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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.

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1863rd MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 13 December 1975, at 2 p.m.

President: Mr. Ivor RICHARD (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1863)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11900 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 2.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus: Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11900 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey have addressed letters to the President of the Security Council requesting to be invited, in accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to participate in the discussion of the question before the Council. Accordingly I propose to invite the three representatives just mentioned, in conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Papoulias (Greece) and Mr. Türkmen (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I have also received a letter dated 9 December 1975 from the representative of Turkey requesting that Mr. Vedat Çelik be invited to participate in this meeting of the Council. I therefore propose that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Çelik. I shall take it, if I hear no objection,

that the Council agrees and I shall, at the appropriate time, invite him to come to the Council table to make a statement.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw particular attention to the report of Secretary-General [S/11900 and Add.1].

4. Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution [S/11910] that has been prepared in the course of prior consultations among the members of the Council. I now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

5. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have inscribed their names of the list to speak following the vote. Before I call on those representatives, however, the Secretary-General has asked to speak, and I now invite him to address the Council.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have taken careful note of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. I wish to assure the Council that, for my part, I shall do my utmost to give effect to its decisions. As far as the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is concerned, the necessary instructions will be given for the continuation of its functioning for the next six months.

7. The Council has also requested me to continue the mission of good offices with which it entrusted me March 1975 in its resolution 367 (1975). I shall, of course, be in contact with the parties with a view to a resumption of those talks at the earliest possible time. I hope very much that, with the co-operation and goodwill of all concerned, we may be able to make progress on this complex and difficult problem for the good of all the people of Cyprus as well as for the strengthening of peace in the eastern Mediterranean. I shall not fail to keep the Council informed of developments in this regard.

8. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to express my appreciation to you personally and to all the members of the Council for their efforts during the past week and for their help and support in this very important matter.

9. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Council, I thank the Secretary-General for the statement that he has made.

10. Mr. STOBY (Guyana): This Security Council discussion on the United Nations operation in Cyprus comes hard on the heels of the General Assembly's own extensive debate on the question of Cyprus. This proximity of consideration is a not unhelpful accident since it serves to allow the Council to view the issue within a context already defined by the Organization's most democratic institution.

11. In its resolution 3395 (XXX), which was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the Assembly, Member States expressed quite unequivocally their concern at the lack of any real progress in implementing resolution 3212 (XXIX), which resolution, it will be recalled, established the broad parameters within which a solution to the Cyprus problem should be pursued.

12. The concern of the Assembly at the non-implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) is confirmed and reflected by the Secretary-General in his current report. He tells us, for example, that tension remains high. He reminds us that the situation of confrontation resulting from the events of 1974 has persisted. He informs us that violations of the cease-fire have increased disturbingly during the past six months. And in reporting on the four rounds of talks which have taken place, he states in paragraph 66 that, in spite of the agreement reached on certain problems during the third round:

"unfortunately, some important provisions contained in that agreement have not been fully implemented, including in particular the free and normal access of UNFICYP to Greek Cypriot habitations in the north to ensure the security and well-being of the Greek Cypriots remaining there."

13. My delegation strongly regrets the absence of any significant progress toward a settlement of this problem and, in that connexion, the demonstrated unwillingness of some of the parties to abide by decisions of the United Nations, even when they originally indicated they subscribed to them.

14. It is also a matter of disappointment to my delegation that agreements which were freely arrived at between the parties are not being kept. The way forward on this matter surely depends on a genuine desire on the part of the parties concerned to find a solution, and their good faith in abiding by interim agreements paving the way to a final settlement.

15. On the specific question of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, the Council has been able, fortunately, to agree on an extension as a result of the last-minute concurrence of the parties concerned. That such concurrence was obtained at all is due perhaps as much to the patience, tenacity and diplomatic skill of the Secretary-General as to anything else. His is a key role in this matter, and my delegation would urge him to continue it unhesitatingly. We believe he can count on the full support of the Council in this regard. The officers and men of UNFICYP and the Secretary-General's representatives in Cyprus, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz until 15 October 1975, and latterly Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, are also to be commended for the particular contribution they are making to the preservation of peace.

16. The Council will next meet on the question of the mandate of UNFICYP some time in June 1976. Before that time, however, we shall be receiving from the Secretary-General the report asked for in resolution 3395 (XXX), which request the Council has endorsed in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution just adopted.

17. Let me take this opportunity to express what I trust is not a faint and fragile hope, and that is that in March of 1976 the Council will not be faced and have to deal with the kind of bleak and confused outlook that we are shown today. For the prospects to improve, however, it must be recognized that much will depend on the goodwill of all the parties concerned, especially the dominant party, when the talks are resumed, as we trust they soon will be. The Council is entitled to expect in March a report from the Secretary-General indicating an effective manifestation of that goodwill.

18. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): A few weeks after the important debate which the General Assembly devoted to the question of Cyprus, it does not seem to me to be necessary to present again here the position of my delegation on the general aspects of this painful affair. Regrettably the situation has no more changed for the better in the course of this brief period than it had previously. The principles which, according to us, should guide us in seeking a settlement also remain unchanged. They were recalled explicitly at the rostrum of the Assembly by the representative of Italy, who spoke on behalf of the nine States members of the European Economic Community.² It is well known that they are extremely interested, both collectively and individually, in a situation which causes conflict between States with which they maintain traditionally close and friendly relations and to which they are joined by ties of association.

19. I would add that the very recent talks which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France had with his colleagues from Cyprus, Greece and Turkey enabled them to know exactly where we stand in

regard to the problem of Cyprus and the search for a settlement, and given them proof of the interest with which we are following their efforts.

20. In such a painful situation, since it remains one of great suffering for displaced persons, the usefulness of the presence of the United Nations Force cannot be challenged by anyone. It discharges with great merit multiple and often delicate tasks which circumstances have compelled it to assume. In this respect it should benefit from the full authority which the support and confidence of the Council confer on it. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to its Commander, General Prem Chand, and the contingents which constitute it. We associate ourselves with the gratitude expressed to the countries which provide the contingents for the very valuable contribution they are thus making to the cause of the restoration and maintenance of peace.

21. On studying the very complete report submitted by the Secretary-General my delegation noted with concern the very marked rise in the number of violations of the cease-fire by displacement of positions fixed in the course of the cease-fire. These regrettable events emphasize the importance of the presence of the Force, since in most cases it succeeded in restoring the *status quo*.

22. However, we noted with satisfaction that closer relations have been established between the parties and the Force. We therefore fail to understand why restrictions, particularly in regard to freedom of movement, have been imposed on it in the exercise of its functions. It is essential and in accordance with the very spirit of the mission which it is discharging that it be able to act in similar conditions in the north and the south of the island, so as to be able to guarantee the same protection to the two communities. In this case that is a humanitarian requirement which none can avoid.

23. My delegation read attentively the passages of the report in which the Secretary-General described his mission of good offices. We can but regret the lack of application of the very important provisions of the agreements concluded during the third intercommunal negotiation phase. Here again, it is a matter of commitments of a humanitarian order. We therefore appeal to all those concerned to make it their duty to relieve the hardships inflicted on the inhabitants of Cyprus.

24. I should like to emphasize that my delegation associates itself fully with the remarks made by the Secretary-General at the end of his report. He and his Special Representative, whose presence here we are pleased to welcome, strive with a merit and patience which deserve our appreciation to establish and maintain a dialogue. But the final result, as we recalled in June 1975 [1830th meeting], does not depend on them. Accordingly, we once again express

the hope that the parties will show understanding and moderation, in particular in pursuing and developing over-all negotiations, and that they will refrain from any initiative likely to jeopardize those negotiations.

25. Mr. SAITO (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted. I wish to take this opportunity to express the profound gratitude of my delegation to you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General for your tireless efforts to obtain the concurrence of the parties concerned in the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP. I also wish to thank the parties concerned for their co-operation. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's view that in the present circumstances the continued presence of UNFICYP is essential, not only to maintain the cease-fire called for by the Security Council, but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement. Indeed, although the situation in Cyprus seems to be relatively quiet at the moment, it will become more unstable and dangerous if the basic political problem is not resolved soon. The longer the present situation of confrontation persists, the more difficult it will be to achieve a negotiated solution. My delegation sincerely hopes that the time provided by the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP today will not be wasted.

26. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General for his good offices and assistance in holding the third round of talks between the representatives of the two communities at Vienna from 31 July to 2 August, and the fourth round in New York from 8 to 10 September 1975. The fifth round of talks is, as the Secretary-General's report indicates, not yet agreed upon.

27. My delegation urgently appeals to all the parties to take active steps for the immediate resumption of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, taking into account General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) and the resolution adopted by the Council today. We make this appeal because we are convinced that resumption of the talks offers the best prospect for a settlement. We would add the word of caution offered by the Secretary-General in paragraph 68 of his report, that the talks can be fruitful if Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas "are ready and authorized to engage in meaningful negotiations on all essential aspects of a settlement of the Cyprus problem". Once the principal negotiators are prepared to follow this course, the extra ingredient for success must be provided by their willingness to make reciprocal concessions, as the Secretary-General has reminded us.

28. In conclusion, I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their effective administration of UNFICYP. Working in close

co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Co-ordinator for United Nations Humanitarian Assistance on the island, and with the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNFICYP has not only been responsible for maintaining the cease-fire but has proved of the greatest value in relieving the hardships of the people of Cyprus. We wish to pay a tribute once again to the officers and men of the Force and to the Governments which have contributed contingents.

29. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): The Swedish delegation wants to give expression to the great satisfaction of our Government with the decision just taken by the Council, through which the continued presence and activities of the United Nations Force in Cyprus have been guaranteed for another period of six months. The prolongation of the mandate of UNFICYP provides the needed additional time for further efforts to solve the Cyprus problem, and it thus imposes on the parties an obligation to utilize this time constructively for a determined effort to reach a solution through negotiations. We subscribe fully to the views of the Secretary-General when, in paragraph 67 of his report, he states that:

“The delay in reaching a satisfactory solution in Cyprus is a matter of increasing concern in many respects, both local and international. The longer the present situation of confrontation persists the more difficult will be the attainment of a negotiated solution.”

Sweden appeals to the parties to consider the heavy responsibility which now rests with them.

30. The present strife and tension in Cyprus prevents the two communities from fully realizing the great potentials of their country. Serious humanitarian problems persist, owing to the lack of an agreed solution. Thousands of families are uprooted and live under extremely insecure conditions. This is a situation which cannot be allowed to persist.

31. Our best hope—yes, perhaps our only hope—now is that under the auspices of the Secretary-General it will be possible to resume negotiations which will open the door to an agreed solution. We also hope that the discussions that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will undertake in regard to the stationing, deployment and functioning in the northern area of UNFICYP contingents will result in acceptable and effective operational conditions for UNFICYP. As a country contributing troops to UNFICYP, this is of particular concern to us.

32. My delegation wants to express its sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his staff for their untiring and devoted work towards finding solutions on the delicate problems facing us. Their great capability and skill will be badly needed in the months to come.

33. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to convey to the Force Commander and to the men and officers of UNFICYP my Government's deep appreciation of their outstanding services in their very difficult task.

34. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council is once again discussing the question of extending the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. However, this question cannot be viewed in isolation from the whole complex of issues in the Cyprus problem. The situation in and around Cyprus remains complicated and tense. For the sake of interests alien to the Cyprus people, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus continue to be flouted. Foreign troops still remain in a considerable portion of the territory of the island. Two hundred thousand Cypriots have become displaced persons, refugees in their own country. Habitations and industrial enterprises have been destroyed. The island is divided in two by a strip of no-man's land, by zones of minefields and military fortifications. The total economic damage done to Cyprus as a result of foreign intervention amounts to almost half a billion Cyprus pounds. That is more than the revenue shown in the Republic's budget over the past 11 years.

35. The maintenance of the present abnormal situation threatens the fundamental interests of both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. It is an obstacle to the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

36. In paragraphs 66 and 67 of his report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General makes an official statement to the effect that:

“... the situation in Cyprus will remain unstable and potentially dangerous until the basic political problem is resolved...”

“The delay in reaching a satisfactory solution in Cyprus is a matter of increasing concern in many respects, both local and international. The longer the present situation of confrontation persists, the more difficult will be the attainment of a negotiated solution. Moreover, pending such a solution the risk of renewed and large-scale conflict remains, as does the plight of the displaced persons.”

37. The intercommunal talks which were begun a few months ago with the participation of the Secretary-General in accordance with Security Council resolution 367 (1975) led to no perceptible progress in the settlement of the fundamental aspects of the Cyprus problem.

38. Serious and well-justified concern has been aroused by the trend towards the creation of an isolated so-called separate Turkish Cypriot State in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. It is quite

obvious that such one-sided actions, in violation of Security Council and General Assembly decisions, are fundamentally against the genuine interests of the Cypriot people, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. They are advantageous only to those who are aiming at the division of Cyprus and its conversion into a tributary simulacrum of a State.

39. The fact that there has so far been no real progress towards the attainment of a just political settlement of the Cyprus problem represents a serious threat to the cause of peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean. To this very day, because of the actions of the opponents of a free and independent Cyprus, the decisions of the Council and the Assembly remain unfulfilled. I refer first to the demand of the United Nations, which expresses the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization, for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, withdrawal from that island of all foreign troops and the return of the refugees to their homes.

40. A genuine settlement of the problem of Cyprus on the basis of the relevant decisions of the Council and the Assembly is still being blocked by certain circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which were actually responsible for creating the Cyprus crisis and, at the cost of the elimination of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and the division of that non-aligned State Member of the United Nations, seek to strengthen their military strategic positions in the eastern Mediterranean. Those circles stubbornly pursue their policy of attempting to reach a private solution of the problem of Cyprus which is in no way in accordance with the interests of the Cypriot people, within the tight circle of their own bloc and behind the backs of the Cypriot people.

41. Recently certain religious winds have begun to blow in directions favourable to NATO. It is easy to see that such a privately taken decision, with the help of those favourable winds, has nothing whatsoever in common with the genuine national interests of the people of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots or the Turkish Cypriots. It is designed to consolidate the bloc's interest in Cyprus and in the eastern Mediterranean as a whole and to put an end to the foreign policy of non-alignment pursued by the Republic of Cyprus.

42. The consistent position of principle of the Soviet Union in the matter of Cyprus has been set out with exhaustive clarity in statements of the Soviet Government, of Soviet leaders and of the Soviet delegation in the Council and the Assembly. In his statement in the General Assembly on 23 September, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gromyko, stated:

"The Soviet Union has consistently come out in defence of the independence and the territorial

integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, and for the settlement of the internal matters of their State by the two communities, Greek and Turkish, themselves. In other words, we are for the implementation of the well-known United Nations decisions on Cyprus. It is only on such a basis that a just settlement of the Cyprus problem and the elimination of this hotbed of tension will be possible."³

The Soviet Union continues consistently to favour the consideration of and the taking of decisions on the Cyprus problem in a broad international forum, within the framework of the United Nations.

43. The information in the Secretary-General's report serves only to confirm the relevance and justifiability of another Soviet proposal, that of sending a Security Council mission to Cyprus.

44. The Soviet delegation believes also that it must once again draw the attention of members of the Council to those Soviet proposals, believing them to be specific, important ways and means of promoting a genuine solution of the Cyprus problem, in the interests of the people of Cyprus and in the interests of peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean.

45. The Soviet delegation is in favour of the idea that it is necessary immediately to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly regarding the settlement of the Cyprus problem. As the Council is aware, the General Assembly at its current session has once again expressed serious concern at the continuing crisis in Cyprus. By an overwhelming majority—117 votes in favour—it adopted resolution 3395 (XXX) on the question of Cyprus; of the 15 States members of the Council, 13 voted in favour of the resolution in the General Assembly and none voted against it.

46. In that resolution the General Assembly reaffirmed the urgent need for continuing efforts to ensure the effective implementation of all the provisions of its resolution 3212 (XXIX) and once again called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it. It called for the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus' and for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. The resolution contains an urgent appeal to all parties to refrain from unilateral actions in contravention of resolution 3212 (XXIX), including any changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus.

47. Neither the Security Council nor the Secretary-General, in the course of the performance of the

mission entrusted to him on Cyprus, can fail to take into account that important resolution of the General Assembly at its thirtieth session which lays down ways, means and principles for bringing about a settlement of the Cyprus crisis, particularly since that resolution reproduces the fundamental provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX), in favour of which all parties affected by and interested in the Cyprus question voted. We should be guided also by the fundamental resolutions of the Security Council on the Cyprus problem.

48. With regard to the question of extending the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months, since the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has agreed to that, the delegation of the Soviet Union has no objection to such an extension, with the well-known proviso, however, that the system of voluntary financing of those troops be preserved.

49. In conclusion, the delegation of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to stress that this new extension of the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus in no way deals with the substance of the problem of Cyprus. The Security Council must use every opportunity available to it to bring about as soon as possible a just settlement of the Cyprus conflict, in the interests of the whole Cypriot people and for the purpose of preserving the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

50. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): In the consultations which have preceded this meeting, the United States has stressed two views. First, we agree with the Secretary-General that the renewal of UNFICYP is essential. UNFICYP remains a vital factor in the preservation of stability on the island. Without stability the direct negotiations between the parties which we consider indispensable cannot be expected to progress. Secondly, we recognize that the agreement of the concerned parties to the resolution by which UNFICYP is renewed is important both to those negotiations and to the continuance of the effectiveness of UNFICYP.

51. Accordingly we are particularly pleased that, in the course of the long and skilful consultations conducted by the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, the parties most directly concerned, whatever their difficulties, have accepted the resolution we have just adopted. We urge that this spirit be continued and that the parties not only provide effective co-operation with UNFICYP in Cyprus but also contribute to the speedy resumption and progress of the intercommunal negotiations.

52. We have had occasion to remark here before that the question of Cyprus is one that has placed particularly great demands upon the time and resources of the United Nations. The arduous consultations which have preceded this meeting have now given the members of the Council a direct experience of the

nature of the extended efforts which the Secretary-General has repeatedly made to further understanding and negotiations among the parties. Speaking from our own experience, I should like to say once again that the United States deeply appreciates the skilful and painstaking thought and action which the Secretary-General has given to this issue. He has our full support for the further actions which he has informed the Council he intends to take. In this connexion, I wish also to reaffirm the respect and admiration which my Government feels for the dedication and gallantry of the Commander and men of UNFICYP. As the Secretary-General's report makes unmistakably clear, the operations of the Force in all parts of Cyprus have again done honour to the high tradition and standing of United Nations peace-keeping.

53. We leave this debate with a renewed sense that the unstinted response that so many in the United Nations have made to the requirements of the problem of Cyprus now places a compelling obligation on Members, and most especially upon the immediate parties, to progress rapidly towards its solution. On this matter, the Organization has done everything that could reasonably be asked of it—and more. Those who have so benefited by its work can now fairly be asked to repay its efforts with their own.

54. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): When the Cyprus question was under consideration at the current session of the General Assembly, the Chinese delegation expounded the position of the Chinese Government on related matters in a comprehensive way, and we are not going to repeat it here. With regard to the question of UNFICYP, we have always held our own position, which is well known to all. In view of the fact that the content of the draft resolution mainly concerns the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the voting on this draft resolution.

55. Mr. VINCI (Italy): By the draft resolution we have just adopted, we have extended the mandate of UNFICYP, as proposed by the Secretary-General, for a further period of six months, not only in order to maintain the cease-fire but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement. The Italian delegation fully shares the opinion of the Secretary-General that, since the situation in the island remains unstable and potentially dangerous, the continued presence of UNFICYP is essential. Such being the case, the renewal of the mandate has appeared to us from the beginning of our informal consultations as absolutely necessary and hence as the first objective we should aim at. The consensus that has emerged since, enabling us to take today's decision, shows that this was the general, if not the unanimous, feeling of the Council.

56. I am particularly aware of the crucial role played by the Secretary-General in the achievement of the

present result and wish to pay him a well-deserved tribute. I can also express the satisfaction of my delegation at the fact that the parties concerned, having signified their concurrence with the proposed extension of the mandate, have at the same time encouraged further hopes and expectations for future more far-ranging agreements. They have indeed shown on this occasion a high degree of understanding and sense of responsibility, which we duly appreciate. This is a positive sign in an over-all situation which has not ceased to be a source of special concern to my country. Even if I am not disclosing anything new, I wish to reiterate that my Government is particularly interested in the restoration of stability in that area, both because of its importance for Mediterranean countries, like mine, and because of Italy's friendly relations with all the parties involved. Even the slightest improvement in the state of affairs existing at the present stage in the Republic of Cyprus would be welcomed by my delegation. I would add in this connexion that we are, as we were six months ago, preoccupied and saddened at the continuing plight of the displaced persons, whose difficulties and sufferings have not ceased.

57. The report of the Secretary-General is very revealing indeed of the current situation in Cyprus, with regard to both the humanitarian aspect of the crisis and the operations of UNFICYP. With regard to the first issue, let me say that we deeply regret that UNFICYP has been somehow prevented once again from providing much-needed help to Greek villages in the north. As for the operations of UNFICYP, here again we have to take note of some obstructions which have regrettably been placed in the way of its functioning as envisaged by the Secretariat. The report of the Secretary-General tells us also about the increase in violations of the ceasefire, in terms of shooting incidents, uncontrolled movements of the separation line and the laying of minefields. All these events cannot but cause serious concern, and it is the sincere hope of my delegation, and I am sure of all the other delegations around this table, that the next report of the Secretary-General will provide us with a better record on all these matters.

58. As my predecessor, Mr. Plaja, had the opportunity to state in the Council six months ago, if I am not mistaken, Italy is firmly convinced that the responsibility for seeking reconciliation lies mainly with the parties directly concerned and in particular with the leaders of the two communities. This is the only road which, in our view, can lead to a lasting solution and can at the same time bring back tranquillity and prosperity to the whole people of the island. That is why my Government advocates once again a speedy resumption of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General and expects, on the basis of its own contacts, that all parties will refrain from any action which could prejudice the positive progress of such negotiations.

59. I wish to refer here to what I had occasion to say before in the General Assembly during the debate on Cyprus.² I spoke there on behalf of the States members of the European Economic Community and, as was recalled by my French colleague and partner, Mr. de Guiringaud, I made clear in the General Assembly the main lines which, in the opinion of the nine members of the Community, should provide the basis for progress in the search for a solution. I wish to recall and summarize now, on behalf of my delegation, those lines. First of all, we think that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus should be reaffirmed. Secondly, we believe that the agreement of the two communities which constitute that State is essential to the search for a settlement. Finally, we attach particular importance to the distressing question of the refugees, which concerns a sensitive sector of the population of the island. Just as I did on behalf of the nine members of the Community on that occasion, I wish on behalf of my Government today to encourage the parties concerned to seek a lasting and equitable solution on the basis of the United Nations resolutions.

60. I should like to express here my Government's deepest appreciation and praise for the action taken by the Secretary-General. We are more than aware of all the difficulties with which he is confronted in the fulfilment of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council. We owe him a great debt for the untiring activity and unshaken faith he has displayed.

61. I should like to conclude this statement by once again paying a well-deserved tribute to the countries which have provided contingents to UNFICYP, which, as appears very clearly from the report of the Secretary-General, has efficiently and generously carried out its duties, once more living up to all our expectations.

62. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon was happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution which the Security Council has just adopted with the near unanimity of its members and which extends for another six months the stationing of UNFICYP. This was a necessary decision, both useful and practical, which falls within the framework of strengthening peace and preserving international security in Cyprus, where the Force constitutes a decisive factor for the pursuit of negotiations between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot community and those of the Turkish Cypriot community.

63. In fact, it is clear from the excellent report of the Secretary-General that, despite the glimmer of hope that appeared in the round of talks in Vienna and New York, the least we can say is that the situation on the spot in Cyprus remains an anxious

one. Tension continues to rise in the zones of confrontations between the Turkish forces and the National Guard. There are frequent attempts to violate the cease-fire and farmers and workers have no security and require protection. It is in this unstable and potentially dangerous atmosphere, as the Secretary-General indicates, that regrettable incidents have occurred, leading to loss of life which, like him, we deplore. Hostility between the two communities remains active.

64. In these conditions, as we have affirmed on numerous occasions, the delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon considers that there can be no lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus unless a mutually acceptable political settlement is reached, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of both communities, in accordance with the spirit and letter of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council. Implementation of that resolution, reinforced by General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), obviously implies the abandonment of the policy of creating facts accomplis which change the demographic structure of the island, and naturally calls for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the return of the refugees to their homes.

65. Finally, the problem of Cyprus must be solved with respect for the territorial integrity of the island, in an atmosphere of détente and reconciliation, and above all, in a constructive spirit taking into account the psychological characteristics and the natural and just interests of the two communities. It is on this basis and this basis alone that the Republic of Cyprus will once again be able to enjoy an era of peace and lasting prosperity.

66. That is why my delegation, which is very pleased with the decision which the Council has just taken, appeals to Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas to abandon their unyielding positions and do everything possible in the near future, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, to find a way out of the paralysis that has affected their talks for months by at last attacking the problem of substance seriously, on the basis of resolution 3212 (XXIX), to which I referred earlier.

67. We should like to express our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General for his efforts to bring about peace in Cyprus. We also express our gratitude to the Governments which are providing the contingents of the Force and to the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz and Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who are both present. We congratulate the officers and soldiers of the Force and the civilian staff for the praiseworthy manner in which they have discharged their important duties.

68. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation is very concerned at the lack of progress

in the efforts to find a peaceful and satisfactory solution in Cyprus. We fully share the pertinent observations made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 66 of his report that the situation in the island will "remain unstable and potentially dangerous until the basic political problem is resolved".

69. We voted for the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP in the conviction that the Secretary-General's observations in paragraph 70 of the report are of unquestionable validity. We believe that, given the present circumstances, the continued presence of UNFICYP is indispensable in the pursuit of a peaceful solution to the problem. At the same time, however, we must stress our concern that the extension of the mandate should not be a mere ritualistic exercise. It would be most unfortunate if the presence of UNFICYP were utilized, not as a catalyst to promote settlement, but as a routine affair permitting the maintenance and even the consolidation of the *status quo*. For to maintain the present situation in Cyprus would be simply to perpetuate the tragedy that has befallen that island nation. It would be tantamount to acquiescing in a violation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. It would indeed be in contravention of the demand of the United Nations as clearly reflected in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and endorsed in Security Council resolution 365 (1974). It would indeed fly in the face of the most recent decision of the international community as embodied in General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), which enjoyed the support of an overwhelming majority of the Assembly.

70. In requesting the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices and to report to the Council not later than 31 March, we believe that the Security Council has done two things. First, we have renewed the mandate of the Secretary-General, whose indefatigable efforts to reach a settlement are well known to us and command our respect and esteem. Through his efforts, and through the genuine co-operation of the parties concerned, it is our hope that some serious movement towards a settlement will be achieved. There is no need to labour the obvious. The intercommunal talks so abruptly and unfortunately interrupted on 10 September must be resumed without delay. My delegation was very disappointed by the breakdown of the talks. Our regret was all the greater considering that a ray of hope had emerged following the third round of talks, held at Vienna from 31 July to 2 August 1975, as evidenced by the first interim report of the Secretary-General, of 5 August 1975 [S/11789]. And while we stress the urgency of the resumption of intercommunal talks, we accord no less significance to the full implementation of those matters on which agreement was reached during the third round of talks.

71. The second thing which we believe the Council has done by adopting this resolution today is to

emphasize the need for movement in the implementation of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the matter. For by deciding to request the Secretary-General to submit his report no later than 31 March, the Council has clearly considered the substantive political problem of Cyprus to be a matter which can brook no delay or procrastination. It is the hope of the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania that significant progress will have been made before then towards a peaceful settlement. More specifically, we wish to reiterate our repeated position on the question. An end must be put to foreign intervention in Cyprus and all States should scrupulously respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. There must be a speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel and the refugees should be allowed to return to their homeland. Every effort must be made to promote harmony and concord between the two communities. In a nutshell, we wish most emphatically to call for the speedy implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX).

72. Since my delegation will have ample opportunity to address itself to the substance of the problem when the Secretary-General submits his report by the time-limit provided for in paragraph 6 of the Council resolution which we have just adopted, I shall conclude my brief statement by once again paying homage to the selfless and relentless efforts of the Secretary-General in promoting a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. We also commend the work of his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and of Lieutenant-General Prem Chand and the men and officers of UNFICYP under his command. Naturally, we also fully associate ourselves with the expressions of appreciation and gratitude to the countries providing the United Nations contingents. Their contribution to the cause of peace is unquestionable.

73. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): After several days of intensive consultations, the Security Council has just adopted a draft resolution extending the mandate of UNFICYP. In spite of the difficulties encountered by the Security Council, which are inherent in any question of this kind and importance, we have never lost hope of reaching a solution. The measured optimism which we have never abandoned is justified by the determination expressed by the parties to the conflict to do everything in their power to bring about a satisfactory solution of the current tragedy of the Cypriot people. We can only pay a tribute to the parties for their contribution, which has once again enabled UNFICYP to maintain peace. The usefulness of that Force on the island requires no further justification.

74. The resolution just adopted by the Council, while extending the mandate of UNFICYP, will also permit the parties to the dispute to resume negotiations on an equal footing under the auspices of the United Nations. The resumption of negotiations, by

giving priority to dialogue and by avoiding confrontation, will, we are convinced, make it possible for the parties to reach a solution which will safeguard the higher interests of the people of Cyprus.

75. We should like to express the hope that a solution will very soon be found which will respect the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. In paying a tribute once again to the parties to the dispute for their wisdom, I should also like, at a time when a new positive stage has just been reached by the Council, to express the gratitude of my delegation for the efforts undertaken by you, Mr. President, and by the Secretary-General, which have made it possible for the Council to adopt the positive decision which I have just mentioned.

76. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has just extended the mandate of UNFICYP for a new period of six months. The Byelorussian delegation supported the resolution of the Council on this question since the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had already given its agreement to it. Our conviction in this regard is based on the fact that the financing of the Force will be continued on the same basis as previously.

77. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes it necessary to point out that the stationing of the Force in Cyprus of itself does not resolve and cannot possibly resolve the substance of the Cyprus problem. At the same time—and this should be stressed—the stationing of these troops should not serve as a pretext for the perpetuation of the existing abnormal situation on the island, but should be used to attain a just settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interests of the whole Cypriot people and for the purpose of preserving the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign, independent and territorially integral State.

78. The situation in Cyprus remains tense. Outside intervention in the affairs of Cyprus is still going on. Foreign troops remain in a considerable portion of the territory of the island and attempts are continuing to solve the Cyprus problem within the narrow circle of NATO Powers, in disregard of the United Nations and to the detriment of the interests of the people of Cyprus. Furthermore, illegal one-sided actions are being undertaken, aimed at splitting the country.

79. As has already been indicated by a number of other representatives, our delegation would also like to point out that many decisions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 365 (1974), which endorses General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 367 (1975) and 370 (1975), also concerning the settlement of the Cyprus problem, still remain uncomplished with. Compliance with those decisions is being blocked by certain circles which, above all, are concerned with defending their military and strategic interests.

80. As members know, the Security Council in resolution 370 (1975), in extending the mandate of UNFICYP for a period of six months, stressed the need for urgent compliance with that resolution, and urgently called upon the interested parties to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives laid down in the resolutions.

81. Unfortunately, during the time that has elapsed no appreciable progress has been made in the talks on the subject. At the same time, in and around Cyprus a process is going on, a course of events is occurring which is doing nothing at all to bring closer a settlement of the Cyprus problem. In the island illegal attempts are still being made to create unilaterally a separate Turkish Cypriot State and the political and economic life of the country is paralysed; all that is, of course, a consequence of the continuing intervention from outside in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

82. The Secretary-General points out the seriousness of the situation in Cyprus in his report. He quite rightly points out that the situation in Cyprus will remain unstable and potentially dangerous in view of the possibility of a new extended conflict until progress is made in the settlement of the problem of Cyprus. That concern of the Secretary-General is shared by the representatives of a number of members of the Council also, who have spoken before me and have stressed the need for adopting decisive measures to bring about a speedy solution to the situation in Cyprus.

83. Along with other delegations, we should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General to overcome the difficulties so as to attain a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of compliance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Cyprus.

84. The Byelorussian SSR continues to believe that it is inadmissible to divide Cyprus. We are in favour of the strict observance of its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and its policy of non-alignment. Our delegation continues to be in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory and the cessation of all foreign intervention in its internal affairs, and we should also like to see the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots guaranteed the opportunity to solve their own internal problems, as provided for in the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In this regard, we should like to place particular stress on the importance of the provisions contained in General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX).

85. Our delegation is compelled to point out that the draft resolution just adopted by the Security Council notes only one aspect of resolution 3395 (XXX), that is, its reaffirmation of the urgent need for continued efforts for the effective implementation in all its parts of

Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was subsequently endorsed by the Council in its resolution 365 (1974).

86. The Byelorussian delegation has adopted a position of principle consistent with General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX). We voted in favour of it in the Assembly and we are ready to support the endorsement of that important resolution here in the Security Council, particularly because that General Assembly resolution embodies genuinely important issues of principle. That resolution calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; it calls on States to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against the Republic of Cyprus; and, as is well known, it calls for the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign intervention in its affairs. In addition, the resolution contains an important provision regarding the problem of a settlement of the refugee question and the inadmissibility of unilateral actions designed to change the demographic structure of Cyprus, and includes, *inter alia*, provisions concerning new efforts which are necessary in the talks between the representatives of the two communities, under the aegis of the Secretary-General.

87. One cannot help but understand the whole significance of these provisions for the achievement of progress in a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem in the light of the interests of both communities, Greek and Turkish. Therefore, our delegation believes it to be its duty to remind representatives of this resolution and to stress its significance.

88. The Byelorussian delegation also believes that the implementation of the USSR proposal for the convening of an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations and the dispatch to Cyprus of a special mission of the Security Council would promote an early solution of the Cyprus problem. The course of events in recent times has once again confirmed the correctness of that approach to a solution of the Cyprus problem.

89. In conclusion, the Byelorussian delegation would like to express its solidarity with the people of Cyprus. We have always tried and continue to try to give the Cypriot people support and assistance in its search for a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus problem, in the interests of both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot communities and in the interests of the consolidation of peace and security in that part of the world.

90. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to place on record its satisfaction at having been able to contribute with our vote to the decision to extend the mandate of UNFICYP. We agree with the statement of the Secretary-General in paragraph 70 of his report that

"the continued presence of UNFICYP to be essential, not only to maintain the cease-fire... but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement."

91. While the presence of the Force does not in itself bring about a substantive political solution, which is pending, it is nevertheless essential to prevent a new outbreak of hostilities, which would make a solution of the problem far more distant.

92. It is necessary for all parties to give their full support to the Secretary-General in the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. A new impetus must be given to the rounds of talks which the Secretary-General has held with representatives of the two communities in the island so as to arrive at a solution to the basic political problem.

93. My delegation wishes to emphasize our support, expressed several times in the Council, for a solution that will maintain the territorial integrity of Cyprus and its right to exist as an independent and sovereign State.

94. Finally, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tenacious endeavours to arrive at a solution of the problem of Cyprus. We also wish to express our appreciation to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the excellent work he has been doing.

95. Mr. AL-SHAikhLY (Iraq): My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another period of six months, as has just been decided by the Council. We are speaking today primarily to convey to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation of his outstanding and untiring efforts in facilitating the extension of the mandate and in encouraging the parties concerned to renew their efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement.

96. The situation in Cyprus itself unfortunately has not moved towards a solution. There has been little progress since last year. There is unanimous agreement on the necessity for the resumption of negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities aimed at maintaining the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus for the benefit of the Cypriot community.

97. It would appear that there can be no mutual movement on both fronts, internally and internationally, unless and until there is a political settlement through negotiations between all the parties concerned.

98. The other alternative would be the continuation of a highly explosive situation which might easily deteriorate into a hopeless confrontation that could only further jeopardize the existence of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned State.

99. In conclusion, I wish to extend to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, our sincere best wishes for the success of his mission.

100. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of the UNITED KINGDOM.

101. Like other delegations before it, my delegation congratulates the Secretary-General on his report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, which indeed gives us a clear picture of the present situation. It shows the constant and the continuing difficulties under which UNFICYP operates. It shows, too, the patience, the resource and the fine judgement which that Force exercises not only in maintaining the cease-fire in the island, but also in the humanitarian field, where the very livelihood of far too large a number of Cypriots depends upon its activities.

102. To the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative in Cyprus and to all those, both military and civilian, who have worked under his direction in this peace-keeping enterprise, I wish to express my Government's admiration and gratitude. In particular, I should like to take this occasion to thank Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, who has in the current mandate period completed his tour of duty as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and who has now returned to his country's diplomatic service. He, I think, would be the first to admit that during his time as Special Representative progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem was slow. But that, regrettably, was also the lot of his many distinguished predecessors, like whom he displayed patience and skill in the conduct of a difficult role.

103. I should also like to welcome Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his first appearance at a Council meeting in his new capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus rather than in his more familiar role as the representative of Peru. All those present here today who worked with him in his latter capacity are confident that the Secretary-General's mission in Cyprus is in capable hands. We wish him every success and he can count on our co-operation.

104. In his report, the Secretary-General observes that the continued presence of UNFICYP is, in his view, essential not only to maintain the cease-fire called for by the Security Council, but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement. My delegation agrees with him that there is a real need for UNFICYP to continue to perform its task and we support his view that the mandate of the Force should be extended for a further six months. The United Kingdom therefore voted for the resolution we have just adopted.

105. As the report makes clear, the United Kingdom has provided the largest single contingent in the Force.

We have also maintained logistic support for the entire Force. I am glad to be able to say that the United Kingdom hopes to maintain the British contingent at its present strength for the coming mandate period.

106. Like previous speakers, however, we are seriously concerned by the financial situation of UNFICYP and in particular by the growing financial burden carried by the contributing countries. I think that the statement in paragraph 71 of the Secretary-General's report—namely, that if no remedial measures can be achieved UNFICYP may well one day find itself unable to continue functioning for lack of funds—should be underlined. I hope it will serve to emphasize how serious the situation is to those Members of the United Nations whose contribution to this exercise of the United Nations most essential function, namely, to keep the peace, is less than we might expect of them. As I said in the recent General Assembly debate on the question of Cyprus, we take the view that those who vote for peace should also be prepared to play their part in paying for it.

107. Finally, although we have welcomed the Secretary-General's report, I believe that the Secretary-General himself would be the first to agree that it is disappointing that it contains so little evidence of progress towards a solution of the problem of Cyprus. This is the twenty-eighth occasion on which the UNFICYP mandate has been renewed. We have said too many times in the past that we hoped that the Blue Berets of the Force would not come to be regarded as a permanent part of the Cyprus landscape. I will not repeat at length my remarks during the recent General Assembly debate on the main aspects of the Cyprus question. I would only say this. Both parties have frequently affirmed their commitment to the negotiating process. It seems to us that at present there is a real possibility that the intercommunal talks can be resumed. Let them therefore be resumed, and let them be conducted with goodwill, so that when we next consider the renewal of the UNFICYP mandate there may be a real possibility that the apparently unending United Nations commitment in Cyprus may before too long be concluded.

108. The good news in yesterday's Brussels communiqué issued after the meeting between Mr. Bitsios and Mr. Çağlayangil perhaps gives us good ground for thinking that those words this time may be more than the mere expression of a pious hope.

109. Now, in my capacity as PRESIDENT, I call on the representative of Cyprus.

110. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish in the first place, Mr. President, to thank you and the members of the Security Council for inviting me to participate once again on behalf of my Government in the discussion on the present item.

111. May I also take this opportunity to express to you our sincere congratulations upon your

assumption of the office of President. We feel certain that, as we have witnessed on many occasions previously, your high qualifications, your diplomatic skill and experience and your well-proven qualities of heart and mind will serve the Council well in the conduct of its deliberations.

112. It is also my pleasant duty to express once again, on behalf of my Government, our deep appreciation and feelings of gratitude to the Secretary-General and his collaborators, both here in New York and in Cyprus, for their tireless and highly commendable efforts in promoting the objectives of the United Nations in Cyprus and the cause of peace.

113. We are indebted particularly to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who is so well known in the Security Council and in the United Nations for the objectivity of his approach to problems, his diplomatic skill and, more important, his dedication to the principles and the Charter of the United Nations. We hope, and we are confident, that he will discharge with equal dedication his delicate and onerous duties as the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus.

114. On this occasion we should like to say that we are also grateful to Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz for his discharge of his functions during the time he was in Cyprus. I should be remiss if I did not mention General Prem Chand, who has been devoting so much effort, particularly during the last year and a half, to dealing with an impossible—actually impossible—situation, as will be seen later. Our thanks are also due to the officers and men working under him in the interests of peace in Cyprus, at a time when the whole cause of peace is in such danger in this part of the Middle East. It is important for all people who are interested in peace to see to it that a just approach is adopted to developments in Cyprus, uninfluenced by degrees of power. In this respect we wish to extend our thanks also to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, and to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Urquhart, for their continued efforts in respect of Cyprus.

115. Our gratitude also goes particularly to the Governments which make the United Nations operation in Cyprus possible through their contributions in men and money, thus demonstrating a praiseworthy dedication to the concept of peace-keeping through the United Nations. That is a function which I believe should be developed in the direction of the creation of a permanent force that would not only keep the peace but could also be interposed in situations of threatened war in each case where the problem arose.

116. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General, a very carefully studied document presenting, I would say, a glimpse of the situation regarding the continuing tension and confrontation, as was mentioned by other members, the violations of the cease-fire and the four rounds of talks which have failed.

All this appears in the report, but of course the report is couched in such tactful terms that it does not show the cause of the confrontations and the tensions, or from which side they may come. But sufficient is there to give an idea. Therefore we are grateful to the Secretary-General for issuing this report.

117. On the question of Cyprus, as with other problems, we have, no matter how unpleasant it may be, to look at the main issues involved. If we were to remain on the periphery, on the surface of things, evading the basic problem, we should be diverging from the proper course and would hardly contribute towards any sound solution. In the present case, the basic issue that has led to 11 resolutions of the Security Council since July 1974, as well as two General Assembly resolutions, 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX), is the violation of the Charter in its most cardinal provisions regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, which is the primary responsibility of the United Nations and is, indeed, its very *raison d'être*.

118. The main concern of the Security Council and of those resolutions of the Council and of the General Assembly centres on the demand for the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus and an urgent call for the return of the refugees to their homes in safety, which are to be followed by intercommunal talks and negotiations with a view to the political solution of the problem. However, the United Nations calls have been and continue to be ignored, while the process of aggression is left to continue and is even intensified by further violations, so that the unanimous resolutions of the Assembly and mandatory decisions of the Council are practically trampled underfoot.

119. We realize that we are in a period in the history of mankind when, probably for various converging reasons not entirely unrelated to the degree to which the United Nations has performed its function for the maintenance of international security and peace—how far it has followed the Charter or how far it has strayed away from the Charter, all this is a very important aspect of peace—as a result of all the developments over the past 30 years step by step we have come to the point where it is not at all unusual to treat aggression lightly and even, in effect, to allow its unrestrained continuance as a way of appeasement, since that is thought to be the best way to deal with the situation. I am sorry that I cannot refrain from saying that such a tendency is wholly inconsistent with the very purposes of the United Nations and is, indeed, sadly reminiscent of the tendencies towards a policy of appeasement in a similar period which preceded and led to the Second World War, as though that lesson had been completely forgotten.

120. If we take the trouble to look at what has been happening in Cyprus during the 18 months from July 1974, we find a series of continuing inhuman expulsions, the uprooting of the indigenous Greek Cypriot

inhabitants, the majority population, from the occupied area in a systematic day-by-day process, and the parallel and uninterrupted importation of massive populations from Turkey and their implantation in the usurped homes and lands of the expelled population. This is a reality of immense importance to the world of the United Nations, which is passively watching this process that is continuing not at a very rapid pace, as it was last July and August, but still uninterrupted and unrestrained. It gives food for thought that what is happening now has not happened for many years in the past, at this rate and to this degree, unless we go back to the period before the Second World War.

121. I will give some details about what is happening in Cyprus now. In disregard of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, and in breach of specific commitments undertaken by the Turkish side in the presence of the Secretary-General during the intercommunal talks, expulsions of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants, for no other reason than their ethnic origin, continue unabated. I have sent a number of letters to the Secretary-General recently, giving details, but I shall not take up the Council's time with them now.

122. Greek Cypriots have not been allowed to join their families in the north despite specific agreement and commitment to that effect in the intercommunal talks in the presence of the Secretary-General. Furthermore, in breach of the said specific agreements, no physicians are allowed to go to the north to attend the sick or dying there, despite commitments to that effect in the intercommunal talks; I refer to the Secretary-General's report, where a glimpse of this can be seen in paragraph 53.

123. No Greek schools are permitted to function, even in an elementary way; some function partially, but there is almost no functioning in the occupied areas, despite agreement in this connexion in the intercommunal talks.

124. Now we come to the freedom of movement of UNFICYP. Freedom of movement in the occupied area is so limited, despite agreement to the contrary, that in reality it is non-existent. I wonder what effect agreements have in regard to matters in Cyprus when Turkey is the other party. Instead of the promised freedom of movement, the Greek Cypriots in the occupied north—despite the promises and commitments in the third round of talks—are confined to their villages, living under conditions of virtual imprisonment, deprivation and terror. Of this, ample details have been given and can be given. It is there, an open book for everyone to see—that is, of course, if anyone is interested in seeing it.

125. When General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) was unanimously adopted on 1 November 1974, Turkey, which also voted for it, let it be understood that it would comply with that resolution through relevant negotiations. The sense of the resolution was

not that negotiations would take place with regard to the response to the calls, which were peremptory, for Turkey to comply with the resolution, but my Government decided, in order to facilitate matters, to give way and start negotiations even before implementation of the vital provisions, in the hope that there would be at least some response to the explicit statement that implementation would be simultaneous with the negotiations. Yet, during four rounds of inter-communal talks and negotiations from April to September 1975, not a single little move towards such implementation was made by Ankara, nor was any relevant proposal in this respect permitted by Turkey in the talks. And this in spite of repeated promises and commitments by the Turkish Cypriot negotiator at the time to produce such proposals next time. His explanation for such failure and the negative stand in the talks was that matters of implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) were beyond his competence as a dependant of Ankara's military rulers. But that was the position taken by the Turkish representative in the General Assembly in 1974: that implementation would proceed through the negotiations. And negotiations between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots were sought by Turkey, whereas the problem was not a problem between the two communities, but a problem between Cyprus and Turkey.

126. In this way the talks remained, as could be expected, devoid of any substance, for indeed constitutional issues could not be meaningfully discussed without the prerequisite of the settlement of the territorial element: the progressive military withdrawal, the return of refugees and relevant proposals, and also the situation of the refugees. Meanwhile, the months passed during those so-called negotiations, and were wasted. But they were not wasted for Turkey. For Ankara deliberately continued and intensified its process of expelling and otherwise getting rid of Greek Cypriot indigenous people from the occupied area in the north and, more rapidly, and parallel with this, transporting massive numbers of people from Turkey to be placed in the usurped homes and land of the expelled Greek Cypriots. Apart from other aspects, this created a problem for the Turkish Cypriots too. They had been transferred from the south to the north, many of them against their will, and they found themselves in much worse conditions than they had ever encountered because of the preference given to the people imported from Turkey.

127. With such circumstances in Cyprus and in the oppressive atmosphere, is it any wonder that the talks and negotiations conducted so far have been so fruitless, and indeed in some respects counterproductive in the cause of peace? This, of course, is mainly due to the fact that the negotiations were not freely conducted, as provided for in the General Assembly resolutions, but took place in conditions of foreign military occupation of more than one third of the Republic's territory.

128. Turkey, it appears, intended the talks to be centred on constitutional issues, leaving aside and untouched the main and vital issues regarding the termination of the aggression by the progressive withdrawal of the foreign forces of occupation, the consequent liberation of the relevant territory and the return of the refugees to their homes.

129. My Government has made it abundantly clear that it desires the resumption of the talks, but provided such talks and negotiations are conducted freely, as required by the said resolutions of the General Assembly, and not under the oppressive heel of Turkey's military force, continuing occupation of Cypriot territory, and, worse still, coupled as until now with the arbitrary practice of unilateral actions and repeated threats of force and blackmail in an attempt to obtain the capitulation of the other side.

130. This unacceptable situation, demonstrated by the aggressive occupation of Cypriot territory, cannot be allowed to continue without remedy. It would imply the collapse of any shred of international security through the United Nations and of any sense of legal order in our world, with inescapable and ominous consequences.

131. A look at the sad situation and the developments in Cyprus as a result of such an unrestrained use of force by Turkey for 18 months—unrestrained because nothing has been done beyond the adoption of resolutions, which remain unimplemented—demonstrates what I have just said.

132. One need only look at *The New York Times* of yesterday, 12 December, to see what is being done with regard to the United Nations Force in Cyprus. It says:

“Turkish authorities have severally restricted the operations of United Nations troops in northern Cyprus, even though the Turks agreed four months ago to increase the freedom [of movement] of those forces.

“Rauf Denktas, the Turkish Cypriot leader, has threatened to expel the United Nations forces from the Turkish sector unless the United Nations signs a separate agreement with the Turkish Cypriots.”

Agreement? What agreement has been kept so far? And by what right should they claim an agreement, since they have not had any such agreement before? What has made them so arrogant now? The fact is, they are acting as agents of the aggressor and invader of Cyprus, and the situation has changed in that respect.

133. The newspaper report continues:

“... But the effectiveness of the peace-keeping troops has already been undermined in the northern

part of this eastern Mediterranean island, where 9,000 Greek Cypriots are trapped behind Turkish lines.

"The mandate for the 3,100-member United Nations force, stationed here since March of 1964, runs out on Monday. The Security Council debate over its renewal is expected to begin in the next day or two.

...

"... after all the ethnic Turks moved to the north, the Turkish side refused to allow any more observation posts to be set up. Troops at the four that had been established were prohibited from patrolling the area or contacting ethnic Greeks without being accompanied by an ethnic Turk."

134. If the United Nations troops want to approach any of those almost imprisoned Greek Cypriots in the north, who are being treated in the most inhuman way in order to make them go away, they are not allowed to do so unless there is an ethnic Turk present to hear what is being said. The flow of Greek Cypriots back to the north has been virtually halted. In this connexion, there was an agreement made, a commitment, in the third round of talks.

135. I am sorry that on a Saturday afternoon the members of the Security Council should have to listen to these unpleasant things instead of being in the country after a week of so much hard work. It is unpleasant to listen to such things, but I considered it my duty to recall that a serious situation exists in Cyprus and it is not merely the renewal of the mandate that is of importance or the expression of wishes, in an almost cliché-like way, that the resumed talks will be successful. Much is needed to make the resumed talks successful and two of the important elements of the success are a proper, constructive approach and freedom of negotiation.

136. A look at the sad situation and the developments in Cyprus shows that something must be done. The General Assembly has by an overwhelming majority of 117 to 1 the one being the vote of the violator of the United Nations resolutions itself—given expression to the determination of the international community, as globally represented by the General Assembly, that such a situation should not be passively allowed to continue. General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), recently adopted, in paragraph 1—its main one—reaffirms the urgent need for effective implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) as endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). The meaning of the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) "in all its parts" as reaffirmed and strengthened by resolution 3395 (XXX), is, first, the speedy withdrawal, without delay, of all foreign armed forces from the territory of Cyprus; secondly, the return of the refugees to their homes;

and, thirdly, the resumption of talks. But it is not merely a resumption of talks. In order for those talks to be meaningful there should be at least a concurrent and progressive implementation of the other provisions, coming prior in order, of the resolution I have just referred to. Only in that way can the negotiations be resumed hopefully and conducted freely in a constructive manner as required by resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX).

137. I should like to take this opportunity to make an appeal to the Security Council to see to it that at some time, if not immediately, resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by the Security Council and reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) is after all implemented. That is important and vital if Cyprus is to survive. The international community must consider questions such as this of importance, irrespective of the size of the country concerned, and must have due regard for their implications and wider repercussions, in the sense that they either encourage or discourage aggression and prove that the naked use of force does not win; otherwise there will be more and more invasions, more and more aggression—and we have noticed a significant increase recently.

138. My Government has agreed and consented, as the only party entitled and required to agree and consent in accordance with the relevant resolution, resolution 186 (1964) under which the peace-keeping force in Cyprus was established, to the renewal of the mandate of that Force. There is no other party, under that resolution, the original resolution, whose consent or agreement is required for the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, and any efforts made towards obtaining the agreement of other parties are irrelevant to the renewal of the mandate.

139. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of Greece.

140. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, I take great pleasure in extending to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your authority, your well-known competence, your high qualifications and your vast experience in regard to the question on our agenda are a guarantee that our debate will be successfully concluded. I also wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for having allowed me to speak.

141. The Security Council has, on the proposal of the Secretary-General, just decided to renew the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. This draft resolution, with which the Government of Cyprus has agreed, is supported by my Government.

142. I avail myself of this opportunity to express the profound appreciation of the Greek Government

to the Member States that have placed their contingents at the service of the United Nations, as well as to the Governments that are making voluntary contributions for the maintenance of the Force. We also express our gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, as well as to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, to the Commander of the Force, General Prem Chand, and to his officers and men, who are carrying out their peaceful and humanitarian task under difficult conditions which are, unfortunately, not always without personal danger.

143. We fully agree with the statement contained in paragraph 70 of the Secretary-General's report that the continued presence of UNFICYP is essential, not only in order to maintain the cease-fire called for by the Security Council but also in order to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement.

144. I should like to comment briefly on parts of the report. We find it very disturbing that in the northern part of the Republic of Cyprus which continues to be under foreign military occupation—namely, 40 per cent of the total territory—restrictions are still imposed on the freedom of movement of UNFICYP and that the provisions of the agreement reached at the third round of the Vienna talks regarding free and normal access by UNFICYP to the Greek Cypriot villages and habitations in the north have not been respected. We find distressing the statement in paragraph 11 that it has only been possible for UNFICYP to carry out humanitarian work on a limited basis.

145. Equally disturbing to us are the cease-fire violations. Further, it is a matter of great disappointment to us and, I believe, to all the members of the Council that not only has the question of the Greek Cypriot refugees—refugees in their own country—not shown any progress, but, as stated in paragraph 35, their total number has risen to 183,000, which reflects an increase of 1,000 persons since the Secretary-General's previous report, mainly owing to the continuing transfer of Greek Cypriots from the occupied areas in the north to the south. It is disheartening also to note that, of the total number of refugees in the south, 138,000 are needy and are still being fully supported by the Cyprus Government.

146. I should like here to express again my Government's deep appreciation of the task accomplished by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in his capacity as Co-ordinator of the United Nations humanitarian assistance for Cyprus, and of the action of those Governments and benevolent organizations that have provided funds and donations.

147. Section V of the Secretary-General's report, on his good offices in pursuance of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 370 (1975), causes us grave concern. Let me say immediately how much my Government appreciates the efforts made by the Secretary-General and how grateful we are for his

untiring efforts in seeking a peaceful solution in Cyprus. We extend to him and to his distinguished collaborators, the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, and the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Urquhart, as well as to their staff, our deepest thanks.

148. Section V is worrying on two counts. The first is that, as recorded in that section, although provision 1 of the Vienna communiqué [*S/11789, annex*] regarding the transfer to the north of 8,033 Turkish Cypriots was implemented, none of the other provisions regarding respect for the basic humanitarian requirements of the Greek Cypriots living in the north, either in Karpasia or in Kyrenia, have been respected. These concern freedom of movement, unification of families, the return to their homes of those unjustly expelled, educational and medical facilities and even religious worship. I am sure you will agree that this is a most unfair and unbalanced situation and I hope that the Security Council will urge the most prompt compliance with all the clauses of the Vienna agreement. The second reason why section V is worrying is the dismal outcome of the four rounds of intercommunal talks, as can be seen from the Secretary-General's third interim report, of 13 September 1975 [*S/11789/Add.2*].

149. I realize that this is perhaps not the appropriate occasion to go into the substance of the Cyprus question as it was only a few days ago fully debated in the General Assembly, which adopted, by the overwhelming majority of 117 votes to 1, resolution 3395 (XXX), calling for the urgent implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX). The provisions and principles embodied in those resolutions establish the framework for a negotiated settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter. They are: respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, abstention from all acts and interventions directed against it, withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs, the return of all refugees to their homes in safety and action to settle all other aspects of the refugee problem, the immediate resumption of meaningful and constructive negotiations between the representatives of the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and abstention from unilateral actions in contravention of resolution 3212 (XXIX), including changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus.

150. We also have in mind Security Council resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975) and 370 (1975) and, not least, paragraph 6 of the draft resolution adopted today, in which the Council asks the Secretary-General to continue the mission of good offices entrusted to him by paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975), to keep the Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report not later than 31 March 1976.

151. The Greek Government, which has since the beginning of the Cyprus crisis shown the greatest restraint and goodwill and a spirit of conciliation, in its desire to see the problem solved peacefully, and has rendered every assistance in this respect, will continue to do so and to do all in its power to assist the Secretary-General in his mission. We hope that all the parties concerned will show equal readiness, good faith and goodwill so that a peaceful, just and durable settlement in Cyprus may be obtained without further delay.

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

153. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): This is the first time, Mr. President, that I have taken part in a Security Council meeting and it is a privilege to do so under your enlightened and able guidance.

154. My Government has, of course, studied the report of the Secretary-General very carefully. There are some points in the report with which we cannot fully agree. This is, I think, unavoidable in view of the complex situation existing in the island. But I should like here, on behalf of my Government, to offer our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his dedicated staff for their untiring efforts in connexion with the United Nations activities in Cyprus and express the hope that the difficulties to which he has referred can be overcome by mutual understanding and agreement.

155. We should like to express our appreciation also for the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and of the Force Commander, General Prem Chand. We wish Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar success in his new and difficult assignment.

156. I should like to explain now the views of my Government concerning the resolution which has been adopted by the Council. I think that the Council is already familiar with our basic position of dissociating ourselves from any document containing a reference to the so-called "Government of Cyprus". It is our view that there is at present no Government which can represent Cyprus; there are merely two communities. That situation will continue so long as the Turkish and Greek communities cannot agree on an arrangement, provisional or permanent, which will enable them to speak with one voice in external matters. For the moment Cyprus speaks with two distinct voices. The reference to a "Government of Cyprus" is, therefore, in our view irrelevant. For this reason, irrespective of our views on the substance of the resolution, we cannot accept it *in toto*. We can, however, consider some of the provisions on their own merits and indicate to what extent they are acceptable to us.

157. One provision which we cannot accept in the present resolution is the last paragraph of the preamble, which contains a reference to General Assembly

resolution 3395 (XXX). As all the members of the Council know, we voted against that resolution in the General Assembly. The Turkish community has also indicated in no uncertain terms that it rejects it. We should like, therefore, to repeat that so far as Turkey is concerned, General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) has no operative value.

158. Paragraph 2 of the resolution just adopted reaffirms Council resolution 365 (1974), which endorsed Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). We consider that the terms of resolution 3212 (XXIX) no longer apply to the present situation, particularly in view of the consequences of the four rounds of intercommunal talks held since the adoption of that resolution. However, the views of my delegation on Council resolution 367 (1975) are on record.

159. We agree with the extension of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. We take note of the fact that the Turkish community has been consulted and that it has given its consent. We take note also of the fact that a *procès-verbal* was signed between the Force Commander and Vice-President Denktaş on questions pertaining to the stationing, functioning and redeployment of the Force in the Turkish area. We hope sincerely that the discussions which will take place in this connexion will result in concrete agreements in the very near future. We should like on this occasion to pay a tribute to the officers and men of UNFICYP and to all the countries contributing to it.

160. I should like also to indicate our position concerning the paragraph on the intercommunal negotiations. My Government has in the past consistently supported the principle of intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We have also on several occasions expressed our gratitude and appreciation for the dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General and his immense contribution in this field. Our view has been that, although there was no possibility of reaching agreement on all aspects of the problem until now, the intercommunal negotiations nevertheless have produced considerable and encouraging results. But during the debate on the Cyprus question in the General Assembly a different view was put forward and the results achieved so far were repudiated. In addition to that, General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) incorporated in its provisions the process of intercommunal talks as established by Security Council resolution 367 (1975). The Turkish Government, being opposed to resolution 3395 (XXX) cannot, therefore, support the continuation of the process of intercommunal talks in the framework in which they have been placed. But that stand does not mean that Turkey is in any way against negotiations. On the contrary, we strongly support the principle of negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus problem. We continue to consider that the two communities are the main parties and that the Secretary-General should play an important role.

161. We cannot say at this stage, however, what specific procedure should be evolved for future negotiations. We are looking for ways of promoting negotiations on a basis which will be acceptable to all the parties. We are also hoping sincerely that the Secretary-General will continue to lend his assistance to all the parties in the search for a peaceful solution. There is no doubt that we shall keep him informed of all our initiatives and of developments in this field and that we shall avail ourselves of his wise counsels and call upon him to assist the parties in furthering negotiations and settlement.

162. The unfounded allegations of Mr. Rossides, expressed as usual in superlative terms, certainly call for an answer. However, I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, and to all members of the Council for having agreed to meet on a Saturday afternoon. The best way I can express that gratitude is to refrain from replying. We recently had a long substantive debate on the Cyprus question in the General Assembly and all the points raised by Mr. Rossides have been dealt with there.

163. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision already taken by the Council, I now invite Mr. Çelik to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

164. Mr. ÇELIK: I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and through you each and every member of the Council for having allowed me to speak today, granting me the opportunity to present the views of the Turkish Cypriot side on the political problem of Cyprus and on the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP which the Council has just approved.

165. The Cyprus question was debated at full length in the General Assembly only a month ago and, therefore, I shall not make a lengthy statement. Suffice it to put on record the views and reactions of the Turkish Cypriot side to the present resolution and to General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), which was adopted in our absence and about which we were not given the opportunity to express our views in the plenary meeting. I shall also have to reply, as briefly as possible, to some of the allegations raised by Mr. Rossides this afternoon.

166. The draft resolution just adopted makes reference to the term "Government of Cyprus", which we do not recognize. It makes a reference to resolution 3395 (XXX), which is not acceptable to us and, therefore, it is unacceptable to us *in toto*. Our views regarding Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) are already on record with the Council.

167. In view of the fact that we have been consulted by the Secretary-General on the extension of the mandate and that a procès-verbal has been signed at Nicosia today between Mr. Denktas and the Force

Commander, General Prem Chand, on behalf of the Secretary-General, to the effect that discussions will be held between the Turkish Cypriot community and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to discuss matters "pertaining to the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the area under Turkish control with a view to arriving at a mutually acceptable arrangement which will be recorded through an exchange of letters", I should like to put on record that the Turkish Cypriot side has given its consent to the extension of the mandate of the Force.

168. Why did the Turkish Cypriot side insist on a separate agreement with UNFICYP? A separate agreement was essential politically as well as legally. It was essential politically in order to establish the equal status of the Turkish Cypriot community vis-à-vis the Greek Cypriot community. We do not recognize the Makarios administration and therefore the agreement which was signed by the Greek Cypriot administration regarding the status of the Force in Cyprus cannot be considered as valid in the north. For legal reasons also, a paper agreement with the Turkish Cypriot authorities is essential in order to give the Force a legal basis and status in the north of Cyprus. I hope that negotiations will resume soon and will lead to a mutually agreed concrete result for the effective functioning of the Force in the north.

169. May I take this opportunity to extend the gratitude and deep appreciation of the Turkish Cypriot side to the Secretary-General, to the members of the Secretariat, to his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and his predecessor, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, to the Force Commander, the officers and men of the Force, and to the Governments of contributing countries for their invaluable contribution to the cause of peace in Cyprus.

170. Why do we object to the term "Government"? We are a part of Turkey in Cyprus and the Greek Cypriots are a part of Greece in Cyprus. That is what the Archbishop had been telling us, at least until the events of last year. He said: "The Cyprus Republic is a new State but not a new nation; and it is not the intention of the Cyprus Government to create a national feeling". That was the Archbishop's statement in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of May 1974.

171. There are therefore two nations in Cyprus. Those two nations came together in a partnership and formed a bi-national State under contractual agreement, that contractual agreement being the Zurich-London agreement and the Constitution of 1960. According to that agreement, the head of one nation became the head of the bi-national State of Cyprus and the head of the second nation became the deputy head of the bi-national State.

172. Archbishop Makarios, having abrogated the agreements and the Constitution in an attempt to

destroy the independence of the bi-national State and to unite with a foreign country, has also destroyed and nullified the contractual bond which brought the two nations together and made him the head of the bi-national State. The head of one nation, therefore, cannot any longer pretend to be the head of the bi-national State or of both nations. That is what Makarios wants. The Archbishop says, "I have destroyed all the agreements except that which makes me the head of both communities in Cyprus". That is unacceptable, and the Cyprus problem lies at the root of this philosophy and this approach by Archbishop Makarios.

173. The Greek Cypriots cannot run away with the concept that they are the Government and that we are and shall continue to be stateless. We respect United Nations principles, but we cannot ignore the basic reality.

174. Why did the Turkish Cypriot side not find it possible to accept Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX)? We found the resolution unacceptable primarily because it was unrealistic. It did not reflect the reality in the island. It reaffirmed resolution 3212 (XXIX) without taking into consideration developments that have taken place since the adoption of that resolution a year ago. It disregarded agreements reached at Vienna and physically implemented in Cyprus. It called, for example, for the return of all refugees to their homes, without taking into account the fact that the voluntary exchange of populations has taken place in pursuance of an agreement in principle reached at Vienna on a bi-zonal federation. It demanded the withdrawal of Turkish troops from the island before a final settlement, despite the fact that Makarios has been sabotaging the intercommunal talks and openly advocating "a long struggle". It overlooked the fact that the justified and legitimate intervention of Turkey in Cyprus was carried out under the international agreements in order to save the Turkish Cypriot community from complete annihilation and to safeguard the independence of the island—that independence which Archbishop Makarios has been trying to destroy from the last 12 years.

175. We could not accept the resolution because it was adopted in a forum where the Turkish Cypriot community was not represented and was not heard. We rejected it in order to put on record that Archbishop Makarios could not be accepted as the representative of the whole of Cyprus and should not be projected as a hero and defender of independence, an independence which he never wanted.

176. It was during that debate in the General Assembly when the Foreign Minister of the Greek Cypriot administration, Mr. Christofides, not only dared to speak for the Turkish Cypriot community, but even went as far as to allege that Turkish Cypriots were suffering at the hands of Turkey in Cyprus and

should be saved. To these and other similar allegations, false accusations and unfounded lies we were not given the opportunity to reply. As Mike Randall, an impartial foreign correspondent of world renown, said in *The Sunday Times* of 12 October 1975: "Turkish Cypriots have long been a suppressed minority [under the Greek Cypriot administration]. Their blood has been spilled, their rights denied and their paths to prosperity barred". That situation is therefore what Turkey has remedied, not what it has caused, as alleged by Mr. Christofides.

177. During the same debate, in which we were not allowed to participate, another Greek representative argued that Mr. Denktas was the Deputy Head of the Executive of Cyprus, and therefore could not be heard without credentials from the President. Which President? A President who has not spoken with his Turkish Vice-President for the last 12 years? A President who has been trying to destroy the independence of his country in order to unite with a foreign country? A President who is still the biggest stumbling block to a peaceful settlement in Cyprus? A President who always considered the Turkish Cypriots as a natural enemy which should be exterminated?

178. I should like to quote Archbishop Makarios. He said: "Unless this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race, which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism, is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated". He made that speech at Panayia village on 4 September 1962. He had then been our President for two years.

179. This is the President whose credentials, we are told, Mr. Denktas must have in order to be able to come to the United Nations and as the Vice-President and leader of the Turkish Cypriot community inform the world body of the sufferings and injustice inflicted on his community, an injustice which comes from the President himself.

180. This mockery must cease. It is high time that the United Nations and the world started differentiating between the guilty and the innocent, between the accused and the sufferers.

181. Because of the position that Archbishop Makarios still continues to enjoy as the so-called Government of Cyprus and as a Member of the United Nations, all the resolutions tend to compromise the very crux of the Cyprus problem. So much is said of this or that United Nations resolution; so much is said of the rules of procedure; so much is said of United Nations principles. Which resolutions and which principles?

182. These are resolutions, procedures and principles which present and recognize Makarios to be what he is not—a representative of the whole of Cyprus.

These are rules which present the Archbishop as a champion of independence and protect him and his shadow Government against "outside intervention". Which interventions? Turkey is implied here. The Turkey without whose timely intervention there would be no Turkish Cypriot community, no Cyprus independence and no Cyprus debate today.

183. Through resolution 3395 (XXX), Archbishop Makarios killed all goodwill contacts between the two communities. By denying that any agreement, in principle or otherwise, had been reached during the talks, he encouraged the extremist elements and silenced one of the very few moderate Greek Cypriots with whom we could have come to an agreement. That was why we found it impossible to accept that resolution.

184. Resolution 3212 (XXIX) accorded highest priority to the resumption and continuation of inter-communal talks. Accordingly, talks were held under the auspices of the Secretary-General. This afternoon Mr. Rossides tried to blame the Turkish Cypriot side for having caused the failure of the talks. Despite wilful propaganda to the contrary, progress had been achieved and further progress would have been made had the Greek side not abandoned the talks and resorted to the General Assembly for purely political reasons.

185. For the sake of the record and the information of members of the Council, I should like to state once again that substantial progress had been achieved at Vienna. The Greek side had abandoned its position of a unitary State and had agreed in principle, and subject to an over-all agreement on boundaries, that the solution of the Cyprus problem would be based on a bi-zonal federation, with a weak central government in which the two communities would be equally represented. In proof of that agreement an exchange of population was accepted and implemented whereby 10,000 Turkish Cypriots who were in the south and wanted to come north were allowed to do so and the restriction imposed on the Greek Cypriots who lived in the north and wanted to go south was also lifted by the Greek Cypriot authorities.

186. Therefore, had there been an agreement on the territorial aspect as well, the framework of the over-all settlement would thus have been completed. Having realized, however, that at Vienna the problem was about to be settled on the basis of a bi-zonal federation, for which he was not prepared, the Archbishop sabotaged the talks, taking full advantage of the fact that in the United Nations he was treated as the head of State of Cyprus.

187. After Helsinki, he restarted his pre-coup tactics of rendering the Turkish Cypriot community stateless and completely disregarded even the existence of the Turkish Cypriot community. He was the head of State and his country was under occupation. As far as

he was concerned, we did not exist. Ignoring the basic reality that Cyprus is not his but ours, he wishes and still strives to continue the old game of depriving us of the protection of the State which he has been playing for the last 12 years. But we cannot afford to live without the State any longer.

188. Our attempt to remedy the situation, even partially, by the declaration of our federated State has been against us. We have been judged and censured in a number of international forums for having created a *fait accompli*, without even being given an equal hearing. But no one censured Makarios for denying one fourth of the population the basic services and facilities of a State for 12 years. No one asked him—and for that matter no one asks him today—how he intends to remedy the status of statelessness of the Turkish Cypriot community.

189. That mistake started back in 1964 when Makarios was accepted by the Security Council as the legitimate Government of Cyprus, and despite all our protestations the word "constitutional" was not inserted before the word "Government" in Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. That made Makarios intransigent. He continued heedlessly to usurp all governmental authority after having ousted all Turks from the governmental machinery by force of arms, and continued to act and behave as the Greek head of a Greek State. Had we received in 1964 and thereafter the interest and understanding which we partially receive today, the Greek Cypriot leadership would not have found it opportune for themselves to prolong the Cyprus struggle as they have done and seem intent on doing hereafter, and the history of Cyprus would most probably have followed a different course. The same mistake must not be repeated.

190. Thus we see that, if the talks failed, it was not because of lack of progress, as alleged, nor was it the absence of any prospect of an agreement that led to the failure. It was Makarios' wilful boycott. The talks failed because the Archbishop, committed to the policy of *enosis* of the Greek Orthodox Church, cannot accept permanent independence. That is why he is against bi-zonal federation. That is why he is not prepared to come to an agreement with us within the framework of the present realities.

191. That he did not want a solution during the prolonged intercommunal talks from 1968 to 1974 was obvious from his statement to Lawrence Stern of *The Washington Post* soon after the *coup* of 1974: "The fact that I never seem to come to an agreement with the Turks may have been irritating... but it probably accounts for the prolongation of my life politically and the postponement of the *coup*". That statement was published in *Foreign Policy*, No. 19, in the summer of 1975.

192. That he did not favour an agreement during the Vienna talks either is confirmed by his most recent

statement to *Newsweek* correspondent Peter Mellas which appeared in the *Cyprus Mail* of 7 November 1975, in which he publicly reiterated that any solution within the framework of the present realities on the island would be worse than the continuation of the present *de facto* situation.

193. And why were the talks interrupted? In Archbishop Makarios' own words, because

"If the talks continue... the mistaken impression will be formed that the Cyprus problem is merely a dispute between the two communities and the problem will shift from its present international basis, shrinking to the dimensions of an internal problem of the island."

That statement by Makarios was made through his Public Information Office in May 1975.

194. How could the talks possibly have survived? How could we possibly have reached a peaceful settlement with a man so indifferent to realities? That he never meant to come to an understanding with us is evident from the policy he followed and his actions during the intercommunal talks.

195. While we were negotiating at Vienna, he went to the Commonwealth Conference, to Helsinki, to Havana and to Lima, fighting to destroy the bi-national image of Cyprus by preventing us from being heard in reply, and trying to have resolutions adopted which totally contradicted the principles agreed upon during the intercommunal talks.

196. Finally, he chose to break off the negotiations completely and proceeded to the General Assembly in order to get rid of the agreements which the two sides had reached at Vienna. By misleading the world and by misrepresenting realities on the island, he managed in having an unrealistic resolution adopted, resolution 3395 (XXX), which helped no one, not even his community.

197. The Turkish Cypriot community still considers the intercommunal talks as the best, in fact the only, method for the solution of the Cyprus problem. We are in favour of the talks, but it will be appreciated that the resumption of the negotiations within the framework of resolution 3395 (XXX) is not acceptable. A new procedure has to be found; it has to be negotiated between the parties concerned.

198. The Turkish Cypriot community will do its utmost to facilitate the resumption and will co-operate effectively for the success of the talks. We appreciate the invaluable contribution of the Secretary-General in this regard in the past and will co-operate with him to the full in the future.

199. We favour the talks. But what is the meaning of negotiations if what we agreed upon at Vienna is to

be kept from the United Nations, if it is to be kept from the world, if it is to be kept even from the Greek Cypriots themselves, if it is not to be honoured and implemented?

200. If, therefore, Archbishop Makarios also wants meaningful negotiations to be resumed he should come forward with a public statement that he accepts a settlement based on a bi-zonal federation and closed to *enosis*; he should not bar us from being heard in reply in all international forums to which the Greek Cypriot administration resorts and he must agree to an *ad hoc* administration being set up in Cyprus to treat the Turkish Cypriot community as equal citizens and put an end to the condition of statelessness in which the community finds itself today.

201. Are we asking too much when we request Archbishop Makarios to tell his people that we are working for a bi-zonal federal system, completely closed to *enosis*? We leave it to the world to judge. If Archbishop Makarios has the goodwill and sincerity, if he has a genuine desire for independence, permanent independence, then, we say, he should not find it difficult to fulfil these conditions.

202. But is Archbishop Makarios ready for a settlement? Here is a very recent appraisal of the situation in the Greek press:

"Everyone should understand and digest that the struggle will continue until the end to complete victory, without any concessions..."

"We shall not retreat from the struggle no matter how much sacrifice it requires, until our people... re-enter Morphou; until they breathe again in the castle of Kyrenia; until they hoist the flag of victory in Famagusta again, and until they quench their thirst with the holy water of Ayios Andreas..."

"This is Makarios' policy. This is our people's decision. We shall not retreat an inch..."

That is taken from the 4 December 1975 issue of *Anayennisis*, a Greek newspaper.

203. And here is what Archbishop Makarios said just before the *coup*: "The union of Cyprus with Greece requires the extermination of the Turkish community..." This he said in an interview with Mrs. Karin Kaamereit of the German weekly *Bunte Illustrierte* of 19 April 1973.

204. Well, I am afraid that this appraisal and this statement leave very little room for optimism. It is high time that Makarios made up his mind. Are we or are we not a part of Cyprus? Are we to become a part of the Cypriot administrative mechanism, and when? Will he accept our proposal for a joint transitional federal government? How much longer are we to continue in a condition of statelessness? How much longer is

the Archbishop to shelter behind United Nations resolutions and play the game of government with us?

205. I think I should elaborate briefly on the question of refugees, which has been raised by Mr. Rossides and a few other representatives this afternoon. The question of refugees, a humanitarian problem, has been grossly exaggerated and harshly exploited by the Greek Cypriot side. The number of displaced persons is around 90.000. This has been determined from the official census of population of the Greek Cypriot villages which have been evacuated. Even the Greek Cypriot authorities, even their Attorney-General, Criton Tornaritis, in his official leaflet, *Legal aspects of the Cyprus refugee problem*, argue that the number could not possibly have been above 120.000. We have 65.000 Turkish refugees who came and settled in the north. We have another 25.000 refugees who have been displaced since 1963. So the number of displaced persons on both sides is roughly the same, 90.000 to 95.000 people.

206. We have had an agreement on the mutual exchange of populations, which has been implemented. Equal numbers of displaced persons have been settled in the north and in the south, and the few thousands that are still unsettled can be settled and rehabilitated if there is goodwill and if this is so desired. Therefore it would be unrealistic to expect at this stage that all those 180.000 people, including the Turks and the Greeks, should be unsettled, uprooted again and sent back to where they started, so that the tragic past would repeat itself in the next few years. We should be more realistic on this subject and the matter should not be exaggerated.

207. Another allegation this afternoon is that there is a massive immigration of population from Turkey. This is what we have been hearing for the past year from the Greek side. This allegation is completely baseless. It is unfounded. The people who are returning to Cyprus are Turkish Cypriots who have been forced to leave the island under the threat of EOKA and under economic, political, social and military pressure by the Greek Cypriot administration during the past 20 years. These people are Turkish Cypriots and it is their natural right to return to Cyprus now that relative security of life and property has been restored in the north of the island.

208. It has been alleged again this afternoon that the Vienna agreements have not been implemented by the Turkish Cypriot side. But I am afraid the Greek side is contradicting itself here. There is a paradox. The Greeks are alleging that no agreement whatsoever was achieved at Vienna. They made this public. They made Mr. Clerides make the following statement: "This allegation is totally unfounded. No agreement has been reached on any point or issue either in principle or otherwise, regarding the solution of the Cyprus problem". That statement made by Mr. Clerides has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.⁴

209. Unfortunately, here we see the Archbishop's "salami" policy at work again. During the negotiations, during the exercise of give and take, he gets whatever he can get, he pockets it as if it were his, but when it comes to giving something, there is nothing to give. Here, there is either a package deal on the principles that have been agreed upon as a whole at Vienna, or there is no agreement at all. I think it is high time that our Greek Cypriot friends come to a decision as to whether there is an agreement at Vienna or there is none.

210. Regarding the humanitarian problem, I would stress most emphatically and put on record that we are trying our best to solve the humanitarian problems. We are doing this on humanitarian grounds and not as part of an agreement which the Greek side insists categorically does not exist.

211. To sum up: if Archbishop Makarios refuses to see the problem of Cyprus as a dispute between the two communities and insists that it is just a problem of invasion by Turkey, if he does not regard the Turks as part of Cyprus and leaves them in a condition of statelessness, if he continues to reject the formation of a transitional government while negotiations on a bi-zonal federation continue, if he does not stop the political offensive against us in international forums for an agreed period of time and give all his attention to peace talks, if he continues to advocate a long struggle in order to throw the Turks out of Cyprus, if he does not start to see Cyprus as a land of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who have to rearrange their own houses in the light of his 12-year-old policy of throwing us out of Cyprus, if he denies everything that has been agreed upon in principle during the talks and if he still considers a bi-zonal solution as a negation of his own beliefs and personality because such an agreement would bury for good his idea of *enosis*, how can there be an agreement?

212. As long as Archbishop Makarios is allowed to go about as the head of "a small State overrun by a powerful neighbouring country", why should he sign an agreement and solidify the natural result of his *enosis* sins? Why not press for more resolutions in all and other international forums in the absence of the Turkish Cypriot community and expect further embargoes on Turkey, or other developments? Since the Turks of Cyprus are not considered or accepted as part of Cyprus, and are therefore left in a form of statelessness, why not continue this game of government for ever? As long as the Archbishop is accepted as the representative of the whole of Cyprus, as long as he is considered the champion and defender of independence, as long as we are not granted equal status, there can be no solution.

213. I do sincerely hope that, ultimately, goodwill and common sense will prevail and that meaningful and constructive negotiations will be resumed, leading to a realistic, just and durable solution.

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

215. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. Çelik, speaking before the Security Council under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, that is to say, as a person whom the Council may invite "to supply... information or to give other assistance", has said that an agreement was signed at Nicosia giving legal status to a community in Cyprus on the occasion of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. That statement is an infringement of the competence of the Security Council, under whose sole jurisdiction come all United Nations forces in Cyprus or anywhere else. There is a claim here that the Secretary-General, on whose authority a procès-verbal was signed, as we understand, at Nicosia in order to make practical arrangements for the functioning of UNFICYP, is guilty of violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, because this is an internal matter of a State Member of the United Nations. Such statements are totally unfounded. Therefore I wish to have your guidance, Mr. President, or that of the Secretary-General, as this is a very serious matter which should be cleared up forthwith.

216. The PRESIDENT: I do not think it is for me, as President of the Council, to clear up the matter of a document which has been signed on behalf of the Secretary-General. But I think it would be helpful if we asked the Secretary-General to explain the position.

217. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In answering the question put to me by the representative of Greece, I wish to confirm what I reported to the Security Council at its informal meeting this morning. On 13 December—that is today, this morning—at 11:40 GMT, the following procès-verbal was signed by "His Excellency Mr. Rauf Denktaş" and "Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General". I shall now read out the content of this document:

"During the process of consultation undertaken by the Secretary-General regarding the extension of the UNFICYP mandate and following an exchange of views on this question with the Turkish Cypriot community, the Secretary-General has indicated that his Special Representative will discuss with the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community questions pertaining to the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP in the area under Turkish control, with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable arrangements, which will be recorded through an exchange of letters."

This document speaks for itself and I cannot accept any unilateral interpretation of it.

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

219. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): We take it, then, that Mr. Çelik gave a unilateral interpretation of this statement which has just been read out by the Secretary-General, and we wish to put on record that the procès-verbal which was signed has no legal status whatsoever under the Charter, and is not an encroachment upon the internal affairs of any country, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. It is our understanding that it is devoid of any legal status that would contravene such fundamental provisions of the Charter.

220. There is only one Government in Cyprus, legally recognized by all the States Members of the United Nations, and that is it and nothing else.

221. The PRESIDENT: In so far as what the representative of Greece has just told us refers to questions of fact, obviously everybody would agree with him. In so far as it refers to interpretation, I really do not think it is for the Security Council to interpret the precise effect of a document in an *ad hoc* way at a meeting of this sort. I think the Secretary-General has made his position extremely clear. He has read the document and he has said that he cannot accept any unilateral interpretation of the document. It seems to me that it must therefore be for Member States to place their own interpretation upon the document, in the light of what the Secretary-General has said.

222. I call on the representative of Cyprus.

223. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I should like to say a few words with regard to the matter now under discussion, that is, the document read out by the Secretary-General, which clearly states that it referred to practical arrangements locally made in respect of matters connected with the local functioning of UNFICYP in the areas which are under Turkey's occupation at present. Those arrangements were necessary, but they have nothing to do with any consent for the renewal of the mandate, whether by the Turkish military or their agents—of whom we have seen one appearing here—in the guise of a leader of the Turkish Cypriots. They have nothing to do with the renewal of the mandate, because the mandate was always renewed by the consent of the Government of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot community, although it has been vocal in many things for many years, has never suggested that it would have to give its consent to the renewal of the mandate, nor, indeed, was it necessary to have such consent from Turkey or from anyone else. Therefore I would have taken no notice of what was stated here by Mr. Çelik, because none of the other things he said had any substance or truth; but this happens to be a matter that touches the Secretary-General and it has to be contradicted.

224. In fact, his whole statement is but a cliché that has been repeated and that others have caused to be repeated in order to blur the issues. The representative of Turkey finds some excuse to avoid replying,

as he always does, as to why his country continues the aggressive occupation of Cyprus. He forgets the 200.000 refugees thrown out by force, expelled; and then we hear either from him or from Mr. Çelik that there are now new realities in Cyprus. What realities? The realities of the population expelled by blood and iron? Does that create a reality and give rights? Can one simply create an international crime, and by virtue of that crime say there is a new reality? One calls it a new reality, and continues the expulsion and importation of the Turkish population.

225. Then Mr. Çelik had the courage to say that those people who are arriving are not imported but are Turkish Cypriots who had left the island since 1964. But we have already given accurate statistics in a letter to the Secretary-General, indicating that, if I remember correctly, only 6.000 Turkish Cypriots left the island in a period of 11 years; most of them went to other parts and only 1.000 or less went to Turkey. How have they so multiplied in 10 years that, according to accounts published in papers, even moderate accounts, about 80.000 have arrived in Cyprus *en masse* and hurriedly to fill up the space? That is the situation.

226. I would not consider answering all the libellous things poured out by an agent purposely brought here to blur the issue of aggression by speaking of unrelated matters, quoting out of context and repeating things, as if those were the important matters with which the United Nations and the Security Council have been dealing. The issue is aggression, invasion, expulsion, the decimation of the population by thousands; the issue is more than 2.000 missing persons, many of whom have been seen in the hands of the Turkish army. They are still searching for them. In the Third Committee a resolution was adopted calling for a further search.

227. These criminal activities are as nothing; all that matters is what the Archbishop said on some occasion about Greece. Is that, taken out of context and with

its meaning distorted, the sort of important thing with which the Security Council must deal and not the invasions, not the destruction and the rape—because it is a rape—of Cyprus by Turkey? These are matters of no consequence. We must pass over them lightly in order to make an interlude in the exchange of slanderous words.

228. The representative of Turkey said that resolution 3212 (XXIX) has been superseded by realities. What does he mean by this? Is he referring to the abnormal situation created since 1974 by the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people? Does that make him think that the demographic composition of Cyprus has changed? That is what they have been trying to do. They have been hastening to change the demographic composition of the island by crime.

229. As regards resolution 3395 (XXX), the representative of Turkey says it has no "operative value". Is it because it calls for respect for the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus continually violated by Turkey in its attempt to partition the island and then to annex it? Is it because it calls for the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Cyprus and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety? Because it does all that in reaffirmation of the previous General Assembly resolution it is not operative! Why is it not operative? Because the party guilty of these actions does not accept it. That is a fine idea of the meaning and effectiveness of United Nations resolutions: that those guilty of aggression can in effect veto them.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 383 (1975).

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2405th meeting.

³ *Ibid.*, 2357th meeting.

⁴ A/10365.

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