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**President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).**

In the absence of the President, Mr. Waldron-Ramsey (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 125

Question of Cyprus (*concluded*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: I am quite sure that it is hardly necessary for me to make this observation, but with the permission of members I should like to indicate how I, as President, propose to conduct this meeting.
2. With regard to points of order, I would respectfully suggest that on rising to speak on a point of order the particular representative indicate to the President the particular rule under which he rises. That will make for a tidier disposition of the point of order we are then discussing. Of course, a point of order is to be distinguished from a matter of substance. Hence it is to be expected that a representative rising to speak on a point of order would want to confine himself in that particular intervention to the conduct of business, the proper ordering of business, as distinct from the subject matter under discussion.
3. Having said that, I shall now call on the representative of India, who rises, as I understand it, to introduce draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1.
4. Mr. JAIPAL (India): On behalf of the six sponsors of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1, I wish to make a statement explaining the circumstances which obliged us to take the initiative of submitting a draft resolution. As members know, the delegation of Cyprus was the first to submit its own draft resolution [A/L.769]. Since that draft was not acceptable to the other party to the Cyprus question, the group of five non-aligned countries, that is, Algeria, Guyana, Mali, Yugoslavia and India, was requested by the interested parties to undertake, as it did last year, to explore the possibilities of evolving a draft consensus resolution. This group of five countries also has a standing mandate from the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August this year, to remain in touch with developments in Cyprus and to assist the parties concerned, if and when requested to do so.

5. Thereupon we undertook fairly exhaustive and prolonged discussions with all the parties concerned for several days, but at the end found that it was not possible to formulate a draft resolution acceptable to both the principal parties. The differences that divided them were of a substantive character, and there were also differences in their respective approaches to the issues and in their scheme of priorities. Thus, it was not possible for the group of five countries to bridge the gulf between the two sides, and in the circumstances, we decided to abandon our efforts.

6. However, it became clear during our discussions that there was some common ground between the two parties, and we decided to evolve our own non-partisan draft resolution based on the limited common ground and also on the terms of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). What was most encouraging was the fact that all parties were agreed on the need for resumption of the intercommunal negotiations, although of course each had its own subjective evaluation of the results of the four rounds of talks that have already been held.

7. Questions of security, restoration of the rights of refugees, delineation of zones and the shape of a new constitution—all these matters are interrelated, and further negotiations are clearly necessary before a package deal acceptable to both can be worked out. One year is perhaps too short a time in which to reverse the history of the past 12 years through the process of negotiations. Hence the idea of resumption of the dialogue is accepted by both sides, and we have incorporated this consensus in operative paragraph 5 of our draft resolution. Operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution incorporates the general feeling that if the negotiations are to succeed, neither party should prejudice them by taking any unilateral action in contravention of resolution 3212 (XXIX).

8. There are two aspects to the Cyprus question, one of which is external and the other internal. Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 deal with the external aspects. We the sponsors have felt it necessary and desirable to reiterate in operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 the provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX), in order to maintain the integrity of the Assembly's earlier consensus. They call for respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and for the withdrawal of all foreign forces. These two matters represent principles which are basic for peace and indeed for the very existence of the United Nations.

9. The rest of the operative paragraphs, 4, 5 and 6, deal essentially with the internal aspects, without going into them in detail. The sole concern of the sponsors is to get the intercommunal talks going again within the framework of resolution 3212 (XXIX). That is not easy, because of the complex nature of the problem and because there is a crisis of confidence at the moment—confidence in each other, and confi-

* Resumed from the 2411th meeting.

dence in the United Nations. Also, each party has its own conception of how best to maintain the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

10. Further negotiations are clearly essential, and given goodwill and mutual trust, and through the inevitable process of give and take, it should be possible for the two communities to arrive at a mutually acceptable settlement in due course. Our objective, as the sponsors see it, should be to encourage this process, and we have therefore drafted our resolution as objectively as possible. We have been careful to avoid a partisan attitude and also to avoid pointing the finger at any party for non-implementation of the General Assembly's consensus resolution of last year.

11. We would appeal to the parties concerned to accept our draft resolution in good faith and go on to the next round of negotiations. Since our draft is true to the letter and spirit of last year's consensus resolution, we hope that it will be acceptable to all members here. In that event we trust that the sponsors of the other two draft resolutions will find it possible not to press them to the vote.

12. Lastly, let us not complicate the situation in Cyprus further by adopting more than one resolution.

13. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Saudi Arabia is indicating that he would like to speak. The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of New Zealand. Am I to understand that the representative of Saudi Arabia wants to interpose himself at this stage?

14. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I want to tell you something, Sir, that I cannot say from the floor.

15. The PRESIDENT: In that case, I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

16. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): First, I must laud you, Mr. President, for the remarks you made at the beginning of this meeting regarding points of order. I shall not describe those points of order as spurious—I do not like that word—but perhaps some of them, although made in good faith, were made inadvertently by some of our colleagues. Indeed, some representatives felt that without even raising a point of order they could march on to the rostrum and address the Assembly.

17. Now, with all due respect to the list you may have before you, I would say that we are not in a classroom here. Perhaps some members ran faster than I could to inscribe their names on the list. I do not know. Of course, I take your word about the order of names on the list of speakers. But we are not here to try to take precedence one over the other. We are here to see how we can bring the parties together.

18. I would remind you, Sir, that I have submitted a draft resolution, which is pending. You can consult the verbatim record. You will see that my draft resolution is still before the Assembly. It has to do with the extension of an invitation to the Vice-President of Cyprus.

19. If my good friend the representative of New Zealand will allow me to speak now, I think I shall be able to bring some order into our deliberations. What I am saying relates also to the opinion given by

the Legal Counsel. I repeat that the Saudi Arabian draft resolution is still before the Assembly. We should not get into a procedural, or even a substantive, debate. I have seen one of the parties. I was going to see another, but I cannot be in two places at the same time. I have consulted also with my good friend the illustrious parliamentarian from the United Kingdom—it is true that sometimes we are against each other on certain issues, but he is an illustrious parliamentarian. I am working; I cannot interrupt myself to register my name on the list of speakers.

20. The Saudi Arabian draft resolution [A/L.776] is before the Assembly. I am prepared to amend it. In any case, I shall follow it doggedly, until midnight if necessary, unless we can reach some agreement acceptable to both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities.

21. Having said that as a preface, I now ask you, Mr. President, whether you want me to step down and come back here later, when things may have become even more difficult. Instead of saving time, we may find we have lost time. Actually, I told Mr. Morse that I wanted to speak. But like me, he cannot be everywhere at once. If I am allowed to speak, I shall do so. But let this be a notice to the Assembly—it is not a threat; far be it from me to threaten anyone; I am a man of peace—if I am not allowed now to tell the Assembly what my plan is in order to bring the two parties together, then I have something more in mind. I have worked hard with the Turks; probably I would have had to work even harder with the Cypriots. I have a lot of experience; I know what happens when a house is divided against itself. This happened only recently in connexion with Korea. We do not want anything like that to happen again.

22. Do you, Sir, accept my thesis that I should be allowed to speak at this stage? I have told you frankly that I shall press for draft resolution A/L.776 regarding the extension of an invitation to Mr. Denktaş. I listened very carefully to the discussion yesterday, and I amended my draft resolution accordingly. If it is still not acceptable, I can propose another solution for this problem.

23. We really should not be bound by a rigid order of speakers here. We are not regimented. There have to be exceptions. There are certain situations that have to be met. We want to try to get the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots together. I believe that there is a good chance of doing so. I have been encouraged by what I have heard from a few representatives who are neither on one side nor on the other. This might work. They might support this solution. That does not mean that the other three draft resolutions that have been submitted would be erased.

24. I could, if I wanted, ask Mr. Denktaş to hand me his speech and as the representative of Saudi Arabia I would read it has his proxy. I am not going to do it out of consideration for the will of the Assembly. My colleague from Turkey probably has the same idea. It is possible. We could have done it yesterday. But we are not here to antagonize one another. You see, we have oil in Saudi Arabia. I wish to pour it on troubled waters, not on fire; but if you want me to throw it on fire, the whole place will be aflame. I will not be hurt, I know where to throw the oil, but I do not want to hurt anyone.

25. To sum up, Sir: either you allow me to speak on the grounds I have mentioned or you say "No". Then I will tell you, go and listen to our friend from New Zealand, and whoever comes after him and I will march off like a dutiful student. Then I will, with all due respect to you, Sir, ask you to become a teacher in a high school and we will become your pupils. Do you allow me to speak or shall I march off like a dutiful student? Ask the others if they have an objection. If they do not, it stands to reason that I may speak; if not, I still would have the floor; and I am afraid, I am not sure, but I suspect that things may become a little more complicated.

26. The picture, I think, is drawn before you. Mr. Morse knows about it because he approached me. The question is in your hands. Shall I go down to my seat or shall I speak, on the grounds of having submitted a draft resolution, before all those other speakers? I want to amend that draft resolution or, if I feel that would not be acceptable, to take some other steps that I am almost confident will bring peace. However, if you, as President, do not want me to, I am at your command.

27. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Saudi Arabia may continue his statement.

28. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I remind the Assembly that yesterday evening I dictated a draft resolution, which has been circulated today, regarding the invitation of Mr. Denktas to make a statement before the Assembly. For those who have not had a chance to read that draft resolution, I shall read it again:

"Considering that a civil war has erupted in Cyprus on account of an attempted coup d'état engineered by a certain Mr. Sampson, who wanted to negate the Constitution of Cyprus adopted in Zurich,

"Taking into account that neither the President nor the Vice-President of Cyprus would be alive today had it not been that:

"(a) The President of Cyprus fled the country to safety;

"(b) The Turkish army occupied Cyprus to protect the Turkish-Cypriot minority,

"Noting that the President of Cyprus made a statement before the General Assembly at its current session,

"Further noting that the situation in Cyprus is becoming more confused and the people of Cyprus as a whole is suffering from this anomalous situation,

"Invites Mr. Rauf Denktas, in his capacity as Vice-President of Cyprus as well as leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community, to appear at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly in order to shed some light that may ultimately be useful in solving the question of Cyprus, to the benefit of both the Greek Cypriot community and Turkish Cypriot community so that they may live in an independent and integral Cyprus."

29. In view of the Legal Counsel's advice yesterday [2411th meeting] that a two-thirds majority would be required in a vote on the question of inviting Mr. Denktas in his capacity as the leader of the Turkish Cypriot

community, and in view of the fact that that two-thirds majority was not obtained, and therefore Mr. Denktas could not appear in that capacity, I amend my draft resolution today.

30. I should like to change the phraseology of subparagraph (b) so that it may read: "The presence of Turkish troops to protect the Turkish Cypriot community,". I say the "Turkish Cypriot community" so that they may not be considered only as a minority, since my good friend, Mr. Rossides, or the representative of Greece, said that there are many minorities in many countries and that everyone would want to come and be heard. Therefore this has been taken care of by the phraseology I have given.

31. In the operative paragraph, I delete the words "as well as leader of the Turkish Cypriot community". There is no question that he is the Vice-President of Cyprus. We set aside his being a leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. Then I would add: "in a country which continues to be afflicted by civil war", because, as I said, this is an anomalous situation. If there was peace in Cyprus, it would stand to reason that unless he was nominated by the Government of Cyprus to be a member of the delegation or to appear on behalf of the Government of Cyprus, he would be out of order. He could not come and gate-crash. But because the civil war continues, I say we should say "Invites Mr. Rauf Denktas, in his capacity as Vice-President of Cyprus"—setting aside his being also the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community—"in a country which continues to be afflicted by civil war".

32. I am going to maintain this draft before the Assembly unless we can do better and just ask Mr. Denktas to submit his statement and, as I said, our colleague the Turkish representative, for instance, can read it. Or we can incorporate the words of Mr. Denktas in the record. What difference does it make? He is not in a beauty contest so that he has to appear here on the rostrum. What we are interested in are his words as Vice-President, and his words will be spoken, but I still insist on his appearance, unless something better is suggested.

33. I listened to the representative of India introducing the so-called six-Power draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, Argentina, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia [A/L.775 and Add.1], and I hope the representatives of those States will listen to reason.

34. It is not that their draft resolution is not a good one—I think it is a great improvement on the unacceptable Cyprus draft resolution, which should be withdrawn—but I have some reservations, not about the intent and purpose of the draft resolution but because of the need to bring realities into focus instead of retaining a platitudinous operative paragraph 3, which may be interpreted in various ways and may not be implemented owing to certain reservations or to a lack of understanding between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities.

35. I therefore propose the following amendments to operative paragraph 3. They will be circulated shortly and I will read them slowly: first, delete the words "without further delay" and the words at the end of the paragraph: "and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs"; secondly, add the following after "the Republic of Cyprus": "imme-

diately after both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities have reached a mutually acceptable settlement". The paragraph would then read as follows:

"Demands the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus immediately after both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities have reached a mutually acceptable settlement".

36. If we retain the words "without further delay" and do not mention the "mutually acceptable settlement", are we so naive, so simple, as to think that the Turks will leave the minority at the mercy of the majority? This amendment is necessary to clarify that paragraph. If they accepted the paragraph in its present form, the Turks would be cursed by the Turkish Cypriot community and everyone who stands for safeguarding the rights of minorities; and here the minority is a community, well defined by the Constitution of Zurich, with a Vice-President who even had the right of veto, as I recall, of any decision taken by the President of Cyprus. But he was ignored—unfortunately, because otherwise we would not be in this mess.

37. With reference to the words "and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs", how do we demand cessation without addressing those who might interfere? Therefore, I have a new operative paragraph 4 to take care of that idea. There should be a cessation, but by whom? In this connexion, I propose the addition of the following paragraph:

"Appeals to all interested States to cease all foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus".

We do not just demand cessation, we demand cessation by someone. Furthermore, we do not demand, we appeal, because I think some of them will still be mischievous and will interfere. We cannot demand cessation without addressing the request or the demand to the interested States. I am not going to name them; there is quite a number: big Powers, small Powers, all kinds of Powers.

38. To show that I can be very reasonable, I want the six sponsors to read carefully these proposed amendments, which are reasonable and factual. If they include them in their draft resolution, I will vote for it, I will try to get more votes for it and I will recommend their draft resolution.

39. I hear that the representative of Tunisia also has a laudable amendment; he came to the same conclusion as I, but his phraseology is different; maybe in another context.

40. I am not saying that I will engage in tit-for-tat, but if they tell me within a reasonably short period of time that my proposed amendments do not change the purpose of their draft resolution—because, after all, these amendments are designed to bring the communities together, not to find out that the Turks will not obey a resolution unless they are sure there is a mutually acceptable solution—and that they will incorporate them in their draft resolution, then I will not press my draft resolution concerning the invitation to Mr. Denktas, in his capacity as Vice-President only, in a country which is afflicted by civil war.

41. If they accept, then you will simplify the whole question, and I will prevail. Although I am afraid that he may have instructions because of this demand, it would be unreasonable of him, unless there were a mutually agreed solution between the two communities, at least not to oppose it. But he is free to oppose it. I do not know what his instructions are. He may have rigid instructions. And if he has rigid instructions, what can the Secretary-General do? The army of occupation will be there to protect the minority and we will fossilize the question as we have done, unfortunately, in Korea.

42. To sum up, may I request my friends of the group of five countries which are sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/L.775 to accept my amendments in order to facilitate a solution, to pave the way for agreement. If they do not, then I reserve my right to resuscitate my draft resolution, and if it is defeated, the resources of someone who has worked for such a long time at the United Nations will not be exhausted. I shall have another draft resolution. It is not up my sleeve, but it is brewing in my mind.

43. I am doing this, not to filibuster, but to see to it that we do not commit the same mistakes as we have made in Korea. I do not want to mention the other problems because then it might exacerbate matters, and I want to see that oil is poured on turbulent waters.

44. Mr. TEMPLETON (New Zealand): My delegation listened attentively to the introduction by the representative of India of the six-Power draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1. We commend the sponsors for their efforts to produce a universally acceptable draft. Last year, the same countries produced a draft resolution which was unanimously adopted.

45. My delegation believes that the adoption of a draft resolution of this kind, rather than a partisan resolution, is the objective at which we should aim at this session also. Therefore, without going into the merits of draft resolution A/L.775 or of any amendments, since I shall have the opportunity to do so in explanation of my delegation's vote at a later stage, I now formally move, under rule 91 of the rules of procedure, that the Assembly decide to give priority to this draft resolution. I do so in the belief that it is the most appropriate for us to adopt and that it will secure the widest possible support—we would hope unanimous support—from the Assembly.

46. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): I wish to make a few comments on draft resolution A/L.775, so ably introduced by the representative of India on behalf of the non-aligned countries. The contact group of non-aligned countries, composed of the delegations of Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia, acting in the best traditions of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which Cyprus is a founding member, has been engaged in an effort to draft a resolution which, without sacrificing principles, would be couched in such language as would allow it to be adopted unanimously or with virtual unanimity by the Assembly.

47. The members of the contact group and their delegations, the efforts of which produced last year's unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), deserve high praise for this endeavour and for the constructive manner in which they have carried out their difficult and delicate task. It is my delegation's opinion that

draft resolution A/L.775, which is now before us, although the result of a compromise on the basis of a very delicate balance, preserves the principles on which the solution of the problem should be based and will help towards the promotion of a just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus question.

48. In view of my delegation's opinion in this regard, we are not going to press our own draft resolution A/L.769 to the vote at this time, but shall vote for the non-aligned group's draft resolution A/L.775 in its present form.

49. It goes without saying that if any attempt is made to change the non-aligned group's draft resolution at this late stage, we might also have to introduce our own amendments so as to preserve the balance upon which the draft resolution is based. It is a very fine balance. Therefore, any change to one side or to the other, would result, we think, in its total collapse.

50. As for the amendments introduced by the representative of Saudi Arabia, I will only say that they are completely unacceptable to our delegation. They would have the effect of sanctioning aggression, for it would mean that any country could invade another country and make the withdrawal of its troops a precondition for the adoption of a political settlement dictated by the use of force. Surely this cannot be accepted by anyone, and least of all by the General Assembly, as it is totally against the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

51. Consequently, I would appeal to the representative of Saudi Arabia not to press his amendments, as we think that to do so is going to create more difficulties than those that the Cyprus problem has today.

52. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): The delegations of five non-aligned countries have in the last few days been engaged in consultations with the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities with the goal of reaching a consensus draft resolution on the question of Cyprus. At the end of those consultations, the group of five informed the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community that their efforts to arrive at a consensus draft had failed. Consequently the General Assembly was confronted with a situation in which it had to vote on a highly irrational, totally unrealistic and entirely inoperable draft resolution submitted by the Greek Cypriot community.

53. To avoid such a futile course of action, my delegation submitted a draft resolution which avoids controversial points but, rather, calls for the early resumption of intercommunal talks with a view to reaching a mutually agreed peaceful settlement. After my delegation had submitted its draft resolution with that purpose in mind, the group of five non-aligned countries nevertheless decided to present a draft resolution, though their efforts to produce a consensus draft had failed. Given that initiative of the five non-aligned countries, and irrespective of the views of my delegation on the substance of draft resolution A/L.775, we shall not at this stage press for a vote on draft resolution A/L.774, submitted by the delegation of Turkey.

54. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I explained Tunisia's position on this question yesterday [2411th meeting]. We do not think a resolution on Cyprus is necessary at the present time, but

since we are in the process of considering proposals, the delegation of Tunisia would like to make a contribution.

55. I listened with great interest to the introduction of the draft resolution proposed by Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia, of which Argentina has now become a sponsor. I agree with the representative of New Zealand that this proposal should take precedence, and we support it; but in order to reconcile various viewpoints and to make our recommendations more precise, the delegation of Tunisia suggests that operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 be replaced by the following text [A/L.777], which has already been communicated to the Secretariat and which I hope will be circulated without delay:

"Urges the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel, with the exception of the United Nations armed forces and military presence and personnel, from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs."

56. I propose this amendment to draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 to the sponsors in the hope that they will accept it. I am convinced that other delegations share my viewpoint. There is an element of substance and an element of form in this amendment. The substantive point is maintenance of the military presence of the United Nations, which is a necessity; there should be no misunderstanding about that. The formal element is that, as we see it, the General Assembly cannot demand but can only urgently request, invite, call upon, recommend, confirm or affirm. The Security Council can demand, but, generally speaking, in an effort at compromise it tries to use less severe wording.

57. It will also be noted that our proposed amendment does not include the words "without further delay". What does that mean? This wording is imprecise, and I do not believe that once the draft resolution was adopted we could immediately secure total and absolute withdrawal.

58. I do not want to give further explanations or enter into the substance of the problem. At this stage I would simply address myself to the sponsors, with whom, in view of pressure of work, we have not had time to consult. I do not ask for a vote on our proposed amendment at the moment, but depending on the development of the examination of the draft resolutions, we shall decide on this and advise the Assembly accordingly.

59. To sum up, we want to help the Assembly to reach a better understanding and to make draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1, which is before us, acceptable to as many members as possible. It is in that positive spirit that we have introduced our draft amendment.

60. Mr. JAIPAL (India): I have had an opportunity to consult the other sponsors of the draft resolution, including Argentina and Kenya, about the amendments proposed by the representative of Saudi Arabia. We all have the utmost respect for Mr. Baroody's knowledge of the English language and diction and also for his political wisdom, and I must confess that we find his amendments most interesting from both the linguistic and the political point of view. But the fact

is that they go against the concepts in operative paragraph 2 of the original consensus resolution of the General Assembly, which reads as follows:

“Urges the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.” [Resolution 3212 (XXIX)]

61. We have simply tried to maintain that paragraph, for obvious reasons, because at this late stage the introduction of any new concept is bound to create difficulties with certain parties which are directly concerned with this very complex question of Cyprus. We regret very much, therefore, that it is not possible for the sponsors to accept the amendments proposed so persuasively by Mr. Baroody.

62. Our draft resolution is the product of intensive consultations lasting several days and nights. We are unwilling to accept any amendments at this late stage because we feel that we have already taken into account the views of all the parties concerned to the maximum extent possible. We feel, therefore, that if necessary the Saudi Arabian amendments might be voted upon under rule 90 of our rules of procedure. We regret that, in the circumstances I have explained, the sponsors will be obliged to vote against those amendments.

63. As regards the amendment just proposed by the representative of Tunisia, I have with me only the text in French, and my French is not good enough to understand its implications. But I listened to him very carefully in the English interpretation, and I have the impression that he was trying to exclude from the scope of operative paragraph 3 the presence of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. It seems to me that it is not really necessary to make that exception here. We did not make a similar exception last year when the Force was present in Cyprus. The presence of the Force in Cyprus is sanctioned by the Security Council, and we do not think that the adoption of paragraph 3 in its present form, in document A/L.775 and Add.1, will in any way hamper the presence of the activities and operations of the Force in Cyprus. I would leave it to the General Assembly to consider whether the amendment proposed by the representative of Tunisia should be included or not.

64. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic): I should like to support draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, especially since my country is a non-aligned country and we understand from the representatives of Cyprus and Turkey that they are not pressing their own draft resolutions.

65. However, I also asked to speak in order to say, further to what has just been stated by the representative of India concerning the amendment proposed by the representative of Tunisia, that my delegation too believes that the exception made in operative paragraph 3 with regard to the presence of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus is not necessary for the reasons given by the representative of India, but also because of operative paragraph 9 of the draft resolution, in which there is a clear appeal to all parties to continue to co-operate fully with the Force in Cyprus. I hope that in view of operative paragraph 9, the representative of Tunisia will not find it necessary to press his amendment, and that, if

there is no objection, we can proceed to vote on this draft resolution of the non-aligned countries, as the consensus, or near consensus, of this Assembly.

66. The PRESIDENT: The position as I perceive it is as follows. The representatives of Cyprus and Turkey are not pressing their draft resolutions to a vote. Therefore, automatically, the motion for priority put forward by the representative of New Zealand falls, because there is nothing to have priority over, in a certain sense; except in the very technical sense that the representative of Saudi Arabia has placed before us a procedural draft resolution. Therefore, technically, there are two draft resolutions still before the Assembly: A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, which deals with the question of substance, and A/L.776, the Saudi Arabian draft resolution, which deals with the procedural question.

67. If the Assembly agrees with me, we will give priority to draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, and we will take that as the understanding of the Assembly and treat it as the only draft resolution of substance before the Assembly. My first preference would be to proceed, in the logical steps which follow from this, on that draft resolution. That is to say, we would deal with the proposed amendments put forward by Saudi Arabia and Tunisia to that draft resolution—provided of course that those delegations insist upon maintaining those proposals—and in the normal way we would vote on the proposed amendments and then proceed to vote on the draft resolution, as amended or not amended.

68. But, of course, if the representative of Saudi Arabia insists that we deal with his procedural draft resolution now, before we deal with that in document A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, which deals with the substance, then we shall have to address our minds to that point.

69. Might I inquire of the representative of Saudi Arabia whether he wants the Assembly to deal with his procedural draft resolution at this stage or whether he is prepared to have us deal with it after we have disposed of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 in its entirety?

70. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I was going to ask to speak regardless of the fact that I wanted to bring to the attention of members the procedural draft resolution which I submitted yesterday and which should be disposed of one way or the other. On the other hand, there must have been a meeting of minds between my brother and colleague from Tunisia and me, because independently of each other we submitted amendments to the draft resolution in document A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 in order to make sure that it would be heeded by one of the parties to the dispute, namely, the Turkish Cypriot community, which is asking the Turks to maintain their troops until, God willing, there is an understanding between both communities and peace prevails.

71. I do not understand why the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, who needless to say represents the Greek Cypriot community, should have reacted so vehemently. He said that everything was arranged and no one should tamper with what has been done. Then he referred to a paragraph which follows the form of operative paragraph 3 to the effect that the troops

should, by implication in accordance with a resolution of the Security Council, withdraw without delay. But how many resolutions have been adopted by the Assembly and the Security Council for the same purpose of having troops withdrawn, resolutions which were not heeded? It is because resolutions on other issues were not complied with.

72. I tried to make this draft resolution practicable and reasonable by amending it. I tell you from this rostrum—and I stand to be corrected in the future—that no Turkish troops will be withdrawn just because a resolution asks them to be withdrawn, without the assurance that the Turkish Cypriot community will not be endangered. We cannot maintain United Nations troops there all the time. They cost money and this Organization is broke. Money is reluctantly being spent to maintain those United Nations troops, or guardians of the peace in Cyprus.

73. We should not tamper with the non-aligned group's draft resolution, we should accept it as it is and not open the door to bringing both communities together by mutual acceptance. I should like to draw the attention of the Foreign Minister of Cyprus to the fact that I use the phrase "mutually acceptable settlement", which I borrowed from the third pre-ambular paragraph of the draft resolution of the non-aligned group.

74. All right, what is the alternative? This draft is sacrosanct; do not tamper with it; vote on it as it is; take it or leave it. And here I have the third world with me and many Europeans, because they go by solidarity. I know with whom the Europeans are and we Asians know with whom we are. This is solidarity, one solidarity against the other, whether it is based on religion or ideology or what have you. The situation will remain as it is if we tell the Turks to withdraw without delay. Do you want a moral victory or do you want practical results? There is no victory in a civil war. We should achieve results. Are they going to withdraw and leave the Turkish community at the mercy of some other Sampson? Maybe the next time he will be a Turkish patriot who will say, "Cyprus always belonged to the Turks and why should those Greeks be there? Let us try and have it go back to Turkey." That is also possible. The Greeks have no monopoly on madcaps. Suppose a Turk from the Turkish community says: "The British took this island as a commission after the Congress of Berlin. Because we Turks aligned ourselves with the Germans in the First World War, they got it as a commission. This is Turkish Territory."

75. Of course that may seem incongruous and illogical because, after all, Cyprus is a free integral entity and we hope it will remain so. But Mr. Sampson came out of the blue. He said "*enosis*" and he almost succeeded. And if he had, what would have happened to the community which happens to be a minority, which happens to be of Turkish extraction? They would have been decimated, if not liquidated. And the Foreign Minister of Cyprus says, "No, do not tamper with it, it is the result of many negotiations." But what would be wrong with trying to improve the results of the negotiations?

76. As I said, independently of me and even preceding me, my brother from Tunisia submitted an amendment which has the same purpose. Perhaps he

went a little further by emphasizing the necessity of maintaining United Nations guardians of the peace if the Turkish troops are to be withdrawn. Well, I do not think that we can always bank on maintaining United Nations guardians of the peace. Suppose we cannot finance them, what will happen? Suppose the Turks withdraw their troops and the guardians of the peace remain there for three, six or ten months and no mutually acceptable solution is worked out. So what? Does the Foreign Minister of Cyprus want the Turks to bring their troops back again to protect the minority? We would be going around in circles. That is why I submitted my amendment. Do you think it was just an inspiration? My amendment was carefully thought out and was based on similar situations in order to obtain practical results.

77. I shall now sum up. The representative of Tunisia happens to have submitted his amendment before mine. If he will allow me to do so, I should like to be a co-sponsor of that amendment. On the other hand, if he decides to withdraw it, I shall adopt it as my child. I repeat that I am prepared to be a co-sponsor of the amendment with the representative of Tunisia. In that case I shall not insist on my amendment, although it is more specific.

78. I would still insist on my second amendment [A/L.778], which reads:

"Appeals to all interested States to cease all foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus".

What objection could the delegation of Cyprus have to that phraseology? It has nothing to do with troops; it merely appeals to all interested States to cease all foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

79. I repeat: I am prepared to become a co-sponsor of the Tunisian amendment. If he withdraws it, I shall adopt it as my own. Furthermore, whether or not it is passed, I insist on my second amendment, which would become operative paragraph 4. Everything depends on what the Assembly decides on the amendments. And I would remind members at this juncture that there is still before the Assembly my draft resolution on the question of extending an invitation to Mr. Denktas in his capacity as Vice-President of Cyprus [A/L.776]. That draft resolution will remain before the Assembly until I know the results of the voting on the amendments to draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2.

80. I must warn the Assembly that I do not mind losing a vote sometimes. The matter stands in the report. I hope that next year—and, God willing, we shall all be here—I shall not have to say, "I told you so". I do not mind losing so long as there can be peace. But there are certain countries pulling strings in that strategic island. That is why I insist on the appeal to all interested States to cease all foreign interference in the affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

81. Mr. President, you may put to the vote any of the draft resolutions you wish, except mine. After that, I shall tell you whether I wish to press for a vote on the Saudi Arabian draft resolution, the purpose of which is to invite Mr. Denktas, in his capacity as Vice-President of Cyprus, to appear before the Assembly.

82. Mr. **DRISS** (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I have heard the comments that have been made on the Tunisian amendment [A/L.777]. First, the representative of India, who had not yet read the text in English, said that the exception that must be made in regard to the armed forces and the military personnel of the United Nations was ensured, since this paragraph does not concern those forces.

83. The representative of Syria drew our attention to paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2. We have no objection to withdrawing that part of the amendment, now that we have heard these statements and are sure that paragraph 3 does not concern the United Nations forces. There remains the following wording of the amendment:

“*Urges* the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs”.

I believe that there could be a consensus on that text. I regret that the sponsors of the draft resolution did not deem it fit to consult the delegation of Tunisia. Tunisia is a country on the Mediterranean, and we are interested in all the problems relating to the Mediterranean. We were not consulted. Had we been, we would have given our advice, which has some value.

84. We understand the position of the parties. We understand the position of Cyprus. We understand the position of Turkey. They are in a state of confrontation. The Secretary-General is trying to pursue the negotiations between the two parties with a view to reaching an agreement. We do not expect them to agree with all the parts of the draft resolution. To accept the position of one party or the other is to agree that one party to a conflict can exercise a right of veto over the decisions of the General Assembly. That is why I make the appeal that the decision to be taken by the General Assembly should reflect precisely the Assembly's position. What we want is to ensure that foreign troops are withdrawn and that there is no foreign interference in the affairs of Cyprus.

85. To demand that something be done without any delay is in itself a decision that must be put into effect. But we are not sure that it would be, in view of the opposing positions. Hence, when the General Assembly urges the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs, we think that it is doing its duty.

86. Having given all those explanations, I should be very pleased now to have the opinion of the sponsors. If the representative of Saudi Arabia supports this new version, the delegation of Tunisia will be honoured, despite the fact that our ways of thinking differ somewhat from time to time. But our aim is to ensure that draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2—slightly modified—obtains the support of the largest majority possible.

87. I do not believe that is asking too much, and I believe that the position we have taken reflects the opinions of a large number of delegations. But at this stage I do not call for a vote on this amendment; I should prefer that the sponsors, after consultations, if necessary, would give their views on this approach.

88. Mr. **CHRISTOPHIDES** (Cyprus): I have listened with great interest to what the representatives of Saudi Arabia and Tunisia have said in support of their texts. I very much appreciate the interest which they are taking in the tragedy and the problem of my country. I am sure that they must realize that I, too, am very deeply interested and concerned about the fate of Cyprus. Therefore, whatever I say, I am saying it in defence of the interests of the people of Cyprus.

89. As far as the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Saudi Arabia is concerned, I have already expressed my views.

90. I think that I should dwell a little on the text submitted by Tunisia, because there may have been a misunderstanding as to its real meaning; and this, of course, was not brought about purposely, because the representative from Tunisia gave its meaning in clear terms during the last few minutes.

91. The first text which circulated was in French, and its beginning may have created some confusion for those who do not have a mastery of the French language. Now, the English text has been circulated and it will be noticed that there are two very vital and important differences between the text submitted by the non-aligned group of countries and that submitted by Tunisia.

92. The text submitted by Tunisia starts with the words: “*Urges* the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces . . .”; while the text of the non-aligned group reads: “*Demands* the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces . . .”. One can obviously see the difference.

93. I should like to mention here that last year the Assembly urged the speedy withdrawal of the troops—and 12 months later, the troops are there. Therefore, I feel that, having regard to the experience of the past 12 months, the Assembly should come forward and give its positive vote to the draft resolution of the non-aligned group of countries [A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2], including operative paragraph 3, which demands the withdrawal of the foreign troops without further delay.

94. Mr. **GUTIERREZ** (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not want to tire the Assembly with new observations, amendments or draft resolutions. Pursuant to rule 75 of the rules of procedure, I would ask for closure of the debate because we have all said as much as is necessary on the draft resolutions on Cyprus, and I think that we have to proceed to vote, in order of priority, on the draft resolutions that are before us.

95. The **PRESIDENT**: The representative of Bolivia has invoked rule 75, which treats of the closure of the debate. Under that rule, representatives will recall, of course, that we must proceed immediately to the vote, after we have heard two speakers, and two speakers only, against closure.

96. Does any representative wish to speak against closure of the debate? Since no representative does, I now put the motion for closure of the debate to the vote.

The motion for closure was adopted by 124 votes to none.

97. The PRESIDENT: The voting on draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 will commence. I note from my list that there are certain delegations which would like to explain their votes before the vote. The rules of procedure, of course, are clear on this matter. Representatives can explain their votes before or after the vote. I do not know if the Assembly would wish to hear all explanations of vote after the vote and, therefore, in the spirit of the motion we have just unanimously adopted, proceed to the disposition of the amendments and the draft resolution itself.

98. I see that the representative of Turkey raises his pencil, and that would indicate to me that he would want to explain his vote before the vote. I will, therefore, accede to that request, and we shall accordingly hear those who have indicated that they want to explain their votes before the vote.

99. Mr. NAÇO (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): With regard to draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, which has been submitted to the General Assembly for approval, the delegation of Albania believes it is necessary to stress once again the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on the question of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force mentioned in operative paragraph 9.

100. As we have stressed on other occasions, our Government has opposed and still opposes firmly the creation of the Peace-keeping Force. It is well known that the sending of United Nations forces to various parts of the world, contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, has not served to defend the sovereign rights of peoples, nor has it served the cause of genuine peace, but only the interests of the imperialist Powers.

101. With the reservation I have just expressed, the delegation of Albania will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

102. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): On 13 November [2405th meeting], I intervened in the debate on this question on behalf of the countries members of the European Community to explain the position of those nine countries on the question of Cyprus, as well as to indicate what they had been doing vis-à-vis the interested parties.

103. I should like now to recall briefly the fact that the Nine feel it absolutely necessary that the talks between the two communities be resumed on the basis of the formula in Security Council resolution 367 (1975). It is with that objective in mind that the Nine have decided how to vote on these draft resolutions.

104. We feel that draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 gives evidence of concern to achieve a balance between the various positions and thus merits our support. That draft resolution, on which we congratulate the sponsors, quite correctly stresses many elements which the Assembly feels are relevant and important in the framework of the attempts to settle the crisis. As we see it, this draft resolution expresses in the first place the necessity for an immediate resumption of the talks, without delay or preconditions, under the aegis of the Secretary-General. We have not failed to indicate to all the parties concerned the basis on which serious negotiations can be carried out with the assistance of the Secretary-General.

105. In view of all this, it is quite natural that the Nine could not support the draft resolutions which the parties themselves deemed it necessary to submit.

106. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In our statement at the plenary meeting on 14 November [2406th meeting], the Chinese delegation expounded in a comprehensive way the Chinese Government's position on the question of Cyprus. It is our sincere hope that the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus and the parties concerned will continually root out super-Power meddling, intervention and sabotage, take to heart the over-all interests and conduct peaceful and patient negotiations on an equal footing and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation for a reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question at an early date.

107. Based on the above position, the Chinese delegation has decided to vote in favour of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 submitted by Algeria and six other countries.

108. With regard to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, the Chinese delegation has always held its own position of principle, which is well known to all. Consequently, we have reservations on the portion of the draft resolution concerning the Force.

109. Mr. TEMPLETON (New Zealand): I wish to offer a few brief comments in explanation of New Zealand's support for draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by Algeria and several other countries. I also wish to express the appreciation of my delegation of the fact that draft resolutions A/L.769 and A/L.774 are not being pressed to a vote by their authors.

110. My delegation did not speak in the general debate on this item, but that reflected no lack of interest in the subject-matter. Like Cyprus, New Zealand is a small multiracial island State. We have the greatest sympathy for the people of Cyprus in their long ordeal. We believe it to be the duty of the United Nations to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all Member States, and especially small countries which are not able to defend themselves against their more powerful neighbours. My delegation deeply regrets, therefore, that resolution 3212 (XXIX), which the Assembly adopted last year, has not been implemented. That resolution urged the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus. That withdrawal has not taken place. The same resolution called upon the parties to undertake urgent measures to ensure that all the refugees returned to their homes in safety. As we understand it, this has not happened. The resolution also called for the continuation of negotiations between the two communities with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable political settlement. In spite of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General—to whom every tribute must be paid—negotiations between the two communities have reached a stalemate and a political settlement seems as far away as ever.

111. It would not be appropriate or useful to seek to apportion blame for the non-implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX); the facts that I have enumerated stand as sufficient reproach in themselves. It is the people of Cyprus who are the losers.

112. The three main elements of resolution 3212 (XXIX)—the withdrawal of troops, the return of refugees and the negotiation of a settlement—acquire added urgency with the passage of time. Progress with regard to the first two elements would clearly facilitate progress with regard to the third. Clearly it was not the intention of the Assembly that implementation of any of these steps should be conditional on progress being made on another.

113. My delegation looked, therefore, for a draft resolution which we hoped would be acceptable to and accepted by the parties, a draft resolution which would reaffirm the basic elements of the unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX) and which, unlike the earlier resolution, would be promptly implemented in good faith by all the parties. We find in draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, in its present form, a text which has the potential to achieve these positive results, provided only that the parties truly want them also. The group of non-aligned countries are greatly to be commended for their sterling efforts to secure the agreement of the parties to a text which preserves the essential principles of resolution 3212 (XXIX). We hope that this will not only serve as a firm reminder of unfulfilled responsibilities, but stimulate a new effort to negotiate a settlement that will end the suffering of the people of Cyprus in their beautiful but divided, strife-torn and partly occupied land.

114. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I should like to explain my delegation's vote before the vote on draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 by firstly referring to a crucial point. Yesterday we had a long debate on a preliminary question, following the submission of a draft resolution by the Turkish delegation inviting Mr. Rauf Denktaş, Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, to make a statement to the General Assembly.

115. Mr. Denktaş expressed his views on this debate in an interview with the press, which I am now going to bring to the attention of the Assembly. In that statement Mr. Denktaş said:

"I followed the debate on the question whether I would be heard by the plenary or not. The mere fact that this question was taken up and debated for hours is, in my view, an important advance in the right direction, because for 12 years the Greek Cypriot leadership maintained that they and only they represented Cyprus. Thus, for 12 years the problem was never brought before the Assembly in all its aspects. The Assembly heard one side of the story and thus unwillingly encouraged the Greek Cypriot leadership to continue with their usurpation of all the rights of the co-founder, co-partner Turkish Cypriot community.

"We fervently believe that the delay in finding a just solution to our problem is directly connected with the refusal to hear both sides of it. Had we been heard from the beginning, the idea that this world forum can be used for consolidating usurped political power by paying lip service to certain principles would not have flourished as a policy of the Greek Cypriot leaders. Had we been heard from the beginning, I do not think that any delegate would have been found to condone what the Greek Cypriot leaders were doing to us for 12 years.

"We feel that the rules of procedure are meant to help justice to be done and should not be used to hinder justice. In our case we know as a fact that the Greek Cypriot side used these rules in order to hinder justice. Consequently, the world was not aware of what went on in Cyprus. No one knew that, but for our resistance at a great sacrifice, the independent Republic of Cyprus would have been destroyed by the Greek Cypriot leadership, and the island united with Greece.

"Procedural rules have been cited in order to prevent us once again from being heard. So I will not try to put my case in writing through the window, so to speak. But I am grateful to all of the distinguished representatives who gave their time to this question at this session. I hope that by the next session of the General Assembly the 12-year-old injustice to my community will be removed and the Assembly will wish to know the truth about Cyprus by listening to both sides.

"I hope that the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community as the co-founder, and its inalienable rights in the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, will be given their deserved priority vis-à-vis the rules of procedure. I hope justice will be done by treating us as equals and not as the obedient subjects of the Greek rulers, who have taken over all our constitutional rights by force of arms and have rendered us a stateless community for the last 12 years.

"It is not, I hope, an irrelevant argument that refusing to hear the Turkish Cypriot side is a denial of justice. It is a denial of justice from the point of view of natural justice. It is a denial of justice from the point of view of the agreement and the Constitution of Cyprus, which was signed by the two communities as equals. I need not put on record the fact that no country, no nation, no State and no community would consent to give up all its basic rights and freedom or choose to live stateless as we have been asked to do over the last 12 years by the Greek Cypriot leaders.

"And needless to say, your refusal to hear my community's voice before voting on any resolution is relevant to the position which we shall be at liberty to take vis-à-vis a resolution which will once again elevate the guilty party at our expense.

"We feel that the Turkish Cypriot community has already paid a very heavy price in trying to defend a bi-communal State against the Greek Cypriot leadership. We hope that the United Nations will not increase our burden by continuing to encourage the same leadership to further intransigence. The seat of representation of the Republic of Cyprus cannot in law and in morality, constitutionally or otherwise, be used for denying justice and refusing even a hearing to the Turkish Cypriot community, whose mere absence from the Government renders that Government impotent to act."

116. The problem of Cyprus is not the conflict of the State of Cyprus with another State, but the problem of the two communities which founded that very State in partnership and now find themselves divided by a severe conflict. The General Assembly has unequivocally indicated that it considers the conflict to be

between the two communities and that a political settlement can be reached only on the basis of an agreement between them. That the Cyprus conflict is primarily intercommunal strife with international consequences is borne out by the fact that the Secretary-General is using his good offices between the two communities and that the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force is on the island to prevent fighting between them.

117. The group of five non-aligned countries at an earlier stage tried again to reach a consensus through extensive consultations with the two communities, and at this stage we should like to express to all the representatives of the five our appreciation for their efforts in this respect. We are now in a different situation in which the group of five, having been unable to reach a consensus between the Turkish and Greek communities, has submitted a draft resolution embodying what it believes to be a compromise text. Such a course of action on the part of the group of five is only too natural.

118. To the detriment of our shared objectives of peace and reconciliation, however, we have here in the General Assembly the opportunity of hearing the views of only one of the two principal parties—that of the Greek Cypriot community. The Turkish Cypriot community is not, it appears, in a position to express its views during the debate on the draft resolution submitted. To overcome such a deficiency, which would undoubtedly have great bearing on the validity of the resolution, the Turkish delegation submitted a draft resolution that would have enabled Mr. Denktaş to make a statement before the plenary Assembly to explain his views directly on the draft resolution before us. To our deep regret, the voting on that draft resolution was dropped yesterday in a muddled and protracted procedural debate. Even before the draft resolution itself could be introduced, the opportunity was accorded to its main opponents to grab the rostrum. The dismal atmosphere of yesterday's debate was further aggravated by the performances of two senior representatives of Greek fanaticism competing with each other in outmoded theatrics.

119. The representative of Greece, Mr. Stavropoulos, impervious to the reality in Cyprus, again forgot the existence of two communities in Cyprus. When he was reminded, he attempted to intimidate Turkey by introducing an irrelevant issue. I can only deplore that he saw fit to do that. His attitude is nothing more than a mere projection of the image of those unrepentant Greek fanatics who have done so much harm to Greece itself. I can only hope that this mentality is rejected by the conscience of the new generations in Greece.

120. As far as the Greek Cypriot delegation is concerned, it has committed a fatal mistake by opposing the draft resolution we submitted. The Greek Cypriots have lost sight of the fact that Mr. Denktaş is not only the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community with whom they are compelled to negotiate, but also the Vice-President of Cyprus under the Constitution they have destroyed but still invoke in claiming that Archbishop Makarios is the President of Cyprus. If the Greek Cypriots refuse to consider Mr. Denktaş Vice-President, that means they have cut the last slender thread of legality in the relationship between the two communities. That is tantamount to a categorical

rejection of the right of the Turkish community to be part of the State of Cyprus. That position is bound to have grave repercussions.

121. I believe the Greek Cypriots should have more carefully pondered the consequences of such an attitude. They will no longer have anyone but themselves to blame for all those consequences.

122. Can the Turkish delegation ignore what happened yesterday or, for that matter, during the entire debate? Not only have we had to go through the depressing experience of yesterday, but we have been confronted with assertions that scoff at the basics of the question of Cyprus. We heard allegations that the conflict is not between the two communities and that the results of the intercommunal talks are null and void. We have not seen the slightest sign of conciliation from the Greek Cypriot delegation, nor any willingness on their part to negotiate seriously. We have heard that the Greek Cypriot delegation is composed of members who cannot even agree among themselves. That might perhaps explain their behaviour, but it does not change the substance of the problem we are facing.

123. Under these circumstances, we have to evaluate the draft resolution submitted by the group of non-aligned countries in the light of the position of the Greek Cypriot delegation supported by the delegation of Greece. For the reasons I have just outlined the Turkish delegation will vote against draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2.

124. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Dahomey indicated its position during the debate on the question of Cyprus. Dahomey feels that to make progress in this matter we must take a radical approach which will guarantee the interests of the only party concerned in the cause, namely the people of Cyprus one and indivisible.

125. Draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 seems to us too balanced, and we have serious doubts of its applicability. Thus, for the same reason as last year, Dahomey will not be able to participate in the voting on this draft resolution. We apologize to the sponsors of the draft and appreciate their efforts, but for reasons of principle, we cannot support the draft resolution.

126. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I did my best to bring the leaders of the two communities together, but it seems that the leaders of one party are adamant and still think that the problem can be solved by a majority vote in the General Assembly. It is my duty to remind the leaders of both parties that any resolution adopted by the General Assembly is recommendatory, and, unless there is good will and mutual understanding between the two sides, such resolutions become merely academic and, in certain instances, may become harmful because they solidify opposing positions. This I say from my humble experience throughout almost three decades in this Organization. I was given to understand that the representative of Tunisia was not pressing his amendment because, like myself, I believe, he found that it was no use trying to make certain people see the reason for the wisdom behind his amendment. I said I too would sponsor that amendment. He also tried to accommodate others by deleting certain words from his amendment, which were in order. Still it seems that neither he nor I can make

headway with what is considered to be a sacrosanct text. Therefore, if he does not press his amendment to the vote, I will go along with him.

127. Of course, I have the choice, if he does not press his amendment to the vote, to ask for a vote on my own amendments, but what is the use? We are getting into the same position as we found ourselves in when we were dealing with the Korean question recently. What if the Turks or the Turkish Cypriot community do not comply? So what is the use of that piece of paper? Do you want a victory of votes? You can have it. I do not call it a victory of votes, I call it a defeat of purpose, for that is what it will be without both parties coming together.

128. You know, Mr. President, and my good friend Mr. Morse, the Assistant Secretary-General, should know why I submitted my procedural draft resolution to the effect—after I amended it—that Mr. Denktas should appear before this house in his capacity as Vice-President of Cyprus. I finally prevailed on the representative of Turkey to act as proxy for Mr. Denktas and to read his statement, which he did. So why should Mr. Denktas appear as well? We know what he had in mind. They did not want to see his face here, they were afraid, the Cypriots. He is a Cypriot; why should they be afraid of him? He was a good friend of Mr. Clerides. Mr. Türkmen, I think, read it with a good enunciation, taking into account that he is not an Englishman, so I think everybody knows what that statement is. Why should I insist, therefore, since it has been read to everybody from the rostrum, and now the content of his statement is known?

129. I told the Assembly that I would find ways and means of making the Denktas statement known. As they say in geometry, Q.E.D. I shall not press my procedural draft resolution because its purpose has been met.

130. Coming to the vote on the sole remaining substantive draft resolution, I am constrained to say—not because of solidarity with an Asian country which is not very far from Saudi Arabia—that the solidarity of the majority that wanted its own way seems to have prevailed, with the help of so-called third-world Members. I am allegedly of the third world, too, but let it be known from this podium that Saudi Arabia—if it sees its brothers sometimes swayed merely by solidarity and not by a desire to find ways and means of solving a problem like the one confronting us—will not go along with them.

131. I still have time either to vote against the draft resolution—not in anger, but to indicate that it was not reasonable of Cyprus not to accept the Tunisian or Saudi Arabian proposed amendments—or even to neglect it altogether and not participate in the vote, because I do not think it is worth voting upon. This I say with sadness, because it is the people of Cyprus, whether of Greek or Turkish extraction, who stand to suffer, while we engage in squabbles and deal with words. The people there, regardless of their ethnological origin, are waiting for us to do something that may bring them together, rather than solidify positions and keep us seized of a problem that cannot be solved except by mutual trust and goodwill.

132. The PRESIDENT: The position now is that the delegation of Saudi Arabia has withdrawn its proposed

amendments to draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, and the delegation of Tunisia does not press its amendment to that draft resolution. Therefore, we shall be voting on the draft resolution as it stands. Before the Assembly votes on the draft resolution as a whole, I must state that a separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar,¹ Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Sierra Leone,¹ Turkey.

Abstaining: Bahrain, Chile, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, United States of America.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.¹

133. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan,² Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania,

Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Turkey.

Abstaining: Chile, Gambia, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, United States of America.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 117 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions (resolution 3395 (XXX)).

134. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

135. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): In the view of the delegation of Sweden there are three main problems of crucial importance in the efforts to obtain lasting peace in Cyprus: first, the question of the withdrawal of troops; secondly, the question of solving the problems of displaced persons; thirdly, the question of finding a negotiated and peaceful solution of the military, political and humanitarian problems, taking into consideration the fundamental and legitimate rights of both communities.

136. Sweden voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 because in our opinion it correctly reflects our views on those basic problems. Sweden, deeply aware of the interrelationship between the provisions in the resolution just adopted by the Assembly, would however like to use the occasion of this explanation of vote to express its special concern with regard to the question of the Turkish troops in Cyprus. On behalf of my Government I therefore express the hope that the Government of Turkey will take the necessary steps in the near future to withdraw its troops from Cyprus.

137. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): The delegation of Kuwait voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2 simply because it emphasizes principles to which my country strongly adheres. We believe in the preservation of the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus. We believe also that foreign troops should eventually withdraw from Cyprus. The resolution we have just adopted encourages the dialogue between the two communities, the principle of which we encourage, cherish and believe in. Undoubtedly there can be no settlement without intercommunal talks based on equality. My delegation would indeed have preferred to see paragraph 3 formulated in such a manner as to link the withdrawal of foreign troops with the achievement of a mutually accepted settlement. It is the understanding of the delegation of Kuwait, however, that this call for the withdrawal of foreign troops is not separate from the final settlement which may eventually emerge from a mutually accepted agreement

based, as we should insist, on equality between the two communities in the Republic of Cyprus.

138. Mr. HARRY (Australia): My delegation felt it desirable to make a short explanation of vote at this late hour only because the Australian people feel very deep sympathy for the people of Cyprus. We have welcomed many of them to our own country. We are fellow members of the Commonwealth, and Australia has contributed, and continues to contribute, a number of police to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

139. Last year the Australian delegation warmly welcomed the unanimous adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX) on the question of Cyprus. It will be recalled that that resolution accorded the highest priority to the continuation of the contacts and negotiations which were then taking place between the representatives of the two communities. It was most heartening to see that, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, intercommunal talks were actively pursued in the period following the adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX). I should like to take the opportunity of paying a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts to bring the two communities together for negotiations. It was the more distressing, therefore, to learn that the talks had been broken off only two months ago here in New York. It is in the light of that development that the resolution which the Assembly has now adopted stresses the urgency of the resumption of the intercommunal talks. That, in our view, is the real heart of the resolution.

140. In any event, my delegation supported the resolution in order to make it clear that Australia wishes to see solutions to all outstanding problems in Cyprus and looks forward to the resumption of intercommunal talks as the best means of finding those solutions.

141. We appeal earnestly to both sides to resume talks and to avoid any action or, indeed, any declarations which might hamper their progress. I assure all the parties that our only objective is to see the divisions in Cyprus healed and all its people able to live their lives in peace and security.

142. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The United States greatly regrets that the Assembly was unable to produce a resolution on Cyprus acceptable to all the parties concerned. We believe that such a resolution would have provided an appropriate basis for the negotiation of a settlement in Cyprus. Since no resolution was acceptable to all of the parties, we abstained on draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2. However, we note that the resolution adopted today refers to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). Under that resolution, and under Security Council resolutions 370 (1975) and 367 (1975), the Secretary-General retains a clear mandate from both bodies to continue his mission of good offices to the parties, and particularly to encourage them to proceed with the intercommunal talks. We sincerely hope that the representatives of the two communities will cooperate fully and effectively with the Secretary-General in achieving progress toward a just settlement of the Cyprus issue, and we urge them to do so. Such a settlement has been asked for by the United Nations, is ardently desired by the American people, and has been awaited all too long by the people of Cyprus.

143. Mr. STAVROPOULOS (Greece): I just want to thank very much the delegations of Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia, as well as those of Argentina and Kenya, for all the pains they took in finding something acceptable to everybody. That was not easy, but the result is acceptable, to us at least, and possibly to others, because it has all the ingredients—in simple terms, but all the ingredients—that should form the content of the resolution if we are to hope for a just settlement. I am very grateful to them.

144. I noticed that there was one vote against: that was the vote of Turkey. I am sorry. Maybe they should have voted for. But it does not matter really, because last year they voted for, but acted against. Therefore, what is the difference? I still hope that this year they will act for, although they voted against—just reverse their position.

145. I want to correct a mistake in the record of the 2411th meeting. I do not imply that it was the fault of those who prepared the record; it might be my fault. The record says I said that Mr. Denktas̄ “is not the head of the Government; nor, unfortunately, is he Vice-President. He might have been, but he is not. If he wants to be, he should go through the right procedures”. There are three words missing. What I said was clear, and what is stated there is exactly the opposite of what I said. I said—and I am reading this—that Mr. Denktas̄ “is not the head of the Government; nor, unfortunately, is he here as Vice-President”. I repeat: “is he here as Vice-President”. Those are the missing words. Then I went on: “He might have been, but he is not. If he wants to be, he should go through the right procedures.” I meant something very simple. He does not have credentials. He could have had; if he had wanted to, maybe we could have found a way of putting him on the credentials list, and he might have appeared as the Vice-President of Cyprus. But he never asked for that. For us, constitutionally, he still is the Vice-President of Cyprus. When he wants to use that title, perhaps the Cyprus Government may be in a position to accommodate him.

146. Before I leave the rostrum, I want to refer to something rather peculiar that happened this evening—peculiar in the sense that one delegation of a sovereign State should have spoken in the manner in which the record will show it spoke about the representative of another State. I shall not deign to reply to such language and thinking, except to say a few general things. I am not replying to the personal attack; I am replying to the general things which are involved. First of all, yesterday I appealed to that delegation to withdraw its proposal, and the representative came and said that he had considered the appeal, but he rejected it. All right then, whose fault is it? Did I reject it? He rejected it. So why did he not say anything against himself? I am very sorry about that. Then he spoke about “old fanatics”. I am an old fanatic—I am an old man anyhow—but I am one of those old fanatics who, together with an old fanatic called Kemal Ataturk, ensured friendship between Turkey and Greece. Let the new fanatics of Turkey ensure the same thing, and they will find the new and the old fanatics of Greece very ready to do the same. We Greeks want nothing, except peace. Can Turkey say the same? If

they can say it, perfect; there shall again be no fanaticism, but friendship. I hope it will be so.

147. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): My delegation stated its position on the substance of the Cyprus question when we spoke here in the course of the general debate on the subject. My delegation holds the view, widely shared, perhaps universally shared, that only through an understanding between the two Cypriot communities will it be possible to reach a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem and end the travail of its people.

148. My delegation believes, furthermore, that the central point and focus of the consideration of the Cyprus question in the United Nations and other international forums lies in finding ways of bringing about meaningful and constructive negotiations between the two communities on a basis and in conditions which would ensure their successful outcome. We are glad to see, therefore, incorporated in paragraph 5 of the resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted a call for the immediate resumption of meaningful and constructive negotiations.

149. Implicit in this approach to the problem is the necessity to treat the representatives of both sides on an equal footing. The resolution adopted last year, and adopted, let me recall, by consensus, recognized the importance of the latter point; and, as we all know, in the four rounds of talks which have been held under the auspices of the Secretary-General, the leaders of the Turkish and the Greek communities of Cyprus took part as equal partners.

150. We must regret, therefore, that as a result, it would seem, of a procedural lacuna, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community was not able to state his views before the Assembly. We felt and we continue to feel that the considerations of a procedural and legalistic nature which prevailed should have taken second place in a matter of this nature to the larger political considerations and to equity.

151. As my delegation had occasion to remark here the other day, despite the great complexity which besets the Cyprus issue, the gap in the positions of the two sides is not such that it could not possibly be bridged. In saying so we do not intend to belittle the efforts made by the authors of the resolution just adopted to arrive at a compromise. On the contrary, we appreciate the effort they put in and the spirit which animated it. The result of the vote has demonstrated, however, that in contrast to what happened last year the resolution has failed to close the gap between the parties. A true compromise should be equally acceptable to all parties.

152. It was with some regret, therefore, that Pakistan, while it had no quarrel with the general aim of the draft resolution, was unable to support it. It remains the hope of my delegation, now that our debate here has ended, that the parties will rise above emotions which such debates sometimes provoke and, with the continued help of the Secretary-General and the goodwill of all their friends in this Assembly, will resume the search for a settlement which will be fair and honourable to all.

153. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): I do not think it would be either necessary or appropriate at this late hour to reply to the false accusations, attempts at blackmail and hardly veiled threats uttered against my

delegation by the representative of Turkey, under cover of his "explanation of vote". I shall only say that the attitude manifested today by the Turkish representative provides a sorry sample of what the people of Cyprus have been suffering under the oppressive and arrogant presence of Turkey in Cyprus and behind the shield of its troops. To us it is enough that the international community, recognizing the justice of our cause, has vindicated and supported our position.

154. My delegation and I wish at this point publicly to renew our thanks and gratitude to the Chairman and the members of the contact group for their untiring efforts, for their patience and perseverance in competently and conscientiously carrying out the difficult and delicate role entrusted to them by the group of non-aligned countries. In that role they expressed the conscience and the will of the non-aligned countries, and Cyprus, which belongs to the non-aligned movement, has always fervently cherished its principles. My Government considers with care and respect the views which the contact group expresses in the performance of its role with respect to Cyprus in the certain belief that such views aim at best serving the principles of non-alignment in Cyprus. It is in this spirit that we weighed and considered the draft which was so laboriously and so expertly drawn up by the contact group.

155. Bearing in mind the well-known views of the group of non-aligned countries with respect to Cyprus, views which were formulated and incorporated in the Lima Political Declaration [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, paras. 62-66], and the view that the interests of Cyprus would be best served by a resolution which, without sacrificing principles that we regard as inalienable and inviolable, would take into account the sensitivities and views of many friendly countries and therefore express the consensus of the vast majority of Member countries and carry with it the appropriate moral and legal weight, we decided to accept the resolution drafted by the contact group, which has just been overwhelmingly adopted by the General Assembly in preference to a more partisan text.

156. We only hope that this consistent expression of the wishes of the General Assembly, through the reaffirmation and strengthening of last year's resolution 3212 (XXIX), will at long last be implemented by Turkey. That resolution was unanimously adopted, and even Turkey added its affirmative vote. Then, in an unprecedented statement in explanation of vote, the then Turkish representative attempted to negate Turkey's own vote and to make the implementation of several parts of that resolution conditional upon a number of terms and upon the outcome of the negotiations.

157. That is why, in our view, in this year's resolution the drafters were careful not simply to reaffirm resolution 3212 (XXIX) through their reaffirmation of the urgent need for its effective implementation in all its parts, but proceeded specifically to that end, that is, to the end of implementation, to demand the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus.

158. We are gratified that the Assembly, by adopting that resolution by such a majority, has correctly

identified and singled out the one and paramount obstacle to the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, that is, the continued presence of foreign occupation troops in Cyprus, and furthermore that it has found that there has already been delay in compliance with that part of resolution 3212 (XXIX), and therefore now has demanded such withdrawal without any "further delay". We hope that there will be no need next year to decry even "further delay", which will necessitate the consideration of other more effective measures to ensure full compliance with United Nations resolutions without delay.

159. We also welcome the reaffirmation of the Assembly's desire that all refugees who so wish be helped voluntarily to return to their homes in safety and that, in view of the delay of over 12 months in complying with that aspect of the resolution, the Assembly by its vote this year chose to call upon all parties to undertake urgent measures to that end.

160. The views of the delegation of the Republic of Cyprus on the ill-fated so-called negotiations on the constitutional aspects of the Cyprus question, which unfortunately have proved fruitless in spite of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General in four rounds of talks, have been extensively expressed during this debate. It is therefore hopefully expected that through the implementation of this resolution and, in particular, that part of the resolution which demands the withdrawal from Cyprus of all troops, such negotiations may now be resumed in a meaningful and constructive manner and, more importantly, be conducted freely.

161. One final word about the highlighting in the resolution of the attempt to change the demographic structure of Cyprus. Of all the arbitrary unilateral actions perpetrated in Cyprus, this attempt, apart from its other evils, could prove to be the greatest impediment to meaningful and constructive talks and to the finding of a mutually acceptable solution between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots for a political settlement, because an effort might be made to present such actions as irreversible.

162. It is in the foregoing spirit that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus accepts this resolution which has just been adopted by the General Assembly.

163. My Government and the long-suffering people of Cyprus are indeed grateful to the Assembly for the positive and constructive response to our plea to save the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We should like to express once more our deep appreciation to the members of the contact group for their untiring efforts to help Cyprus, and we wish to thank all those who have spoken in the debate. Our warm thanks go also to the overwhelming majority who, in eloquent and often zestful and moving terms, and by their votes, have supported the cause of Cyprus and its people and have striven to assist in the search for a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem.

164. Mr. SIBAHI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic voted in favour of draft resolution A/L.775 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by some non-aligned countries.

165. In view of the situation, we wish to say that it is our understanding that stress is laid in this draft resolution on operative paragraph 2, which calls for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and calls upon all States to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against the Republic of Cyprus.

166. That situation requires the implementation also of operative paragraph 3 of the resolution, which demands the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus.

167. What is more, this resolution calls for the immediate resumption of the negotiations, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Our delegation is in favour of that.

168. Finally, the resolution as a whole is in conformity with the position on the question of Cyprus expressed by the Foreign Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic when he addressed the Assembly on 30 September 1975 [2367th meeting].

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegations of Afghanistan, Qatar and Sierra Leone subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to abstain in the vote on operative paragraph 3.

² The delegation of Afghanistan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.