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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Driss (Tunisia),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 125

Question of Cyprus (*continued*)

1. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): A year ago, at its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly examined the question of Cyprus in detail. A resolution was adopted unanimously [*resolution 3212 (XXIX)*]. In the same year, the Security Council confirmed that resolution.¹ The Cyprus crisis was deemed to be a threat to world peace and security. It was considered necessary to settle this crisis without delay by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. A series of principles was formulated, the implementation of which should contribute to elimination of that hotbed of conflict. These included respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign forces and military presence from the island and the cessation of all interference in the internal affairs of the Republic. The determination of the constitutional system of the Republic of Cyprus was said to be a matter for the Turkish and Greek communities on the island, that is to say, the Cypriot people itself.

2. Further negotiations between representatives of these two communities were provided, through the good offices of the Secretary-General, with the aim of achieving a mutually acceptable political settlement. All refugees were to return to their homes in safety.

3. We must admit that the Secretary-General has spared no effort in carrying out the tasks imposed on him. He undoubtedly deserves the gratitude and thanks of all of us. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus, in turn, has done much to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly so as to normalize life, and in particular, to ease the position of the refugees.

4. Despite this, however, the present situation in Cyprus remains tense.

5. Hundreds of thousands of refugees are still languishing in the camps. The foreign occupation of a

large part of the island continues. The demographic structure of the population is being gradually and deliberately altered. In the regions occupied by foreign troops, which were formerly responsible for 70 per cent of the overall production of the island, where 56 per cent of the natural resources were found and which yielded 48 per cent of the farm production for export, even according to the official data of the so-called Turkish-Cypriot Chamber of Commerce, it has been possible to restore only 20 per cent of the production capacity and only a small number of the factories.

6. The dispute about such a strategically important island such as Cyprus continues to be a threat to peace and security in the eastern part of the Mediterranean that has not yet been eliminated.

7. A year ago, attention was directed from this rostrum to the fact that the Cyprus crisis arose as a result of the provocative acts of the militaristic circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. The former so-called System of Guarantees, which included only States members of NATO, in no way secured the safety of the island and was a catastrophe for the Republic. It could have been foreseen that a settlement of the problem of Cyprus would not be possible so long as the various European and non-European circles in NATO continued to interfere in the affairs of the people of Cyprus. The circles responsible for this policy are pursuing goals which are dangerous for this non-aligned island in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. They do not care about the fate of the people of the Republic of Cyprus, whether they be Greeks or Turks. Their goal, first of all, has been the so-called reconciliation of the disputant partners in this bloc, because they are concerned for the plans for forced rearmament and for their military alliance as a whole. Besides, their goal is to include Cyprus in the system of NATO military bases.

8. What an extraordinary spectacle was put on for world public opinion in connexion with certain military deliveries there! Those present here were witnesses to this. During the course of the military operations on Cyprus, as is known, one Government was using weapons supplied by another Government. The Parliament of the State supplying the arms was indignant at this and adopted a decision temporarily to end such military deliveries. Other States in NATO immediately proposed their services with respect to such supplies. On the pretext that, if the above-mentioned decision of that particular parliament were reversed, the side using the arms would change its position on the Cyprus question, the legislators adopted a new decision. However, the restoration of the deliveries did not change anything.

9. This sad example of continuing tension in and around Cyprus is a serious warning to all peoples.

10. It may be noted, by the way, that the militaristic circles are not passive with respect to other non-

aligned States either. What is more, they are even using reactionary forces and foreign hirelings to impose once again a colonial yoke on States which have just recently won their national independence. Nor do they refrain from using the services of such racist régimes condemned by all peoples of the world as those of Pretoria and Southern Rhodesia, as they have done and are still doing today with respect to Angola.

11. The German Democratic Republic, which has long been bound by friendly relations with the Republic of Cyprus, like the other socialist States defends the legitimate right of the people of Cyprus to the political and territorial unity of its State, and favours all States recognizing the sovereign decision of Cyprus to adhere to a policy of non-alignment, which is the true guarantee of the achievement of a sound political settlement. Only by a political settlement of the Cyprus problem will it be possible ultimately to resolve the numerous humanitarian, economic and other problems which weigh on the people of Cyprus, and the elimination of those problems, despite the solidarity of the rest of the world, will require great efforts and sacrifices.

12. In our opinion, the solution of the problem of Cyprus has two basic aspects: first the unity of the country must be restored and a unified constitutional system must be set up to ensure peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities. This is an internal affair which must and can be resolved by the people of Cyprus without any external interference. In this connection, we welcome the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, before the present session [2378th meeting], in which he again stressed his Government's willingness for negotiations to continue between the representatives of the two communities on the island. He did not exclude the possibility of positive results, and of compromise, if both parties were to display goodwill.

13. We understand full well the complexity of such negotiations. Thus it is all the more necessary that all parties taking part in them be guided by the appropriate resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and not seek to abuse the appeal for negotiations by dishonest tricks. We are justified in asking how it will be possible to conduct fruitful negotiations if one of the parties time and time again threatens the other with the proclamation of an independent, separate State, thereby irrevocably dividing the island into two parts. One may also ask whether such negotiations held in conditions of continuing foreign occupation have any prospects of success at all.

14. The latter question brings us to the second principal aspect of the Cyprus problem: the efforts of the United Nations must be more and more directed at the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel from Cyprus and also at ensuring the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned character of the Republic of Cyprus, as is unambiguously demanded by resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, and by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). Those who do not meet these just demands have no right to complain if their position is viewed by the Organization as unacceptable.

15. The recent weeks of intense work at the current session of the General Assembly have seen the almost unanimous expression by delegations of their satisfaction at the successful efforts directed at strengthening world security and intensifying the process of détente. This process that has been occurring in the world and that had its greatest manifestation in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, undoubtedly responds to the interests of all peoples. The hotbeds of conflict which for decades have bedevilled international relations and which have more than once brought the world to the edge of nuclear war have been eliminated. In Europe, after a lengthy period of dangerous confrontation and cold war, a historic turning point has been reached. The peoples of that continent, and indeed of the whole world, had pinned great hopes on the Helsinki Conference, and they were not disappointed. A firm foundation was laid for relations among States on the European continent. The documents of that conference recognized the boundaries and sovereignty of the States. It is therefore all the more anachronistic that the complex situation in and around Cyprus should continue.

16. The United Nations has a duty, more urgent now than ever before, to make use of all its possibilities to reach a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions adopted on this subject. The General Assembly and the Security Council, by their decisions, have provided a real and constructive basis for this settlement. It is therefore, in our opinion, a question primarily of carrying out the decisions of the United Nations in spirit and in letter.

17. In addition, we should like to mention the proposal made by the Soviet Union² that a representative international conference on Cyprus be convened within the framework of the United Nations, in which members of the Security Council and representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and other States, including non-aligned States, would participate. Such a conference could further to a considerable extent a settlement of the Cyprus conflict and the creation of an effective international system of guarantees for Cyprus. The facts show that Cyprus needs genuine, firm guarantees of its independence and the inviolability of its territory.

18. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, to assure the people of Cyprus of our most sincere solidarity with them.

19. Mr. LAI (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Over a year has elapsed since the military coup occurred in Cyprus on 15 July 1974. But the Cyprus question has thus far remained unsettled, the situation there remains turbulent and unstable, and the people there are still living in dire misery. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned over this situation and express their profound sympathy for the people of Cyprus in their sufferings.

20. The question of Cyprus is a legacy of imperialist colonial rule. This question has been complicated to the present degree mainly because of the active meddling and intervention by the two super-Powers, each of which tries hard to put this island of strategic importance under its own influence and control; the

internal cause is the lack of a satisfactory solution to the question between the two communities on the island.

21. Where there is contention between the two super-Powers, there is endless suffering for the people. Their contention has extended to every corner of the globe, the focus of their contention being in Europe. Social-imperialism has shown greater aggressiveness in the contention. Strategically, during the recent period, it has more often resorted to the manoeuvres of outflanking Europe in a devious way. On the northern flank, it has stretched its tentacles to the Barents Sea and the North Sea; on the southern flank, apart from meddling in the Iberian Peninsula, it has worked hard to infiltrate into the Balkans and the east Mediterranean in an attempt to make a breach in southern Europe. This is an important component of its plan for discord in Europe and for global expansion. Situated in a place of strategic importance in the east Mediterranean, Cyprus has naturally become a target of fierce contention between the two super-Powers. This is exactly how things have turned out. Over the past year and more, both super-Powers have given revealing performances on the question of Cyprus. As a result of its meddling in the Cyprus question, one super-Power had to suffer from its own manoeuvres and found itself in passivity. Then it tried to mend the fence; yet its strength was not equal to its ambition. The other super-Power, styling itself the "friend" of the Cypriot people, is even more malicious in its behaviour. Supporting one party today and the other party the next day, playing fast and loose and changing its attitude now and then, it has done its utmost to sow dissension and incite troubles, so as to aggravate the situation and fish in troubled waters. To this end, it has racked its brains to produce a great variety of proposals and suggestions for "internationalization", and even did not hesitate to exert gross pressure on a number of third-world countries. This has inevitably met with the opposition of the aforesaid countries and the peoples of the countries concerned. That is why it cannot succeed. What calls for attention is that recently it is talking profusely about "friendship", trying to woo the different parties. At the same time, it has resorted to a changing variety of tactics to utilize the contradictions by various means and sabotage the intercommunal talks on Cyprus, overtly and covertly. What is more, over the past year and more it has been constantly reinforcing its military strength in the Mediterranean and its warships have been dashing around in the vicinity of Cyprus. Are not the above series of acts on its part ample evidence to lay bare its vicious intent?

22. The multifarious performances of the super-Powers in their rivalry over Cyprus have educated the people by negative example. The people of Cyprus, which has a glorious anti-imperialist tradition, has come to realize ever more clearly that the destiny of Cyprus must be taken into the hands of the Cypriot people itself and that in the final analysis, only the Cypriot people itself can be relied on for a settlement of the Cyprus question. We have noted that, although the Cyprus question has remained unsettled as a result of intervention by the super-Powers, thanks to the joint efforts of the parties concerned, the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities have held a number of meetings and achieved some initial

progress on certain matters over the past year and more. This is a good beginning.

We firmly hold that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. Cyprus, Turkey and Greece are all friends of China. We have all suffered from the imperialist tactics of sowing discord and "divide and rule". We fully understand that the problem is rather complicated and that in view of the above existing factors, some time will be required for a settlement of the issues left over from history and the immediate issues before us. Nevertheless, we believe and earnestly hope that the two Cypriot communities and the countries concerned, bearing in mind the overall interests, will remove super-Power meddling, intervention and sabotage and take a positive attitude toward holding peaceful negotiations, and settle their differences step by step on the basis of equality and in a spirit of sincerity, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and that, in so doing, the Cyprus question will be settled reasonably in the end. This is not only in the interests of both Cypriot communities, but is the common wish of the peoples of all countries who are really concerned about the destiny of the Cypriot people.

24. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Cyprus remains tense, and the discussion it has again given rise to in the Organization leads inevitably to a number of general observations and conclusions. In fact, the discussions concerning the situation in the Korean peninsula and that in the Middle East, including those on the Palestinian problem and the discussions on decolonization and other problems, lead to exactly the same conclusions.

25. The first observation and, following therefrom, the first conclusion, is that the colonialist forces which for centuries indulged throughout the world in the pillage and exploitation of other countries and peoples practised—and still attempt to practise—a "divide and rule" policy. This policy serves as their guiding principle even when they are constrained, under the pressure of national liberation movements, to yield and to grant to those countries and peoples their independence. We have often witnessed the artificial division of those countries and peoples by a process of pitting one against the other so that the forces of colonialism and imperialism could dominate and exploit them more easily. It is not difficult to find concrete examples of this everywhere in the world, as, for instance, lately in Angola. For a long time the Balkan peninsula, in the heart of which my country, Bulgaria, is situated, was subjected to this "divide and rule" policy. The dubious honour for the Balkan peninsula of serving as the "powder keg" of Europe is well known. It is not by accident or chance that in our time the term "balkanization" is still used to designate persistent discords and conflicts. But times change, and in the Balkans themselves this notion of "balkanization" is no longer valid in principle. It is regrettable that Cyprus, situated in the immediate vicinity of the Balkan countries, continues to be the victim of the "divide and rule" policy. The United Nations has a difficult task and bears the heavy responsibility for the elimination of the consequences of that policy. We must say, however, that the Organization is endeavouring by every possible means, and more than

ever, at present, to arrive at a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus.

26. The second conclusion we arrive at is that those same forces which bear direct responsibility for the abnormal and tense situation created in Cyprus and in other countries are trying obstinately to keep the United Nations out of the consideration of the problems faced by those countries and the efforts to solve them. Those forces prefer so-called "soft diplomacy", and equally prefer to have the question considered within the limited framework of their politico-military organizations. They endeavour to arrive at partial and separate rather than radical and global solutions, which in most cases tends to complicate further the already complex situation prevailing in different countries and in entire regions. That is the case at present with Cyprus.

27. It is to the creation of such complications that statements such as the one we have just heard tend. Once again we witnessed a flagrant distortion of the facts and the reality, and an attempt to mask, by slander and gratuitous accusations, the true responsibilities regarding this situation of crisis. In this there is nothing surprising: the delegation which has just preceded me at this rostrum has become a specialist in this kind of exercise. We leave it to each and every one to judge the true value of such an attitude. I believe that it will not be difficult to see who is reaping the profit, what are the purposes of such manoeuvres, and judge whether this policy is designed to facilitate the search for a just and lasting solution to the Cypriot problem.

28. The third conclusion to be drawn is that, in respect of both the problem of Cyprus and that of Palestine and other problems, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs adopt sound decisions, but the implementation of which is sabotaged in practice at every turn. There is no longer the slightest doubt that neither the Organization nor the Charter of the United Nations is to blame for this state of affairs despite the futile attempts of those who seek to prove the contrary. Responsibility for the failure to implement the resolutions and decisions adopted lies exclusively with certain countries whose attitude in practice towards those resolutions and decisions shows a lack of respect.

29. I have made these remarks to show quite clearly the common causes and difficulties we unceasingly encounter when we consider any of the burning topical problems of our time. We have barely completed our consideration of the Palestinian question, and now we are seized with the question of Cyprus. These two problems are closely interlinked. They are, in fact, open wounds in one and the same organism, caused by those same forces.

30. This new consideration of the question of Cyprus at this thirtieth session is necessary by reason of the fact that the situation in the island has remained unchanged and continues to arouse concern. This has been reflected in the statements of a large number of delegations in the course of the general debate at the current session.

31. Concern with regards to Cyprus is fully justified. It is a fact that General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) as well as Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) are not applied. It is a fact, too,

that the attempts to take the Cyprus problem out of the competence of the United Nations and to have it considered and a decision taken on it within the framework of a political-military group continue.

32. Events in Cyprus show once again that there are still forces which have an interest in nurturing hotbeds of tension and conflict in particular regions of the world and which endeavour to prevent the strengthening of the positive trends which have clearly emerged in these past months in international relations. We are profoundly convinced that it is precisely this circumstance that we should keep in mind at all times when we discuss and seek a lasting and just solution to the Cyprus problem. This is all the more necessary since Cyprus is situated in a region where it is still impossible to establish stable security and a durable peace, precisely because of those forces and circles which still nourish the hope of taking the world back to the years of the cold war; which still dream of the days when the settlement of disputes between States was achieved behind the scenes, without account being taken of the interests of the countries and peoples concerned. It has become quite obvious that there are differences in the assessment of the reasons which have led to that crisis, as there are divergencies as to the concrete ways and means to be used for achieving a settlement of the situation thus created.

33. However, it cannot be denied that at present the most important and essential thing is to seek to solve the problem of Cyprus on the basis of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and to recognize that no solution of the problem can be achieved other than within the framework of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. This means that the Republic of Cyprus must be preserved as a sovereign, independent State and that its territorial integrity must be safeguarded. This means, too, that a just and lasting solution to the problem will be found only when all attempts at foreign interference come to an end, at which time the people of Cyprus will be able to decide its own future.

34. The position of Bulgaria on the problem of Cyprus is well known. This consistent position, based on lofty principles, has been repeatedly put forward by the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, who has always emphasized that:

"We insist that the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus be respected, and we sincerely hope that our neighbours, Greece and Turkey, will live in peace on the basis of mutual understanding and with an independent Cyprus."

This position falls logically within the framework of the policy of socialist Bulgaria in the Balkans. Bulgaria has always attached, and continues to attach, primary importance to the problems of peace, security, and co-operation in that region of Europe.

35. On many occasions we have stressed the fact, and do so once again, that this policy is not circumstantial. It is fully in keeping with our theories, namely, that it is possible and desirable to establish between the Balkan peoples relations of friendship and co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are firmly convinced that this policy

is in keeping with the true interests of all the Balkan peoples and those in the eastern Mediterranean region, and the interests of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

36. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to reaffirm the determined will of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to contribute by every possible means to the creation of a climate of security and confidence among the States in the Balkans. Bulgaria is not guided by short-term considerations and has never taken advantage of any situations of crisis for selfish purposes. We are especially happy to note that this policy yields more abundant fruit with each year that passes.

37. In the course of these past years, a number of mutually beneficial agreements on co-operation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields have been concluded between Bulgaria and its neighbours. These agreements represent an important step forward in the direction of improving the climate in the Balkans. Similar agreements have also been concluded with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. It is for this reason that the concern of the Government and the people of Bulgaria in the light of the development of events in Cyprus is only logical and readily understandable. We could not remain impassive before the attempts to maintain a dangerous hotbed of tension and conflict as a result of the interference of certain NATO circles which bend every effort to turn Cyprus into a support base for their military and strategic designs in the eastern Mediterranean basin. It was not by chance that in the course of debates at the twenty-ninth session the Bulgarian delegation tackled this question. It is in vain that some show irritation and endeavour to advance the view that this is no more than "doctrinal propaganda".

38. I am of the opinion that the development of the situation in Cyprus in this past year has not belied our original views on the subject. We agree that truth sometimes is more than obvious, but what can we do? Facts are obstinate witnesses. They show irrefutably that the fundamental cause of the lack of progress in the solution of the problem of Cyprus resides in the fact that everything is done to prevent the people of Cyprus from settling by itself and in all sovereignty the problems relating to its future. It is quite clear that the system of "guarantees" provided for in the Zurich and London Agreements³ are no guarantee whatsoever for the people of Cyprus of its peaceful and independent existence. It would be better to replace those guarantees by true guarantees on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council. This makes it all the more indispensable for the United Nations to make an active and effective contribution to the settlement of the Cypriot crisis, which has subjected and still subjects the peace-loving people of Cyprus to untold suffering.

39. The United Nations must take urgent measures to implement its own decisions. We must clearly and unequivocally do away with any attempt to "freeze" the Cypriot problem, to make the solution of that problem dependent on so-called "secret diplomacy" or "impartial" mediation. It is necessary to prevent any attempt against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to ensure an effective and true defence of the interests

of the Cypriot people—the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.

40. Experience has shown that, despite the desires and goodwill of broad sectors of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot population and despite the efforts and the personal participation of the Secretary-General, the intercommunal talks have not yielded the expected results. I think that the last person to be blamed for this is our energetic Secretary-General. This makes it necessary for the Organization to envisage the most effective measures to ensure a just and, consequently, lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. In the search for such measures it would be worth while to revert to the proposal of the Soviet Union that a special mission of the Security Council be sent to Cyprus.⁴ It would also be desirable to revert to the proposal to convene an international conference² under United Nations auspices to consider the problem of Cyprus.

41. In the light of these new difficulties and complications, those proposals are as valid today as when they were first put forward. In truth, the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations would be fully in keeping with the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter.

42. The peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus will be achieved only if foreign interference in Cyprus ceases, if all foreign troops are withdrawn from the island and if constitutional order is restored. It will also be necessary to create an international climate favourable to the settlement of the question of the internal State structure by the Cypriots themselves, without foreign interference. We are gratified by the fact that these views are shared by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

43. These views were similarly confirmed in the political Declaration adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975. In that declaration, it is stated that:

"The Foreign Ministers, stressing the importance of Resolutions 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly and 367 of the Security Council which recognized the Non-Aligned status of one of the members of the United Nations . . .

"Express their solidarity with and total support for the Government and all of the people of the Republic of Cyprus, and consider that any aggression against Cyprus constitutes a threat to its independence, territorial integrity and its policy of Non-Alignment, as well as an aggression against all the Non-Aligned Countries;

"Demand the urgent implementation of resolutions 3212, 365 and 367 of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations, respectively; call upon all countries to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and Non-Alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and insist on the necessity of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Island, of the continuation in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the two communities under the personal auspices of the Secre-

tary-General in the shortest time possible and of the immediate return of all refugees to their homes in safety.” [A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 64.]

44. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria sincerely hopes that the United Nations will be able to play a positive role in the rapid and lasting solution of this serious international problem. As was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Petar Mladenov, on 26 September this year:

“[This situation] continues to disturb relations in the Balkans and in the Eastern Mediterranean and unsettles peace. The Bulgarian Government, whose position on the Cyprus problem is well known, is hopeful that a solution will be found which will correspond to the interests of the people of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, as well as to the interests of peace and security in the Balkans. Undoubtedly, the United Nations can play a positive role in the settlement of the Cyprus problem by activating its efforts for the implementation of its own decisions.” [2363rd meeting, para. 134.]

45. We are convinced that the Cypriot people will be victorious in its struggle for peace, independence and a happy future, despite all the difficulties and complexities of the present situation.

46. The Bulgarian delegation stands ready, as in the past, to offer its active co-operation so that the present session of the General Assembly may arrive at decisions likely to contribute to a settlement of the Cyprus crisis by peaceful means, without further postponement or delay, and in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter and with the decisions and resolutions already adopted by the United Nations.

47. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): The events of the year since the General Assembly last debated the question of Cyprus have much to tell us of the stubborn complexities of this issue as they have been measured against the capabilities of the Organization. The parties to the Cyprus question are deeply and sincerely committed. They remain deeply and sincerely divided as well, despite the persistent and dedicated efforts of the Organization. The past year has witnessed acts of understanding, hope and statesmanship. It has also witnessed acts of prejudice, of fear and of recalcitrance.

48. The United States remains committed to intercommunal negotiations under General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) as being by far the best method for reaching a settlement which will be permanently acceptable to both communities on Cyprus. It is important, as we see it, that both communities exercise the flexibility and the statesmanship necessary to resume those negotiations at the earliest possible moment.

49. We recognize the difficulties which all parties have encountered in the past in participating, and in making progress, in these talks. Some of those difficulties have now been overcome. As to the other difficulties, we emphasize that the parties have an obligation to set them aside and proceed with serious negotiation. This is an obligation of the parties, both to each other and to the international community, which has devoted the time, resources and manpower of the Organization to assisting them.

50. The United States admires and appreciates the patience, persistence and skill which the Secretary-General and his personal representatives on Cyprus have exercised in their work with all the parties in furtherance of the intercommunal talks. We also salute the gallantry, devotion and the imaginative use of resources shown by Commander D. Prem Chand and the men of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in their dedicated service to the reduction of tension and the support of humanitarian activities in this difficult year in Cyprus.

51. The United States hopes, and will do its full share to ensure, that this debate and its outcome will bring home to all the parties concerned their obligations—calmly, constructively, but unmistakably. The responsibilities which those United Nations Members have, under the Charter, for the peaceful settlement of disputes have in this case been made more specific and more demanding by the continuing efforts of the United Nations, and particularly of the Secretary-General. The United States looks forward to supporting what we hope will be a unanimous resolution of the Assembly asserting its conviction that the intercommunal talks must be reconvened at once and must move promptly towards the settlement for which all the suffering people of Cyprus and we here have waited long enough.

52. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): My delegation would, of course, have greatly preferred almost a year and a half after the Cyprus crisis took a dramatic turn for the worse, threatening the very existence of an independent and non-aligned Member State, and one year after the unanimous adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX), for there to have been no need for this debate, or for us to have had quite a different and happier one. This means that we, together with practically everyone else, were hoping that a settlement would be reached in the intervening period.

53. While our best expectations and hopes to that effect have been dashed time and again, at least it can be stated that the number of concerned and specific references about Cyprus made by the large majority of speakers in this session's general debate, as well as the care with which many delegations participate in this consideration of the item, confirm our belief that the Cyprus question—the fate of the Republic of Cyprus—remains steadily the centre of keen interest in the international community. This is as it should be, and until there is a settlement it must remain so.

54. The General Assembly, in keeping and considering this question as a matter of high priority on its agenda, expresses that particular collective grave concern the Members so acutely feel whenever the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State is threatened, because then we are all threatened.

55. The non-aligned countries, of which the Republic of Cyprus has from the very beginning been one, have also, in their important Conferences held this year—the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, at Havana, and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, at Lima—forcefully underscored their commitment to, solidarity with, and support for the Republic of Cyprus, its Government, the two communities and the whole people of the Republic, reaffirming their collective understanding

that aggression against one non-aligned country is aggression against them all.

56. As we search for the best way to solve this grave crisis and difficult question, which is causing the people of Cyprus of both communities so much suffering while at the same time threatening regional and general peace and security, we all agree that the solution to this problem can be found only on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). The latter remains the best, the only, basis and framework for reaching a settlement, since it was unanimously adopted by the Assembly and all the parties directly involved voted in favour of it. It was endorsed by the Security Council. Its implementation was urged by the non-aligned Conferences I mentioned earlier. In the general debate, and in the current debate on the item, the call for the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), for talks on the basis of that resolution, has been overwhelming—indeed, it has again been unanimous.

57. It is therefore both justified and necessary to emphasize here and now, quite clearly, a very important political reality: that the international community, the United Nations, has not swerved from the universally accepted course for the solution of the problem which it laid down itself in resolution 3212 (XXIX). It is equally important to note that all the parties directly concerned maintain their solemnly stated commitment to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and their formal rejection of any partition or of union with Greece or Turkey. It follows, therefore, that what has been lacking so far in reaching a settlement on a basis that has been agreed and upheld is the requisite political will for a decisive turn towards actual implementation.

58. The present state of affairs is highly unsatisfactory and unacceptable—indeed, intolerable. The presence of large foreign military forces holding a large part of the Republic, the faltering in and then the suspension of the talks between the two Cypriot communities and the absence of any substantial progress in the talks held before the break, the continuing plight of the majority of refugees, the well-known unilateral acts which have been condemned or deplored internationally and the various threats about new ones—all that and more sadly illustrates the non-implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX).

59. No one can or should be indifferent to such a state of affairs. No one, no one party, in the island or outside it, can or should hope to derive any profit from the prolongation of the crisis. Developments already indicate that, as in so many similar situations, the festering of the crisis, the prolongation of the conflict, the inability of the parties most directly and vitally concerned to settle matters between them, usually create more room for extraneous interests and considerations to influence and dominate the issue, and that time elapsed is time lost. As has been rightly said, the opportunities for settlement cannot be hoarded, and while a decisive move towards reaching a settlement is delayed, all kinds of problems relating to other factors arise or re-emerge in the area, making progress on this issue more difficult.

60. It is for those reasons also that we urge a speedy, resolute turn towards the real implementation of reso-

lution 3212 (XXIX), the resumption without delay of substantive, meaningful talks between the two communities on an equal footing and under the auspices of the Secretary-General, for the solution of their problems as a matter of the greatest urgency.

61. In the beneficial atmosphere created at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe there were some hopeful signs indicating an initial movement that might lead to the settlement of the Cyprus crisis. There was, as a result of the third round of the Vienna talks, some progress on some practical matters. And we are all aware of the tireless, imaginative and constructive efforts and contribution made to those talks by the Secretary-General, to whom the Security Council had entrusted an extremely delicate and important task. But we all know that that hopeful movement came to a halt and that we are again faced by a stalemate, which is hurting everyone and benefiting no one.

62. It is now the role and the duty of the General Assembly to help the parties—which remain committed to reaching an agreed political settlement through negotiations, with the assistance and under the auspices of the Secretary-General—to break the deadlock that has once again paralysed them. That should not be impossible, since no one believes that the *status quo* should or can be maintained or that the *status quo ante* is a realistic proposition.

63. I have tried in the course of this statement to indicate some considerations that should be borne in mind both as a general framework for and as elements of the content of a resolution that would meet with the widest possible acceptance, if possible a consensus, as the most realistic and useful measure. The Assembly would obviously have to indicate its regret at the non-implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and its deep concern over the continuation of the Cyprus crisis, which disturbs us all, as this state of affairs, in addition to causing so much suffering, is fraught with grave dangers. It should firmly insist on the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) in all its parts, as it embodies both the principles and the methodology for reaching a settlement. It should renew the call to all States to remain fully committed to respect of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

64. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus, the urgent resumption of talks between the two national communities, on an equal footing, with a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable settlement, and the return to their homes of all refugees who wish to return should, we think, be the course to be followed energetically and urgently. At the same time, it should be made clear that any unilateral action which would violate in any way the letter and the spirit of resolution 3212 (XXIX) is unacceptable.

65. Those are some of our thoughts on what seems to us to be a reasonable course of action at present.

66. As a country enjoying friendly relations with Cyprus, as well as with Greece and Turkey, situated in the same geographic region, a member of the Group of Five, Yugoslavia has from the start been actively engaged in the search for a just and lasting solution of

the Cyprus problem. We remain prepared to contribute within the framework of the Group of Five, in the course of its current activities and in the future, as much as we can along the lines I have just indicated.

67. Mr. KARASEK (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): In the past, my delegation has on several occasions given its views on the question of Cyprus and on all the aspects of this problem. Today, once again, my delegation would like to reaffirm its continuing interest in the fate and the future of Cyprus, as well as its support for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

68. Unfortunately, the developments of the last 12 months, since the adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX) by the General Assembly, are hardly cause for optimism. In its resolution 367 (1975), the Security Council regretted:

“the unilateral decision of 13 February 1975 declaring that a part of the Republic of Cyprus would become ‘a Federated Turkish State’ as, *inter alia*, tending to compromise the continuation of negotiations between the representatives of the two communities on an equal footing, the objective of which must continue to be to reach freely a solution providing for a political settlement and the establishment of a mutually acceptable constitutional arrangement.”

69. The negotiations which were undertaken between representatives of the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General at Vienna and New York have not yet managed to break the deadlock. It is regrettable that on the occasion of the fourth meeting held in New York one of the parties to the negotiations was not in a position to make even the smallest proposal regarding the geographical aspects of a possible settlement.

70. Even so, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General most sincerely for all the efforts he has made to bring about a rapprochement between the two sides. Thanks to his good offices, we have at least succeeded in maintaining a basis for negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. I should also like to express our gratitude for the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Luis Weckmann-Muñoz, and to wish his successor, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, every success in his difficult task.

71. One of the burning problems at the present time is the deplorable condition in which the almost 200,000 refugees find themselves. Many of them have once again to face a severe winter with the protection of little more than a tent. This problem is very close to my heart, particularly since I have had an opportunity to visit the island of Cyprus and the refugee camps twice during the past year when on a mission on behalf of the Council of Europe. Thanks to the mediation of the Secretary-General, it was at least possible to achieve agreement on the relocation of those Turkish Cypriots who wished to move to the northern part of the island, but the greater part of the problem remains unresolved.

72. In this context, I should like to stress the exceptional role which the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has played and continues to play

from a humanitarian point of view in relieving wherever possible the great human suffering caused by the chain of events since July 1974. But leaving aside the purely humanitarian aspect of the problem, which is now a particular preoccupation of the Force, we have always been of the opinion that the presence of the United Nations on the island—and I have in mind both the military and the political presence—is important not only to prevent new outbreaks of hostility but also to help with the promotion of intercommunal negotiations. This presence continues to be an indispensable element in guaranteeing respect for the ceasefire, without which we could not even begin to work for a real and lasting peace.

73. Austria was one of the first countries to make contingents of troops available to the Force. It has continued to do this for more than a decade, at considerable material and human sacrifice. In the same spirit of friendship and solidarity, my country has granted Cyprus all the other assistance it needs to make possible the peaceful development of the island.

74. While there is quasi-unanimity in recognizing the indispensable role of the Force in Cyprus, and while the Security Council continually renews the mandate of the Force, we consider it most regrettable that the international community does not seem ready to defray the relatively small cost of maintaining its effective and uninterrupted operation. May I express the hope that the support granted by all Members to the maintenance of peace in Cyprus—and thereby to the maintenance of equilibrium in the eastern Mediterranean—will also take the form of willingness to contribute the necessary funds to this end.

75. The problems involved in a permanent settlement of the Cyprus problem are very diverse. The events of July 1974 and what followed have led us to the present impasse, but the situation which obtained before that date cannot be ignored, in which one of the communities suffered a reduction of its political rights and conditions of life which were insupportable. However, the reversal of that situation by force only resulted in new suffering, new tension and new difficulties in the path of the harmonious coexistence of the two communities. Ultimately, it has been the people, the peasants and workers of the two communities, who have had to suffer the most from the tragic developments in the history of this young Republic, and it is to the alleviation of their conditions that our efforts must be directed in the first place. Would it not be the most logical thing for the representatives of the two communities to conduct negotiations on the basis of equality and without external interference, in order to determine their own fate and whatever constitutional arrangement is necessary to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the two communities?

76. Neither unilateral acts, partial solutions nor the repetition of sterile accusations can be considered useful in this respect. The general framework for future negotiations has been provided in resolution 3212 (XXIX).

77. We should now appeal to all Governments, and in particular to those directly concerned, to give proof of moderation in the pursuit of their national interests and to make new and positive contributions. That would make it possible to create an atmosphere which would be conducive to the rapid and unhampered

resumption of the intercommunal talks and to the promotion of true progress in the search for agreement on fundamental issues.

78. Austria feels the most profound sympathy for the people of Cyprus, and hopes that the General Assembly will reach a constructive decision on the question of Cyprus.

79. Mr. NEAGU (Romania): The critical situation prevailing in Cyprus is of great concern to the nations of that region and to the international community as a whole. The Cyprus conflict, now the subject of an item on the agenda of the General Assembly, has been the subject of debates in the Security Council and was also considered by the non-aligned countries in Lima. It has also been the object of important actions taken by some countries with the aim of achieving peace and tranquillity in the region.

80. Unswervingly concerned with the evolution of events on the island, Romania as a Balkan country, situated in a geographical area near to the conflict, has officially approached the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, and also the Secretary-General and has participated in the debates of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We have consistently emphasized the necessity, recently demonstrated by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in Cyprus, observing the independence of that State, and assuring the necessary conditions for the peaceful coexistence of the two communities on the island. The evolution of the international situation proves that the present crisis in Cyprus, as is the case with all international crises, can find a lasting and just solution only through peaceful means and effective measures to reduce tension.

81. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted at the twenty-ninth session, and confirmed and endorsed by the Security Council, points out the measures to be undertaken for the normalization of the situation. All States must respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and refrain from all acts and all intervention directed against it. All foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel must be withdrawn from the Republic of Cyprus, and all foreign interference in its affairs must cease.

82. The necessary conditions have to be created for the Cypriot people itself to solve its internal problems, including the problem of its constitutional system. We regret that we see now that none of these fundamental provisions of the unanimously adopted decisions of the main United Nations organs empowered to maintain peace and security have been fulfilled. What is worse, the situation has been complicated by the decision of the leadership of the Turkish community to proclaim the northern part of the island as an autonomous and federated State.

83. Unilateral actions, however, lead not only to the complication of the situation; they are of a nature to compromise the very negotiations for a peaceful solution of the conflict. It is evident that it is not a policy of *faits accomplis* but of real negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, as provided in Security Council resolution 367 (1975), of full

equality, that can lead to a freely elaborated agreement to ensure the necessary premises for peaceful coexistence and co-operation between the two communities, in the furtherance of the progress and well-being of all Cypriots and the development of an independent and sovereign Cyprus, free from any external interference. Within the framework of those negotiations the Greek and Turkish communities are called upon also to define the structure of their State, including the creation of a federal State, in accordance with the fundamental interests of the Cypriot people. It is the sovereign right of the people of Cyprus to decide itself on its régime.

84. Meanwhile, we are of the opinion that it is necessary to ensure that negotiations concerning this conflict, which represents a direct and increasing threat to peace, security and co-operation in the area, are not organized within a restricted framework. History proves that such an approach does not allow account to be taken of the positions of all interested States, nor does it permit the working out of lasting solutions. Therefore, we consider that it is necessary that the countries of the Balkans and of the Mediterranean basin should participate directly in the solution of the problem. In this way, the countries of the region could actively contribute to the cause of the development of Cyprus as an independent and sovereign State, to the strengthening of co-operation among all countries in the Balkans and Mediterranean basin, to the transformation of this zone into a zone of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, and to the cause of peace, relaxation of tension, and co-operation in Europe and throughout the world.

85. Romania has actively sought to overcome the tension created by the conflict in Cyprus so that the countries in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean area could develop relations of friendship and mutual co-operation, free of animosities which can only damage their interest in pursuing their free and prosperous development.

86. We also support the efforts undertaken within the non-aligned movement. Having participated as guests in the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August, we are in favour of translating into action the measures recommended by that conference for solving the Cypriot problem in the document entitled "Political Declaration and Strategy to strengthen International Peace and Security and to intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries" [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex].

87. Of course, an important role is incumbent on the General Assembly at its current session for the accomplishment of the objective of restoring peace and security in Cyprus. Accordingly, we appreciate the intensive efforts made by the Secretary-General with a view to achieving real progress in the negotiations under the United Nations aegis between the representatives of the two communities. We fully share the opinion widely expressed in the debate that the resolution should reaffirm the decision taken by the Organization that insists upon the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island and upon refraining from any action that might worsen the situation and hinder a speedy solution.

88. My delegation also insists that the resolution should firmly require new, effective negotiations between the Greek and Turkish communities on the basis of concrete proposals of the two sides, with a view to reaching a lasting mutually acceptable solution in conformity with United Nations resolutions and the unanimously accepted principles of justice and equity.

89. Although some progress has been achieved in the field of humanitarian affairs, the situation still remains critical, requiring concrete measures to relieve the Cypriot people's suffering and permit the dedication of all the efforts of the entire population of the island to the peaceful reconstruction of their country for a free and independent future. All refugees should be permitted to return to their homes in full safety, and the interested parties on each side should immediately undertake the necessary measures to this end.

90. The peaceful solution of the conflict in the island and the establishment of an independent, sovereign and prosperous Cyprus correspond not only to the interests of all working people in Cyprus—Greek or Turkish—but also to the cause of co-operation and peace in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean region, in Europe and all over the world.

91. My country for its part is deeply interested in transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace and co-operation, free from conflict and animosity. It is determined to make its full contribution in the field of bilateral relations and within multilateral frameworks towards eliminating the current tension and permitting the Cypriot people to develop freely without any outside interference.

Mr. Grozev (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

92. The Socialist Republic of Romania has normal relations of friendship and co-operation with the Republic of Cyprus and does not recognize any but its legally constituted Government, led by President Makarios. We consider it the duty of all countries to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State.

93. Mr. DAMDINDORZH (Mongolia): One year has passed since the General Assembly considered the question of Cyprus and adopted a resolution on how to settle the crisis. However, General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the question of Cyprus have not been translated into reality, thus threatening peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean. The intercommunal disagreements and foreign military intervention in Cyprus have further worsened the situation of crisis there and given rise to many serious problems on the island. Hundreds of thousands of Cypriots have been forced to leave their homes and have been converted into refugees in their own homeland. The Cypriot people are today going through the most crucial period of their history, and a just settlement of the present crisis must, therefore, be found.

94. The problem of Cyprus can be solved by political means within the framework of the United Nations, for the General Assembly's resolutions, together with those of the Security Council, provide a sound basis for

the peaceful settlement of the crisis through peaceful negotiations. The prerequisites for a just solution to the problem are respect for the independence, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. An end must be put to interference by foreign Powers in its domestic affairs, and all foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory. Urgent measures should be taken to ensure the speedy return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

95. There is no alternative to this kind of solution, for otherwise this independent and non-aligned Member State of the United Nations will fall victim to the selfish interests of imperialist rivalry in the eastern Mediterranean.

96. The failure of the Zurich and London Agreements³ and of the Geneva talks has clearly proved that the old system of guarantees of the independence of Cyprus is of no use whatsoever and that a new system of international guarantees must be set up on the basis of unconditional recognition of, and respect for, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

97. In the view of my delegation, the most necessary and essential prerequisites for the settlement of the tragic crisis in Cyprus are mutual trust and genuine goodwill between the two national communities, together with the immediate withdrawal of foreign military forces from the island. In this respect, my delegation fully shares the position so expressly declared at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima last August. The Lima declaration states that:

“The Foreign Ministers consider that the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, conducted on an equal footing, must lead to a mutually satisfactory agreement freely arrived at[;] any unilateral action such as the one undertaken by the Turkish community in February 1975 should be condemned and should not prejudice the final political solution of the conflict.” [*Ibid.*, para. 65.]

98. The Security Council, according to the Charter of the United Nations, bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which can be assured only when the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the world are respected. The resolutions of the Security Council, such as resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975), and others, are aimed at protecting the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and call for the immediate cessation of foreign military intervention, the withdrawal of foreign troops and military personnel and the restoration of the legitimate constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus. The Security Council resolution of March of this year once again reaffirmed the Council's support of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus and regretted the unilateral separatist actions of the Turkish Cypriot community, which have created an impasse in the intercommunal talks. The legality of the Government of Cyprus was reaffirmed.

99. Despite the unanimous decisions of the Security Council calling for immediate withdrawal of all foreign

troops from the island, those troops are still stationed there.

100. We deem it necessary to reaffirm once again the position of our Government with regard to this problem and the means for settling it.

101. From the very outset, the Mongolian People's Republic has strongly condemned those who are responsible for the situation that has been created on the island and has firmly supported the just struggle of the Cypriot people against the manoeuvres of certain NATO circles aimed at turning the island into one of NATO's strategic military bases in the eastern Mediterranean. From the beginning of the crisis 16 months ago, we have supported the inalienable right of the Cypriots to be complete masters of their homeland and freely to determine their own destinies.

102. Bearing this in mind, our delegation declared last year from this very rostrum, at the twenty-ninth session:

“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.” [2275th meeting, para. 191].

We are against any attempts to partition the island on any pretext whatsoever.

103. The present situation of non-implementation and complete disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations should not be tolerated any longer, because it delays for an indefinite period the just solution of the crisis, thus perpetuating the nightmare which the Cypriot people are experiencing today and maintaining one of the hotbeds of war and tension. It also undermines the authority and prestige of the United Nations and especially of its two main organs—the Security Council and the General Assembly.

104. Finally, my delegation would like to emphasize the role of the United Nations and, in particular, that of the Secretary-General in the political settlement of the Cyprus problem. We highly appreciate the good offices and efforts of the Secretary-General in promoting the intercommunal talks. We sincerely hope that the two communities will find a mutually acceptable solution to the problems they are facing today and will reach a national reconciliation.

105. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): One year after the adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and some 18 months since the tragic events of July 1974, the Assembly is obliged to take up once again the question of Cyprus. It is a question which has concerned one or another body of the Organization for more than a decade. Yet the prospects for a permanent solution remain as uncertain and unclear now as they were at the commencement of that decade.

106. It is also a question in respect of which attempts have been made to suggest that the situation should be looked upon as unique, and to have it viewed separately and apart from certain cardinal principles of international life which the Organization has come to consider sacrosanct. Thus the principles of national unity, territorial integrity, self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respect

for national sovereignty, we are sometimes told, are not all as significant for Cyprus as for other countries. Indeed, this claim of uniqueness for certain politico-historical situations is one that is being increasingly asserted in various forums of the United Nations.

107. There is, however, another approach that can be taken to this question. It is that a major contributing factor to the continuation of the Cyprus crisis has been a refusal to respect those important principles, principles which have been established not as lofty ideals but as essential guidelines for an ordered and harmonious international society. If both the Cypriot communities and the two mainland States concerned—and indeed other States which have embroiled the situation in pursuit of their own interests—had been scrupulous in respecting and applying those principles, it is more than likely that Cyprus would not be in the position in which it finds itself today. Alas, such expectations are still in the realm of idealism. The application of such principles has not as yet, or only marginally, formed part of the essential input for the determination of the national policies of several States, Members of this organization.

108. The Guyana delegation is one of those which does not believe in the selective application of the principles I have enumerated. We are, for example, equally concerned with a universal respect for human rights as we are with the strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

109. My delegation is convinced that the root cause of the Cyprus problem lies in past disrespect for those principles and believes that a solution to that problem will come about only when they again command respect and when the two communities, assisted by the international community, are permitted to work out their problems by themselves, free from constraints imposed by other States pursuing partisan interests.

110. The situation in Cyprus, however, does have certain special features. But many other States have communities with distinct ethnic, religious or linguistic identities. An overriding problem for several States is precisely the need to weld diverse communities into a national whole, while at the same time respecting and nurturing the rich fruits which diversity brings. And just as Cyprus has two mainland States close by with which the respective communities have close ties, so, too, do many other countries find themselves with majority or minority communities possessing ties elsewhere.

111. Resolution 3212 (XXIX), which the Assembly adopted in a rare show of unanimity on 1 November 1974, lays great stress on the importance of the principles to which I have already alluded. The burden of the resolution is the need for all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. The specific provisions of that resolution stem from those premises. As we examine those provisions one year later, it is with a profound sense of regret that we must remark on their striking non-observance. Foreign troops are still in the Republic; the negotiations between the two communities have not produced the results which the international community was entitled to expect after four rounds of talks, and the refugees who should have

been allowed to return to their homes remain refugees in their own land.

112. The General Assembly and the Security Council laid great stress on the negotiations in the hope of their providing a viable means by which a lasting solution could finally be found. It is a view to which Guyana fully subscribes, and it remains our hope that the negotiations will soon be resumed with the active participation of the Secretary-General. But the outlook for a successful outcome to the talks will not improve if one side or the other feels it is being forced to negotiate at gunpoint, or indeed is being pressured to make concessions through the application of measures which have nothing to do with Cyprus. There is perhaps a certain irony in the fact that, when resolution 3212 (XXIX) was being negotiated, a key demand of one side was that negotiations should take place "on an equal footing". That party for some time has obtained that footing. It is the other party which now demands it.

113. The Assembly cannot allow a situation of stalemate in Cyprus to persist, more particularly if that stalemate continues to be buttressed by *faits accomplis*. My delegation is, for example, deeply disturbed by frequent reports of efforts to take advantage of the present impasse to alter the demographic structure of the population. Such steps, if taken, can have consequences far beyond Cyprus. The clear responsibility of the General Assembly at this juncture is to adopt measures which, without abandoning fundamental principles, would effectively contribute to the creation of a climate in which the negotiations could speedily be resumed and would facilitate the successful outcome of those negotiations. But the two communities themselves, and especially their leaders, need to manifest attitudes and to take positions which will fully reflect their desire to find a negotiated settlement which will allow them to live peacefully and with a common sense of security. We call on them to eschew postures which are blindly informed by a false perception of past mistakes and which are reinforced by an ostentatious display of new-found strengths, sustained essentially by factors external to Cyprus.

114. For the necessary climate to be created which would allow the talks to have a reasonable chance of success, we believe also that urgent action is required to fulfil those provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX) which are as yet unimplemented. In particular, steps need to be taken to withdraw the foreign troops from the island, and the refugee problem must be given more serious and immediate attention. The agreement on exchange of populations reached at the third round of talks was a promising sign. It needs to

be built upon, however, so that the plight of the refugees can be alleviated. The provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX) relating to the withdrawal of troops and the return of refugees must be seen as an integral part of any movement towards a solution reached through negotiations. Steps taken towards the implementation of those provisions would serve to contribute to the working out of a just solution.

115. In connection with the creation of a favourable climate for the negotiations, it is also of great importance that other States desist from taking action likely to complicate the situation. Bilateral efforts to assist must have as their sole objective that of meeting the interests of the people of Cyprus.

116. As we near the end of the debate on Cyprus, we must turn our minds towards the preparation and adoption of a resolution on this matter. The Cyprus delegation has already made an important contribution towards this process by submitting a draft resolution under this item [A/L.769]. In my delegation's view, an acceptable resolution must have a framework resting on two basic pillars: the first is the necessity for it to contribute to, rather than hinder, the search for a just and lasting solution. The second is that no resolution we adopt should detract from the principles and provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX). The international community has made clear its understanding of the steps the parties should take. The Assembly should not renege on those understandings. Nor should we be making a contribution to the finding of a long-term and permanent solution to the Cyprus problem if we indulged in an exercise of prevarication and appeasement. My delegation, for its part, stands ready to make whatever contribution it can to the production of an acceptable resolution. As a member of the non-aligned Group of Five, we made such a contribution last year. On the basis of our non-aligned principles, we are again prepared to be associated this year with such an effort.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, resolution 365 (1974), of 13 December 1974.*

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

³ See *Conference on Cyprus*, Cmnd.679 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1959).

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11391.