with him all the time, and at the same time I wish to express my personal appreciation for the French policy, which has always been just, fair and very practical.

47. Having read the report of the Secretary-General and having listened to his statement, as well as those of the speakers representing the parties concerned, I feel that I should make one or two points clear regarding the attitude of my delegation towards the question of Cyprus. My delegation wishes to assert that Cyprus being a part of the Middle East, we as members of that area are very much concerned and very much interested in the peace of that country as an important basis for peace in the area as a whole.

48. Secondly, my delegation wishes to assert that Cyprus should be a united, sovereign, independent country, and that all these factors are interrelated and all are very important. In this respect we are opposed to any sort of interference, whether direct or indirect, in the affairs of Cyprus which might derogate from the sovereignty of Cyprus, since that was the basis on which the United Nations accepted its membership.

49. Of course, we were a little bit concerned some time back about the disturbing news which we heard, but we are comforted and pleased to hear from the representatives of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus that the efforts which are being made at present are helpful and are conducive to the meeting of the two communities.

50. As members of the African and Arab world we hope that the relationship between the two communities will be strengthened and that the aims of the United Nations will be realized.

51. We in the Sudan have also had certain experiences which give us some hope for a resolution of the Cyprus question. It is a very difficult one, but I am sure that with the line now being started in Cyprus—if tolerance, magnanimity and compromise are at all considered—a solution is always possible between the concerned parties.

52. We are meeting today, as we do every six months, in order to consider the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force. Of course, this is not the kind of ritual we should like to continue, but we hope that the next time we meet we shall be able to thank the United Nations and the parties concerned for the realization of peace in that area.

53. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm our friendship for the two communities in that area. As always, we can assure them of our good wishes for a peaceful and friendly life in Cyprus. For that reason we voted in favour of the resolution.

54. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, we are fully aware of your abilities as a diplomat and so I wish to state that we are extremely happy to see you presiding over our debates during the month of June.

55. Since this is the first time my delegation has participated in the discussion of the Cyprus question in the Security Council, may I make the following statement.

56. Because of the similarity between the independence of Panama and Cyprus—we are both nations that were forced to accept a system of trusteeship imposed upon us by great Powers in contravention of principles of international law and morality—the Republic of Panama has from the very outset identified itself with the desires for national unity and territorial integrity of the noble Cypriot people. The Panamanian delegation considers that as a State Member of the United Nations, Cyprus has a right to be respected as an independent country without any curtailment of its territorial integrity or sovereignty.

57. Panama sponsored the draft resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 2077 (XX) of 18 December 1965. We therefore avail ourselves of this opportunity to reaffirm our hope that the unity of the Cypriot nation will daily be strengthened without the interference or intervention of any foreign Power and without limitations of any nature.

58. We believe that the solution to the Cyprus problem should be sought from the starting-point of the recognition of Cyprus as a united and indivisible nation in which the rights of minorities are recognized and guaranteed. We believe this is a timely moment to recall the proposal made by ex-Secretary-General U Thant in the report he submitted in May 1971 [*S/10199, para. 83*], and we trust that that will be the target of those who participate in the conversations which have at a very felicitous moment been renewed and from which we trust will emerge a just and stable solution based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

59. We were extremely concerned to hear the statement made this morning by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, regarding the alarming situation he found during his recent visit to Cyprus, but we were most gratified at the interest shown by the Secretary-General and the other officials of the Secretariat in the case of Cyprus.

60. Representing a people with a true peace-loving background and mission, I pray for the reconciliation of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots in order to prepare the road for an orderly solution to all the problems confronting the inhabitants of the island. We trust that very soon, and without discrimination of any kind, it will be possible for the inhabitants of Cyprus to enjoy all the fundamental freedoms to which all free men of the world aspire.

61. We were very gratified by the statements of the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece. They all spoke with a conciliatory and constructive tone.

62. It was with these ideas in mind that the delegation of Panama voted in favour of the resolution extending for a further six months the stationing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

63. Before I conclude, may I take advantage of this opportunity on behalf of my delegation to extend a cordial welcome to the new representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud.

64. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, to begin with I should like to thank you for the kind words with which you welcomed me to the Security Council. I was very touched by the words of praise about me, which were much too flattering. I consider it a great honour that my Government has entrusted me with representing it in the Security Council and it is a privilege to be admitted among such a distinguished membership. I will confess that it is not without some emotion that I find myself back at this table, where I have sat before, in a Council over which I even presided a few years ago. It has grown since then, and its membership has changed. No doubt this is one of the most obvious signs that our Organization has fortunately come closer to the universality which is one of its purposes and of a more accurate representation of the world in which we actually live. Permit me to add that the Council as a whole, our eminent Secretary-General and all delegations of Member States can rest assured that I shall always strive to co-operate with them in a spirit of cordial frankness and full confidence.

65. I should not like to conclude these few preliminary remarks without thanking the representative of Japan for his very kind words. I have unforgettable memories of his country. I wish also to thank the representatives of India and Panama for the references to me and my delegation that they were kind enough to include in their statements. And in particular may I thank the representative of Italy, whose warm words touched me personally, and the representative of the Sudan who referred to my Government's policy in terms that I found very moving. I should like to assure one and all that I shall continue to maintain with them and their delegations the same most cordial relations that existed during the tenure of my distinguished predecessor.

66. I should also like to make a specific comment on what Ambassador Malik said. First, I thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his kind and flattering remarks about me. He may rest assured that relations between our two delegations will reflect the very active co-operation that has been set up between our two Governments. But at this point I should particularly like to stress my Government's agreement—one often reaffirmed in the course of the recent meetings between our Ministers and Presidents—as to the need to preserve for the United Nations the primary role it should play—that of contributing to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. This should not, however, prevent it from also taking an interest in other problems that are important for the welfare and, indeed, the future of mankind.

67. Finally, Mr. President, I should like to tell you how happy I am that chance so willed it that I have been welcomed here by you, the representative of Yugoslavia, a country with which France maintains particularly close and friendly relations. I should like to extend to you my best wishes for your successful continuation of a presidency which has begun under such good auspices.

68. I now come to the subject of our meeting.

69. In his statement of 13 December last [*1612th meeting*], the representative of France said that extending the mandate of the United Nations Force offered the interested parties a new period of six months which should allow them to resume the intercommunal talks on the basis of the proposals made by the Secretary-General on 18 October last [*see S/10401, para. 79*]. For us, the extension of the mandate of the Force should not be a ritually observed ceremony taking place twice a year; it should be accompanied by precise assurances regarding the solution of the problems of the island.

70. Today we do, of course, recognize that the appeal has been heeded. We should therefore like to express our appreciation to the three Governments concerned, with which France maintains the best of relations, as well as to the true representatives of the two communities. We should like to believe that their positive attitude was inspired by the conviction that a solution to the Cyprus problem, that is just and fair and unanimously accepted by the members of the two communities, can be sought and found within the framework of these talks.

71. We should also like to pay a tribute to the action of our Secretary-General, who, following up the efforts of U Thant, succeeded in bringing about on the eve of our meeting the actual resumption of the talks. In that regard I should particularly wish to thank Mr. Waldheim for the very clear and substantial report he has just made to the Council. We must, of course, associate in this tribute all those who, on the spot, act on his behalf, particularly his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and the Commander of the Force, General Prem Chand. The trust reposed in them by all the interested parties, because of the independence and fairness with which they discharge their duties, was essential to bring to a successful conclusion the task of conciliation undertaken by our Secretary-General from the outset of his assumption of his office at the beginning of this year, and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer.

72. In the last few months, as is stressed in the report before us, that task has not been easy for the favourable prospects for a resumption of talks which seemed to exist last December, were subsequently jeopardized by events that revived distrust and suspicion.

73. No doubt the domestic situation on the island has not actually deteriorated over that period; but unfortunately there has not been any change in the relations between the two communities: the number of acts giving rise to shooting incidents has appreciably diminished, but Cypriot national guards and Turkush Cypriot fighters are still

confronting each other in sensitive areas; freedom of movement is still curtailed and the economic development of the two communities is still clearly in a state of imbalance.

74. Furthermore, steps which were not directly connected with relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, have increased that deep-seated instability so characteristic of the situation in the island. The presence of the United Nations Force has fortunately made it possible to allay the concern occasioned by the importation of arms and ammunition by the Cyprus Government and a satisfactory agreement has been concluded to place that equipment under the supervision of the Force. But confidence must be built up. As our Secretary-General pointed out, "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]

75. The conclusion to be drawn from that very disturbing finding is simple: the search for a settlement of the fundamental problems of the island should be pursued without delay. The first step in that direction has just been taken since, a week ago, as we were informed by the Secretary-General, the first meeting of the reactivated intercommunal talks was held during his visit to Nicosia.

76. Obviously, the time when all the interested parties are jointly undertaking an examination of their problems is not the appropriate one for formulating certain opinions and directives—a possibility which U Thant, in his last report in December 1971 [S/10401], raised in the event that the parties themselves were unable to reach an agreement. It is for them to seek the solution to their problems. The responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and security should, however, lead it to ensure that it misses no chance to achieve a settlement.

77. That means, first of all, that the parties must become convinced of the importance we attach to the continuation of the talks from next month on; any additional delay or any sudden break in the talks might, in our view, set off a serious crisis. Also, in spite of the well-known differences of points of view, we are convinced that solutions can be found, provided suspicion and intransigence do not prevail over the spirit of compromise. Instead of undertaking an immediate examination of the juridical problems, a more pragmatic approach, designed to seek a provisional solution, a *modus vivendi*, and co-operation acceptable to the two communities, might be preferable; tension in the island might be eased and a climate favourable to the subsequent development of the talks thus be created. In that way we might eventually hope to see the creation of a suitable constitutional system guaranteeing the security and welfare of the two communities.

78. We are aware that our Secretary-General and his Special Representative will spare no effort to help the parties concerned towards that course. They can rely on our confidence. May this new stage, characterized today by the resumption of talks, lead to a solution that will be fair and peaceful and sincerely accepted by all the Cypriots.

79. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers is now reaching its end and the time is coming for me to say a few words. May I, first of all, express my thanks to representatives for the kind words of welcome and congratulations addressed to me in my capacity as President of the Security Council for this month, and particularly for the kind words addressed to my country and my Government. I should also like to express my thanks to all the members of the Council and to the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece for their understanding and co-operation during the consultations leading to the careful preparation of this meeting.

80. I should like now, as the representative of YUGOSLAVIA, to make the following statement.

81. This is the first time that the delegation of Yugoslavia has participated, as a member of the Council, in the debate on extending, and in the decision to extend, the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. Indeed, it was with great satisfaction that my delegation found itself in a position to contribute to this significant and positive decision of the Council. By adopting the draft resolution to that effect with such a high degree of unanimity, the Council and its members have demonstrated again their continuing support of that very important effort, the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus, and expressed their continued firm resolve to assist the Republic of Cyprus in coping with and finding just solutions to the well-known problems. This is not only in the interest of the people of Cyprus and all the parties concerned, but in the broad interest of the peace and security of us all.

82. I do not think that we could possibly now over-emphasize the importance of the peace-keeping and peace-making operation which the world Organization has undertaken with the consent of the Government of Cyprus. We would like here today to stress the major success and substantial results of the admittedly long and arduous period of the presence of the United Nations in Cyprus. This presence has maintained and preserved peace, however fragile, in the island; it has been instrumental in sparing its gifted people from any major violence—all that, in an area where the lines of conflict are so sharply drawn, where tension and passions are not easily abated.

83. That is no small accomplishment and it is one of which the United Nations and this Council should be proud. In that context our heartfelt thanks should be extended to the Secretary-General and his predecessor; to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall; to the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer and his predecessor; to General Prem Chand and to the men under his command for their personal efforts.

84. The United Nations, the Security Council, must remain conscious and aware of their responsibility, of their solemn task to support and further maintain their beneficial presence and activities, pursued along the lines of ensuring a calmer atmosphere, normalization and co-operation; of building mutual confidence and trust, thereby contributing to the settlement and solution of the internal and constitutional issues of the people of Cyprus as a whole.

85. The excellent relations that my country has with the Republic of Cyprus, the high regard that we have for its Head of State and Government, the steadfast support that we have always extended and will continue to extend to the free, independent, sovereign and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, an equal Member of the United Nations, and to its unity and territorial integrity, are well known indeed. As a sovereign and equal member of the international community, under the Charter of the United Nations and the basic tenets of international law, and in conformity with the relevant United Nations and Security Council decisions, Cyprus is entitled to full respect not only for its territorial integrity but for its sovereign right to non-interference in its internal affairs, with no use or threat of force applied against it in any circumstances. The mutual understanding and agreement of all the people of Cyprus, of its two communities, the right of the people of Cyprus to decide on its internal affairs, without pressure from outside, should constitute the only basis for the solution of its complex problems.

86. My delegation is very gratified at the reactivation of the intercommunal talks, suspended for so long. We are aware that special efforts towards accommodating many difficult points were required by all the parties concerned in order to bring this about. We would like to stress here, with all the urgency and seriousness that we can command, that absolutely no efforts should be spared and that simply everything should be done to ensure the speedy resumption of the talks and their steady, constructive and fruitful prosecution. The importance of their success is incalculable. If, in time, with all the patience and understanding needed, these talks were brought to a successful consummation by removing the difficult obstacles and resolving obstinate problems, then the successful continuation and the final positive results of the intercommunal talks would only strengthen and further protect the sovereign position and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is of the utmost importance and in the interest of all nations that it be so, as the Republic of Cyprus is located in a very sensitive part of the world.

87. The Mediterranean, Europe, the Middle East, long connected by history, commerce, communications and strategy, constitute a broad interdependent region. While the positive developments in one part, so significant lately in Europe, are of immediate interest and benefit to the whole area, we have always stressed that peace and stability are indivisible and cannot be compartmentalized.

88. That is why we are so directly interested in having conditions created that would facilitate Cyprus to play ever more actively its positive and constructive role as a factor of peace and stability. Its activity and outstanding contribution to the actions of the non-aligned countries—and Cyprus has been a foremost participant in all their important meetings—is, we think, a particularly fortunate expression, among others, of its devotion to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

89. We have always appreciated as an important factor, too, our historic ties and good relations with our neighbours and friends, Greece and Turkey. We are now

convinced that they will, in their own interests and in the interest of peace, stability and co-operation in the whole area—in which we all live together—make a major contribution to the successful solution of the problems still facing Cyprus.

90. We do hope that the success of the intercommunal talks will eventually bring closer the day when we shall be able to initiate the process of terminating the United Nations peace-keeping and peace-building operation on the island. I have already said that this operation was a major success so far. It would be an even greater success if it could be proved that the United Nations presence—of a relatively short duration—had accomplished both goals: peace-keeping and peace-making.

91. We agree with the Secretary-General's report where it says that recent events

“indicate both 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. The agreement by all concerned to the reactivation of the intercommunal talks has opened up new possibilities in this respect [*S/10664 and Corr. 1, para. 78*].”

92. In arriving through peaceful means at a lasting agreement based on the full independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, and in the desire of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people to live united and unified in peace and harmony—accepting and supporting reasonable compromises—we see the way for both the overcoming of the present-day difficulties and the successful completion of the United Nations operation in Cyprus.

93. That concludes my statement as representative of Yugoslavia. As PRESIDENT, I call now on the representative of Cyprus in exercise of the right of reply.

94. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Although my statement is in exercise of the right of reply, it will be more like an expression of thanks.

95. In the first place I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for your statement which was so full and complete on the situation in Cyprus and on the prospects for a solution of the problem of Cyprus. But I wish particularly to thank all the members of the Security Council who have expressed themselves so constructively for a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus, in defence of an independent, sovereign State and the unity of its people and in respect of its territorial integrity. Those are the premises upon which the problem of Cyprus can be solved, and I am very happy to note that the call of the Secretary-General for a spirit of conciliation and co-operation to prevail in Cyprus as a means of solving the problem has been reflected in the statements of many—and I should say most—members of the Security Council.

96. This is a very comforting thought that the Security Council is taking an active role towards encouraging the ways in which the solution of the problem of Cyprus can be

found. I do not believe it is sufficient to say that the problem must be solved in a peaceful way; it is not sufficient to say that this solution must come as soon as possible, without facilitating the way to reach that solution in the proper manner. Therefore, I take this opportunity to say that this meeting of the Council marks a new departure—a new approach—to the problem by a more active participation not only by the Secretary-General but also by the Council itself.

97. Turning to my colleague, the representative of Turkey, I welcome his statement [1646th meeting] in which he joins in the spirit of the Council for a just and peaceful solution of the problem, which implies—like the statements of all those who have spoken here—that there will be no use of force and that it will be in the spirit of the Charter. However, there are one or two points I should like to mention about his reference to the delay that Cyprus has caused in the resumption of the talks by what he called the “illegal” importation of arms.

98. In this respect I should like to put on record that Cyprus as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations has an inherent right, which cannot be challenged, and a responsibility to look after its security—both internal and external—and therefore to consider what degrees of armaments its security forces may have. However, the Government of Cyprus, in its constant co-operation with the United Nations and the Secretariat, has willingly agreed to arrangements which were found satisfactory by the Secretary-General for solving this question—thereby not creating any problem for the resumption of the talks. I believe that is an attitude which is certainly constructive and which shows the spirit of co-operation that inspired the Government of Cyprus.

99. With regard to the delay in the talks, I should also like to place on record that the Government of Cyprus officially consented to the resumption of the talks on the basis of the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971 and signified its official consent on 13 December 1971. The question of arms arose in February 1972 and it is therefore not Cyprus that is responsible for any delay until then. As soon as this question of arms arose the matter was tackled and settled satisfactorily.

100. There is another aspect of the statement of the representative of Turkey which I welcome. He said that he would like to see Cyprus as a link of friendship between Greece and Turkey. That is a most welcome statement. However, I believe, and I hope he agrees with me, that this question of creating friendliness should begin with the Greek and Turkish Cypriots—a matter which, as I fully explained in my statement [*ibid*], is a prerequisite for the solution of the problem. Then, of course, the other should follow. But I would go further along his line of thinking and say that I would wish to see Cyprus not only as a link of unity between Greece and Turkey—primarily between them—but also as a link of unity and understanding throughout the world, in accordance with the historic position of Cyprus and its present stand on all world problems in the United Nations, and also as a factor of peace and stability in the area.

101. Concluding, Mr. President, I should like to thank you again and all the members of the Security Council for a most constructive and helpful approach to the problem of Cyprus.

102. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey in exercise of his right of reply.

103. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): When speaking this morning before the representatives of States members of the Security Council did so, since I was not fully aware of the practice of the Council, I omitted to welcome the representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud, as I would have preferred to have done. It is very pleasant for me to echo, although somewhat belatedly, the welcome extended to him by so many. Our countries have had close ties of friendship and alliance for a long time. I should also like to thank you, Mr. President, and the representatives around the table who were good enough to welcome me here.

104. I promised this morning to be brief and I shall try to continue to be so. I am happy to note that the Secretary-General was good enough in the statement he made to the Security Council this morning to state that his visit to the region and the direct contacts he enjoyed allowed him to appreciate that the situation in Cyprus was very difficult to understand unless studied on the island itself. To judge from what was said this morning, I would gather that the Greek Cypriot administration—and may I add, incidentally, that I see echoes of this in the constructive statement made by Ambassador Rossides—seems to have understood that the dangerous effects of a situation the roots of which could be found in their very own acts over the course of the decade and the far from conciliating stand they have maintained must now end.

105. Ambassador Rossides has insisted on the fact that the return to normalcy is a point to which he attaches as much importance as we do. This can only be a good omen—if, that is, we can be sure that the promises contained in those words are followed by acts in keeping with them. I wish to reiterate that the Turkish community, which I defined this morning as the main if not the only victim of the situation, must be most gratified by any change for the better. The de facto situation, presented to us by the Secretary-General in his opening statement this morning, is not the cause but the direct result of the political situation existing on the island. We feel that this political situation is due to the refusal to recognize certain constitutional rights of the Turkish community, which was a co-founder of the independence and sovereignty of the island.

106. I must say that I find much encouragement in the fact that practically all representatives present at this table recognized in their statements the importance of maintaining the independence of Cyprus. I would go even further and say that that independence should be defined as an independence “for all time”, one which should be maintained regardless of what the most authorized spokesmen of one of those communities might say.

107. With the leave of the members of the Council I would like to make a very brief comment regarding what I

said this morning about what I termed the illegal importing of weapons into Cyprus. I understand the concern of Ambassador Rossides, but I nevertheless feel constrained to make one comment, rather, I shall turn to the words of the then Secretary-General, in paragraph 38 of his report of 10 September 1964 [S/5950]:

"My view, as expressed in my report . . . continues to be that while there is no doubt that a sovereign Government normally is entitled to import and/or manufacture arms, the question as regards Cyprus is whether at the present time and in the present circumstances the importation and manufacture of arms by the Government of Cyprus is consistent with the letter and spirit of the Security Council resolution of 4 March."¹

Mr. Waldheim's predecessor went on:

"Any influx of arms and other military type equipment into Cyprus is a cause for concern to the United Nations Force with regard to the discharge of its mandate"¹ [S/10564, of 16 March 1972, para. 1].

We believe that the Security Council resolutions, to which the Greek Cypriot administration has always stated its attachment, prohibit the importation of arms. I shall not dwell on this matter, since I consider it to be almost a settled question now.

108. Ambassador Rossides spoke of the security of Cyprus, both domestic and foreign, and we too attach great importance to it. But I should like to add that it could only be threatened by action on the part of the Greek Cypriot administration, and one of the threats to it doubtless lies in the importation of weapons. I think that I have given proof of this by citing the statement of the former Secretary-General.

109. With regard to the bridge of friendship which we trust Cyprus will be between my country and Greece, Ambassador Rossides was good enough to say that he endorsed that hope, and again I find that encouraging. He added that he might have hoped that the role of Cyprus as an isle of peace in the area might go beyond relations between Greece and Turkey and extend to all the countries of the region. To prove how much I agree with him I refer him to the statement I made this morning, when I also referred to that hope.

110. I feel that the day when the Greek Cypriot administration decides to put an end to all unconstitutional acts intended at any cost to impose the will of one of the constituent parties over the other, an important step will

have been taken along the right road. It is in this way that I prefer to interpret the statements that Ambassador Rossides made this morning and this afternoon.

111. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus.

112. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): A few words in reply to my colleague, the representative of Turkey, with whom, I believe, in certain fundamental issues we are in agreement.

113. With regard to the question of armaments and the sovereign right of the Republic of Cyprus to decide upon these questions relating to its own security, he referred to Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. I had that resolution in mind, apart from our inherent right under the Charter. That resolution, in its paragraph 2,

"Asks the Government of Cyprus, which has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order, to take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus".

Therefore, if the Council says that the Government of Cyprus has responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the Republic, surely it must have the means of that restoration and it is for the Government to decide on them.

114. As I said, in the circumstances and in the realities of the situation, the Government of Cyprus, in co-operation with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, has gone to all lengths towards eliminating any dispute in respect of these armaments and the arrangement made was satisfactory to the Secretary-General. I think that it ought to be satisfactory to all, and I hope that my friend, the representative of Turkey, will realize that the Government of Cyprus does everything in its power to help towards the solution of the problem in a spirit and atmosphere of calm. I hope that this meeting, I repeat again, will have its impact upon the situation in Cyprus and upon the attitude of the countries which are connected with the problem of Cyprus.

115. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like only to say a few words to thank the representative of Turkey, Ambassador Olcay, for the very kind words he spoke about me. I am particularly touched by them since I began my career in his country and I am quite aware of the long-standing ties of friendship and alliance which exist between our two countries. If I understand correctly, Ambassador Olcay has himself recently arrived here and therefore, may I extend to him my very best wishes for the success of his work in the United Nations.

¹ Quoted in English by the speaker.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.

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