



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 37

Question of Cyprus: report of the Secretary-General
(continued)

1. Mr. FERM (Sweden): The question of Cyprus has been on the agenda of the Assembly for a number of years. The fundamental problems—political as well as humanitarian—remain unsolved. There has been very little progress in the efforts to find a durable solution. This is a matter of grave concern to the Government of Sweden.

2. The principles that must govern a solution are evident. They have been spelled out by the General Assembly, notably in its resolution 3212 (XXIX), of 1 November 1974. They include respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and for its right to be non-aligned. All foreign troops must be withdrawn and all foreign interference in its affairs must cease.

3. The experience of intercommunal talks has shown that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative play an indispensable role in keeping those talks going, in identifying possible ways to go forward and in untiringly promoting compromise and accommodation between the parties. It is not for want of skilful and imaginative assistance from the Secretary-General that the parties have failed so far to make any substantial progress in their talks. It is our sincere hope that the renewed effort, promised by the Secretary-General in his report [A/37/805 and Corr.1], to give a fresh impetus to the negotiating process will succeed in breaking the pattern of mutual distrust that stands stubbornly in the way of compromise of any kind. The Swedish Government expresses its full support for those efforts. Direct negotiations between the two communities are the key to any substantial progress towards a final settlement of the Cyprus problem.

4. Nineteen years ago UNFICYP was set up. During all these years Sweden has contributed troops. The successive extensions of the mandate of the Force have been meant to give the parties time to find their way to a constructive accommodation of their conflict. United Nations peace-keeping activities are not, however, intended to serve as an excuse for inactivity in the quest for a settlement.

5. When it comes to the financing of the peace-keeping operation, the costs must be shared more equitably by the States Members of the United Nations, many of whom have so eloquently expressed their

concern with the problem of Cyprus during this debate. I would also urge the two communities in Cyprus to assume a fair share of the costs of economic and humanitarian services that are now rendered free of charge by UNFICYP.

6. My Government is concerned that the humanitarian problems, especially those relating to missing persons in Cyprus, remain unresolved. While working towards a just and durable solution to the underlying conflict, the parties can and should take immediate measures to alleviate the plight of thousands of Cypriots. Let me end, therefore, by urging the parties to co-operate in a humanitarian spirit under the auspices of the Red Cross in order to address the problem of missing persons and other urgent concerns of the people of Cyprus.

7. Mr. WABUGE (Kenya): Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to express once again, on behalf of my Government, our sincere congratulations to you in your capacity as President of this resumed session of the General Assembly. My delegation is pleased with the impeccable manner in which you have conducted the affairs of the thirty-seventh session.

8. The question of Cyprus has been with the international community for a long time and yet, since the serious events of 1974, no solution has been found to settle this outstanding problem. The prolongation of the Cyprus crisis, as we all know, poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

9. The root cause of the Cyprus crisis is the partial military occupation of that country by a foreign Power. There cannot be any genuine agreement between the Cypriot communities as long as that country remains militarily occupied. My delegation would like to reaffirm our strong belief in the principle of the inadmissibility of the occupation and acquisition of territories by force. My delegation, in the spirit of the non-aligned countries, reiterates its full support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

10. The General Assembly in its effort to solve the problem of Cyprus, unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was subsequently endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974). Those resolutions, together with the subsequent Assembly and Council resolutions, still provide an essential basis for the resolution of the problems of Cyprus. We believe that, in the interest of all Cypriots and the world community, those resolutions should be effectively implemented without delay.

11. We urge the people of Cyprus, with whom we have cordial relations, to bury their sectional communal interests for the benefit of all Cyprus. We encourage them to continue with their inter-

communal talks, realizing that Cyprus belongs to all Cypriot communities.

12. While my delegation encourages these intercommunal talks between Cypriots themselves, we would like to call upon all external forces to cease from interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus. It is our view that intercommunal talks will not be fruitful as long as Cyprus remains militarily occupied. We therefore call for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces as an essential basis for a speedy and mutually acceptable solution, long overdue, to the problem of Cyprus.

13. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Almost four years have elapsed since the General Assembly considered the question of Cyprus and adopted resolution 34/30, which called, *inter alia*, for the urgent resumption in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner of the negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, between the two communities of Cyprus. It was not the first time that we felt a certain measure of optimism when, in August 1980, we learned that agreement had been reached by the two parties to resume the negotiating process. In fact, we fully shared the hope of the Secretary-General, expressed in his report to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly¹, that this development would clear the way towards a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus problem.

14. Now, all of us are aware that the intercommunal talks have not thus far led to a solution of the manifold issues involved. The situation in Cyprus, with all its implications for peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean and even beyond that region, has remained unsettled for almost a decade and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations are still to be implemented. The Hungarian delegation's approach to the current debate is motivated by an earnest desire that our discussion contribute to the revival and acceleration of substantive negotiations between the two communities. Consequently, we hold the view that the General Assembly, representing the international community, should act in a constructive and reasonable manner to promote the reconciliation of the parties directly concerned. It is in this spirit that we wish to offer our remarks on the question of Cyprus at this resumed session of the Assembly.

15. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great significance to the quest for a peaceful, viable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. Such a solution must be based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

16. One of the latest developments in the international arena towards support for the Republic of Cyprus is positively reflected in the relevant part of the political declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.² The Hungarian delegation welcomes that declaration in this respect too. The Republic of Cyprus, as one of the founding members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, enjoys the firm support of the Hungarian people and its Government, and we have more than once

expressed our view that Cyprus needs and fully deserves the help and backing of the Non-Aligned Movement.

17. We realize also that foreign intervention should cease and that all foreign troops and military personnel and every other military presence should be withdrawn from the island, in order to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. In this connection, we can only welcome and support the proposal of President Spyros Kyprianou, put forward at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [*2nd meeting, para. 145*], for the complete demilitarization of the country. Such a development would not only be in the interest of the people of Cyprus but would also promote the cause of peace and stability in the whole region.

18. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has always been against imposing a solution on the long-suffering people of Cyprus. The Cypriot people, whose continuing tragedy has been inflicted upon its country by unlawful acts of outside forces, has our deep sympathy and solidarity. We continue to believe that the forum of the intercommunal talks is the most appropriate framework for the substantive issues to be tackled and resolved.

19. Accordingly, my delegation wishes to express its concurrence with the view expressed in the course of this debate by many speakers that the solution of the question of Cyprus must be based on the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977³ and the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979⁴ arrived at between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. In our well-considered judgement, such a solution must, on the one hand, definitely avoid the division of the island and, on the other, take into account the legitimate rights and interests of both communities, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot alike. Any viable settlement should also provide for guarantees of the human rights of all Cypriot citizens. Unilateral actions in the opposite direction—as, for example, efforts to change the demographic structure of the country or the increasing of military presence on the island—are detrimental to the process of negotiations and their successful outcome.

20. We strongly believe that it is up to the two communities to decide the future of the country without any outside interference. Their leaders bear a special responsibility to their own people for reaching a just and permanent solution to the outstanding issues without any delay. The present debate should facilitate the attainment of tangible results and, it is to be hoped, a comprehensive settlement at the intercommunal talks.

21. The situation in Cyprus is a problem of international magnitude the continuation of which jeopardizes and threatens the peace and security not only of the eastern Mediterranean but also of Europe, and the crisis makes its effect felt also on the outlook and prospects for international peace and security in general. As a matter of fact, forces alien to the region have made and are still making use of this tragic situation for their own selfish purposes, for

manipulation and interference in the eastern Mediterranean.

22. The Hungarian delegation reaffirms its full support for the Republic of Cyprus and calls for scrupulous respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. We join those who urge that the intercommunal talks be continued in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner without any delay. The strict and consequential implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions is indispensable if we are to succeed in our decision. The idea of holding an international conference on Cyprus should also be borne in mind. In these endeavours, the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General are indeed essential. We wish to express to him our full confidence in the carrying out of his difficult and responsible mission.

23. Proceeding from the considerations I have mentioned, my delegation lends its full support to draft resolution A/37/L.63, submitted by non-aligned countries, as a viable basis for decisive action by the General Assembly.

24. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wished to take part in this debate on the question of Cyprus not only because of the good relations which link Panama with the Government of Nicosia, but also to express once again our solidarity with a just cause which, if remedial action is not speedily taken, may well endanger peace and security in a region already in turmoil, where large sectors of the population are suffering from the consequences of incomprehensible and unjustified intransigence.

25. For almost nine years now, one State Member of the United Nations has been occupying with its troops more than 36 per cent of Cypriot territory. It expelled by force one third of its inhabitants, who are now living as refugees within the country where they were born, and it refuses to abide by resolutions of the General Assembly, such as resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), as well as the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977³ and 19 May 1979.⁴

26. It is clear that a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus has occurred, which, *inter alia*, makes difficult any possibility of progress by the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, in the search for a just and lasting solution, free from foreign interference.

27. The ideal atmosphere will not be created as long as the unconditional withdrawal of the troops which are illegally occupying part of the territory of Cyprus is not achieved. As a gesture of co-operation, the President of all the inhabitants of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, who was recently re-elected by the democratic process, proposed the complete demilitarization of the country, an initiative which deserves the support of the international community. We must give equal support to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts to bring about a political solution to this sensitive question.

28. In the final analysis, the problem of Cyprus will have to be resolved ultimately by the Cypriots themselves, with the clear understanding that at no time

can they accept formulas suggested from outside—such as to divide the island between the two communities—which will jeopardize the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country. The presence of invading troops exacerbates the situation from day to day. On the one hand, there is an arbitrary evacuation of one sector of the population, and, on the other, families of settlers are moved to occupy the land of others in clear violation of the human rights of those who are prevented from moving about freely or settling down freely within their own territory.

29. Panama has, on numerous occasions and in various forums, expressed its solidarity with the aspirations of the Government and people of Cyprus. In this connection, we fully support the section on Cyprus of the political declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March.² We would like to draw attention to the fact that the Conference stressed the urgent need for missing Cypriots to be speedily traced; that it condemned all efforts or actions designed to alter the demographic structure of Cyprus; and that it considered that “the *de facto* situation created by the force of arms and unilateral actions should not in any way affect the solution of the problem”.⁵

30. My delegation hopes that the Assembly’s deliberations will help the parties to find the road to a political solution as speedily as possible, with the assistance of the good offices of the Secretary-General; not only is he fully familiar with the problem, but also, through his report he indicates the degree of co-operation which is necessary among those who will have to put an end to this sensitive question of Cyprus.

31. Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): Although more than three years have passed since the question of Cyprus was last considered by the General Assembly, the search for a lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is still far from completed. It is a matter of concern to my Government that as yet no substantive progress has been made in the intercommunal talks between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Those talks were resumed in August 1980 within the framework of the good offices mission of the Secretary-General, entrusted to him by the Security Council, and on the basis of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977³ and 19 May 1979⁴. This was welcomed at the time with great satisfaction by the Netherlands and other States members of the European Community. However, in spite of the fact that both parties have pledged their commitment to conduct those talks in a continuing and sustained manner and avoiding any delays, we are today faced with the situation of insufficient progress on the well-known major elements of the Cyprus problem. We would therefore urge both parties to reintensify their efforts, to get down to constructive and substantive discussions that could break the present deadlock on the major elements of the Cyprus problem.

32. In point 6 of the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979, both parties agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks and to give special importance to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions. We are sorry to note that little or no initial practical measures that

would have promoted goodwill and mutual confidence have materialized. From the report of the Secretary-General we learn that the work of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus is still unable to perform its substantive functions.

33. The lives of the people of Cyprus continue to be dominated by the *de facto* partition of their country and the presence of foreign armed forces on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. If the present inter-communal talks fail to produce tangible results, it could very well be that tension in Cyprus will rise again. The present *status quo* remains a source of instability, frustration and potential danger, not only for Cyprus but for the whole area. In his report of 1 December 1982 to the Security Council,⁶ the Secretary-General warned that the time to solve the Cyprus problem appears to be eroding. It would indeed be a great tragedy, if the "window of opportunity", which was opened when both parties agreed to resume their direct negotiations, were again to be closed.

34. The Government of the Netherlands remains convinced that direct negotiations between the parties concerned are the only viable way that can lead to a peaceful settlement guaranteeing the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. We therefore call on all parties concerned to continue with renewed determination their search for a peaceful settlement, acceptable to both sides to the conflict. We welcome the already announced intention of the Secretary-General to pursue a renewed personal involvement in the quest for a solution to the Cyprus problem. We would like to express our deep appreciation for the patience and perseverance displayed by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, in the execution of his mandate in Cyprus, and we continue to attach great importance to the role of the Secretary-General in assisting the parties concerned in their search for a lasting settlement.

35. In view of the close relations of my country with Cyprus and its people, which has endured so many hardships, we will continue our efforts to convince our friends that a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem is possible. A good deal of imagination, courage and mutual trust will be needed to reach a comprehensive settlement. We earnestly hope that all leaders involved will exercise the statesmanship required in this regard.

36. In conclusion, I would like to express once more our appreciation for the work of UNFICYP, which plays a significant role in the maintenance of peace in Cyprus.

37. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The question of Cyprus is once again before the General Assembly. We note with concern and regret that the efforts of all the parties concerned during the period under review have not led to the elimination of the crisis or to a just and lasting settlement of the question. As the United Nations has noted on many occasions in the past, the situation in the island still remains a source of tension, constituting a potential threat to peace and security not only in that region but also on a broader scale.

38. Naturally, this situation has aroused great concern among the world public and all those States that are sincerely desirous of contributing to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is one of those States, especially since it is very close to Cyprus geographically and strategically, and thus my country has a vital interest in the strengthening of peace and security in the region of the eastern, Mediterranean and the Balkans.

39. Bulgaria's policy in that region and its relations with neighbouring countries are based on the deep and lasting interests of the Bulgarian people, which are fully consonant with the interests of the peoples of other Balkan countries. As the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Zhivkov, stated recently in an interview:

"The salient and crucial feature of Bulgaria's Balkans policy is its desire that the Balkans remain a region of peace and security and that the Balkan peoples, which have experienced difficult times in the past, enjoy a climate of confidence, understanding, friendship, good-neighbourliness and mutual co-operation."

40. This policy was embodied in the comprehensive programme for the strengthening of peace, understanding, co-operation and good-neighbourliness in the Balkans which was proclaimed at the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, a programme which was subsequently supplemented by a proposal for the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and other constructive initiatives with the objective of achieving peace and co-operation in the region.

41. This policy of peace is the foundation of our relations with all neighbouring countries. It is our deep conviction that constructive dialogue, goodwill, understanding, mutual trust and co-operation constitute the only viable way to serve the vital interests of all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

42. Within the framework of this policy, my country also maintains traditional ties of friendship, co-operation and understanding with the Republic of Cyprus, for whose people we have deep and sincere sympathy.

43. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has on many occasions set forth its position on the question of Cyprus, both in the United Nations and in other multilateral and bilateral forums. My country has always felt that a just and lasting solution of this question can be found only on the basis of the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, policy of non-alignment and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, and on the basis of the complete demilitarization of the island and respect for the interests of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

44. There can be no doubt that the achievement of a peaceful, just and lasting solution of the question of Cyprus is a complex process. At the same time, we are profoundly convinced that both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, who are united by history and by common interests, can find a way to mutual understanding in the context of a united Cyprus, without external interference.

45. The decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, including resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and containing the essential elements for a just settlement of the question, constitute an appropriate basis for the achievement of that objective.
46. The policy of intensifying international tension and the arms race being pursued by the imperialists and their efforts to find staging posts for the achievement of their far-reaching ambitions of world hegemony can only serve to compromise the efforts of the international community to bring about a just and lasting solution of the question of Cyprus.
47. We are firmly convinced that the Cyprus question must be resolved politically, through serious and thorough negotiations between the two communities, without any external interference. The United Nations can and must play an important part in that regard, both to support, facilitate and accelerate the process of negotiations and to provide political safeguards for the existence of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign, non-aligned and united State. We also value highly the positive role that the Secretary-General could personally play in this matter. The proposal for the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations could also make a positive contribution to finding a peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus, and this proposal has our support.
48. In conclusion, let me reiterate that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready, as always, to support all efforts to eliminate the existing difficulties and to find a peaceful and just solution of the question of Cyprus that would be in keeping with the interests of the Cypriot people—both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots—and at the same time with the interests of peace and security in the region and throughout the world.
49. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation is taking part in this debate in order to reaffirm the consistent position of principle of Romania in favour of a settlement of the problem of Cyprus by political means, through negotiations, on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus and the peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities. This position has been expressed on many occasions by my country in statements made at the highest level, as well as in bilateral agreements concluded with Cyprus or with other countries of the region, with which Romania enjoys traditional friendly relations.
50. As Romania has emphasized on several occasions, the essential element in efforts towards achieving a just and viable solution of the problem of Cyprus is that progress be made in the negotiations between the two Cypriot communities. We believe that the intercommunal negotiations should be continued and intensified, with more active participation by the United Nations. Romania's support for a negotiated political solution of the problem of Cyprus derives from its well-known commitment to the settlement of all disputes and all problems by peaceful means, through negotiations. We hope most sincerely that the intercommunal negotiations will lead as quickly as possible to suitable, mutually acceptable agreements.
51. Likewise, in keeping with a position of principle which informs its foreign policy, Romania believes that a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus must assure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. That fundamental idea regarding the question of Cyprus is emphasized also in the political declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March.² These are the same principles which have been affirmed by a number of United Nations resolutions during recent years.
52. In today's world, these are inalienable rights of all countries and the prerequisites for the solution of any problems, particularly problems which affect the destiny of peoples and international peace and security.
53. Such a solution would be in keeping with the supreme interests, present and future, of all Cypriots, as well as with those of peace and co-operation in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Europe and the world.
54. My country's interest in such a solution derives also from the position which Romania has constantly maintained—that of developing co-operation and understanding among all Balkan States to make of that region a zone of peace, friendship and good-neighbourliness, free from nuclear weapons and without foreign military bases.
55. Like other delegations which have spoken in this debate, the Romanian delegation considers that, at this stage, the United Nations must make further efforts to promote the success of the intercommunal negotiations and their rapid completion.
56. We should like to emphasize once again that Romania continues to give its full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General to narrow the gap between the two communities and to bring about a suitable, mutually acceptable solution. That would be in the interests of the Cypriot people and would further the cause of co-operation and peace in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and the world as a whole.
57. We hope that the present debate will help bring us closer to a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus on the basis of the principles of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, bearing in mind the interests of all Cypriots and the cause of peace and co-operation in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.
58. Romania, for its part, will continue to support all efforts and actions likely to make an effective contribution to the achievement of such a solution.
59. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic): At the outset, Sir, I should like to reiterate the warm congratulations of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on your unanimous election last September to the prestigious post of President of the General Assembly. We know that under your wise and very able leadership the first and bulky part of the proceedings of the Assembly's thirty-seventh session has been brought to a successful conclusion, and today my delegation is fully confident that this resumed session of the Assembly will be crowned with success. My delegation would like also to assure the other Assembly officers of its full co-operation.

60. It is with sadness that my delegation is taking part today in the debate on an issue of which the United Nations was in fact seized almost two decades ago. We are sad because the Republic of Cyprus and its people have not deserved such a fate. Their painful problem could have been resolved long ago had numerous relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly those of 1964, 1974 and 1979, been scrupulously implemented.

61. The Government and people of Laos have always had great admiration for the people of Cyprus, who, under the dynamic and wise guidance of their leaders, have been striving bravely for many years to preserve their hard-won independence and freedom. The Lao people are very well aware of the suffering undergone by the Cypriot people, because they themselves experienced for more than 30 years the painful ordeals brought about by the prolonged and devastating war of foreign aggression.

62. In the case of Cyprus, my Government is of the view that the only just and lasting solution to all the problems will be found in the speedy and full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which call, *inter alia*, for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, the dismantling of all bases, the cessation of external interference in Cyprus's internal affairs, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, the restoration of the constitutional régime of the Republic and respect for its non-aligned character.

63. It is regrettable that the high-level 10-point agreement reached between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas on 19 May 1979⁴ and the agreement of 12 February 1977³ have remained unimplemented. My delegation hails and praises the untiring efforts made by the Secretary-General within the framework of his good-offices mission to further the intercommunal negotiating process. Indeed, we are very happy to note that, in paragraph 5 of his report of 6 May 1983, the Secretary-General pledged to "make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process, following up the work done during the current phase of the negotiations." We also pay a high tribute to the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries for its patient and sustained efforts towards resolving the crisis.

64. We earnestly hope that, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), of 1 November 1974, endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), of 13 December 1974, and to General Assembly resolution 34/30, of 20 November 1979, the international community will continue its endeavours to alleviate the plight of the refugees and displaced persons and to help them to return in safety to their homes, if they so wish. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that all parties concerned will desist from all unilateral actions that could further aggravate the crisis and diminish the chances of the intercommunal talks being resumed at the earliest possible date. It is also our hope that those talks, in which the legitimate interests of each party should be fully taken into account, will lead to tangible results.

65. My delegation is gratified that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, in which a top-level delegation from my country took part, expressed grave concern over the situation in Cyprus and reaffirmed unequivocally its stand taken at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979. That stand was, as everybody knows, in tune with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to which my delegation referred earlier. It is in the same spirit that we whole-heartedly welcome today draft resolution A/37/L.63.

66. In conclusion, I wish our meeting every success in its work, so that it may bring a shining ray of hope to the long-suffering people of Cyprus and restore peace and security in that eastern part of the Mediterranean which has been so gravely threatened by the current crisis.

67. Mr. NAWAZ (Pakistan): It is a matter for regret that the question of Cyprus has come up once again before the General Assembly after its consideration was deferred at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions in the hope of an early resolution of the problem through the intercommunal talks which are being held under the good offices of the Secretary-General.

68. At the same time, we have noted with satisfaction that, in his report, the Secretary-General has informed the Assembly of the substantial progress achieved in the intercommunal talks. The Secretary-General's Special Representative was successful in identifying the areas of convergence and divergence in the positions of the two parties in a United Nations "evaluation" paper which became the accepted basis for the talks. The negotiations are now proceeding in a comprehensive manner covering all aspects of the problem within the framework of the ideas contained in that "evaluation" paper. We are gratified to learn from the Secretary-General's report that the atmosphere of the talks remained throughout co-operative and constructive.

69. We greatly appreciate the Secretary-General's endeavours and his decision to strengthen his personal involvement in order to give a fresh impetus to the negotiating process, which deserves our full support and encouragement. In our view, the Secretary-General's good offices offer the most promising prospects for the resolution of the Cyprus question.

70. The key to the settlement of the Cyprus issue lies in recognition of the aspiration of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island to live under one federation and to ensure that their distinctive characters and interests are fully preserved and secured. This aspiration was embodied in the important high-level agreements reached between Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas on 12 February 1977³ and between Mr. Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas on 19 May 1979.⁴ The affirmation of the validity of those agreements has been the starting-point of the Secretary-General's initiative for the resolution of the problem.

71. The two agreements called for an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal federal republic of Cyprus and for a bi-zonal solution to the territorial aspect

of the Cyprus problem. These are the essential parameters of the issue, which must remain the focus of all earnest efforts aimed at seeking a just settlement. Any approach or decisions which divert attention from these primary aspects of the problem, or which are prejudicial to the interests of one community or the other, would inevitably cause a setback in the negotiating progress.

72. At present, the intercommunal talks are at a delicate stage. On the one hand, the talks have achieved concrete progress, while, on the other, there are ominous forebodings of a developing impasse.

73. On the positive side, the intercommunal talks have succeeded in identifying the difficulties which need to be overcome. The two sides have discussed the various aspects of the problem, including the central issues of bi-zonality and security. Similarly, there appears to be an agreement on the eventual withdrawal of all troops, although there are differences with regard to the time frame for such withdrawals. On the other hand, it is being contended that the talks have already reached a deadlock, compelling one of the parties to bring the question to the Assembly.

74. All the evidence, however, points to the fact that the intercommunal talks remain the best hope of achieving a settlement of the problem. The Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council, put it succinctly in the following words:

“The intercommunal talks, in my opinion, still represent the best available means of pursuing a concrete and effective negotiating process with the object of achieving an agreed, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question.”⁷

He also states that:

“It is the responsibility of all concerned not to let that window be closed. It is my earnest hope that all leaders involved will exercise the statesmanship and courage required in this regard. I shall do my utmost to assist them in this endeavour.”⁶

75. The Contact Group of the non-aligned countries, which visited Cyprus following the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, was also fully conscious of the bi-communal character of the problem and therefore found it necessary to meet the leadership of both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot communities. The Contact Group has yet to present a report on its findings. Its approach to both the communities, however, has underlined the imperative need for the continuation of an intercommunal dialogue and an agreement between the two communities, which alone can bring about a settlement of the problem.

76. In our judgement, the same basic condition must guide the deliberations of the General Assembly now that the issue has been brought before it for consideration. The Assembly must do everything to ensure that the talks are pursued with greater vigour and soon reach a successful conclusion. We regret to state that draft resolution A/37/L.63 militates against such an objective and is contrary to the spirit of peace and harmony in Cyprus.

77. The draft resolution has already drawn a strong reaction from the Turkish Cypriot representatives, who

have firmly rejected its content. The draft resolution, therefore, does not even fully conform to the non-aligned decisions, the latest of which was adopted at the New Delhi Conference, reiterating that a negotiated, just and durable settlement of the Cyprus problem should safeguard the legitimate interests of both communities. The response of the Turkish Cypriot community representatives makes it evident that the draft resolution has ignored their point of view and their interests.

78. Instead of highlighting the provisions of the high-level agreements reached between the leaders of the two communities, the draft resolution seeks to emphasize a new set of conditions which are obviously one-sided and have no chance of becoming the basis for negotiations between the two communities. Furthermore, the draft resolution is likely to widen the gap between the two communities and have a negative bearing on the prospects of the intercommunal talks, as well as on the efforts which the Secretary-General desires to pursue with renewed and strengthened personal involvement.

79. The General Assembly must encourage the process of negotiation and refrain from taking steps which might undermine this process. My delegation remains convinced that the adoption of draft resolution A/37/L.63 would have the opposite effect and would cause a set-back in the process of negotiation instead of advancing it. It would vitiate the relations between the two Cypriot communities instead of bridging the gulf of mistrust which at present separates them.

80. In our view, the General Assembly can make a constructive contribution by simply strengthening the hand of the Secretary-General in further promoting the negotiating process and bringing about an early agreement between the two communities.

81. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to commend the role of UNFICYP in maintaining tranquillity and harmony in Cyprus. Pakistan attaches great importance to the continuation of the mandate of the Force. Until such time as a just and peaceful solution of the problem has been achieved, the Force has a substantive role to play in preventing a further deterioration of the situation and in the performance of essential humanitarian functions.

82. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): At this resumed session of the General Assembly, I wish to convey to you, Mr. President, my country's appreciation of the competence and dedication with which you have guided our proceedings so far and to express again the belief of my delegation that under your wise guidance the Assembly will confirm the success which was already apparent in the first phase of its deliberations.

83. The Assembly once again has before it the question of Cyprus. Several delegations have emphasized the complexity of this question and insisted, in particular, on the need to find a speedy and just solution. My delegation fully shares this almost unanimous sentiment and has already had an opportunity, both here and at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, to state its position with regard to this question, the various ramifications of which my delegation has followed, marked as they

have been sometimes by a glimmer of hope but often by very disquieting developments.

84. Indeed, when, at its thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions, the General Assembly deferred consideration of the question of Cyprus in order to encourage the resumption of intercommunal negotiations, we all hoped most sincerely that the talks would lead to the re-establishment of trust between the two communities and to the progressive elimination of tension in that part of the Mediterranean.

85. As a coastal State of the Mediterranean Sea, and a country anxious to see that region become a zone of peace, understanding and co-operation, Morocco has from the outset of this crisis given its full support to the initiatives favouring a frank and direct dialogue between the two Cypriot communities with a view to achieving an equitable and definitive solution of the crisis.

86. Thus, we welcomed with relief the conclusion, of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977³ and 19 May 1979⁴ between the authorized representatives of the two communities which laid down guidelines to serve as a framework for continuing intercommunal negotiations.

87. Unfortunately, despite the solemn commitments already made and the serious negotiations already under way to find a final, acceptable solution which would give each of the parties the necessary and desirable legal and political assurances of a future based on mutual tolerance and peaceful, brotherly co-operation, the outcome in no way fulfilled the hopes raised by the 1977 and 1979 agreements. Far from leading to discouragement and resignation, however, this strengthened the determination of all those associated with the search for a comprehensive and acceptable solution to the Cypriot crisis among both the Cypriots themselves and the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations in general.

88. Against this backdrop, we would like to associate ourselves with the unanimous and well-deserved praise for the commendable efforts made by these various bodies and to express our appreciation, in particular, of the discreet but effective role played by the Secretary-General, who, because of his personal, profound knowledge of the various aspects of this question, is naturally well fitted for the peaceful task of mediation and good offices, already begun with determination and diligence. My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's renewed readiness, as expressed in his report, to co-operate and his willingness to "make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process" and "to encourage the parties to develop an overall synthesis covering the remaining major unresolved issues" [A/37/805 and Corr.1, para. 5].

89. We would have liked all those combined efforts to have already been productive, but we are bound to recognize that there are still many difficulties and differences to be overcome, as is rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report.

90. My delegation therefore takes this opportunity to support once again the dynamic continuance of the initiatives which have already been begun and calls

strongly for the re-establishment of the truly generous spirit which prevailed when the first talks began between the two communities on the establishment of an independent, non-aligned bi-communal republic, whose unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity would be ensured and respected by all.

91. We want to see the Republic of Cyprus recover the stability, tranquillity and prosperity which it once enjoyed and which made it, in the troubled world of our times, an example and model of tolerance and harmony, a country whose peaceful, human role was particularly remarkable and constructive both in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and in the United Nations system as a whole.

92. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Our discussion of the question of Cyprus at this resumed session of the General Assembly once again bears witness to its unquestionable topicality and importance and emphasizes the fact that this problem has failed to be settled. It is one which continues to remain a source of international tension and legitimate concern to all those who sincerely desire a positive solution and generally desire that this region become a zone of stable peace and co-operation. This has been clearly evidenced in the statements of many of those who have spoken in the Assembly. The anxiety at the prevailing situation was also emphasized in the political declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March.²

93. This is quite natural, since the people of Cyprus have suffered a great many difficulties and vicissitudes. In recent years, they have been beset by many sore trials and were almost brought to their knees when an attempt was made to turn independent Cyprus into a pliant tool of international reaction. In a word, the problem of Cyprus is a painful wound, a constant running sore, which poisons the life of the Cypriots.

94. The United Nations has been dealing for many years with the problem of Cyprus. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of constructive resolutions. Unfortunately, however, they have not been implemented, nor has a solution to the problem been found. Furthermore, as the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council indicates,⁶ what has been called "the window of opportunity" to resolve the question of Cyprus has, with the passage of time, gradually been closing.

95. The main reason for this situation is the activities of those external forces, and primarily North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] circles, which regard Cyprus chiefly as a strategic beach-head in the Mediterranean, with access to the Middle East with its natural resources, particularly oil. For that reason, they are not anxious for the Cypriot problem to be resolved, and they have spared no attempts to circumvent resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus and to exclude this important problem from the purview of the United Nations.

96. As a whole, the crisis prevailing in Cyprus is a result of the continuing intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. This had led to the continuation of the *de facto* partition of the island and constitutes a threat to

the independent existence of a single Cypriot State. As has been emphasized by others, a durable and just settlement of the Cypriot problem is possible, and ways of achieving this are known. They were set forth in United Nations resolutions on this question, including General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). They are to the effect that the only sound way of settling the question is to respect strictly the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to demilitarize the island by withdrawing all foreign troops and eliminating foreign military bases.

97. United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, expressing as they do the desire of the international community and being in accordance with the interests of the Cypriot people, are based squarely on full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State and its policy of non-alignment.

98. As regards the present conflict of interest between the two national communities which inhabit the island, this can be resolved, as has been pointed out, by means of talks, due account being taken of the interests of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. There is no doubt that, however great those divergences may appear, they should not obscure the need for preserving the Republic of Cyprus as a single, united State.

99. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, as before, holds the view that a just and speedy settlement of the Cypriot problem would be greatly assisted by convening a representative international conference on Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations. As is emphasized in section IV of the political declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague in January of this year:

“There are no problems, global or regional, which could not be solved justly by peaceful means. It is most important for all to recognize the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide its own internal affairs, without external interference, and to take part in international life on an equal footing.”⁸

100. We believe that the United Nations can and should make effective efforts in order to achieve positive results by resolving the Cyprus problem. Like other countries of the socialist community, the Byelorussian SSR has firmly and consistently favoured a just and speedy solution to the Cyprus problem without any outside interference, by means of constructive negotiations, taking account of the interests of both communities. It has favoured the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign military bases in Cyprus and has spoken in favour of Cyprus being a single, independent, sovereign, non-aligned State.

101. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): More than three years have elapsed since the General Assembly last considered the question of Cyprus, and it must be acknowledged that the present debate clearly shows that the essence of the problem has not changed.

102. During this period, intercommunal talks have been held with the active assistance of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, and we would like to pay a very well-deserved tribute to both of them. The Belgian Government,

which supported General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), of 1 November 1974, has unfailingly supported the efforts made by the Secretary-General. Belgium is indeed convinced that these talks are the essential basis for arriving at a just and lasting solution.

103. While the talks were going on, the peace-keeping forces helped to defuse the potential dangers inherent in the situation. UNFICYP has thus helped to create the necessary conditions for the talks to be held. My Government highly appreciates what has been done by the peace-keeping forces, in which many members of the European Community participate.

104. For the first time since the inception some time ago of the intercommunal negotiations, the two parties, in August-September of 1981, put forward specific proposals on the constitutional and territorial aspects of the matter. Unfortunately, negative influences from outside and the lengthy campaign that preceded the presidential elections in Cyprus, paralysed the negotiations in 1982. It is our hope that after this debate, when calm has been restored to Cyprus, the negotiations can be resumed in the same positive spirit which prevailed in 1981. That is why the stagnation in the present negotiations should not lead us to unduly pessimistic conclusions.

105. We are convinced that a solution which guarantees the fundamental right of Cyprus to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity can and should be found, first and foremost by the two communities of the island themselves. We are equally convinced that those countries which are directly concerned in the settlement of the question of Cyprus, including Greece and Turkey, with which my country has very close relations, should support such a solution and that they too should make efforts to settle their dispute so as to prevent the problem from becoming an international one, because this would only further complicate the problem and serve to harden positions. The United Nations should be able to rely on the political will to arrive at a balanced and realistic solution.

106. Accordingly, my Government deeply appreciates the intentions expressed by the Secretary-General in his report, particularly his statement that:

“It is my intention to strengthen my personal involvement within the framework of my mission of good offices. In particular, I shall make every effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process, following up the work done during the current phase of the negotiations. As I have reported on this subject to the Security Council, my efforts will seek to encourage the parties to develop an overall synthesis covering the remaining major unresolved issues, and I and my Special Representative shall do our utmost to assist them in this endeavour.” [*Ibid.*]

107. If these efforts were to inspire in the two parties the same desire to succeed and the same determination to break the deadlock, it appears to us that a solution could be found which would respect the rights and interests of both communities and would also be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and effectively safeguard the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

108. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): Mr. President, my delegation is happy to see you preside over this resumed session of the General Assembly. I would also like to congratulate you on the manner in which you have so ably conducted the work of this body.

109. Despite consistent efforts made by the Secretary-General to resolve the problem confronting the two communities of Cyprus, it is most disheartening that a solution has thus far eluded us. However, the search for an answer to end this unfortunate crisis must be continued if we are to prevent the situation from deteriorating any further.

110. Interference and intervention by other Powers, on behalf of either community, will not, as developments have already proved to us, lead to acceptable or lasting solutions. Such interference will only cause increased distrust, disunity and suspicion between the two communities. No matter what efforts are made if an atmosphere of this sort is allowed to prevail and persist, Cyprus will remain a land torn asunder. My delegation believes that the two Cypriot communities, no matter what their ethnic origins, are one people of a single sovereign nation. We believe that the dispute between them can be resolved by the communities themselves without any foreign interference or intervention.

111. We also cannot condone the presence of any foreign troops in any country under any pretext whatsoever. The independence and sovereignty of a nation will never be ensured if such acts of military intervention and occupation are given justification. The internal affairs of a sovereign nation are the responsibility of its own people and none other. We hold these principles sacrosanct. In view of this, as we deplored the presence of foreign troops and occupation elsewhere, so do we now in this case.

112. We are gratified to note from the Secretary-General's report that he will be further intensifying his efforts to bring progress to the intercommunal talks. As noted by several speakers, the Secretary-General is uniquely qualified to act as mediator in view of his past involvement as the special representative of his predecessor. We hope that the Secretary-General's role as mediator will be facilitated by all concerned and the atmosphere made conducive, so as to permit him to succeed.

113. Very recently, another multilateral forum was able to consider the issue of Cyprus at its highest political level. I refer to the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March. At that Conference, the Heads of State or Government had an opportunity to examine and deliberate on the problem facing Cyprus. The political declaration of that Conference² explicitly highlighted four points on the question of Cyprus. First, the Conference reaffirmed respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus. Secondly, the Conference, while expressing its deep concern over the fact that part of the Republic of Cyprus continues under foreign occupation, demanded the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for reaching a solution of the Cyprus problem. Thirdly, the Conference called for respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all

Cypriots. Finally, the Conference called for solutions in accordance with the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977³ and 19 May 1979⁴ and the relevant United Nations resolutions, especially General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974).

114. The declaration of the New Delhi Conference contains, as has been seen, all the necessary ingredients for bringing about the peaceful reunification of Cyprus and promoting unity, equality and brotherly co-operation between the two communities.

115. My delegation has examined draft resolution A/37/L.63, which has been framed in a realistic manner, taking into account the declaration of the New Delhi Conference, and promotes the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Hence, we shall support that draft resolution.

116. Mr. PAPAJORGJI (Albania): The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always clearly expressed its principled position on the question of Cyprus. Just as it has in the past, during this debate the Albanian delegation wishes to reaffirm the well-known stand of its Government and, at the same time, express its views on some aspects of the problem.

117. The grave and tragic situation which has existed for many years is a matter of serious concern, above all to the Cypriot people themselves. At the same time, this situation concerns the other peoples and countries of the area and all progressive and democratic States that fight for peace and justice.

118. The Albanian people, who cherish a sincere friendship for the Cypriot people of both communities—both Greek and Turkish—have always followed with great interest the development of events and the situation in Cyprus as a whole. The Albanian people and their Government have always wished that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus could be found, that peace, stability and harmony could be re-established in Cyprus by the Cypriot people and that they themselves could normalize their life so as not to fall victim again to the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, as has happened so many times in the past.

119. The record of the problem of Cyprus is a clear example of the grave consequences of the rule of the colonialist Powers, of the aggressive expansionist policy, plots and intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers and their interference in the internal affairs of other countries to satisfy their own ambitions by fomenting and instigating conflicts, quarrels and divisions among peoples in different parts of the world or among the people of one country, as in the case of Cyprus.

120. Regrettably, we are obliged to observe that a just solution of the problem of Cyprus has not yet been achieved and that the obstacles impeding the path to a genuine solution have not been reduced. There still exists a tense and explosive situation and, as a consequence, Cyprus remains a hotbed of tension and conflict in the eastern Mediterranean.

121. Today, the just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus is of a special significance. The geographical position of Cyprus in the Mediterranean, where the imperialist super-Powers—the

United States and the Soviet Union—maintain a great number of aggressive warships, as well as the proximity of Cyprus to the hot area of the Middle East, stimulate the appetite and the envy of the super-Powers and their desire to have bases and strongholds for the purpose of their penetration or expansion in the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Balkans.

122. In fact, the solution of this problem becomes the more imperative because of the danger of a further aggravation of the situation in Cyprus and the surrounding area. This danger may increase, because quite near Cyprus, in the Middle East, as a result of the intensification of the interference and the aggressive policy of United States imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists and the rivalry and bargaining of the super-Powers in seeking world domination, there exists a tense and explosive situation, fraught with risks.

123. We are all witness to the very grave and disturbing situation existing in the Middle East, where Israeli aggression against Lebanon, organized and instigated by the United States imperialists, has created direct threats and risks for the peoples and countries in the area and in other regions as well.

124. The imperialist super-Powers may well use the tense situation in Cyprus to hatch dangerous plots and intrigues in the Balkans, where, as a result of their policies, many serious elements are already gathered. The most recent facts and events bear clear testimony to the fact that the imperialist super-Powers, thinking of their own hegemonic interests and their aim of transforming the Balkans into a permanent powder-keg, are intensifying their efforts to revive old hostilities and quarrels, to encourage and incite chauvinist sentiments and passions, to pit the peoples and countries of the Balkans against each other and to create there strongholds for their warmongering strategy.

125. It is precisely in these dangerous circumstances that both super-Powers are allegedly trying to help in finding a solution to the problem of Cyprus, at a time when they both have aggressive intentions and when in one way or another they spare no effort to reap political and strategic benefits. The United States imperialists try to keep in their hands the key to the solution of the problem of Cyprus, imposing the idea that this issue must be settled within the framework of the activities and interests of the aggressive NATO bloc.

126. The Soviet social-imperialists, on the other hand, have constantly propagated proposals for the internationalization of this problem and the convening of an international conference, so as to make it possible for them to play a full part in the intrigues against the people of Cyprus.

127. The Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania has always maintained that only a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus would put an end to the existing turbulent situation in that country. The Albanian delegation supports any constructive step that might be helpful to this end. We share the view expressed by many delegations during this debate that intercommunal talks by the Cypriot people, without any foreign interference, would provide the basis for a genuine solution of the

Cyprus problem. Foreign interference in the solution of this problem does not satisfy the interests of the two communities or their need to live in harmony and mutual understanding.

128. It is the Cypriot people themselves who can and should put an end to the grave and serious situation existing in their own country. It is for the Cypriot people alone to decide their destiny in accordance with their will, in their present and future interest, against any attempts made by foreign forces to interfere in their internal affairs. Thus, it is in the interest of the Cypriot people to be free to solve their own problems in harmony with the fundamental rights of the two communities living in the island of Cyprus.

129. Such a solution of the problem of Cyprus would not only serve the interests of the Cypriot people but also make a significant contribution to peace and tranquillity in the Aegean and the Balkans. It would prevent interference by the two imperialist super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—which, in keeping with their hegemonic interests, strive to create situations of tension and insecurity in the Mediterranean and to transform the island of Cyprus into an aggressive military base of their own. The just solution of the problem of Cyprus implies the prevention of any interference by the two imperialist super-Powers in the internal affairs of the Cypriot people.

130. In expressing the best wishes and sentiments of the Albanian people and their Government to the Cypriot people, to the two communities of the island, the Albanian delegation wishes to reiterate its well-known position in favour of an urgent and just solution of this problem through intercommunal talks, which is the only just way of serving the interests of the free, independent and sovereign State of Cyprus, as well as the interests of peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

131. Cyprus is an independent and sovereign State, a State Member of the United Nations, and so it should remain. No one has the right to interfere in its internal affairs in order to impose a solution which runs contrary to the free will expressed by the Cypriot people.

132. Our delegation wishes to reiterate that the Albanian Government strongly maintains its unchangeable position in favour of an independent Cypriot State with full respect for the national freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Our delegation will support any positive step that contributes to the urgent and just solution of the problem of Cyprus and to the establishment of harmony and understanding between the Cypriot communities.

133. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to express once again our satisfaction at the fact that you are presiding over the deliberations of this resumed session of the General Assembly.

134. My delegation has followed with close attention the various statements that have been made on the question of Cyprus, and we share the widespread concern at the absence of a definitive solution to that

problem, despite the fact that it has been under consideration for 20 years now.

135. On 1 November 1974, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), the draft of which Argentina had sponsored. That resolution, which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), is the basis upon which a negotiated settlement of this conflict must be sought.

136. The question of Cyprus has a twofold dimension, since the present political situation resulting from the presence in the territory of the military forces of a State Member of the United Nations has created, in addition, a serious humanitarian problem for those who have been compelled to abandon their homes, resulting in a new flood of refugees.

137. The continuance of a conflict situation in this region of the Mediterranean can have grave consequences for international peace and security, adding to many existing confrontations in other parts of the world. Hence, my delegation, in keeping with United Nations resolutions and the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, believes that a just, speedy and comprehensive solution to the problem of Cyprus, which will take into account the interests of both communities, must be found.

138. In our opinion, that solution should be based, first, on respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus; secondly, on the withdrawal of all foreign forces; and thirdly, on demilitarization, as formulated by the President of Cyprus in his proposal to the Assembly's tenth special session [2nd meeting, para. 145].

139. My delegation, also, supports draft resolution A/37/L.63, sponsored by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries, which reiterates the positive elements of earlier General Assembly resolutions and of the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

140. I cannot fail to refer to the commendable efforts made by the Secretary-General and to congratulate him on his decision to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his mission of good offices. The Government of Argentina sees great usefulness in the participation of the Secretary-General in the search for solutions. We hope that he can count on the efforts and goodwill of the parties, so that his endeavours may have the success which we all desire.

141. The proper framework for a just, speedy and comprehensive settlement of the question of Cyprus is here within the machinery of the United Nations. The international community is once again focusing its attention on the General Assembly. We hope that the decision adopted by this body will not fail to live up to that expectation.

142. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): First, Mr. President, I should like to wish you, an eminent representative of a fraternal socialist country, every success in the extremely important post which you occupy during this resumed session of the General Assembly.

143. As you know, the question of Cyprus has been a focus of United Nations attention since 1964. At the

present stage, its importance has been further enhanced by the fact that we are taking it up at the request of a State Member of the United Nations—the Republic of Cyprus. We are convinced that the results of our discussions here must meet the expectations of the Cypriot people.

144. The reasons for this problem coming into being and the fact that the situation around Cyprus has further deteriorated are well known.

145. The foreign policy of the Republic of Cyprus has, since it came into being, been based on neutrality, non-alignment with military blocs and co-operation with all countries. This policy of the Government of Cyprus is a major obstacle to the achievement of the imperialist designs. The present situation in Cyprus has not been brought about by internal dissension between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, but rather is the fruit of imperialist intrigues around Cyprus, the purpose of which was to set up a military base on that island and in that way to strengthen considerably the south-eastern flank of NATO in the territory of a State which is not a member of that bloc.

146. It is not surprising that the people of Cyprus objected to these designs because they are aware of the dangerous consequences with which they are fraught. The fact that there are military bases, that there is intervention in internal affairs and that discord has been fomented has created a serious source of tension. The situation may be further complicated by the placing of new medium-range nuclear devices in the territories of some of the NATO States in the region. These weapons could be aimed at the south and could be used to carry out nuclear blackmail against other independent States in the Mediterranean and countries of the Near East.

147. It is our belief that support should be given to steps designed to bring about full military détente in the Mediterranean and that agreement should be reached on means of strengthening trust in the military field, the reduction of military forces and the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of vessels bearing nuclear weapons. We are convinced that the implementation of these steps would considerably increase the security of Cyprus and help to bring about the solution of the question of Cyprus.

148. We commend the proposals made by the President of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, to the Assembly's tenth special session [*ibid.*], for the immediate and complete demilitarization of Cyprus. Czechoslovakia has in the past supported and continues to support a just political solution to the question of Cyprus which would ensure the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and confirm its status as a non-aligned State. We will continue to stand behind the Cypriots in their struggle for independence, the freedom of their country and the withdrawal of foreign troops and against foreign interference in their internal affairs.

149. A just, lasting and viable solution to the question of Cyprus in the interests of the Cypriots themselves must be sought through specific and constructive talks, in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We are persuaded that an important role in

solving the question of Cyprus can be played by the Secretary-General, who has already made considerable positive efforts to secure such a just settlement. The sincere and serious approach of the Secretary-General to complex international issues, inspired by the ideals of the United Nations, is something with which we are personally acquainted, particularly in connection with his efforts to free the 66 citizens of Czechoslovakia who were kidnapped and who, as representatives know, quite recently, in March of this year, became victims of international terrorism.

150. The question of Cyprus can be resolved fairly once and for all. Of course, a great deal will hinge on understanding between the two communities whose homeland Cyprus is. Each of these communities has its own specific interests and peculiarities, which cannot be ignored, but these interests should not obscure the general interests of the State. We believe that the intercommunal talks are of great significance and should be continued.

151. In this connection, I would recall that States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, including my country, have frequently emphasized that in order to settle conflicts it is extremely important to have a political dialogue on an even-handed basis. That position was once again reiterated in the political declaration adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held at Prague last January,⁸ and in the communiqué issued after the April meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to that Treaty, which also took place at Prague.⁹

152. We are convinced that the proposals of the Soviet Union on the convening of a representative international conference on Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations¹⁰ are extremely timely. Such a conference, held in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, would lead to the speedy implementation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and provide the Cypriot State with safeguards.

153. Our bilateral relations with the Republic of Cyprus are developing successfully and on many fronts, to our mutual interest, and for our part we shall continue to do everything to strengthen those relations in the future. In this connection I should like to remind the Assembly in particular of the visit of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, to Czechoslovakia in 1980 and the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Chňoupek, to Cyprus in 1982, which yielded important results for a constructive future development of our relations. For this reason also we have always supported and will continue to support efforts aimed at promoting peace and stability in Cyprus and throughout that region.

154. We therefore welcomed the outcome of the talks between President Makarios and the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktaş, in 1977 and the 10-point agreement which was reached during talks between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş in 1979.⁴ At this time, we would like to welcome the mutual understanding reached during recent talks in Greece with President Kyprianou and also his contacts with the Secretary-General. We believe it is important

that during these talks emphasis was laid on the fact that there is definite hope based on goodwill on the part of all those politically involved during these talks, that a settlement can be reached on the question of Cyprus.

155. We also welcome the fact that in the political declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March,² support was expressed for the independence of the sovereign Republic of Cyprus and for its active involvement in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

156. The implementation of the agreements which have been reached could, we believe, not only assist in settling the question of Cyprus but also help to reduce tension throughout the Mediterranean region and in the Middle East, in a situation where that region is continually threatened by Israeli aggression, first and foremost in the border areas of Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic.

157. We are convinced that the efforts of the Cypriot people to preserve their united and independent State will be crowned with success. We are also convinced that the United Nations is in a position to promote a peaceful settlement of the question of Cyprus in order to maintain peace and security in that region and throughout the world.

158. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): The United States remains deeply concerned with the Cyprus problem. The continued division between the two communities on the island and their inability to reach an agreed settlement is a great disappointment to my Government. The United States deeply regrets the effects of this persistent tragedy on the lives of the Cypriot people. We are also disturbed by the fact that the unresolved differences in Cyprus strain relations between two valued friends and allies in the region, Greece and Turkey. We will continue to support the Secretary-General in his efforts to help the parties to this unfortunate conflict reach a fair and lasting settlement.

159. With the assistance of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, the two Cypriot communities have in the latest round of intercommunal negotiations, which began in November 1981, addressed the issues which divide them. Exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices, mandated by the Security Council, has helped the parties reach a stage in the discussions where points of agreement and those issues remaining to be resolved have been clearly defined through the "evaluation" process introduced by the previous Secretary-General.

160. Today we are fortunate to have a Secretary-General who is exceptionally well informed on the question of Cyprus, having been directly involved during his previous assignment as Special Representative in that country. We welcome his intention, announced in his report of 6 May [A/37/805 and Corr.1], to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his good offices in order to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process. The United States believes it is this process—the direct discussions between the communities, complemented by the good-offices role of the Secretary-General—which

has the best chance of producing the lasting settlement of the Cyprus dispute which we all seek.

161. Acrimonious debate in this chamber and public posturing by the parties to the Cyprus problem will not, we believe, prove helpful to the process under way in Cyprus. Instead we favour a return by the leaders of both communities to the conference table. There, out of the glare of publicity, the parties could proceed with the vital work of addressing the issues which divide the communities and prevent the return to normal life in Cyprus.

162. A number of speakers in this debate have acknowledged the valuable contribution made by UNFICYP to the keeping of peace on the island. The United States recognizes the importance of UNFICYP's role in this regard and has, since March 1964, contributed 46 per cent of the funds made available by all countries to the UNFICYP Special Account. We are disturbed by the report of the Secretary-General on this subject,¹¹ which documents the increasing debt into which the programme is falling. We urge States Members of the United Nations which do not contribute to the maintenance of the Force to respond to the Secretary-General's appeal for additional funds.

163. There seems now to be an international climate conducive to progress in resolving the problem of Cyprus. It seems to us that the time is ripe for a real advance towards a mutually acceptable settlement. The factors I have mentioned—an active and knowledgeable Secretary-General with a clear mandate, an ongoing process of direct discussion between the two communities and international support for a settlement—all militate for an early return by the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots to the negotiations and a renewed determination by both to see progress made. The moment is propitious for movement. We encourage the two communities and other con-

cerned parties to demonstrate the political will requisite to making the hard but necessary decisions needed to achieve a comprehensive, durable and equitable settlement. We urge all concerned not to forfeit the opportunity which presents itself now. Further delay can only intensify the differences and exacerbate tensions among the parties.

164. The Secretary-General has indicated a willingness to make himself available to assist in the achievement of a settlement. We urge the parties to accept his offer and work with him to bring about an end to the discord and divisiveness among the Cypriot people. The United States pledges its support for this effort.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/35/659.

² A/38/132, annex.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369 and Add.1, para. 51.

⁵ A/38/132, annex, chap. I, para. 130.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15502 and Add.1, para. 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15696, annex.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15502 and Add.1.