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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

In the absence of the President, Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 110

Question of Cyprus (*concluded*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the first speaker on the list for this afternoon's meeting, I should like to inform the General Assembly that a draft resolution has been submitted and will shortly be distributed in all languages as document A/L.739 and Add.1.

2. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The present situation in Cyprus, which is a matter of grave concern throughout the world, is the result of flagrant interference from outside in the domestic affairs of Cyprus, a State Member of the United Nations. The situation created a highly explosive state of affairs in the eastern Mediterranean, representing a serious threat to international peace and security. Responsibility for this tense situation in the region rests wholly with certain North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] circles that organized the plot against the independent and sovereign State of Cyprus. It is perfectly obvious that those who organized this conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the lawful Government of Cyprus, dismembering the country and converting the island into a bridgehead for the NATO bloc in the eastern Mediterranean.

3. As everyone knows, a coup was organized to set in motion the plans of the Greek junta and when these plans failed they were replaced by open military intervention. As a result of these military actions, there was much loss of human life and the economy of the Republic suffered tremendous damage. Many of the country's enterprises were brought to a halt, the ports through which Cyprus imports almost three quarters of its food-stuffs were closed and innumerable historical monuments were destroyed. As a result of the bloodshed, hundreds of thousands of Cypriots had to leave their homes and become refugees.

4. The report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 6 September 1974, emphasized the following:

"One of the saddest consequences of the recent hostilities is the plight of nearly one third of the island's population rendered homeless and living under conditions of duress and extreme hardship."¹

5. In the circumstances, the Government of Cyprus was quite naturally confronted with the urgent necessity of restoring peace in the country and of protecting its sovereignty. For this reason, it turned to the United Nations and asked that the General Assembly at its present session consider the situation in Cyprus as an important and urgent question, in view of the need to secure an immediate settlement of the Cypriot crisis by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

6. In the conviction that the interests of peace and security require the quickest possible elimination of this source of tension in the eastern Mediterranean and that the people of Cyprus need the earliest possible restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its State, my delegation supported the proposal for the inclusion of an item entitled "Question of Cyprus" on the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly [A/9743].

7. The debate on this item has borne out earlier conclusions that the direct cause of this crisis and of the great tragedy through which the people of Cyprus are now living was foreign intervention with the use of force. Therefore it is perfectly understandable that the overwhelming majority of representatives share the grave concern over the fate of a Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Cyprus, considering it absolutely essential to ensure its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

8. The situation in Cyprus is not only a matter for grave concern. It also calls for urgent and effective measures, measures that will facilitate the restoration of peace and tranquillity in Cyprus. Security Council resolution 353 (1974), unanimously adopted on 20 July of this year, had that aim in view. The gist of that resolution, as everyone knows, concerns the ending of the foreign armed intervention against the Republic, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory and the restoration of constitutional order in the island. In other words, that resolution sketched the way to a political settlement. It aimed at solving the key problem, by the immediate and simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel. My delegation considers that, unless this condition is met, the problem of Cyprus cannot be satisfactorily resolved.

9. It is an unfortunate fact that, so far, that resolution of the Security Council has not been implemented. Obviously the reason for this is to be sought not so much in the complexity of the problem as in the reluctance of certain circles to solve it, although it

should be perfectly obvious to those circles that continued use of force cannot lead to a settlement of the question of Cyprus but can only further heat up the atmosphere on and around that island, and have an adverse effect on the international atmosphere as a whole.

10. One cannot pass over in silence the fact that a particularly invidious role is being played in this case by the NATO circles, which, by means of diplomatic manoeuvres are attempting to resolve the problem of Cyprus by circumventing the Security Council and going behind the backs of the people of Cyprus. This is why they are trying to resurrect the so-called guarantees which were once imposed upon the people of Cyprus contrary to their will under the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959.² This Zurich-London system of guarantees for the security and territorial integrity of Cyprus has proved unworkable, since it left open channels for interference in the domestic affairs of Cyprus and the life of the people of Cyprus. The system turned out to be unworkable also for the reason that, far from preventing revolt and intervention, it actually jeopardized the freedom, independence and even the very existence of the Cypriot State. From a system of guarantees against foreign interference, it virtually became a system guaranteeing interference in the domestic affairs of Cyprus by certain NATO countries. Accordingly attempts to solve the problem of Cyprus, a non-aligned State, within the narrow circle of those countries, in the interests of their military bloc and without taking into account the will of the people of Cyprus, far from ensuring a normalization of the situation, can only lead to a further complication of it.

11. My delegation considers that a specific proposal outlining practical means of solving the Cyprus problem is contained in the statement by the Soviet Government of 22 August.³ As everyone knows, the Soviet Government is proposing that an international conference be convened under United Nations auspices with the participation of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and all States Members of the Security Council. The Soviet proposal also provides for participation in the conference by other States, including non-aligned States. A representative conference of this kind, with the direct participation of representatives of Cyprus, to resolve the international aspects of the problem of Cyprus is, we deeply believe, a matter of extreme urgency. Neither must we write off the serious responsibility that is incumbent upon the United Nations, the Security Council and the General Assembly, in the matter of defending the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations. It is my delegation's firm opinion that the General Assembly can and must raise its voice in defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island and for the return of all the refugees to their homes and for giving the Cypriots an opportunity themselves to resolve the questions of the internal organization of their State. It would be a major contribution to solving the problem of Cyprus if there could be guarantees by the United Nations.

12. An important role in this respect can and should be played by the Security Council, and here it is

essential that the Security Council's decision on Cyprus should be implemented, thus paving the way for a political settlement of the problem. This is the noble aim of the draft resolution before the General Assembly on the question of Cyprus submitted by the delegation of Cyprus [A/L.738]. It calls upon all States, first of all, "to respect unconditionally the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts of aggression and intervention directed against it"; secondly, it calls for "the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus and the cessation of all foreign intervention and interference in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus"; and, thirdly, it calls for urgent measures "to ensure the speedy return of all refugees to their homes in safety". All these appeals in the draft resolution are in keeping with the vital interests of the Cypriot people, both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, who are now having to pay dearly for the military adventure perpetrated in their country.

13. We believe it is the duty of the United Nations to assist the people of Cyprus, which has appealed to the United Nations for defence. Cyprus looks to the General Assembly to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to support its just demands for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, to ensure the return of the refugees to their homes and to ensure a return to a normal state of affairs in the country. Cyprus needs defensive action by the United Nations for the further reason that its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity are incompatible with attempts to divide and annex the island on any pretext whatsoever.

14. We hope and believe that those aspirations of the people and Government of Cyprus will meet with the complete understanding and support of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership. The interests of peace and security require the earliest possible elimination of this hotbed of military tension in the eastern Mediterranean and the early restoration of Cyprus to a peaceful and independent existence.

15. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): All that has happened over the past three and a half months in Cyprus has of course caused profound concern to all Members of the United Nations, and to none more so than to Australia. As a fellow member of the Commonwealth of Nations, which has received and welcomed over the years many settlers from Cyprus, Australia cannot fail to feel a special compassion for the desperate plight that has overtaken the people of the Republic. Our concern has been made all the more vivid over the past 10 years through our having contributed a contingent of police to UNFICYP and made an additional voluntary financial contribution to the efforts of that Force to create an atmosphere in which a lasting settlement of the problems of Cyprus might be achieved.

16. We are all of us fully aware of the acute tensions that have prevailed on the island from long past, not only between the two communities but also within the Greek Cypriot community. But we had thought there was reason to hope that the promised resumption of talks between the community leaders in the

earlier months of this year held some prospect of movement towards a relaxation of those stresses. The violent events that began on the morning of 15 July last and led to the subsequent occupation by force of a substantial part of the island have disastrously set back those slender hopes and have served only to exacerbate tension and hostility.

17. The situation in the Republic has assumed new and tragic dimensions that not only make demands on the reserves of statesmanship and goodwill among the leaders of the parties directly concerned, but also call for the collective wisdom and the forbearance of all of us in this Assembly.

18. The present situation in Cyprus is one that none of us who have concern for the welfare and harmony of people living together on a small island can look upon with anything other than the deepest sympathy. Its origins can of course be traced back to a distant past, but it is not my purpose to recall them here. If I may inject a brief personal note, my own interest in this unique problem dates back almost 20 years to a period when I happened to be stationed in London. From time to time I met an old friend in the person of Field Marshal Sir John Harding, as he then was—he is now Lord Harding—who was at that time Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus. His compassion for the people of Cyprus and his description of their problems as intractable have been echoed many times since then around these precincts of the United Nations.

19. I talked in the same period with various officials and friends who were themselves absorbed with the problems of Cyprus and actively involved in searching for a solution. *Enosis*, and what we appear to call double *enosis*, being ruled out, we ran the whole gamut of possible ways in which both communities in an independent Cyprus could enjoy their traditional rights and live their lives alongside each other in an atmosphere and spirit of co-operation and mutual tolerance. We usually found ourselves agreeing that Cyprus was *sui generis* and that it must be left ultimately to the people themselves in their two communities to work out their own destiny. Their failure to do so in the intervening years since then can only be described as saddening and, indeed, depressing to all of us who admire the spirit and tenacity of the peoples of Cyprus. Equally saddening have been the protracted and bitter exchanges among the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in the Security Council for years past and, more recently, in the Special Political Committee only two days ago.

20. I have had various occasions in the Security Council to present Australia's views on the course of developments in Cyprus over recent years, and I do not propose to repeat those views here. It is the situation that now confronts us and the objectives as we see them that this Assembly should be promoting and trying to achieve, that must command our full attention now. We can surely agree on two immediate and overriding objectives. One of those objectives must be not to distract responsible and enlightened representatives of the two communities from the task of doing what they can, in an atmosphere free from emotion and rhetoric, to build trust and confidence on the ruins created by suspicion and hostility among and between all the parties that have a direct and

acknowledged interest in the future peace, prosperity and independence of Cyprus. Our other overriding concern must be for the people of Cyprus themselves in their present tribulations, for their common and individual welfare, for their early return to a normal way of life and for a beginning to economic and social reconstruction.

21. The appalling level of the refugee problem provides only the starkest demonstration of their plight. With something like one third of the population from both communities uprooted and made homeless on their own small island, it is high time to think of Cyprus as people, and not as a prize to be fought over. It is unthinkable that such a high proportion of the population of a Member State should continue to alternate between hostage and refugee. We must insist that every effort be made to bring about the earliest possible return of all displaced persons to secure and permanent homes, both on the grounds of plain humanity and in order that the normal economic life of Cyprus can survive and prosper.

22. The Australian Government's unqualified sympathy for the displaced people in Cyprus of both communities has been placed clearly on record. We have joined other equally concerned countries in making contributions to the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to assist it in its relief work on the island. We are fully behind the efforts of the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, his Special Representative in Cyprus and UNFICYP, in their combined efforts to alleviate the sufferings inflicted on so many innocent people as a result of the recent violent upheavals. Above all, it must be for the people of Cyprus themselves to settle their own future, free from divisive influences stemming at least in part from external pressures.

23. A promising beginning has been made in the talks between Acting President Clerides and Vice-President Denktaş. This we must all welcome and spur onward to further progress. It is surely imperative that those talks be given every chance to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive settlement.

24. As for the future constitutional arrangement that may be agreed upon, this is again a matter for the two communities themselves to determine, not for outsiders to try to impose. The role of the United Nations, as we see it, is to encourage all parties, including Greece and Turkey, to help the two communities to maintain a dialogue and to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. It goes without saying—and this is my delegation's final and insistent request—that all foreign armed forces at present on the island, other than those that are there under the authority of international agreements to which Cyprus is a party, should withdraw in conformity with the repeated demands of the Security Council.

25. It is not my intention to comment at this stage on the draft resolution that has been introduced by the representative of Cyprus. I reserve my right to do so at a later stage in respect of that and any other draft resolution that may be put before us.

26. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has heard the speeches made by the representatives of the parties

concerned and other countries. Now we should like to make a few observations on the question of Cyprus.

27. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned over the development of the Cyprus question, and we express our profound sympathy with the plight of the Cypriot people. Fundamentally speaking, the Cyprus question is a legacy of imperialist, colonial rule. The imperialist policy of "divide and rule", and binding one to the other, sowed the seeds of conflict.

28. As one may recall, after the independence of the Republic of Cyprus two large-scale clashes leading to bloodshed broke out between the Greek and Turkish communities. Today, the internal cause of the renewed eruption in Cyprus, and its grave development, is the absence of a settlement of the issues between the two Cypriot communities; its external cause is the fierce contention between the two super-Powers.

29. Cyprus, situated in the eastern Mediterranean, is a place of strategic importance. That is why in recent years the contention between the two super-Powers over Cyprus has grown fiercer with the intensification of their contention for hegemony in Europe, the Middle East and on the seas. The July coup d'état was inseparable from the meddling of one super-Power.

30. However, the other super-Power is not reconciled to its failure. People may see clearly that it was precisely that super-Power which, since the July coup, has done its utmost to incite dissension and exacerbate the situation so as to plunder a burning house, so to speak. At the same time, it issued one government statement after another. Flaunting the banner of "maintaining peace and security" and "supporting national independence", and professing a compassionate concern for the interests of the Cypriot people, it submitted a draft resolution one day followed by another proposal the next day at the Security Council meetings, calling for the dispatch of a "special mission" at one time and advocating the convening of an international conference and the establishment of "new international guarantees" at another.

31. One cannot help asking whose interests this super-Power is serving by producing a variety of proposals in such haste. As the Chinese saying goes, "Hear a man's words and judge him by his deeds". Just look at the inglorious record of this super-Power, which has in recent years kept on sending more naval warships for a show of force in the Mediterranean and is seeking open and disguised military bases there; look at its ugly deeds of reaping fabulous profits in the Middle East war through munition deals under the pretext of "assisting the Arab countries", and its expansion and infiltration into the Middle East; look at its acts of betrayal in promising to send tens of thousands more emigrants to the Israeli Zionists every year at the expense of the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab people, for the purpose of seeking most-favoured-nation treatment from the other super-Power; and look at its various performances in the South Asian subcontinent. It will not be difficult to see that the acts of this super-Power on the Cyprus question are definitely not to serve the interests of the two Cypriot communities, but are old tricks designed to serve its own selfish interests. No matter how it masquerades, it has only one aim in mind, that is, to

make its way into that area by hook or by crook, to squeeze out the other super-Power and to realize the old tsars' century-old ambitious design of controlling the Mediterranean so as to contend with the other super-Power for world hegemony.

32. We have pointed out on many occasions that super-Power rivalry and aggression are the root cause of the turbulence in the present world. While hawking *détente* every day, they are actually creating tension everywhere. Wherever the tentacles of their contention and aggression reach, the countries and peoples there will suffer severely. This has been borne out once again by the development of the Cyprus situation.

33. Today it has become increasingly clear that, if the super-Powers' intervention and contention are to be tolerated, the situation in Cyprus will remain turbulent and tense and the problems will become even more complicated and extensive. Therefore, in order to settle the Cyprus question, it is imperative to do away with the meddling and intervention of the super-Powers, oppose their aggression and contention, guard against their machinations and sabotage and particularly guard against that super-Power which has honey on its lips but murder in its heart.

34. The Chinese Government and people firmly hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. We sincerely hope that through earnest negotiations the Greek and Turkish communities will find a reasonable solution to the problems existing in their relationship, so that they can live together in equality, co-operation and harmony; and we are firmly opposed to super-Power meddling.

35. We maintain that, in the final analysis, the settlement of the Cyprus question depends only on the Cypriot people themselves. The Cypriot people won their independence through long struggles in the past, and now they will surely be able to safeguard their independence in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism, and manage their own State affairs well. Despite the complexities of the Cyprus question, so long as the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, and the countries concerned, seek to settle their differences through peaceful, patient and friendly consultations on an equal footing and with sincerity, the Cyprus question can eventually be settled in a reasonable way.

36. We are pleased to note that recently the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus have held a number of talks, that the two parties have completed the exchange of prisoners and reached some agreement on the return of detained students and teachers in the areas controlled by the other side. The communiqué on the talks also said that the two leaders had discussed "other important questions". Such meetings and talks are still going on. This progress in the Cyprus situation is a good beginning for the settlement of the Cyprus question. As rightly said in the speeches of many representatives, we hope that their talks will lead to a solution satisfactory to all parties concerned.

37. In its international scope, the Cypriot people's struggle to safeguard national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity is now also a component of the struggle of the third-world countries and peoples

against imperialism and hegemonism. We appreciate the efforts made by many third-world countries to oppose the meddling and intervention of the super-Powers, facilitate the *rapprochement* and talks between the two Cypriot communities and promote a settlement of the Cyprus question. We hope that they will further play a positive role. China is friendly to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. We all suffered from imperialist and colonialist bullying and oppression and their incitement of dissension and tactics of "divide and rule". Together with the numerous third-world and other countries, we will make positive efforts to eliminate super-Power intervention and promote a reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question.

38. Mr. MONGUNO (Nigeria): As the United Nations again addresses itself to the complex task of harmonizing the different views and reconciling competing interests on the question of Cyprus, let me stress right away the belief of my delegation that only unselfish statesmanship can give substance to our joint aspirations for peace in justice and dignity on that troubled island. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us all to strive for a just and lasting settlement based on the noble ideals and principles upon which the United Nations was founded. As Members of the Organization, we all fully accept and subscribe to the principles of sovereign equality of Member States, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of each and every State. We can only fulfil these solemn obligations by adhering to yet another principle, and that is non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

39. The year 1960 was a watershed in the history of decolonization in the world. The island State of Cyprus joined the ranks of the newly independent nations and eventually became a Member of the United Nations. Like many other Member States, Cyprus is a child of the United Nations. Also, like many of those States, Cyprus is still fragile and needs all the dispassionate understanding, patience and attention the international community can give it. Again, like many new States of the third world, Cyprus has had to reap the bitter harvest of a dubious colonial legacy, which placed mischievous emphasis on the ethnic and cultural differences of the communities that inhabit the country. Indeed, one could say that ethnocentrism is at the heart of the present tragic situation in Cyprus. Not a few Member States represented here have been convulsed by inter-communal conflicts arising from the exacerbation of religious, political, racial or ethnic differences.

40. Cyprus has, unfortunately, been the victim of inflamed ethnic antagonism, which has been further aggravated by the protection guaranteed to each of the two ethnic groups by two bigger and more powerful neighbours. Thus after emerging victorious from the battle against colonialism, Cyprus has been denied the joy of reaping the fruits of victory. It did win independence but not self-determination, inasmuch as the fortunes of the country are to a large extent capable of being determined in Greece or Turkey. That is the crux of the matter. On the one hand, the spectre of *enosis* has never stopped haunting the Cypriots; on the other hand, the real threat of partition disguised under the cloak of constitutional pro-

posals has engendered a siege atmosphere, which in turn has led to great distrust between the two ethnic groups. The phenomenon created a tight-rope situation which the elected Government of this young, non-aligned country was forced to walk.

41. The Greek-inspired coup of 15 July 1974 which overthrew the legitimate Government of Archbishop Makarios could only have been aimed, if not at outright *enosis*, at least at the subordination of the will of the Cyprus people to the dictates of the rulers in Athens. My delegation cannot fail to condemn this blatant rape of the independence and sovereignty of a State with which my own country shares many bonds, not only in the non-alignment movement but also in the Commonwealth. Equally vehemently does my delegation condemn the subsequent invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. It is now clear that the invasion, far from having the limited objective of restoring constitutional rule to Cyprus, was in fact aimed at the partition of the island. Representing a country that had to fight a civil war for two and half years to maintain its unity and territorial integrity, my delegation urges Turkey to respect the territorial integrity of Cyprus by withdrawing its troops. That will be a great step forward in the implementation of Security Council resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974. That resolution, it must be emphasized, calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

42. My delegation is by no means suggesting that the withdrawal of Turkish troops will immediately solve the complex problem of the island. Nevertheless, such a withdrawal would facilitate the indispensable next stage necessary for discussing a general solution. For without a return to some degree of normalcy, can we seriously expect fruitful negotiation? As it is, 40 per cent of the area of Cyprus is under foreign occupation; over 200,000 people, or about one third of the entire population, are refugees; the economy of the country is almost at a standstill, and, what is more, the legal Government of Archbishop Makarios has not been restored.

43. Urgent steps must be taken to rectify this situation, so that serious negotiations can commence in accordance with paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 360 (1974) of 16 August 1974. It is essential, as resolution 360 (1974) aptly stated, that negotiations be resumed in an atmosphere of constructive co-operation and that the outcome of such negotiations "should not be impeded or prejudged by the acquisition of advantages resulting from military operations".

44. The importance of eradicating bitter feelings of defeat in national reconciliation following civil upheavals such as took place in Cyprus cannot be over-emphasized. My delegation says this with regard to our own experience. It is now well known that Nigeria, after a civil war, achieved within a very short time what many observers have described as a twentieth-century miracle in reconciliation and human relations.

45. Many factors have contributed to this happy result. Not least among these has been the philosophy that in a civil war there is no gloating victor and no humiliated vanquished; that magnanimity is the most essential factor in national reconciliation.

46. Many States have likened the communal upheavals in Cyprus to a civil war. If that is correct, then perhaps all Cypriots should learn from our experience in national reconciliation. Admittedly, it is not easy to fight the human temptation to indulge in recrimination and rancour, nor to suppress the human reaction to seek revenge. But that should not stop us from making efforts designed to turn memories of past misunderstandings, however justifiably deep-seated, from stumbling-blocks into stepping-stones leading to hope for the future.

47. Those who contend that Cyprus, like many emergent States, is a synthetic State, an artificial creation, and therefore has irreconcilable communal problems, must ask themselves which State in the modern world has no minority problems, be they linguistic, cultural or religious. The most populous nation-States today have ethnic *mélanges*. The strength, cohesion and influence of those big States have derived from the determination of the inhabitants of those countries to accentuate the similarities, the common aspirations, the shared hopes and expectations of their peoples rather than the superficial differences that divide them. It has been done before in great countries like the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I venture to hope that it can also be done in Cyprus, given the determination and the political will to succeed.

48. For it occurs to my delegation that one of the obstacles to the realization of a distinct national ethos in Cyprus could well be that both the majority and minority populations there seem to see their well-being as dependent on the prevailing attitudes of their ancestral homes. One way out of this *impasse* could be for both communities, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot alike, to create and then accept the reality that they are Cypriots first and foremost. In other words, differences could lend themselves to possibly easier solutions if the inhabitants did not consider themselves as Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot, but simply as Cypriots. That way they could possibly build more quickly a better and more stable future. That way they could, in spite of past wrongs and misunderstandings, together work out conditions that place a premium on respect for cultural diversity and the right of both communities to live in peace and dignity and work for the common good of all the inhabitants of Cyprus.

49. That this ideal seems impossible of achievement in the present circumstances of tension should not unnerve us as we try to advance it. My delegation is convinced that a Cyprus that enjoys the total loyalty of all its inhabitants can exist, and we all must help to bring this about. As my Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Okoi Arikpo, said during the general debate on 3 October last:

“... Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the parties to the tragic drama in that island, we in Nigeria are convinced that Cyprus must be enabled to continue as one undivided sovereign State, and that the citizens of the sovereign State of Cyprus must learn to live together under one sovereign government. What arrangement the peoples of Cyprus make to ensure the stability and territorial integrity of their country is a matter of their internal affairs. My delegation hopes that the United

Nations will lend its authority to ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.”
[2255th meeting, para. 18.]

50. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mauritius demonstrated its concern with regard to the situation in Cyprus as early as 20 July last when I spoke at the 1781st meeting of the Security Council following the unfortunate developments which we all know and which remain the underlying causes of the problem that confronts us today. The present situation in Cyprus is tragic, as many speakers before me have pointed out. We have to deal not only with the plight of thousands of refugees and other uprooted people but also, and above all, with the survival of a small non-aligned State as a sovereign and independent entity.

51. We hope that this debate will clarify the issues, in view of the situation now prevailing on the island of Cyprus, and will contribute towards safeguarding the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country.

52. The representatives of the two communities in Cyprus have clearly stated that they are determined to keep Cyprus independent. That being the case, the loyalties of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities should go only to the independent State of Cyprus.

53. It is worth noting also that both Turkey and Greece have stated their determination to respect the independence of Cyprus. We feel, however, these good intentions should be followed by concrete acts of goodwill. In this respect, allegations that one party is trying to annex part of the country should be investigated. We have taken note of the statement by the representative of the Turkish community that, while the Turks are in favour of an independent Cyprus, the nationalism of the communities is so deep and the necessity for coexistence so great that federation is the only way to peaceful coexistence, co-operation and ultimate realization of a common identity. Of course, it is up to the two communities to define a new constitutional framework if need be; but Mauritius would like to state that any idea of federation should not imply the partition of the island. In addition, in order to have genuine federation, assuming that this is the solution that both communities would ultimately choose, the question of sectors that are presently occupied as a result of foreign intervention would have to be attended to adequately. It should be noted in this connexion that 40 per cent of Cypriot territory is reportedly under Turkish occupation.

54. In our opinion, any physical changes that take place in the occupied sectors—here we wish to refer to reports concerning the conversion of churches into mosques—would make a final settlement more difficult.

55. A satisfactory solution of the attendant question of refugees and other displaced persons is also a prerequisite for a lasting settlement. The problem is serious because it affects about one third of the total Cypriot population.

56. The sovereignty of Cyprus implies the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military pres-

ence and personnel from the country. I have strongly emphasized this point in the Security Council, and it should be recalled that the Council has already adopted a resolution on the matter. That mandatory resolution should be implemented without further delay. For this purpose, we urge that the intercommunal talks under way should be encouraged, in the hope that after solving the urgent humanitarian questions now under consideration the representatives of the two communities could tackle other basic problems, including all questions relating to the withdrawal of foreign armed forces. We highly commend our esteemed Secretary-General and his representative in Cyprus for their efforts. We should strengthen their hands. We would propose that UNFICYP should continue to play its vital role. The activities and movements of the Force should not be restricted; all parties concerned should be invited to co-operate in this regard.

57. In the Security Council I emphasized the urgency of the restoration of constitutional rule in Cyprus. It is, of course, up to the people of Cyprus as a whole to decide whether any constitutional settlement would involve the restoration of the 1960 Constitution. But I believe that His Beatitude, Archbishop Makarios, whom Mauritius continues to recognize as the legitimate head of State of Cyprus, should be allowed to play his role.

58. To conclude, I should like to reiterate and emphasize that Mauritius supports, without any reservation, the views expressed by the sole and uncontested President of Cyprus, namely, that any geographical federation, as opposed to communal, regional or cantonal federation of the island, would not be in the best interest of the sovereignty, integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

59. My delegation will consider the draft resolution or resolutions at the appropriate time, after any cosmetic surgery deemed necessary has been performed. I hope the final draft will be to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

60. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): The ashes and smouldering fires of war now lie scattered across the hills and plains of Cyprus. The internal difficulties have been fuelled by intervention from outside Cyprus, and that island is now a place bristling with armed encampments, with towns and villages torn apart, and with many refugees, uncertain of the future.

61. The serious problems facing Cyprus and the halting steps taken over the years towards national unity are well known to us all. Their roots lie deep in history. The forging of national unity and a distinct identity—a problem which, frankly, many of us face now and many others faced in the past—has been a significant part of the history of Cyprus. Divisions of one sort or another were promoted in the colonial past, and peoples were encouraged to look elsewhere for their identity. More recently, the objectives of unity and a distinct national identity have been frustrated by vaulting ambitions derived from an earlier era and have been undermined by the strategic and security interests of foreign Powers.

62. The recent events in Cyprus have been tragic. That aggression has been committed against it is undeniable. And my delegation deplores all—I repeat,

all—such acts. As a non-aligned country, as a small developing country, Guyana cannot do otherwise; for any other position would, for us, be a negation of our understanding of the basis on which States should comport themselves in their relations with each other in accordance with the principles that inform the Charter of this Organization—principles that have continuing validity and are universally accepted.

63. The question of Cyprus is not new to this Organization. Once again, the United Nations—the General Assembly—is being called upon to play a part in helping in the search for a solution to a tragedy that is immense in its proportions. But while acknowledging the complexity of the problem, we must not be overwhelmed by it. We must adopt a positive approach to this question. If by these deliberations the General Assembly can point the way forward, recognizing that many difficulties are inherent in the situation arising from past realities and, now, from the creation of new ones, we will have made a significant achievement. Our task, as my delegation sees it, is to help to develop a climate in which a just, honourable and durable solution can be found.

64. As the General Assembly prepares to pronounce itself on the question of Cyprus, we must bear in mind that Cyprus is a State Member of this Organization and is the Member State on the initiative of whose Government we are today discussing this matter. Proceeding from these acknowledgements, there are certain identifiable principles which the United Nations—all Member States—are obliged to support. These principles can be simply enumerated as follows: respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus; the need to refrain from all acts and intervention directed against that Republic; the speedy withdrawal of all armed forces, military personnel and presence alien to it; the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic; the return—the early return—of all refugees to their homes in safety; and the recognition that the basis on which Cyprus is organized, constitutionally and otherwise, is a matter for the people of that territory—their constituent communities—to determine.

65. If these essential principles inform our attitude and our approach to the question of Cyprus, then, in the view of my delegation, we will have gone a long way towards meeting what seems to my delegation to be the wishes of the Cypriot peoples and the aspirations of the international community.

66. While acknowledging these goals, we must not ignore the dangers that exist and that can frustrate the search for a viable solution, a solution that is acceptable to the constituent elements, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who comprise the population of Cyprus. In this context, we must give encouragement to the contacts and talks currently being conducted between representatives of the two communities under the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and urge the parties concerned to accelerate their efforts in finding urgently a solution to the problem of refugees.

67. UNFICYP and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees are already playing some part in alleviating the conditions of the refugees and displaced persons, and we believe they should be given

a chance to expand their roles. We take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General for the work of UNFICYP on the island and to express our appreciation of the invaluable contribution which the Force has made and should be allowed to continue to make.

68. On the delicate problem of the internal political and constitutional questions yet to be resolved, we should avoid taking a paternalistic or inopportune view. The future of Cyprus is for the people themselves to decide. Let us not be without hope that the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities can work out a solution to their problems by themselves. The United Nations—this Assembly or the Security Council—may yet have a role to play in the future in relation to whatever agreement the people of Cyprus reach, and it thus remains worthwhile, in my delegation's view, to make provision, if necessary, for an involvement of this nature on the part of the United Nations.

69. Between the two communities there exist misgivings, animosities and fears of domination. But it may be that out of the recent experience there emerges a hope that the future holds out a promise to the people of Cyprus, a promise hitherto denied. If I am right, then let us build upon that hope. Let us not frustrate those yearnings. Let us encourage new—even if tentative—steps which the people of Cyprus can take to make a manifest reality of their hopes.

70. Speaking on this matter in the general debate on 30 September, my Minister for Foreign Affairs said:

“... let us be alerted by the lessons of Cyprus to the threat to national independence and sovereignty of States already within the Organization. The people of Cyprus have suffered a tragedy of immense proportions. None of us, but particularly those of us who come from plural societies, can fail to be profoundly moved by the setback to national unity . . .

“... What is needed now, above all else, is to help our brothers in Cyprus to bind up the wounds of their shattered society, to help them in their efforts to preserve the integrity of the State and to place at their disposal our collective good offices and the protection, and indeed the superintendence, of the United Nations itself in guaranteeing that integrity and the capacity of Cyprus to continue to play a constructive role in the affairs of the world community.” [2249th meeting, paras. 54 and 55.]

71. The desired goal is to see the people of Cyprus in all its various elements living in freedom, peace and security. The road ahead is difficult. But given patience, goodwill and a new confidence, the people of Cyprus, encouraged by this Assembly, can build upon the new beginnings they have made.

72. Mr. SEIGNORET (Trinidad and Tobago): The people of the Republic of Cyprus have faced serious internal problems for more than a decade. These problems were brought to the United Nations over 11 years ago, and the United Nations has been physically present in Cyprus for almost as long. That these problems should have resisted settlement for so long is a measure of their complexity, and that they should have erupted into the violence that the inhabitants of the island have had to endure since the middle of

July is evidence of the powerful antagonistic emotions that so far have helped to make a solution impossible.

73. The international community has been given detailed information of the effects of the terrible events that have occurred since mid-July 1974. We have been informed that heavy casualties have been suffered and that widespread damage has been done to homes, herds and places of work. The economic life of the country has been disrupted, and productive communities reduced to dependence on charity. A huge army of refugees, people uprooted by war and other hostile action, exists in Cyprus. Urgent action is required, and at the same time appropriate steps must be taken to help to create conditions favouring the necessary political negotiations and enabling them to resolve the problem. The events of 1974 in Cyprus overshadow the events of preceding years, but we recognize that neither the people of Cyprus nor the international community can overlook any chapter of the entire sorrowful story.

74. I have the honour to speak on behalf of the delegations of Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Our countries are small island States like Cyprus, equally weak and defenceless militarily. The ease and impunity with which overwhelming external military force was used in relation to the internal political problems of Cyprus give rise to the gravest reflections on our part. We speak in this debate to express our solidarity with the people of Cyprus, the whole Cypriot people, and our readiness to support any action the General Assembly might take that will contribute to the alleviation of their immediate physical difficulties and help create the conditions that would enable them to work out agreed constitutional arrangements.

75. The United Nations has not been able to protect Cyprus from foreign intervention and so far has not been able to compel the withdrawal of all foreign forces. But the Governments whose forces are present in Cyprus have already agreed and announced to the world that they reject any possibility of partitioning Cyprus or of absorbing part or all of the island into their States, and the contending Cypriot communities have repeatedly expressed their determination to keep their State undivided and independent.

76. My delegation fears that the presence of foreign military forces other than those under the flag of the United Nations will hinder progress towards a political solution. On the other hand, the antagonisms dividing the communities appear to be so deep-seated and the mistrust and suspicion so deeply ingrained that we fear it might be for some time necessary for some outside force, subject of course to the approval of Cypriot authorities, to ensure the maintenance of conditions of peace and security on the island. It has already been suggested that the mandate of UNFICYP should be extended to enable it, because of the special circumstances of Cyprus, to assist the authorities on the island in whatever manner they consider necessary, and we endorse this suggestion.

77. No one can settle the political problems of Cyprus other than the people of Cyprus themselves. At the same time, negotiations are bound to be more difficult if doubts persist as to the security situation in the country.

78. Our delegations believe that, provided the authorities in Cyprus request such assistance, the United Nations should be willing to extend its role in Cyprus with a view to promoting the conditions that would facilitate peace-making. In this context we join with those who have already done so in paying a tribute to UNFICYP, to the gallant members of the Force who have fallen, to the countries that have contributed and continue to contribute personnel for the Force, and to the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the United Nations system for their untiring efforts with regard to the problems of Cyprus.

79. Much has been said about the need for prompt action to assist the refugees. The Security Council has expressed its grave concern at the plight of the refugees and other persons displaced as a result of the events in Cyprus. The Council has urged that they be allowed to return to their homes in safety. With the coming of winter, the plight of the refugees will be made even worse. We hope that early steps will be taken to give effect to the resolutions of the Security Council; there must be no obstacle preventing the displaced persons from returning to their homes in safety.

80. We shall support any proposals that reflect the decisions taken by the Security Council in resolution 353 (1974) and in subsequent resolutions on this question. We urge an early end to foreign military intervention in Cyprus and the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel, and further call upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We also urge all States to refrain from acts of aggression and intervention against Cyprus.

81. Finally, we wish to express the hope that the discussions that have been going on between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots will bear much fruit and that they will be widened to encompass the political questions which remain and which have to be resolved.

82. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Members of the General Assembly are aware that the Group of Non-Aligned Countries appointed a small committee consisting of five countries—Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia—to follow developments in the Cyprus crisis and to remain in contact with the various parties to the problem in order to be able to be in a position to furnish any assistance that might be needed to create a climate of trust among them and to facilitate the quest for a solution satisfactory to all.

Mr. Augustin (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

83. While we may have had some doubts about the complexity of the problem and the difficulty of arriving at a common understanding, the few weeks that we have spent trying to draft a resolution that could command general approval have completely dispelled any illusions that we might have entertained about the difficulty of a task approaching the impossible. Given the difficulties of the present Cyprus situation and outside of the immediate problems calling for urgent solutions, it is clear to all that the present crisis, which for that matter is only the most recent manifestation of a long-standing ill, has its real roots in the circumstances

that obtained upon the accession of Cyprus to independence.

84. It is not for us to say whether the complex settlement then arrived at was the best possible at the time, the more so as we are fully aware of all the interests that were involved in the affair and the concern that prevailed to meet the requirements of all. The hope was that with the passage of time the concern would be eased, the opposition would be mellowed and, through the contacts of every-day life, an atmosphere of *détente* would come into being in which the political system of Cyprus would become more flexible and simpler.

85. The fact that Cyprus belongs to the Group of Non-Aligned Countries held out the best hope, we felt, that things would move towards a State whose independence and sovereignty would be completely separated from the contingencies that had prevailed upon its inception. Only non-alignment, by guaranteeing it against any allegiance that might be hazardous to its own security, would enable the country to strengthen its coherence and to forge its identity. The attitude of the non-aligned Group is based entirely on this conviction, which explains the special interest our countries have always taken in this problem and their commitment in the present crisis to seek out a solution that would preserve the non-aligned character of Cyprus.

86. The non-aligned countries, in speaking of Cyprus, can envisage only one State, with the full attributes of sovereignty based upon the freely expressed will of a people incarnating the entity that is Cyprus. Therefore it will be understood why we are reluctant, faced with reality, to recognize a Cypriot State whose independence is subject to certain contractual clauses under the terms of international treaties and a Cypriot people that remains divided into two antagonistic communities whose mutual mistrust is urging them towards separation rather than towards merger. Whatever it may cost us, however, it is on the basis of this reality, and this reality alone, that we can seriously envisage a way out, where we see the hope that one day Cyprus will be a sovereign State and a united people. It is by bowing to these objective considerations that the Group of Five has set about its mission, not only in order to reaffirm the view of our countries concerning the future of Cyprus but also, above all, to try to find some common ground, no matter how confined, among the divergent positions, sometimes violently opposed positions, of the parties to the Cyprus crisis.

87. Our Group did not confine itself to considering the fundamentally legitimate claims of the representatives of Cyprus in the non-aligned group. It also welcomed the comments and grievances of spokesmen for the Turkish Cypriot community. Finally, it took care to consult the views of the Greek and Turkish delegations. This concern for impartiality and understanding is worthy of being stressed, because it came from countries that can be neither neutral nor indifferent when one of their own is involved, one whose very existence is at stake and one that has every right to look to us for immediate and unconditional support.

88. I do not wish to add to the very modest merits of our Working Group by stressing the immense difficulty of that task, which was difficult and often

thankless, often confronting us with impossible choices or irreconcilable demands; but I must say that this was the case in order to explain the inadequacies and the imperfections of the draft resolution we finally circulated as document A/L.739 and Add.1. As it stands, we sincerely believe that it reflects what may be regarded as a basis for agreement among the various positions. We are basically concerned with two elements that seem to us crucial to any prospective solution. First of all, we must protect Cyprus against all external pressure and all foreign intervention. We must then go on to ensure conditions in which the Cypriots may be enabled themselves to settle their problems in a climate of restored confidence.

89. These elements, like those appearing in our draft resolution, must not be regarded as independent of each other, or as linked in the order in which they are set forth. On the first point, we have based ourselves on the oft-repeated assurances by Greece and Turkey that they are prepared to respect the independence, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the non-alignment of Cyprus; but the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the island still remains to be ensured, through negotiations involving Greece, Turkey and the two Cypriot communities.

90. Regarding the second point, we have endeavoured to secure conditions that would enable both communities to feel reassured concerning both their present and their future, and to encourage the negotiations already going on between their respective representatives. The restoration of trust in their relations will certainly be a long-term undertaking, and can succeed only through a tenacious joint effort. But it is clear that the first stage must be for the two communities to settle the humanitarian problems presented by the refugees, and that is what we consider in operative paragraph 5 of our draft resolution. The development of such a process in present circumstances does of course require the close support of the international community and of our Organization, which, having spared no effort to that end thus far, will not hesitate, we are convinced, to make available its resources to all those concerned to help them overcome their difficulties and their rivalries.

91. We are aware of the obvious, even disappointing, modesty of these meagre results when compared with our original intention of going further and faster than this, but this proposal is only a starting point, and everyone agrees that the first step is the one that counts. We appeal more particularly to the two Cypriot communities, to both of which we are linked by the same bonds of friendship and fellow-feeling, to turn towards their future and to put behind them the passions of the past, to commit themselves boldly to the path we have sketched out with their assistance, with due regard for their apprehensions and their aspirations. Needless to say, it is the hope of the authors of the draft resolution now submitted for your approval that, despite its weaknesses, which we are the first to admit, it will receive unanimous support, thus indicating the Assembly's confidence that all those concerned with the future of Cyprus will live up to their responsibilities and to the demands of history, in which their destiny is joined.

92. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): My delegation is taking part in the consideration of the question of

Cyprus with a profound sense of the special responsibility that this Assembly is appropriately discharging in dealing with yet another grave international crisis involving the fate of a Member State.

93. From the very outset we supported the inscription of this item on the agenda of this session, deeply convinced that the General Assembly, in its capacity as principal organ of the Organization, where all Members are represented, must voice our collective grave concern, because whenever the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one Member State is in jeopardy we are all threatened. It must give its full support to and staunchly defend the fundamental rights and attributes of its Members, the existence of and respect for which are the very basis of international order and peace.

94. As an active Member of the United Nations, as a non-aligned country, and a country situated in the region most directly affected, with close ties with non-aligned Cyprus and friendly relations with neighbouring Greece and Turkey, Yugoslavia is engaged in a sustained effort to promote the resolution of the crisis on the basis of the principles of the United Nations and non-alignment.

95. Here I should like to recall in particular the personal messages that the President of Yugoslavia, Mr. Josip Broz Tito, has sent to all the parties directly concerned, to the leaders of many non-aligned countries, to the permanent members of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in which on the basis of the assessment that this is a crisis of the broadest international significance, he pointed out the principles that we consider provide a basis for a just and lasting solution; the visits of our Federal Secretary, Mr. ...ć, to Athens, Ankara and Cyprus and the talks he held there; and, most recently, Yugoslavia's participation in the work of the Group of five non-aligned countries entrusted by the Coordinating Bureau with the task of making itself available for contacts and good offices as required and working out a draft resolution on the matter that it is hoped could obtain the widest possible support.

96. In all these activities we have been prompted by our deep awareness of the following important aspects of the situation: the acute worsening of the Cyprus crisis, provoked by the *putsch* carried out with the support of reactionary forces from abroad against the legitimate Government of Cyprus, headed by Archbishop Makarios, which flared into an armed conflict and led to foreign military intervention. All these developments have inflicted painful sacrifices and sufferings on the people of Cyprus. The fact that this crisis constitutes a most serious threat to the existence of a small non-aligned country cannot but cause particular concern to all the non-aligned States, because, as stated in their declaration of 6 August of this year,⁴ a threat to the peace and security of one of them is a threat to them all. Finally, we are dealing here with a particularly dangerous aggravation of the crisis which, so close to the existing extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

97. Before I say a few words about the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries [A/L.739 and Add.1], so ably introduced on our collective behalf by Mr. Rahal of Algeria, I should like very briefly to

restate my Government's position on the elements that it views as essential for promoting the settlement of this grave problem. They are: full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus; the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and bases from Cyprus; the return of all refugees to their homes in safety; and the establishment of relations of equality between the Greek and Turkish national communities within the framework of a State organization that they will themselves work out. Equally, we hold that the legitimate representatives of Cyprus, the representatives of both national communities, must participate in finding a just and lasting solution, as their role in the search for such a solution is of primary importance.

98. In that context, we attach particular significance to the talks between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus and hope for their progress. We consider it indispensable that the United Nations should be fully committed to finding ways and means for the political settlement of the Cyprus crisis, as we believe that the World Organization offers not only the best but also the only acceptable and productive framework for the exertion of further efforts as needed.

99. In view of all this, the General Assembly had to engage itself actively, especially because of the acute and protracted nature of the crisis, after other attempts at dealing with it had failed to produce any satisfactory results. Our decision here should encourage the parties concerned by making it easier for them to move more speedily towards a just and lasting solution.

100. I turn now to draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1 which is before the Assembly. Of course a draft resolution of this nature cannot contain all the elements and demands that each of us here should like to see incorporated in it. However, it is our firm conviction that this draft resolution is, in the present circumstances, at once principled, constructive and realistic. It contains the very fundamental principles of the United Nations and of the policy of non-alignment. It states unequivocally the right of Cyprus to have its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment respected by all States. Consequently, all States must refrain from all acts of intervention and interference of any kind in the affairs of Cyprus. All acts that are contrary to this provision must cease forthwith.

101. Of particular importance is the clear demand for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from Cyprus. For us, it goes without saying that Cyprus cannot be subject to any kind of decision-making by other parties and Powers with respect to its future. It is indispensable that the representatives of the Government of Cyprus and of its two communities participate in all negotiations and in every settlement. We attach particular significance to the provision of the draft resolution that the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot community should, on an equal footing, continue to negotiate to reach a mutually acceptable political settlement.

102. It is a recognized and universally accepted principle that refugees must be allowed to return to their homes in safety. The draft resolution very clearly states that the parties concerned should undertake urgent measures to implement this principle. We

seriously hope that the talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas will facilitate the early undertaking of such measures.

103. In our view, this draft resolution has the dual purpose of defending the relevant fundamental principles of the Charter and of non-alignment, thereby defending a sovereign Member of our Organization, the independent and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, and of contributing to the just and lasting solution of the crisis.

104. Looking to the future, we must create conditions for freedom and peace for Cyprus and for relations of co-operation and trust between the two national communities. It is in that way that the most formidable obstacles to anybody's interference in the affairs of Cyprus will be most effectively built. It is in that way that the secure existence and well-being of an independent and non-aligned Cyprus will be most effectively guaranteed. We are convinced, therefore, that the draft resolution—which we strongly recommend for adoption in the Assembly by the largest possible majority—will make a principled, constructive and realistic contribution to that end.

105. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation had occasion to participate in the Security Council discussions on the situation in Cyprus. Our interest in the future of Cyprus stems from the fact that Cyprus is not only a non-aligned country but was also a former British colony and is now a member of the Commonwealth, apart from the fact, of course, that Cyprus is a Member State of the United Nations and is now in grave difficulties.

106. Twenty years ago it was Greece which brought before the General Assembly an item relating to the application of the principle of self-determination in the case of the population of Cyprus. The question then was the demand of a section of the people of Cyprus for *enosis* with Greece. That demand naturally provoked the counter-demand of another section of the population of Cyprus for partition and union with Turkey. Fortunately, both courses were avoided because a substantial section of the people of Cyprus opted for independence from colonial rule.

107. One cannot fail to be impressed by this fact which, therefore, places upon us the responsibility for ensuring the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. Unfortunately, independence did not come easily to Cyprus. Because of the contrary political demands of different sections of the people of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece became directly involved in the constitutional arrangements for the independence of Cyprus. That involvement also brought into being a system of treaty guarantees relating to the constitutional arrangements for Cyprus. Thus, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus came to be guaranteed multilaterally and its unique Constitution became an essential factor in the stability and peace of the region.

108. But the delicate political balance implicit in the special arrangements for Cyprus could only survive if there was total respect for those arrangements. Unfortunately, that delicate political balance was upset several times, and again lately by an unwarranted act of intervention by the Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard. That intervention was directed

against the constitutionally established Government of Cyprus. The involvement of the Greek military officers in the internal affairs of Cyprus immediately converted what might have been an internal problem into an international problem, and it created a chain reaction culminating in the unfortunate military intervention by Turkey.

109. As a result of these historical developments, a part of Cyprus is now occupied by Turkish forces and the Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard apparently continue to remain in Cyprus. That situation clearly poses a threat to international peace and security as well as a threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

110. My Government's sympathy is entirely with the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, who have suffered the ravages of war. We are informed that there are thousands of refugees who have either fled from their homes or have been driven out. It should be the immediate concern of the United Nations to take steps to ensure that all foreign military forces and personnel are withdrawn from Cyprus, and that normal conditions are speedily restored so that the refugees will voluntarily return to their homes in safety.

111. It is also necessary to ensure that there is no further external intervention in the political life of Cyprus. The future of Cyprus and its constitutional arrangements are for the people of Cyprus to determine for themselves in conditions of peace, freedom and democracy. Any other solution, however well-meaning, will be unrealistic and it cannot endure unless it has the full support of the two main communities of Cyprus.

112. The Security Council adopted some seven or eight resolutions designed to solve the crisis in Cyprus. The three guarantor Powers—Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom—have had discussions at Geneva for the same purpose. It is indeed regrettable that the Security Council's resolutions have remained unimplemented and the question had to be brought before the General Assembly. Real and lasting peace and stability in Cyprus can be established only on the foundation of mutual trust and confidence between the two main communities in Cyprus. Although the United Nations can play an important role in this process, the principal responsibility for inducing an atmosphere of mutual confidence in Cyprus remains with Greece and Turkey. They have a special responsibility in this regard, not only in their own mutual interests, but more particularly in the interests of the well-being of the people of Cyprus. It is, therefore, a matter of deep gratification that both Greece and Turkey have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

113. My country is a member of the Group of five non-aligned countries that was entrusted with the task of making suggestions for resolving the crisis situation in Cyprus. We have naturally participated extensively in consultations with the various parties concerned. This has certainly given us a deeper understanding of the problem in all its aspects. We certainly do not underestimate the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a speedy restoration of normal life in Cyprus. The crisis began many years ago and has continued in one form or another. Today the island

is virtually divided, with refugees belonging to the two communities fleeing in opposite directions. Feelings for revenge are still strong, but at the same time the urge for safety and compromise appears to be gaining ground.

114. There has been some talk about the division of Cyprus into two separate ethnic zones, united in a federal constitutional structure. Some have argued that such an arrangement would be a realistic and practical basis for peaceful co-existence between the two communities. Others have argued that the unitary structure of the Constitution of Cyprus should not be disturbed and that within a unitary State there can be autonomous ethnic zones enjoying a substantial measure of delegated authority.

115. It is perhaps too early for the people of Cyprus to examine these alternatives objectively and free of passion. Nevertheless, it is the people of Cyprus, and they alone, who are ultimately responsible for their destiny. Sooner or later the two main communities will have to sit down and discuss all possible alternatives concerning their future constitutional arrangements. We sincerely hope that neither community will reject out of hand any of the alternatives but that the two communities will examine seriously every alternative in a practical manner so as to remove from the minds of both any fear of domination of one by the other.

116. The situation in Cyprus is certainly a most unusual one. On the one hand, we have a majority that is naturally anxious to exercise its democratic rights, but it enjoys the support of a foreign State that is militarily weaker than another foreign State, which in turn is obliged to support the minority in Cyprus. In such a situation, involving political rights and military might, a balance has to be struck between the two. The majority has not only rights but also obligations and responsibilities towards the minority. Equally, the minority has to make common cause with the majority on essential and fundamental matters, while seeking, of course, to protect its own legitimate and fundamental rights.

117. It is unrealistic for either party to stand on principles and demand their implementation, because there are principles and principles and some of them are mutually conflicting. A principle is not a geographical point without any dimension. Principles have to be related to the prevailing situation, and their practical application has to be tempered by mutual accommodation. We have every hope that the two communities will look upon their common future with a sense of sober realism and work out a mutually acceptable *modus vivendi* based on mutual confidence and mutual benefit.

118. The question of refugees has assumed urgent importance because more than 40 per cent of the population of Cyprus seems to have been displaced. Many of the refugees are living on British bases and many more are waiting only for any opportunity to return to their former homes. Their problem is essentially a humanitarian problem, and we hope that the parties concerned will give the highest priority to its solution. The refugees have the right to return to their homes in safety, but they cannot exercise that right by themselves. It is the responsibility of the parties concerned to enable them to exercise this

fundamental right. We hope and trust that the parties concerned will engage themselves urgently in talks designed to facilitate the urgent return of the refugees to their homes. Without the co-operation of all the parties concerned the refugees will not return to their homes.

119. One of the important elements for the establishment of mutual confidence is surely the demonstration by both parties that refugees are free to return to their homes and can do so in safety. The sooner the movement of refugees to their homes is facilitated, the greater are the chances of reaching a mutually acceptable political settlement.

120. I come now to the question of withdrawal of all foreign forces and personnel from Cyprus. Quite obviously that question is not unrelated to the political settlement concerning the future of Cyprus. Military intervention has taken place because of alleged dissatisfaction with the situation in Cyprus, and therefore the sooner the situation stabilizes, the quicker the foreign forces will withdraw. At any rate, the withdrawal of foreign forces should not be made conditional on a political settlement, because we feel that the withdrawal of those forces in itself should facilitate a political settlement.

121. This is a matter that concerns both Greece and Turkey, and we hope that they will enter into bilateral talks for the purpose of bringing about the withdrawal of their respective forces from Cyprus. Indeed, it is not necessary for the General Assembly to request them to withdraw their forces. We would hope that they would do so on their own initiative.

122. There is of course no denying the fact that Greece and Turkey are interested and will continue to be interested in Cyprus because the population of Cyprus consists of Greek and Turkish communities. This situation naturally places a very heavy burden of responsibility on Greece and Turkey. We trust that they will rise to the levels of statesmanship demanded by the situation and withdraw their forces unilaterally. Such a noble gesture will be a demonstration of faith in the non-aligned status of Cyprus and will certainly be welcomed heartily by the entire Group of Non-Aligned Countries. Furthermore, the withdrawal of their forces can only have a beneficial effect on Cyprus and will surely expedite the return of normal conditions to that embattled island. We would therefore appeal to both Greece and Turkey at least to announce to this General Assembly the commencement of the withdrawal of their respective military personnel.

123. It is our hope that the negotiations now taking place between the representatives of the two communities in Cyprus will lead to a mutually acceptable political settlement. If there is such a settlement, and even if there is no such settlement, it may be necessary for the United Nations to involve itself in future negotiations for the purpose of ensuring to Cyprus its fundamental right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We envisage for that purpose either further meetings of the Security Council or, if necessary, even a special international conference along the lines proposed by the Soviet Union. We do not exclude any such possibility or any course of further international action designed to safeguard the

independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

124. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has been carrying a very heavy responsibility, and we should like to express to him our deep appreciation of the efforts made by him personally and the efforts made by his Special Representative in Cyprus. He has our full support in the difficult and thankless job of peace-making.

125. The presence of UNFICYP is an important and positive factor in the present situation, and all parties should extend their co-operation to that Force. We would hope that with the commencement of withdrawal of foreign forces, the position and mandate of UNFICYP can be strengthened if necessary, so as to enable it to cope with the new dimensions of its peace mission. We trust that all the parties involved in Cyprus will recognize the imperatives of peace and the importance of the Force and extend to it their fullest co-operation.

126. Lastly, we have co-sponsored draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1, which was so ably presented by the representative of Algeria. The operative paragraphs, which are the important ones, contain in our opinion all the basic elements needed for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus crisis. The preambular paragraphs are mercifully short. We have deliberately refrained from condemning or deploring all acts of intervention because we believe that all the parties concerned desire to start with a clean slate, and we hope that they will write on that clean slate the terms of a solution that will bring peace and prosperity to the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, and at the same time establish between Greece and Turkey relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. We would appeal to Greece and Turkey and above all to the Government of Cyprus and the two communities in Cyprus to give this draft resolution a fair chance.

127. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On the agenda of this session of the General Assembly is a series of complex and important questions that directly concern peace and security. Of these, one of the most urgent is the question of Cyprus. It would be wrong to regard this problem as concerning only the relations to each other of the two communities, or to close our eyes to the interference on the part of external aggressive forces in the domestic affairs of Cyprus, which was the original cause of the events that have taken place in that country and, subsequently, of the deterioration of the situation there.

128. Ever since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, external imperialist forces have done everything possible to divert the State from its chosen path of non-alignment to force it to serve the interests of their aggressive policies, and to turn the island into a stronghold of NATO on the approaches to the Middle East. Was there not much talk at the time, in the aggressive circles of NATO, of Cyprus as an "unsinkable aircraft-carrier"? I am sure everyone knows that the same circles have always accorded to Cyprus a special place in their military strategic plans. As long ago as 1956 the British military bases in Cyprus were used to mount aggression against Egypt. Those bases are still there in Cyprus today. To keep

them there and to divert the attention of the people of Cyprus and of world public opinion from the struggle to eliminate those bases, mistrust and enmity have been constantly whipped up between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. The Zurich-London system was imposed upon Cyprus, and subsequent events have made perfectly clear that it constituted a grossly defective system that was used for the sole purpose of exercising interference from abroad in the domestic affairs of Cyprus.

129. A foreign military presence in the territory of any young, independent State, as events in Cyprus have shown, can at any moment be turned against the interests of the people of that new, sovereign country for purposes of interference in its domestic affairs and to worsen relations between it and neighbouring States.

130. The Republic of Cyprus, after its attainment of independence, overcame the difficulties created by external and internal reaction and withstood the repeated attempts to settle its destiny behind the backs of the Cypriot people. Despite the deliberately created obstacles, the young Republic in a very brief period achieved great success. The firm policy pursued by the Makarios Government, the policy of non-alignment with political and military blocs, the policy of developing friendly relations with all countries, assisted the growth of the international authority of Cyprus. That policy of the young State was clearly not to the liking of certain NATO circles, which continued to hatch their plans for converting Cyprus into a bridgehead in the eastern Mediterranean directed against the national liberation movement in that region. The overthrow of the constitutional Government headed by Archbishop Makarios, which was planned in advance by external forces, created the crisis on the island and led to a sharp deterioration of the situation around Cyprus. The entire responsibility for that situation rested, first of all, with the bankrupt Greek military junta, and also with certain NATO circles with whose approval this adventure was undertaken. Subsequent events have created a situation of severe crisis.

131. The Soviet Union and other States of the socialist group, in the first days of these difficult trials of the people of Cyprus, took a position of principle in which they condemned the aggressive acts of the Athens military and spoke out for the inalienable right of the Cypriots to be complete masters in their own house. They called upon all States that care for peace and the freedom of nations to take rapid and effective steps to bring about the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from the island, to restore the lawful Government, and to put an immediate end to foreign military interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic, so as to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Those proposals were in accordance with the interests of the Cypriot people and won widespread support throughout the world. Today, three months after the Security Council gave intensive consideration to the crisis in Cyprus that was threatening peace and security, one can confidently say that the Council did play a certain positive role. It adopted resolutions 353 (1974) and 357 (1974), the key provisions of which may be regarded as the basis for a political

settlement of the problem of Cyprus. I refer mainly to the provisions calling for an end to foreign military intervention, immediate withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops and military personnel, and the restoration of the constitutional and lawful Government of the country, and emphasizing the need for strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

132. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR in the Security Council spoke up strongly in defence of the rights and interests of the people of Cyprus, pressing for the adoption and implementation of decisions that would do most to bring about a just resolution of the problem of Cyprus. Unfortunately, it must be observed that the main provisions of Security Council resolutions 353 (1974) and 357 (1974), which pointed the way to a political settlement, have not been implemented, and the fault lies with those who unsuccessfully sought to solve the problem of Cyprus within the narrow circle of NATO. The Geneva talks between the guarantor Powers fully revealed the unworkability of the Zurich-London guarantees and demonstrated to the entire world the collapse and complete bankruptcy of that system.

133. Of particular importance here are the proposals advanced in the Security Council by the Soviet Union, as compelling today as ever, that a special Security Council mission should be dispatched to Cyprus⁵ and that within the United Nations framework a new international conference be convened.³ These were realistic proposals devised on the basis of a profound analysis of all aspects of the problem and its international importance. There have, of course, been criticisms of these proposals, but they have been accompanied by nothing constructive. The General Assembly cannot fail to take into account the fact that the Soviet proposals are in keeping with the interests of the people of Cyprus and that they gained the active support of many delegations in the course of the debate. The gist of the Soviet initiative is clear and easily understood. The point is that the problem of Cyprus should be examined by a representative, and, at the same time, working forum of States reflecting the political configuration of today's world.

134. The membership of that conference should logically be determined by the tasks confronting it, and should include Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, all States members of the Security Council, and also representatives of the non-aligned States. That conference would create an organizational basis for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Considering the particular responsibility borne by the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, they could jointly or in parallel provide the appropriate effective guarantees of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus—guarantees that the decisions of the international Cyprus conference would be carried out.

135. This decision concerning guarantees would be a new step aimed at enhancing the role of the Security Council as the main United Nations body bearing special responsibility for the maintenance of the peace and security of nations.

136. It is no accident that the clarity of this proposal met with the approval of world opinion, too. At a recent meeting in Paris of 15 non-governmental inter-

national organizations of the most diverse kinds, embracing a wide range of views and representing hundreds of millions of people in all continents, the following appeal was adopted and was issued to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session. Among other things, it states:

“We appeal for implementation of Security Council resolution 353 (1974), which calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and calls for an immediate end to foreign military intervention, the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel, and restoration of constitutional government.

“We request the permanent members of the Security Council, which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take all necessary steps to ensure the immediate implementation of the United Nations decisions.

“We support the initiative for solving the Cyprus problem in the interests of the whole Mediterranean region and of world peace put forward by the Soviet Union, and its suggestion that an international conference be held, with the participation of all members of the Security Council, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the non-aligned countries.”

137. The development of events in Cyprus has shown that the dispatch of a Security Council mission could have a favourable effect on the atmosphere in and around Cyprus, making it possible for the Security Council and the United Nations to take a more active role in preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a non-aligned State and Member of the United Nations, Cyprus.

138. The Soviet proposals open up a realistic possibility of finding a just settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interests of the Cypriot people and its two communities, Greek and Turkish, to the benefit of world peace and security. Accordingly, my delegation is in favour of their earliest implementation.

139. The urgent need for an early political settlement to the Cyprus problem is obvious; there must be an end to artificial delays. The elimination of the hotbed of military tension in the eastern Mediterranean requires that all States sincerely concerned in seeing the process of relaxation of international tension carried further should undertake responsible and decisive action. The United Nations and its General Assembly now have the duty to take a decision that, without interfering in the domestic affairs of the people of Cyprus, would get the Cyprus problem out of its present impasse and initiate a business-like consideration of the whole complex of questions bound up with the strengthening of international peace and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, a non-aligned State and Member of the United Nations.

140. It had been my intention to conclude my statement at this point. However, in view of the statement made by the representative of China, I should like to note that, in discussing any question, the representative of China, despite his country's commitments under the United Nations Charter and its undertaking to strengthen international peace and security, tries to

substitute for the essence of the question under discussion the old, absolutely worn-out record about super-Powers. The representative of China tries to present himself as a friend and defender of the non-aligned countries; yet he found no place in his statement for a single word in defence of the interests of the people of Cyprus against the encroachments of NATO circles on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that non-aligned State, Cyprus. Instead he launched the customary, old attacks on the Soviet Union, and even went to such absurd lengths as to try to blame the USSR for the armed *putsch* in Cyprus, which was actually carried out by the Athens military junta with the support of certain NATO circles—that junta now having been tossed on the dust-heap of history.

141. Apparently, the Chinese are unable to make any statement without referring to the Soviet military presence. As everybody knows, Mr. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated in July of this year:

“We also consider it useful to reach agreement on the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all Soviet and United States vessels and submarines carrying nuclear weapons.”

142. The representative of China affects not to see the foreign military bases in Cyprus and the acts of certain NATO circles directed against the independence of that country. He tries to palm off the whole tragic course of events in Cyprus on to the Soviet Union, which has defended the rights of peoples to sovereignty and territorial integrity and their right to solve their domestic problems without outside interference. This statement by the representative of China is an example of such mythical nonsense as could hardly be dreamed up by 10,000 sages, even under the terrible threat of losing their lives.

143. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): For 20 years now—that is, ever since the United Nations in 1954 first had to examine the granting of self-determination to the people of the island—the Cyprus question has periodically reappeared on the agenda of our Organization, often in the form of an acute crisis.

144. Even before the birth of the Republic of Cyprus, the Organization was preoccupied with differences of view which, at the institutional level, were already giving rein to certain aspirations for *enosis* or for partition, and at the economic and social level, carried the seeds of an imbalance, the serious dangers of which could not be foreseen.

145. Tunisia has always made its contribution to the search for a just, equitable and realistic solution to problems arising in the world, particularly in the Mediterranean, and it did not fail—two years before Cyprus acceded to independence—to draw to the attention of this Assembly and to the interested parties the need to preserve the unity and integrity of the island and to safeguard the legitimate rights of the two communities composing it. Through its representative at the time, the late Mr. Mongi Slim, the Tunisian delegation stated, *inter alia*, on 1 December 1958 during the thirteenth session:

“[The Tunisian delegation does not] approve of a solution which would result in partition. Any

solution must . . . be based on the principle of recognition of the right of the population of Cyprus as a whole freely to determine its own destiny, taking into account the elementary principles of justice and internationally supported guarantees for the various elements of that population.”⁶

146. Sixteen years have elapsed since the problem arose in clear and unambiguous terms. The Tunisian delegation notes with regret that, despite three crises that have shaken the island over the past 11 years, we had to arrive at the present situation with its sequel of sufferings before public opinion in Cyprus and the signers of the London Agreement realized that no lasting solution could be found to the Cyprus crisis if account were not taken of the following two basic principles: first, international recognition of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island—allow me in this connexion to express the satisfaction of the Tunisian delegation, which notes the categorical statement by the official representatives of Greece and of Turkey definitely rejecting any possibility of *enosis*, or partition; and secondly, the institution in Cyprus, under international guarantees, of a constitutional, political, economic, cultural and social order that would permit the establishment of a true balance between the two communities, with mutual respect for their different identities and with the confidence and solidarity of a people united in one destiny.

147. The Foreign Minister of Tunisia stated on 4 October 1974 from this rostrum “. . . the problem of Cyprus must be resolved once and for all in a way permitting the co-existence of the two communities, with full respect for the character of each of them, within the framework of a single State, with the constitutional rights of each so guaranteed that neither of them can challenge the rights of the other, while at the same time the complete independence of the island is preserved under an international guarantee.” [2256th meeting, para. 21.]

148. The principle of territorial integrity and independence of the island is no longer challenged by any of the signatories to the London Agreement, and therefore the hypothesis of *enosis* or of partition has been definitely discarded. The Tunisian delegation has therefore noted encouraging elements in the statements of the representatives of the two Cypriot communities when they spoke at the 922nd and 923rd meetings of the Special Political Committee on 20 October.

149. Without dwelling on the polemical elements of this type of statement, the Tunisian delegation decided to single out the positive elements that would lead to understanding and negotiation, and so we noted with satisfaction that, for the Turkish Cypriots, it is only the fear of *enosis* that has prevented the peaceful coexistence of the two communities. Its representative, Mr. Çelik, stated that, without the aspirations of the Greek Cypriot community to achieve *enosis*, “there would have been no reason why the two communities could not live together in peace and harmony”.⁷

150. Similarly, Mr. Papadopoulos, the representative of the Greek Cypriot community, stated, *inter alia*: “We bear no animosity towards our Turkish Cypriot compatriots for past differences . . .” and went on to say: “. . . we . . . pledge our sincere

endeavours in the effort to work out a just and equitable constitutional system within which we can live in safety and friendship”.⁸

151. Allow me, on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, to express the hope that the nightmare of the fratricidal struggle experienced by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities for 10 years now, which has led to an armed conflict between two nations, both friends of Tunisia, will finally and definitively come to an end.

152. I should like to pay tribute to those who have made constant and sincere efforts to work out the elements of a platform that would form the basis of negotiation, which we hope will come about in the near future. These elements appear in draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1, which has just been submitted to our Assembly for its consideration and was introduced to us by the representative of Algeria. This draft resolution should be adopted by consensus. That is the wish of the Tunisian delegation.

153. We have no doubt that the two nations concerned and the two Cypriot communities, both of whom are the heirs of our ancient Mediterranean civilization, will always make a contribution to the progress of mankind as a whole. We have no doubt that the leaders of all parties concerned will draw on their creative genius and their time-honoured vocation for peace and will find the resources and imagination necessary for the search for a solution acceptable to all, particularly to the two communities, which will permit the people of Cyprus as a whole to turn this dark page of its history once and for all and to devote its energy to building a united, just and prosperous nation that looks to the future and one that will soon become an active and decisive element in strengthening solidarity, co-operation and fraternity among the countries of the Mediterranean and, by so doing, throughout the world.

154. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the next speaker I should like to announce that Argentina, Nepal, the Syrian Arab Republic and Uganda have also become sponsors of draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1.

155. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): It was not our intention, in speaking in this debate to cast aspersions on anyone at all. However, it must be recognized that the tragedy of Cyprus is one of the “delayed-action bombs” that have been placed here and there by the great Powers to remind us, the small Powers, that what is important to them above all is not the interests and freedom of our peoples but their own interests, their thirst for power and hegemony, at the altar of which they are prepared to sacrifice the fundamental principles upon which the very United Nations itself was founded.

156. It is up to us to be aware of this in order to ensure that these arrangements among the great Powers do not backfire against our peoples. To this end, persuasion, dialog and concerted effort appear to be more effective arms than the resort to violence, force or war, which in the final analysis settles nothing.

157. The accession of Cyprus to independence on 16 August 1960, after many vicissitudes, was carried out in *sui generis* conditions, differing from those experienced by most of our young States.

158. Cyprus, we regret to state, is one of the typical examples of imperfect decolonization. Its independence was from the very outset encumbered by its enslavement to various foreign political and strategic interests. Its Constitution, the offspring of the Zurich and London agreements, was recently compared by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ivory Coast to the tunic of Nessus [2246th meeting, para. 90]; instead of being an internal concern of Cyprus it was the result of a compromise between the fundamentally contradictory interests of the various protagonists in that drama, a compromise that sacrificed the very essence of the matter, namely, the right to self-determination of a people composed, it is true, of two communities that, unfortunately, have links with two of the protagonists or claim kinship with them, with the lordly blessing of the third party.

159. Far from favouring the emergence of a free and brotherly Cypriot nation through the progressive integration of the two communities on the island, the Constitution of 1960 and the Zurich and London agreements that were linked to it were conceived with the intention of perpetuating division and antagonism between those communities, thus preventing any evolution towards the formation of a sense of Cypriot nationality on the model of our young African States, where many different races are integrated by means of dialogue and persuasion. This has so polarized and conditioned the reactions of the population that they think and act only on the basis of their racial origin, rather than thinking and acting as Cypriot citizens.

160. The constitutional balance that was so laboriously created soon showed itself to be very fragile: it failed to enable the State or its institutions to function normally for the simple reason that the State itself could not rely on any homogeneous national support. The Constitution which made the birth of this new State possible was so difficult to apply that one of the parties, which, by the way, was numerically the greater, felt it was necessary to make modifications that it considered essential to ensure the proper functioning of the State. The other party was opposed to this because it considered, rightly or wrongly, that those modifications jeopardized its own rights and favoured the accomplishment of the designs harboured by the majority party. The difficulties that arose from the implementation of the Constitution and the agreements must have been the origin of the bloody events that led the Security Council on 4 March 1964, to adopt resolution 186 (1964) creating UNFICYP, the Force entrusted with the maintenance of peace in Cyprus, and requesting the Secretary-General, in agreement with the Governments concerned, to designate a mediator who was to do everything he could to bring about a peaceful solution and a joint settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

161. That resolution and the others adopted in the course of the same year made it possible for Cyprus to live through 10 years of relative peace. That peace, to which the Ivory Coast in its modest way also contributed, has recently been disrupted as a result of inadmissible interventions in the internal affairs of that State, interventions that have further widened the gap separating the two communities and made the dispute between them almost impossible to settle.

162. We cannot but deplore these interventions and the serious harm that has been done, involving the loss of many human lives and the uprooting of many tens of thousands of people exiled from their land and turned into refugees compelled to live under pitiful conditions.

163. We must condemn just as resolutely both the military coup d'état planned by the military junta then in power in Greece and carried out by soldiers of the National Guard backed by Greek officers, and the intervention of Turkish forces in Cyprus. The fatal part played by those Greek officers in unleashing the hostilities is to be condemned; but it can in no way justify the magnitude of the steps taken by Turkey in trying to resolve the problem of Cyprus by force, by imposing a *de facto* state of affairs that was difficult to accept, even if it was supposed to protect the rights of the minority on the island.

164. A great deal has been said during this recent conflict about the so-called Treaty of Guarantee, which was in principle designed to protect the sovereignty of Cyprus. Undoubtedly the use of military defence treaties or other agreements is very current, as can be learned from the history of international affairs. These military treaties or agreements have always been concluded for the purpose of protecting their signatories against third parties. We, therefore, find it very difficult to understand their meaning and use in the present crisis. Instead of protecting Cyprus, these treaties, by granting the guarantor Powers the right to concern themselves in the internal affairs of that sovereign State, have served as an excuse for armed intervention against its sovereignty, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

165. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ivory Coast said here on 27 September, "force must not prevail and must not count as a paying proposition" [*ibid.*, para. 93]. Therefore, we believe that the international community should do everything it can in order to ensure respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, to help the Cypriots, whether they be Greek or Turkish, to resolve their differences by peaceful means in the interests of the concord that should prevail between the two communities that make up the population of the island, and of peace throughout the country and the region.

166. We consider, in this connexion, that the evacuation of all foreign troops, other than those of UNFICYP, is a *sine qua non* for the establishment of a lasting peace in Cyprus. This also implies the recall of the foreign Greek officers to their country. The elimination of foreign military bases would also be a positive contribution towards peace.

167. We believe that Cyprus should remain an independent and sovereign State and that the integrity of its territory should also be respected. The statements made on 23 and 24 September 1974 respectively by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Greece [2239th meeting] and Turkey [2241st meeting], both parties to the conflict, are reassuring and, if they are effectively acted upon, are likely to create a climate propitious for finding a peaceful solution to the distressing problem of Cyprus.

168. The United Nations should contribute to this effort for peace by trying to reconcile two requirements: that of a compromise between the two partners that must try to live in harmony in a single State, and that of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. In this way we would help to overcome the most difficult obstacle on the road to peace and make it possible for the two communities concerned to find, by themselves, appropriate means of achieving peaceful coexistence.

169. History has taught us that all nations are the result of combination and fusion and new States are no exception to this. Therefore, we are convinced that if the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus, which have lived together for a number of centuries, were left to themselves, they would find a way to get rid of what divides them and leads them to bloody confrontations, and would embrace whole-heartedly and with all their strength whatever can unite them within their common homeland.

170. We therefore think that we should confer on the Secretary-General, to whom we should like to pay a heartfelt tribute for what he has already done, the necessary authority to oblige the Governments concerned to withdraw all foreign troops and the foreign Greek officers, to encourage dialogue between the two parties, to invite them to bury their rancour, mistrust and suspicion so as to be able to lay solid foundations for a united, free and independent nation. As a complement to the mediating efforts of the United Nations, we might envisage enlisting the aid of two States that are really neutral in this conflict in order to help the two communities to achieve this objective.

171. Our colleague from Algeria, on behalf of the Group of five non-aligned countries, introduced draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. We should like to take this opportunity to make a brief comment. We consider that this draft resolution is somewhat incomplete and somewhat inconsistent, because it does not really reflect the impression that has emerged from the debate. We think that the text might have deplored all forms of intervention which have caused so much suffering to Cyprus. We consider also that the Assembly should invite the Governments concerned to withdraw immediately their foreign troops as well as all foreign military personnel. The expression "speedy withdrawal" seems inappropriate coming from non-aligned countries.

172. The draft resolution tends to wipe the slate clean concerning what has happened in the past, and we are rather surprised at the failure to refer to certain relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Cyprus, particularly the most recent resolutions of the Council arising from the new crisis in Cyprus. We find this omission difficult to understand, but if it is dictated by an agreement of the interested parties, we shall feel obliged to go along with it.

173. Taking these observations into account, my delegation will vote for draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1.

174. We hope that this debate, in which the representatives of both communities on the island have participated, will constitute a first step towards establishing in Cyprus the peace we so wholeheartedly

desire. If the draft resolution can contribute to this, we can only welcome it gladly.

175. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): My Government has been closely following the tragic situation in Cyprus, a country with which we maintain very friendly ties and share an abiding belief in the principles of non-alignment. The sad events that have unfolded over the past months in Cyprus and brought in their wake untold suffering and privation to the Cypriot people have aroused our profound concern. The situation on the island is fraught with grave danger to international peace. The proximity of the island to Arab shores makes us all the more conscious of these dangers.

176. It is our belief that a just and durable solution to the Cyprus problem should be predicated on the necessity of the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island. It should be based on the recognition of Cyprus as one State in which the rights of the two communities ought to be safeguarded and guaranteed on a mutually satisfactory basis. Therefore we note with particular gratification the renewed commitment on the part of Turkey and Greece to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The statements by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Turkey [2241st meeting] and Greece [2239th meeting] in the general debate that their respective Governments are against partition and *enosis* are of particular significance in this connexion. The fact that approximately one third of the population of the island are now refugees is indicative of the appalling proportions of the problem and the human suffering it involves. It is also indicative of the urgency that the United Nations should play a decisive role in resolving it peacefully.

177. If the United Nations is to succeed in achieving a solution to this problem, it must look the realities in the face. It cannot afford to indulge in wishful thinking or rhetoric. It needs a hard, clear-eyed look at the realities. We must always keep in mind that the struggle in Cyprus is not a two-sided one. It is not a struggle between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alone. Nor is it two-sided in the sense that it is a wider two-sided struggle involving Greece and Turkey. We must keep in mind that the struggle on the island is in fact three-sided, for there is the additional strife among the Greek Cypriots themselves, unfortunately.

178. Cyprus was subjected to an act of aggression before 15 July. That act of aggression was committed when the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, requested the withdrawal of the Greek officers from the island, and the junta in Greece refused to comply with that request. It was then that the Greek Cypriot faction opposed to Archbishop Makarios perpetrated its *coup*, which led to the crisis confronting us today.

179. We in the Middle East know from bitter experience that the United Nations is powerless in trying to solve problems as chronic and as complicated as the one in Cyprus. What the United Nations can do and should do is to reaffirm, in regard to this problem, the basic principles of its Charter and the provisions of the valid and pertinent treaties and international conventions. The United Nations could and should create the right atmosphere to encourage the parties directly concerned in the dispute to enter into positive negotiations that could lead, on the basis of the Charter

principles, to a just and equitable solution of the problem. The United Nations should avoid at all costs taking any measures which would put the clock back to the time when the latest troubles started on the island, thereby unwittingly paving the way to another war, not only between Greeks and Turks on the island but among the Greek Cypriots themselves.

180. In regard to this problem, we note with great satisfaction the efforts of the non-aligned countries to find a solution. The increasing role of the non-aligned States in resolving outstanding international questions having a significant bearing on international peace is eloquent proof of the peace-loving nature of the non-aligned movement. In this respect, Iraq, as a non-aligned country, welcomes the efforts undertaken by Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia in submitting draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. We know that this draft resolution may not be the perfect formula that each and every one of us can accept, but our experience in the United Nations has been that there are no such perfect formulas. We feel though, that great effort and great wisdom have gone into this formulation, and therefore Iraq will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

181. Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The present crisis on Cyprus continues to cause serious concern to all peace-loving and progressive forces throughout the world, which are resolutely coming out in favour of strengthening the process of *détente*. People of goodwill in all corners of the earth are expressing their sympathy with the tragedy that has been visited upon Cyprus at the present time. Its people has once again had to bear the brunt of sufferings from the intercommunal strife that has been caused from outside by foreign armed intervention against this small sovereign State, a full-fledged Member of the United Nations.

182. As the Assembly knows, since it was formed Cyprus has been more than once the victim of the aggressive policies of the military circles in NATO, which for many years have tried to abolish and do away with the State independence of Cyprus and have tried to turn it into their own military strategic beach-head in the eastern Mediterranean. In order to reach their egoistic aims, certain circles in NATO have placed their reliance in an alliance between the domestic enemies of the State sovereignty and independence of Cyprus and the most reactionary external forces, and primarily the former authorities of the Greek military junta. The last link in this whole series of imperialist intrigues against the State independence and sovereignty of Cyprus was the criminal plot against the constitutional Government of the country, which was hatched in July of this year.

183. Events on the island have continued to develop in such a way that they have constituted a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus, a threat of the country's partition, which is fraught with very serious consequences for the peace and security, not only of that region but of the entire world. Thus the question of Cyprus has once again been brought before the Security Council, which bears special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, for the purpose of taking immediate and effective measures. Now, at the request of Cyprus,

this question is being discussed at this session of the General Assembly.

184. We believe that from the very outset there was an opportunity to restrain the dangerous development of events in Cyprus if, in the Security Council when it was discussed, certain members of that body had not resorted to Fabian tactics in adopting constructive steps. Thanks to the energetic and insistent efforts of peace-loving States in the Security Council, a number of important resolutions were adopted, the implementation of which would create favourable conditions for a just settlement of the Cyprus question, in accordance with the principles and aims of the United Nations Charter.

185. The discussion of the question of Cyprus in the Security Council and the subsequent active efforts made by peace-loving forces have yielded certain results. In particular, there has been success in bringing about a cease-fire among the hostile parties, in taking the first steps towards establishing direct contact and in starting negotiations between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus. However, the tense situation on the island persists, and the reason for this is the fact that the fundamental decisions of the Security Council are being sabotaged, those decisions stipulating an immediate cessation of foreign military intervention, the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel from the island, and the restoration of the constitutional order and of legal constitutional government in Cyprus.

186. What do the facts show? The facts indicate that foreign occupation of a considerable part of the territory of the country continues. Military clashes have led to numerous victims among the civilian population. Hundreds of thousands of Cypriots have been obliged to leave their homes and become refugees. There continues to be an absence of any conditions that would make it possible for the constitutional Government to assume authority over the entire country. Serious damage has been caused to the economy of that developing country. In these conditions, the speediest solution to the question of Cyprus on a sound and just basis, in accordance with the national interests of the Cypriot people, is the bounden duty of the United Nations.

187. Most of the delegations who have spoken from this rostrum have expressed their opinion on the necessity for effective steps to be taken to reach a just settlement of the Cyprus question. This in turn has confirmed the vital importance of having the question of Cyprus discussed at the present session of the General Assembly. The urgency of this question is quite obvious, but it is important to choose the right way to solve this problem. Both in the Security Council and at the present session of the General Assembly, a number of constructive proposals have been put forward, the practical implementation of which would genuinely promote a political settlement of the Cyprus question. As the Assembly knows, the delegation of the Soviet Union put forward a proposal to send a special Security Council mission to Cyprus in order to verify on the spot how the Council's decisions were being carried out and subsequently to report to the Council. However, up to now this proposal has not been decided upon. It should be pointed out that, in

connexion with the present situation in Cyprus, the question of international guarantees for the independence of Cyprus should be decided on a realistic basis. The failure of the Geneva talks on the matter of Cyprus has confirmed the irreconcilability of the Zurich and London agreements with the spirit of the times. The Mongolian delegation entirely shares the view that the just and sound settlement of the Cypriot problem in accordance with the decisions of the Security Council and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations can be achieved only in a broad international forum under the aegis of the United Nations, which will really and genuinely protect the interests of the non-aligned State of Cyprus.

188. In this connexion, the delegation of Mongolia once again would like to emphasize the importance and the timeliness of the new proposal made by the Government of the Soviet Union that, within the framework of the United Nations, an international conference should be convened, with the participation of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and all States members of the Security Council and also, if necessary, with the participation of other countries concerned.³

189. In the opinion of our delegation, the importance of this proposal is further seen in the fact that it raises the question of a new system of international guarantees, that is, the decisions of the international conference on Cyprus would genuinely be guaranteed by the permanent member States of the Security Council. We consider that the practical implementation of this new Soviet proposal, in favour of which representatives of many Member States of the United Nations have spoken, including the representatives of Cyprus and Greece, would help to further the cause of bringing about a fair settlement of this problem in accordance with the vital interests of the Cypriot people.

190. The people and Government of Mongolia have resolutely condemned the act of gross intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus as being a blatant violation of generally acknowledged norms of international law. Mongolia firmly and consistently is and has been in favour of protecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in favour of restoring the legitimate, constitutional Government of Cyprus and the immediate cessation of foreign military intervention and the withdrawal from the entire territory of all foreign forces and military personnel.

191. We consider that the Cypriot people—both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—should be granted the right to tackle and to solve their internal problems and decide the fate of their fatherland themselves, without any outside intervention.

192. The Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that the General Assembly will at the present session take a positive decision aimed at the strict implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, a solution that will be in harmony with the legitimate aspirations of the Cypriot people and with the interests of protecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and of strengthening peace and international security.

193. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter states:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.”

The Republic of Cyprus is no exception.

194. My delegation, along with other members of the Security Council, has had occasion to condemn the acts of aggression committed on 15 July 1974 against the Republic of Cyprus by the Greek military officers attached to the Cyprus National Guard. That flagrant violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus was committed with the apparent connivance of the leaders of the then ruling military junta in Athens.

195. A few days later, and while the Security Council—whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security—was seized of the matter, the international community witnessed yet another act of aggression against Cyprus, by Turkey, under the pretext that it was fulfilling its obligation under article IV of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.⁹ The situation on the island deteriorated drastically thereafter, despite the prompt action by the Security Council in unanimously adopting resolution 353 (1974), which, among other things, requested the withdrawal from Cyprus without delay of foreign military personnel.

196. I have in the past, in this forum as well as in the Security Council, stated very clearly the position of my delegation on the crisis in Cyprus, brought about by the unfortunate events of 15 July 1974. I should like once more, with the Assembly's permission, to take this opportunity to reiterate those views which have led us to hold this position. It is the position, I am glad to state, that was also unanimously endorsed by the Security Council on 20 July 1974 when it called upon all States in its resolution 353 (1974) “to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus”.

197. It is my delegation's belief that the restoration of peace and security to Cyprus is of primary importance and that the United Nations could play a significant role in this regard. Kenya was among the first countries to call for more direct United Nations participation in the process of a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. We are convinced that, through the machinery of the United Nations, the problem of Cyprus has a better chance for solution than through those other channels controlled as they are by those with sinister designs on Cyprus.

198. My delegation will oppose any move that would involve the dismemberment of a Member State, as well as any move to legalize the results of aggression, particularly when that aggression has been carried out in total defiance of a specific resolution of the Security Council.

199. The Security Council has, in the course of the last 10 years, adopted several resolutions on the question of Cyprus. All those resolutions were framed with a view to achieving specific objectives as a result of the deterioration of the situation in Cyprus at that particular time. Most of those resolutions called upon or urged all nations to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus by refraining from

any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the Republic. The most far-reaching of those resolutions is, however, Security Council resolution 353 (1974), unanimously adopted by the Council on 20 July 1974. In paragraph 5, the Security Council:

“Calls upon Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus and to keep the Secretary-General informed.”

200. It is the understanding of my delegation that the peace talks envisaged in the paragraph I have just quoted have since broken down. I should therefore like to repeat here the fears that my delegation had expressed during informal discussions prior to the adoption of that resolution to the effect that any peace talks aimed at restoring a normal situation in Cyprus must of necessity be conducted with the participation of the Cypriots, or else they were bound to fail. I am hard put to explain how a peace conference affecting the interests, nay, the survival of a sovereign State can be held without the participation of that State.

201. Lest I leave any room for doubt, let me put it very clearly that my delegation deplores the situation whereby the sovereignty of such a State as Cyprus is subject to negotiations by virtue of an unequal treaty concluded without the full and meaningful participation of Cyprus.

202. A lot has been said both here and in the Security Council regarding the problem of Cyprus. We are of the view, that although the problem is made to appear complicated, it is simpler than many people are prepared to admit. For many centuries Cyprus has been at a point where many external forces converge and compete for supremacy. These forces invariably lead the people of Cyprus to great suffering. At this time and age of the United Nations one would have expected some, if not all, of its problems to be eliminated peacefully. We believe the United Nations has a major role to play in eliminating the divisive forces in Cyprus.

203. Furthermore, because of its history, the people of Cyprus have not been given a chance to develop some of the essential elements of nationhood. Their divisions have been over-emphasized. They look outwards instead of inwards. For that reason we believe an equally major challenge faces the leaders of Cyprus who not only have to conquer external forces but also have to mount a major and sustained effort to develop the internal cohesion of the State. The United Nations has to help in this by supporting Cyprus against external forces. That is why we must maintain and urge that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from the island.

204. Not until the call of the Security Council has been obeyed will it be possible to lead the people of Cyprus along the road to national reconstruction. We have to condemn external aggression, from whatever source, with one voice. We trust that the call of the United Nations will be heeded.

205. Before concluding, I wish to express to the Secretary-General the gratitude of my delegation for his commendable efforts in channelling humanitarian

assistance to the displaced people in Cyprus. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and ICRC as well as individual donor countries have all responded promptly to the needs of the unfortunate and displaced people of Cyprus. We equally laud their efforts and involvement. All that, however, would not have been necessary if, in the first instance, all nations without exception had respected the sovereignty of the Cypriot people. We look forward to the time when all the displaced people will return to their homes in conditions of peace and security.

206. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The question of Cyprus has been the subject of United Nations concern for many years. It has also been a source of interest and concern for all our peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, peoples which have acceded to independence after a long period of colonial domination. So far as Cuba is concerned, we have always felt profound sympathy for the people of Cyprus from the time when there was a heroic struggle against colonialism being waged, a struggle that led to their obtaining national independence, although it was granted to them on conditions that were particularly prejudicial—through the imposition of machinery that ensured to foreign Powers the exercise of a degree of tutorship over the new State.

207. These mechanisms were familiar to other peoples of the third world. They recall similar processes that had to be faced and are still being faced by many countries, including some in the American region. For this reason our people has always closely followed with sympathy the evolution of the situation in Cyprus and the efforts made by that people, in particularly difficult circumstances, to preserve their independence and their national sovereignty.

208. The clash between the people of Cyprus and the forces that are interfering in their internal affairs and trying to mould their destiny, reached dramatic heights this year; first, there was a coup d'état organized outside Cyprus against the legitimate Government of Archbishop Makarios, and then the invasion of Cypriot territory by the troops of Turkey.

209. This situation is a source of deep concern for us because in the Cyprus situation we see a convergence of all the problems that are facing the countries of the third world and a challenge to the main principles of international law, the full and effective application of which are of vital importance for all small States. That is why I wish to reaffirm our adherence to those principles and express our opinion that they should be clearly strengthened and reaffirmed by the Assembly in this debate which is now taking place.

210. We believe that we should condemn and deplore foreign aggression and interference in Cyprus from whatever quarter it may come. We believe that it is our duty to defend and support the lawful constitutional régime of that country, presided over by Archbishop Makarios. So far as Cuba is concerned, we would seize this opportunity of reiterating our support and our sympathy to that Government.

211. In our view, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly and the international community to seek the appropriate means to guarantee that the right international conditions are created so as to permit the

people of Cyprus—the members of the population of Greek origin as well as those of Turkish origin—to establish a system of coexistence, equality, freedom and peace. It would not be proper, as we see it, for the international community to interfere in those problems that affect the Cypriot communities and are, in our opinion, due to foreign interference. It should create conditions that will allow the Cypriot people themselves to resolve their internal problems. That is the primary duty of the Assembly at present. In order to create those conditions, we believe that the Assembly should advocate the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Cyprus, the dismantling of foreign bases placed there and the removal of any foreign military presence.

212. We should also take an unequivocal stand in favour of the cessation of any foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and in favour of unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We should oppose any attempts—whatever form they may take—to annex or partition the territory of Cyprus.

213. Similarly, the Assembly should take account of the serious situation created in Cyprus as a result of the recent developments with regard to the refugees, and should advocate a rapid solution of that problem.

214. We believe that, subject to any decision the Assembly may adopt at this stage, other important resolutions previously adopted on this problem—particularly those adopted by the Security Council when it dealt with the recent events in Cyprus, and more especially resolution 353 (1974)—continue to be fully valid and must be put into effect.

215. The Cyprus crisis and the most recent developments in that crisis seem to indicate quite clearly that the machinery established when that Member State of the United Nations attained its independence has not been able to guarantee effectively the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of that State. Indeed, it has tragically failed to do so, as recent events have proved. This suggests that there is a need to take new initiatives that would facilitate the search for and the rapid finding of a just and final solution to the Cyprus question. In that sense, we express our support for the Soviet proposal for an international conference on this question.

216. In any case, we should like to state clearly that, for our delegation, it is an absolutely unchallengeable principle that any solution of the problems of Cyprus and any negotiations towards such a solution must, above all, enjoy the full participation of Cyprus in all phases of that solution and those negotiations. Without the participation of the party most directly concerned, the party represented internationally by the Cypriot State and its legitimate constitutional Government, it will not be possible to find a solution, or in any case a solution acceptable to the small countries or the peoples of the third world, which want this tragedy to serve to strengthen and reaffirm the principles of international law, rather than weakening them.

217. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): The agreement which I understand has been reached among the parties directly concerned in the Cyprus question is indeed very heartening to us all in this Assembly. We salute

the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus, and we equally laud the Greek and Turkish delegations for having opted for tolerance and mutual understanding in dealing with this question, instead of engaging in acrimonious accusations or abortive recriminations. We hope that the draft resolution that will be adopted, either by a majority vote or by consensus, will be implemented with the same goodwill that all the parties concerned have manifested in this Assembly.

218. The Cypriots of Greek origin should be proud of their heritage and live up to the lofty ideals that permeate their culture. As someone who was born an Ottoman citizen, although ethnologically as well as culturally my family has been Arab as far back as we have been able to trace its origins—that is, over 15 centuries—I can testify to the fact that the Ottoman Empire was the first commonwealth in modern history. The Arab world was never Turkified throughout the 400 years or so that the Turks occupied the land inhabited by Arabs. Nor did the Ottomans interfere with our Arab institutions. It was indeed external forces that weakened the Ottomans. It was the interference of the major European Powers in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that led to the weakening and ultimately the dismemberment of the Ottoman conglomerate of nations.

219. We should not content ourselves with tendering our congratulations to the Cypriots, be they of Greek or of Turkish origin. Nor should we content ourselves with applauding our Greek and Turkish colleagues in this Assembly for the civilized manner in which they have handled this question. We should warn certain Powers to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of a small, peace-loving State like Cyprus. That is what we should do, but we are not doing it. Why has no one formulated a draft resolution in that sense? I would have done it myself had it not been for the late hour. But let this be a warning that we have had enough of interference from certain major Powers in the affairs of small States like Cyprus. And why do they interfere? For strategic, selfish ends.

220. But we plead with those Powers because we cannot force them. We are weak, so we plead with them, if they are Members of the United Nations, to refrain from pulling any more strings. The Cypriots are not puppets; and if they do consider them puppets, we have seen how the strings they were pulling have got all tangled up. Fortunately, there is a United Nations and the question has been brought before us here to resolve.

221. The policies predicated on balance of power and spheres of influence have boomeranged and backfired. Leave Cyprus alone, you major Powers, whoever you are. You know yourselves who you are. I am not going to name you here; it is embarrassing to name you. And probably you who represent them here are as ignorant of the mischief that is being wrought as we are. But we know who pulls the strings.

222. Let the tragedy in Cyprus be a warning to all those who might in future wish to fish in troubled waters. Those Powers that play wantonly with the destinies of other people will one day, because of the schizophrenia of their policy, fall, as many Powers have fallen before. We do not want to see their peoples suffer, the peoples of the major Powers. We want

them to live in peace and to let small peoples that exercise no power in the world live in peace.

223. Mr. KANTÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): For 20 years now the United Nations has been dealing with the question of Cyprus. Indeed, this item was inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time in September 1954, long before the country became independent.

224. The tragedy resulting from the imperialist coup d'état in Cyprus that overthrew the constitutional Government of the country on 15 July last has once more brought that island to the forefront of the international political scene. That violent deed called into question the independence, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the policy of non-alignment of Cyprus, a Member of the Organization. Since 15 July last, chaos has reigned on the island. The political, economic and social life of the country remains completely disorganized. Mass movements of the population have given rise to tragic humanitarian problems.

225. The case of Cyprus is a test case for the Organization, the guardian of the Charter. It is for this reason that the Organization must seize this opportunity offered to it to find a final and equitable solution to this painful problem that has arisen at various times during the last 15 years.

226. In fact, since it attained independence, this country has been undergoing grave convulsions resulting from interference on the part of certain countries and States. The differences existing between the Greek and Turkish communities continue to be exploited by outside forces, particularly by certain great Powers that suffer from a desire to dominate. Those differences may reach a point of no return if our Organization does not bend every effort to bring an end to that outside interference, on the one hand, and on the other, to induce the two communities jointly and individually to shoulder the problem of their future.

227. The instability that has characterized the history of Cyprus is a result of the pernicious manner in which decolonization was carried out there. It also results from the fact that that island occupies a privileged strategic location at the gateway of Asia Minor, on the route to the Indies. It was this fact that prompted Mr. Hopkinson, at that time the British Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to declare on 28 July 1954: "Cyprus is a strategic area, and as such, it is one of those territories that can never aspire to complete independence".

228. This assertion needs no comment and reveals the hateful machinations that continue to mortgage the existence of Cyprus as an independent State. Although it has legally been decolonized, the country has remained in fact a condominium, at least in the minds of its principal partners. The existence of foreign military bases on its territory receives its alleged justification from these residual rights.

229. The Zurich and London agreements and the Treaty of Guarantee have also sought to give it some legal basis. Actually, the latter, the Treaty, stipulates in article IV :

"In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty . . .

"In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the State of affairs created by the present Treaty."

230. As we can see, far from guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Zurich and London agreements and the Treaty of Guarantee jeopardize them.

231. The coup d'état of 15 July 1974 and the tragic developments that have served to give proof of it, are at one and the same time a flagrant violation of the Charter and a grave attack on international peace and security.

232. It is for this reason that we must review the question in the light of these basic facts and devise a new procedure for settlement that will make possible a return to peaceful conditions on the island of Cyprus.

233. The United Nations offers, in this respect, an ideal framework for such an undertaking, and the agreement in the statements made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus concerning the inviolability of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, makes our task easier.

234. Draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1, submitted to the Assembly by the non-aligned countries, including my own, constitutes a second stage in the process of settling the question of Cyprus in the fashion set forth in Security Council resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974.

235. It envisages the following three-stage settlement of the crisis: first, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island in order to defuse the tension and create a climate of confidence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who are becoming more and more aware of their common destiny; secondly, the return of the refugees to their homes and the resumption of talks between the two parties under the aegis of the United Nations; and, thirdly, the drawing-up of legal instruments, which, under United Nations supervision, would guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is understood that these agreements will cancel all previous agreements on Cyprus.

236. This draft resolution, which has apparently won the support of the principal parties to the dispute, will, I am certain, be adopted by the Assembly. Its implementation will enable us, once and for all, to resolve the unhappy Cyprus crisis. The first beneficiaries will, of course, be the Cypriots themselves, without any distinction as to their origin—those who, for 15 years, have been the innocent victims of outside interference and manipulation, and who, just like all other peoples, will reconcile themselves to building a nation united, democratic and strong, in keeping with their fervent aspirations.

237. Mr. GÜNES (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): During the general debate I had occasion to state my Government's views on the general aspects of the Cyprus problem [2241st meeting, paras. 141-158], affirming at that time that Turkey was convinced that negotiations should be resumed within an appropriate framework permitting a rapid solution that

would put an end to the sufferings of the two national communities of the island and remove the tension that is impeding the maintenance of peace and security, not only on the island but in the region. We continue to hold that conviction, and we renew our appeals to those concerned, although we have not yet received any favourable response.

238. Despite this negative attitude, the Turkish community in Cyprus has not hesitated to welcome the Secretary-General's appeal for the resumption of contacts between the two communities. Thus negotiations have begun between Mr. Denktas and Mr. Clerides, and Members are being continually informed on their progress by the Secretary-General's reports and through the world press. We all know, therefore, that in the course of these negotiations some humanitarian problems have been solved; others have been approached in a spirit of mutual understanding by the leaders of the two communities.

239. Here is some of the progress that has been made: calm has been restored to the island; there was then an exchange of prisoners and detainees; students and teachers have received permission to return to their schools so that the school year might resume more or less normally; the representatives of the Red Cross and of the Co-ordinator of United Nations Humanitarian Assistance for Cyprus are proceeding, as agreed, with their humanitarian tasks. We welcome this progress, without necessarily over-emphasizing it, and are happy to note as well that the two leaders have touched upon certain political issues in order to try to find an appropriate basis for the future negotiations between the parties concerned, which should include, in addition to the two communities, Turkey and Greece. In this connexion, it is my duty to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who is responsible for this positive achievement.

240. Having said that, I must point out that the progress achieved in the humanitarian field and in certain preliminary exchanges of view at the political level are clearly insufficient to inspire optimism if one considers the scope and variety of the problems to be solved.

241. The Turkish Government would hope that Greece and the Greek Cypriots will appreciate the need to find a speedy solution to the Cyprus problem on a realistic basis in order to end, once and for all, the sufferings of the entire population of the island and to prevent any further crises in the future. One such basis, without which we cannot build an independent, sovereign Cypriot State, would be the establishment of a federal constitutional system.

242. I realize that, in these halls, we do not like to hear words that seem to be pre-conditions. I understand and share that view, but I should not be honest or sincere if I did not here repeat that the federal system is an inescapable condition for the peaceful coexistence of the two communities, and the only guarantee of the permanence of a sovereign and independent State of Cyprus. Those who have listened to the detailed statement of the representative of the Turkish community in the Special Political Committee will need to hear no further reasons to be convinced of what I have stated.

243. Consequently, it is not a pre-condition or a desire on the part of Turkey, but rather the recognition of a reality, which we cannot be silent about.

244. With the 1960 Constitution, the independent, bi-communal State of Cyprus was born. At that time, we saw no reason why that system should not function for a long time. But such has not been the case. One day in 1963, Archbishop Makarios stated unilaterally, without any scruples, that the main articles of the Constitution were abrogated, thus destroying the bi-communal character of the State. That was the beginning of the sanguine events that caused so much suffering and so much loss of life in the years 1964 to 1967 and led to the 15 July 1974 coup d'état. Is not the experience of these 14 years of bitterness sufficient to show that those two communities can no longer live together, but rather side by side? And the term used in the political vocabulary for this type of living side by side is none other than federation.

245. This social and historical reality appears in quite a different light when considered from the political point of view. There is no doubt that the Greek Cypriot Community constitutes the majority of the island's population. Then why not accept and apply the principle of majority rule?

246. As I said in my statement to the General Assembly a month ago:

"Cyprus constitutes an essential element not only in the balance already established by the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923 by Turkey and Greece but also, by the nature of its international status, of stability and peace in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Middle East region."
[*ibid.*, para. 143.]

247. Now, this majority has had impressed upon it a single aspiration and objective: to annex Cyprus to Greece. The events preceding the foundation of an independent Cypriot State in 1960 within the framework of the Zurich and London agreements and the increasingly serious faits accomplis, particularly after 1963, on the part of the Greek Cypriots and Greece for the attainment of that objective offer irrefutable proof that such was the case.

248. In this context, the Turkish community does not want its numerical inferiority to have the effect of fatally subjecting it to a Greek majority in matters affecting its basic interests or to see the island cut up by being annexed to Greece.

249. The recognition of strict equality between the two communities is the *sine qua non* of peaceful and harmonious coexistence and collaboration among the citizens of the federal Cypriot State.

250. Equal rights between the two communities in regard to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the Cypriot State are all the more urgent in order to eliminate any attempts to put an end to the existence of Cyprus as a free member of the international community.

251. Once this reality is accepted by the Greeks, the withdrawal of Turkish military units from the island and other questions will be resolved in negotiations among Turkey, Greece, and the representatives of the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus.

252. I have tried to explain once again what were the main options for a peaceful solution that would be definitive and equitable in this crisis.

253. You will agree with me that none of the principles that I have outlined, none of the suggestions that I have made run counter to the principles of our Charter or to those of the great family of non-aligned countries, where, I hope, Cyprus will take its legitimate place this time, and no longer on the basis of an abuse of confidence that made it keep silent on some of its unavowable political plans. This hope is all the more justified since the international community as a whole seems to have recognized that the independence of Cyprus is not possible unless a just balance is maintained between the aspirations of its two constituent communities through a federal solution. This federal solution is the only one that can ensure physical security, economic and cultural growth, and therefore the reign of mutual confidence that has to be established between these two communities.

254. I recognize that it is difficult, even for the most open minds, to understand fully the problems that affect other peoples to their very souls. The element of direct awareness, personal human experience, without which any approach is likely to remain theoretical, is lacking. It is to this aspect of the problem that the presence here of the representatives of the Turkish community will be able to provide some solution. All members of the Assembly have had the opportunity for more than a decade of hearing only the Greek version of the Cypriot affair. The statements of the representatives of Turkey have been, at best, only reflections of the terrible realities of the Turkish Cypriots. You have heard the voice of this community, oppressed for having refused, after the decolonization of the island, to be content to change masters. It has been particularly painful for us to note in the past that, because they were unable to make themselves heard, their cause, which in all respects is in keeping with the ideals of the non-aligned countries, has been distorted to such an extent that it could not benefit from the full support of those countries.

255. Although the point of departure was, perhaps too hard, the path open to Cyprus is simpler and easier than it seemed at first. It is a question of establishing once and for all certain principles, and, having established them, of implementing them without any ulterior motives. Cyprus could be—and would be already, if it depended only on us and the Turkish Cypriots—a model of a bi-community State, with a federal structure, where the two elements of origin, faith, language, culture—and why deny it?—different aspirations would attempt to make their interests converge within a single, independent State—maintaining a policy of true non-alignment towards and against all. The natural affective links of these two communities vis-à-vis the two countries that claim them would then be only peaceful links within a Mediterranean which has so long aspired to peace and harmony.

256. This is not a dream. There are many countries with a federal structure, divided not only into regions but into autonomous States within our Organization. Why should Cyprus be otherwise? But first we must abandon anachronistic concepts based on the teachings of a man who says that he is both a statesman and

a man of the cloth or on the aspirations of Greek origin, which should have disappeared with the last vestiges of the Byzantine Empire, but which, to their misfortune, the Turkish Cypriots have run up against each time at the crossroads leading to peace.

257. We hope that the Assembly, through a constructive resolution, will definitively eliminate the obstacles and will assure a path to a just and peaceful solution of the conflict, and thus remove forever from its agenda the conflict of Cyprus.

258. I therefore welcome as a symbol of goodwill the efforts of the non-aligned countries, which, with a patience whose like it would be difficult to find in the annals of diplomacy, wished to make their contribution to the solution of the problem by submitting a draft resolution.

259. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Although my intention was to say just a few words now that the debate is about to be concluded, I should, however, like to comment on the statement just made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

260. My impression was that he was trying from this rostrum to dictate to the people of Cyprus the type of solution that they should have, even in so far as their constitutional problem is concerned. Most of his statement was in relation to geographic federation, trying to give examples where it applied to other countries, but what was worse—at least in the interpretation into English—was that more than once he used the word “will”. In other words, the solution “will” be; this is what “will” happen; this is what is going to happen. And, in one specific context, he spoke of negotiations regarding the withdrawal and all the rest once the Greek side—if I understood correctly—accepted his thesis, that is, of a federal geographic solution.

261. It is needless to emphasize the dangers involved and the dangers that such an approach entails. It is needless to warn the Assembly that we may not be able to make progress. But we must be aware, we are told, of the realities.

262. At the end of this debate I shall continue to be constructive, but at the same time let me remind the Assembly that 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus is occupied by Turkey—some speakers today, fortunately very few, tended to ignore that fact—that one third of the population of the island are refugees; that 40 per cent of the territory has been largely depopulated, a land which is not now green, a land where life is not as it was before.

263. I am not trying to destroy the constructive atmosphere that has been created in this Assembly. But we are in New York, and when we hear in New York a lot of talk of the realities, we must remember that the realities are in Cyprus. Therefore, we should not forget the facts.

264. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs gave me the impression—I hope I am wrong—that his country intends to go ahead with its policy of dictating terms. If that is the case, then there will be no progress, because the least we, the Cypriots, can do is to refuse to commit suicide, and refuse to condone any attempt to destroy our country. I am saying this because you must remember the efforts that most of you have

made and you must remember the advice that some of you gave to us in the course of the debate and in the course of the private talks that we have had. You told us to be patient and that with goodwill everything would be all right again. I am warning the Assembly that we are frightened.

265. In his remarks the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke of the oppressed Turkish Cypriot community. I do not think I should make any comment on that. We all know exactly what has been going on in Cyprus—we know of the tragedy. We know what the situation is. Certainly the Turkish Cypriots are also suffering, and they should not suffer. But who is to blame? Let us alone. Let the Greeks and the Turks in Cyprus alone to decide what they want. Let them do that without any guardians. If a guardian is needed, then let the United Nations be the guardian. Let a body like the non-aligned or any other group be the guardian. Let others be present at the negotiations; let others be witnesses. They should be third parties and not interested parties—parties that will not fight to dictate terms to either the one or the other. Let the negotiations be free. These are the realities. While the suffering continues, I can assure the Assembly that it took a lot of effort on our part to be as restrained and constructive as I believe we have been in the United Nations during this debate.

266. There is no doubt—and the records will prove it—that the overwhelming majority of the speakers who took part in this debate supported the just cause of Cyprus. There is no doubt that the basic demands of Cyprus have been endorsed. There is no doubt that we felt that we were in a very friendly and understanding atmosphere. There is no doubt that when we examine the statements that have been made to the Assembly in the course of this debate, almost all of them, with very, very few lamentable exceptions, will be for us a source of gratification and encouragement. We shall bear those positions in mind when we go forward in our efforts to find a just solution.

267. Turning now to draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1, which was submitted today, I have the following remarks to make. The draft contains the basic elements that we wanted to see in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly. We wanted the General Assembly to call upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it, and this is stated in operative paragraph 1.

268. With respect to operative paragraph 2, we wanted to see a paragraph in the draft resolution urging the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.

269. With respect to operative paragraph 3, we wanted to see a reference to the effect that the constitutional system of Cyprus concerns the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and that it should not be dictated to them, not even from this rostrum.

270. With respect to operative paragraph 4, we wanted to see a paragraph welcoming the talks now going on in Cyprus. In that connexion, in operative

paragraph 4, I would stress in particular the word "freely" in the phrase "reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement". It cannot be "freely" reached when, as I said in my opening statement on 28 October [2270th meeting, para. 27], 40,000 troops are outside your door.

271. With respect to operative paragraph 5, there is another important element, perhaps one of the most important, by which the Assembly considers that all the refugees—all the refugees—should return to their homes in safety and calls upon the parties concerned to undertake urgent measures to that end.

272. Operative paragraph 6 expresses the hope that, if necessary, further efforts including negotiations can take place, within the framework of the United Nations, for the purpose of implementing the provisions of the resolution, thus ensuring to the Republic of Cyprus its fundamental right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

273. In connexion with this paragraph, I should like to stress that, as from today, we consider the General Assembly directly involved in developments in Cyprus. As from today, our determination is that any steps and any negotiations should be within the framework of the United Nations. As I explained on another occasion—and I believe this was supported by most speakers—this is the place where we feel safe. It is here that we should like to discuss our future. It is here that we should like to find the necessary safeguards for the independence, security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

274. Operative paragraph 7 reads:

"Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide United Nations humanitarian assistance to all parts of the population of Cyprus and calls upon all States to contribute to that effort."

This we also welcome. In this connexion, in regard to humanitarian assistance, I am sure that the Secretary-General is already doing his best, but he should also try, through his good offices, to secure the consent of everyone so that the thousands of missing persons can be found and returned to their homes.

275. Operative paragraph 8 reads:

"Calls upon all parties to continue to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, which may be strengthened if necessary."

This we also welcome, because we believe that, in the circumstances, it should be strengthened.

276. Operative paragraph 9 concerns the good offices of the Secretary-General, which we always welcome.

277. Operative paragraph 10 reads:

"Further requests the Secretary-General to bring the present resolution to the attention of the Security Council."

This is natural, because the Security Council is seized of the problem, and there are certain aspects of the present situation, as well as of this draft resolution, that will have to be taken up very soon in the Security Council.

278. The exercise of the contact Group of Five has succeeded, after many difficult and delicate negotiations. I should like to thank it from this rostrum. It

did not have a very easy task. It was a most difficult task to try to draft a text that would meet with the agreement of everyone. It may not contain all the details of the draft resolution that we submitted in document A/L.738, but the essential parts are satisfactorily and clearly contained. Therefore, it is not our intention to press to the vote draft resolution A/L.738, but we shall vote for draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. We do so not only because we find nothing objectionable in the draft resolution but because we find in it the four most important and basic elements satisfactorily explained and clearly stated, and also because this draft resolution, sponsored by the Group of Five and other non-aligned countries, is an indication that this will not be solely an exercise on its own but that there will be, as there has to be, a follow-up by the non-aligned countries and by the international community in general.

279. I do not wish to take up much of the Assembly's time. The hour is already late. It is perhaps time to take a decision, and, in our view, the vote should be recorded. However, before concluding, I should like to thank everybody once again for their kindness and their understanding. I should like also, at the same time, to say that, if need be, we shall try to bring the matter before the General Assembly, even at an extraordinary session, if developments so require, because we believe that today, as was stated by an earlier speaker, is not only the beginning of the involvement of the United Nations in Cyprus, for it has been involved for a long time, but the beginning of specific actions. This draft resolution provides what the immediate specific actions should be in order to promote a peaceful solution that would safeguard the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus and justice.

280. It has been said before that Cyprus is a warning. It is a warning. If the problem is not resolved peacefully, if certain countries, whether or not they would like to appear as realists, do not forget the idea of geographic separation in any form, Cyprus will be destroyed. Anyone with only a very little knowledge of Cyprus could reach that conclusion. If Cyprus is destroyed because of the lack of action or because of the lack of the right action, the responsibility of the international community will be very heavy. Therefore, as long as there is time, the international community should accompany the expression of its wishes with action.

281. We shall try in Cyprus to relieve the suffering of the people, but at the same time, we cannot accept that the people there should continue to suffer for lack of a political solution. The question of the withdrawal of the troops and the question of the return of the people to their homes are of the highest priority. If the people are not allowed to return quickly to their homes, it can be said right now that whatever agreement is reached will be void *ab initio*, because the refugees are being used as political pawns, and this is something no one can tolerate.

282. I thank everyone for their support, and I hope and trust that the General Assembly and the international community will continue to show the same interest and will follow events closely so that we may continue to rely upon it with hope and trust.

283. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote, and should like to draw their attention to rule 88 of the rules of procedure, which allows for the President to set a time-limit on such statements.

284. Mr. DEL CASTILLO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Costa Rica would like to explain its vote on draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. The position of Costa Rica on the item in general was clearly reaffirmed in the statement made on 27 September by the Minister for External Relations of Costa Rica, Mr. Gonzalo J. Facio, in the general debate in this Assembly when he explained to this august body that:

“... my country could never accept any change in the structure of an independent and sovereign nation brought about by foreign intervention.” [2246th meeting, para. 50.]

As regards the matter immediately before us, Mr. Facio at the same time indicated that:

“... we will do our utmost to help find a formula under which the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus can be maintained because of the successful coexistence of the communities of Greek and Turkish origins.” [*ibid.*, para. 55.]

285. Having said this, my delegation intends to vote for draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. None the less, my delegation feels compelled to enter a reservation. The reservation refers to the concept of “non-alignment” to be found in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution. The reservation should not be understood as a vote against this concept; still less does it mean that we are adopting an attitude regarding countries that have accepted “non-alignment” in defining their position in the international community. Our position is that we are neither for nor against non-alignment. We are against the words “and non-alignment” as used in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution because we believe that this involves a circumstantial element that is difficult to define, that belongs in the internal domain of each State, that is not in the Charter and therefore does not have enough of an entity to appear beside principles of political or social significance such as sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. These principles are stated in the same paragraph and they are in line with the principles of this Organization, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

286. With this reservation, Costa Rica will express its support for Cyprus in its struggle for its fundamental right to exist as a free independent State and the unquestionable right to secure respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We believe that those objectives cannot be attained while there are foreign military forces and foreign military personnel in the island, interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus for which the people of Cyprus have sole competence and responsibility.

287. Furthermore, the delegation of Costa Rica would express its continued concern regarding the fate of the refugees who have every right to return to their ancestral homes immediately. We believe that the international community has a tremendous responsi-

bility in the case of Cyprus and, with the reservation already mentioned, we shall vote for draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1.

288. Mr. PALMER (Sierra Leone): In our reference to the question of Cyprus in the general debate [2250th meeting, para. 196], my delegation reaffirmed its solidarity with, and continued support for, the legitimate Government of Cyprus, and condemned outside interference in the affairs of that island. That is why we believe that all foreign troops must be withdrawn immediately, so as to create favourable conditions that would allow both communities to negotiate freely.

289. Like many of the members of this Assembly, Sierra Leone believes in the search for the return of peace and tranquillity to the island of Cyprus. We are aware that such a situation can be brought about only when certain conditions are effectively met. One such condition is strict adherence to basic human rights, principally the return of refugees. The progress report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees¹⁰ tells a sad story of nearly 200,000 displaced persons in Cyprus, a number living in temporarily vacated public buildings. The international community cannot stand by and see this situation continue much longer. We therefore hope for the speedy implementation of the call for the return of the refugees to their respective homes.

290. By the arguments put forward by representatives of both communities on the island, my delegation was very conscious of the fears expressed regarding the possibility of annexation by either of the two countries directly involved in the issue. We strongly believe that in any solution to the Cyprus problem, the United Nations must adhere strictly to the principle of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island. Because we believe in the sovereignty of the State of Cyprus, we would very much wish to see more active involvement of the people of the island in the negotiations that are going on, and we support the view that the two communities on the island should shoulder the responsibility of working out a constitution acceptable to them.

291. While we consider the solution of broader issues such as the political problems involved, it is necessary to intensify our efforts in the humanitarian field. The enormous economic and human tragedy now existing on the island impresses on my delegation the pressing need for the United Nations to continue its humanitarian assistance to all sectors of the population.

292. The few points I have outlined, which my delegation considers essential elements in the search for a solution of the Cyprus question—a solution we believe should be acceptable not only to the communities on the island but to the Governments of Greece and Turkey—are all embodied in draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. My delegation supports this draft resolution. It may not be the best resolution on this complex issue, but then it is not possible for this Assembly to find a resolution that will satisfy all the wishes of the various interested parties. However, the draft resolution does reflect the different views expressed in this Assembly and also certain recommendations of the Security Council. We believe that it should receive

the endorsement of a very large majority, if not of all the members of this Assembly.

293. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to make the following statement in connexion with the forthcoming vote on the draft resolution on the question of Cyprus submitted by a group of non-aligned countries.

294. The Soviet Union has been, from the very outset of events in Cyprus, resolutely in favour of the protection of the inalienable rights of the Cypriot State. When the question of Cyprus was discussed in the Security Council, the Soviet Union demanded that an end be put to external intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus; that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the territory; and that constitutional law and order be restored so that the Cypriot people—both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots—would have an opportunity themselves to determine their future and the State structure of their homeland. The Soviet Union has firmly and consistently been in favour of strict compliance by all States with the principles of the United Nations Charter, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops, without exception.

295. In order to deal properly with the Cyprus problem, urgent steps must be taken. If the existing state of affairs is maintained it may simply lead to further exacerbation of the situation in and around Cyprus. It is absolutely essential to prevent Cyprus from becoming, under any pretext, the victim of partition and annexation as a result of foreign intervention or so-called single or double *enosis*.

296. The failure of the Geneva talks, based on the Zurich and London agreements, on guarantees for Cyprus, has made it urgently necessary for new genuinely effective steps to be taken that would guarantee the protection of the interests of Cyprus. This goal of bringing about a just solution of the Cyprus problem is the purpose of the proposal that an international conference be convened on Cyprus, within the framework of the United Nations.³ We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all those delegations which have supported that Soviet proposal.

297. The Soviet delegation takes note of the statement made by the representative of Algeria [paras. 82-91 above] when he introduced the draft resolution sponsored by non-aligned countries to the effect that this is a weak draft. Other delegations have also referred to a number of shortcomings in it. For our part, we also consider it a weak draft, since nothing is said in it about the reasons for the tragic events in Cyprus nor does it contain the appeal to implement the well-known Security Council resolutions on Cyprus; nor does it reflect certain constructive proposals aimed at a speedy and effective settlement of the Cyprus problem.

298. Despite these defects, however, the Soviet delegation is prepared to support the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned States, since it contains an appeal to all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus, and to refrain from all acts and interven-

tions directed against it. It also contains a demand for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.

299. The Soviet delegation regards operative paragraph 6 of that draft resolution as meaning that, in order to solve the Cyprus problem, efforts should be made within the framework of the United Nations, including such measures as the convening of an international conference on a broad basis, reflecting the political face of the present-day world.

300. We interpret operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution to mean that the Security Council must once again consider the Cyprus problem and take effective measures to implement its own decisions and resolutions on this important problem of present-day international politics.

301. In giving its support to the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries, the Soviet delegation is also mindful that this draft—as has just been stated by the head of the delegation of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou—is acceptable to Cyprus as well, and that it was drafted in the course of consultations with that delegation.

302. We express the hope that the draft resolution, if adopted by the General Assembly, will help to guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as a non-aligned State and will bring about the withdrawal from its territory of all foreign troops.

303. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): Greece wholeheartedly supports the draft resolution we shall be voting on tonight. It contains all the fundamental principles Greece has fought for during the whole week. More than that, it calls for them in a direct and unequivocal way. It further and specifically calls for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and the urgent return of all refugees to their homes in safety.

304. One thing over which Greece particularly rejoices is that the draft resolution calls for the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of Cyprus. The misery and the human tragedy we are witnessing today on this beautiful island is the direct result of that interference. Let us leave the Cypriots—Greeks and Turks—alone. They have suffered much. They have the right to be happy and they can be happy if they are left alone.

305. I address that particular remark to the delegation of Turkey because it is the delegation of the country which at this moment maintains in Cyprus 40,000 troops and occupies 40 per cent of the territory of the island. This appeal comes from a country which has made mistakes in Cyprus.

306. The draft resolution, moreover, provides the framework of the United Nations for any future negotiations. We believe it to be the right framework. The proof is that if there is any satisfaction and rejoicing tonight in this hall for the way our deliberations on this item have been conducted and the conclusion we are about to reach, we owe it to the efforts of the non-aligned countries, where Cyprus belongs. We owe it more particularly to the unprecedented and dedicated efforts of the Group of Five entrusted by the non-aligned countries with this mission and

this task. I am personally obliged to the permanent representatives of Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia. I had the privilege of working with them during this past week. Very often it was very difficult. I was already their friend but I feel that I am a closer friend of theirs now. Their efforts were in the best tradition of the non-aligned ideal and I make the wish that the draft resolution they produced will be supported by the affirmative votes of the whole Assembly and that all those who will vote "yes" will mean "yes", and that the draft resolution may open the way to happiness for Cyprus.

307. Mr. CHOU Chueh (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution on the question of Cyprus submitted by Algeria and other countries. We appreciate the conciliatory attitude shown by the parties concerned with the Cyprus question. The Chinese delegation has stated the Chinese Government's position of principle on the Cyprus question at the plenary meeting of 2 October [2252nd meeting, paras. 112-114] and today. We hope that the two Cypriot communities and the countries concerned will conduct patient negotiations and settle their differences by peaceful means and on an equal footing. In our view, in order to settle the Cyprus question, it is imperative to do away resolutely with super-Power meddling and intervention. Therefore, the wording of operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution should in no way be construed as a pretext for permitting the super-Powers to interfere under any name.

308. In addition, we have always held to our position of principle on the question of dispatching United Nations forces. Consequently, we have reservations about that part of the draft resolution concerning UNFICYP.

309. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): The history of Cyprus has been marked by frequent eruptions of violence. Since its independence, Cyprus has undergone a series of international strife and confrontations. The Turkish community is afraid of being dominated by the Greek Cypriot majority. They are afraid of the determination of the Greek Cypriots to achieve *enosis*. Their fears are legitimate. The Greek Cypriots likewise fear partition—*taxim*—which may be imposed on Cyprus with the help of Turkey. Their fears too are legitimate.

310. We note with appreciation that the parties concerned have made it amply clear that they support the three main principles that are indispensable to any solution. These principles are: first, respect for the independence of Cyprus and for its territorial integrity and sovereignty; secondly, renunciation of the provocative concept of partition; and thirdly, obliteration of the frightening concept of *enosis*.

311. It should be abundantly clear that my delegation supports draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1 on the understanding that it is predicated on those three principles that I have just highlighted. My delegation supports this draft resolution because we believe that it proscribes the return to the *status quo ante*. Such a return would ignite conflict rather than initiate harmony.

312. Thus, it is my delegation's understanding that the draft resolution on which we are about to vote

ensures the fundamental and equal rights of the two communities within a framework that is mutually acceptable. The non-aligned character of Cyprus is also reinforced by this draft resolution.

313. All foreign troops and personnel must be withdrawn, as they are *persona non grata*. Only through the creation of an atmosphere of trust between the two communities can Cyprus enjoy tranquillity. The dispelling of fear on the part of both communities and the ensuring of equal rights are *sine qua non* conditions for such trust.

314. My delegation is of the view that the draft resolution that is about to be voted upon provides the requisites for that trust, which has been sought for so long.

315. Mr. NAÇO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): With regard to draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1, now before the General Assembly for approval, the Albanian delegation deems it necessary once again to emphasize the position of the Government of Albania on the question of UNFICYP, referred to in operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution.

316. The Government of Albania has on a number of occasions clearly expressed its attitude towards UNFICYP. We firmly opposed and continue firmly to oppose the establishment of that Force. It is only too well known that the dispatching of United Nations forces to various parts of the world, in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter, has served not the defence of the sovereign rights of peoples nor the cause of true peace, but the interests of the imperialist Powers.

317. That is why our delegation wishes to express here its reservations on operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

318. We should like to stress also that operative paragraph 6 should have been drafted more clearly so that it would not lend itself to misinterpretations or misunderstanding, hence avoiding any possibility in the future of the provisions of that paragraph being used for purposes contrary to the interests of the Cypriot people and the stability of Cyprus, or serving either as a pretext for the two super-Powers to intervene in the internal affairs of Cyprus or for other diabolical designs, such as the proposals already made to send a United Nations mission to Cyprus and to convene an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations.

319. With those reservations, the Albanian delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1.

320. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): A few hours ago, during my statement in this debate on the question of Cyprus [*paras. 50-59 above*], I said that my delegation would consider the final draft resolution at the appropriate time, after the performance of any cosmetic surgery deemed necessary by the parties directly concerned.

321. The General Assembly is now seized of the final text of the draft resolution [A/L.739 and Add.1], and we have been informed that the delegations of Cyprus and Turkey are in agreement with that text. My delega-

tion will therefore happily support it, and we hope it will be adopted by acclamation.

322. We are once again witnessing the victory of the wisdom of non-alignment over the arrogant, misguided, wavering, dark, evil forces of division and foreign interference in the internal affairs of an independent, sovereign State.

323. Even before the vote, the United Nations, as the conscience of mankind, through this democratic, august Assembly, where no Member wields the power of veto, stands proud and triumphant. Let us now pray that the draft resolution that is about to be adopted will be fully implemented and that the Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike, will now be left alone to live happily together and for ever.

324. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Like the other members of the General Assembly, I understand that the representative of Cyprus does not insist that draft resolution A/L.738 be put to the vote. Hence, the Assembly is now seized only of draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1 and the report of the Special Political Committee [A/9820].

325. We shall take a decision first on the report of the Special Political Committee [A/9820]. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the General Assembly wishes to take note of that report.

It was so decided.

326. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.739 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to none (resolution 3212 (XXIX)) ¹¹

327. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on delegations that wish to explain their votes after the vote. The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, whom I invite to take the floor.

328. Mr. GÜNES (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is gratified at the unanimous adoption of this resolution by the General Assembly. We are also gratified that, thanks to common sense and the spirit of conciliation, the manoeuvres of extremists have not produced any results that can now make it difficult to resolve the problem of Cyprus. No principle appearing in the resolution adopted runs contrary to the policy pursued by Turkey as far as the question of Cyprus is concerned. I would merely like to make clear our position on certain points.

329. Our position is well known as far as paragraphs 2 and 6 of the resolution just adopted are concerned. It has been clearly set forth on frequent occasions in various international forums—in the Security Council and elsewhere, and in the course of the negotiations that took place pursuant to Security Council resolution 353 (1974).

330. As far as paragraph 5 is concerned, I should like to state that this is a political paragraph, as well as being a humanitarian one. It is very closely linked—and this is quite well known to all those concerned—with the political solution of the problem. Turkey bears responsibilities incumbent upon it under treaties and international law, and it will pursue its policy, which is consonant with the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the island. Its responsibilities will be conscientiously pursued with humanitarian aims in view, with the purpose of finding a satisfactory and realistic solution to the question of Cyprus as quickly as possible.

331. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): My delegation wishes first of all to pay tribute to the dogged persistence of those delegations that worked on the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly. We are delighted that it proved possible to produce a constructive outcome to this debate. We are particularly pleased that the resolution encourages the contacts and negotiations taking place in Cyprus and attempts to facilitate the negotiation of a mutually acceptable settlement. My delegation is very well aware of the fact that the resolution does not give complete satisfaction to all parties. We are grateful to them for responding to the many calls made during this debate, by my own delegation amongst others, for flexibility and for willingness to compromise in the interests of a lasting settlement. It was inevitable that if further difficulty was to be avoided, a text that was not ideal from everyone's point of view would emerge. Indeed, my delegation also has some reservations over the text.

332. We well understand that in the preamble it is said that the continuation of the Cyprus crisis constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Formally, under the terms of the Charter, it is for the Security Council to determine the existence of such

a situation. As a member of the Security Council, my delegation would wish to reach its own judgement over any particular aspect of the situation brought before the Council.

333. My delegation is grateful to those who negotiated over the draft resolution for making it clear, in paragraph 2, that the call was for the withdrawal of armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus. We are aware that some delegations would accept the view that British military personnel should be withdrawn from the island of Cyprus. That is a separate matter, and it was right that the resolution should not concern itself with anything but the crisis, and so should make no reference applicable to the British military personnel who are in Cyprus.

334. We have every hope that the solution just adopted will facilitate the just and speedy solution, in the interests of all the people of Cyprus, for which the United Nations as a whole has been working.

335. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

336. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): With regard to the reference made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey to paragraphs 2 and 6 of the resolution just adopted, and also to paragraph 5, which he described as being linked with the political solution of the problem, let me say only this: I issued some warnings before the vote, and I repeat them. But in any case, since Turkey voted for the resolution, to all intents and purposes we hold Turkey committed in accordance with the interpretations given by the vast majority in the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 9.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11448/Add.1.

² *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*, Cmd. 679 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1959).

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

⁴ *Ibid.*, document S/11424.

⁵ *Ibid.*, document S/11391.

⁶ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, First Committee*, 1004th meeting, para. 19.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Special Political Committee*, 922nd meeting, para. 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 923rd meeting, para. 71.

⁹ Signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1974*, document S/11448/Add.2, annex, para. 2 (a) and (b).

¹¹ The delegation of Guinea subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.