



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 37

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

1. Mr. MAUDAVE (Mauritius) (*interpretation from French*): I should like, first of all, to offer my sincere condolences, and those of my country, to the mission of the Mongolian People's Republic, which has been dealt a cruel blow by the sudden death of our colleague, Mr. Tsogtyn Narkhuu.
2. Mr. President, we are meeting once again under your diligent guidance to consider, with the seriousness that is incumbent on this Assembly, the problem which is posed by Cyprus: for itself, in that it is being torn asunder, and for the international community as well.
3. Although separated by the vastness of the Indian Ocean and the continent of Africa, my country has affinities with Cyprus. Our respective populations are complex and diverse, and therefore enriched by the intermixture of ancestral traditions, languages and religions, an intermixture which can also generate conflicts from within. We have known the same type of colonization. As we are situated at strategic points of the globe, we are at various times coveted by some, courted by others and sometimes thwarted in our legitimate aspirations to territorial integrity and sovereignty. We are islanders and hybrids and are thus accustomed to paradox. At this Assembly session, Cyprus has brought us into the very midst of a paradox, the paradox of a heritage of 7,000 years of civilization which is incapable of dressing a wound only a few decades old. The wisdom of this Assembly ought to be applied to the search for a solution to this stalemate.
4. The various documents which have been submitted to us by the two communities of the island and by the Secretariat indicate that there have been abrupt and feverish negotiations whose outcome remains uncertain. One might therefore wonder in the end if the very style of these debates and the way in which they are conducted, as well as the eloquent and idealistic content of our resolutions, have not contributed to making the outcome more remote. But the fact remains that we are facing a dilemma which has been besetting us for years, for so long that it could ultimately generate lassitude and cynicism.
5. Sectoral opportunism, too, has given one group, with an agricultural tradition, the opportunity to close its ranks and strengthen its grip on the land, while

another group, with a more commercial and industrial tradition, has been given the opportunity to seek on its own an economic take-off thanks to its special contacts in high financial circles. We thus see perpetuated, in one of the most critically strategic regions of the world, an economic and social bi-zonalism and polarization which could lend themselves to many further interventions. The structural fragility of the eastern Mediterranean would only be increased thereby.

6. This could also cast doubt on the serious intent of our resolutions and the effectiveness of our "blue helmets". This doubt has been raised from time to time by various journalists and political scientists. The most recent criticism I have read comes from *Background* number 262, of 20 April 1983, in an article entitled "UN Peace-keeping: An Empty Mandate". That analysis talks of 370,000 men involved in many operations over some 30 years; of more than 600 soldiers killed; and of a total cost reaching \$973 million. And what has been the outcome?

7. I wish to quote the author of the recent *United Nations Assessment Project Study*, Roger A. Brooks. He asks:

"what have these forces achieved? Have they enforced armistice lines and improved the prospects for peace in the areas in which they operate? The record is disappointing. In the cases of the Sinai in 1956, the Congo beginning in 1960, Cyprus beginning in 1964, and Lebanon in 1978 the opportunities for continued conflict were not reduced by the UN."*

8. This is a severe verdict, if it is one at all, even an unjust verdict, ignoring as it does the more positive aspects of our operations. None the less, we would do well to take into account what people outside United Nations Headquarters think. It is not enough merely to explain, through our various resolutions, what our duties and those of our Member States are. A moral policy entails an art of implementation. Principles that are not accompanied by practical measures or by a realization of the possible costs in money and in human lives reminds us of Charles Péguy's well-known comment on Emmanuel Kant, namely, that his hands were pure, but he had no hands.

9. The problem of coherence and lucidity is particularly difficult in the impassionate approach that we advocate for Cyprus. That approach must clearly take into account what is utopian in the tangled web of measures that have been undertaken. It must seek to inject more realism into the goals to be attained and into the means for achieving them, even if by so doing it means that we must abandon part of our

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

idealism. It is, for example, utopian to think that, at our request, the occupation forces will immediately evacuate the territory. We have been vainly calling for that immediate withdrawal for nine years. It is more realistic to think that those forces will depart after a negotiated settlement. To admit this and to state it frankly will in no way detract from the severity of our condemnation of the use of force in international relations.

10. Nor should we forget in our haste that the perils of the cruel 1960s and 1970s have left lasting and probably indelible marks on the conscience of peoples and on the reactions of the minority community. Intervention based on cultural and religious affinity or on the desire to assist an allied group to achieve self-determination does, I admit, detract from the principle of sovereignty that is one of the pillars of the Charter of the United Nations. Some have maintained that a State has a right to sovereignty as long as it can be assumed to be the constitutional expression of a national community, of the will of its people to live together and govern themselves and not to be subject to any foreign domination, whether it be Turkish or Greek. This last component, unfortunately, was lacking in 1974 in Nicosia. A State is no longer entirely the State of its inhabitants if it is, or risks becoming, someone else's State or the State of only one of the national communities living within it. The Turkish Cypriots were fearful of that turn of events.

11. I should like us therefore to give both sides the credit of acting in good faith. Rightly or wrongly, some have seen or thought they had seen in the ups and downs of the wild days of July 1974 the risk of a threat to their fundamental rights. Today we ought not to reproach them for remembering and for having feelings of mistrust. It was to be predicted that, to "enosis" they would reply "*taqsim*".

12. This morning on the way in to Manhattan I was reading the preface to the last book by Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Le regard éloigné*. I should like to read out to you a portion of that preface as food for thought:

"There is nothing wrong with placing one mode of life and thought above all others and in feeling little attraction to this or that group whose manner of life, albeit respectable, is too different from the one of which one is oneself traditionally a part. This relative incommunicability can in no way sanction the oppression or destruction of the values being rejected, or of those who represent them, but within those limits there is nothing repugnant about it. It can even represent the price to be paid in order that the value systems of each spiritual family, of each community, may be preserved and find within themselves the sources necessary for their renewal."

Let us enlarge upon this idea. The Cypriots are, as I said, islanders and hybrids. "Hybrid" means that they are potentially capable of cultural transcendence. While cultural "cohabitability" entails risks, at the same time it opens the way to a broader and more fruitful humanism. This is perhaps evident here in the calm of this Hall, but in the world outside this fact is often ill perceived.

13. The desire to be balanced now obliges me to make three brief remarks. Fear being a poor adviser and

cultural splits giving rise to prejudices, it is quite possible that the analysis of the chain of events was hasty and that the clear or veiled call for military intervention was tragically premature or untimely. It would have been much better to remember that Cyprus has always been able to absorb its contradictions, Hellenic and Pharaonic contradictions of the time of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies, Graeco-Roman contradictions under Tiberius, Christian and Byzantine contradictions under Richard the Lion-Hearted and the sultans of the Sublime Porte. According to legend, the beach at Paphos was the birthplace of Venus, and according to the Scriptures, the fishermen there heard Saint Paul preach. Cyprus will resolve its cultural contradictions. It is up to us to help it to do so as soon as possible, in peace and in dignity.

14. My second remark relates to the phenomenon of proportionality that was mentioned by the bishops in their meeting in Chicago at the beginning of this month. The context of "Peace in the Modern World. Religious Perspectives and Principles" is infinitely more vast. It is planetary. The implicit philosophy and the humanistic concern that colour that analysis can be applied just as well to both regions and countries that have been torn apart. The bishops wrote as follows:

"In terms of the *jus ad bellum* criteria, proportionality means that the damage to be inflicted and the costs incurred by war must be proportionate to the good expected upon taking up arms. In today's interdependent world even a local conflict can affect people everywhere."*

15. The proportionality of the cause and effect of the 1974 invasion obviously created such an imbalance that any negotiation must take it into account. This leads me to my third remark, which is: that local and international repercussions in no way justify foreign military intervention. To allow such interventions would be to advocate a recipe for widespread war or universal hypocrisy. Whatever the complexity of the parameters in the particular case before us, the unavoidable fact remains that, at the very root of the conflict, there smoulders the fire of intercommunal tensions and rivalries. Recognition of the communal fact leading to an international extension, and not vice versa, will assist us in constructing an institutional framework that can lead us back to normality. The steps that will be taken following the work of this Assembly and the negotiations entrusted to the Secretary-General should take into account the much more flexible approaches mentioned earlier if we want to arrive at a rapid settlement of this conflict.

16. Of all the texts submitted to us the one that, in our view, best defines the possible outlines of that institutional framework is the one that was prepared a few years ago by three States Members of this Assembly. That document is entitled "Framework for a Cyprus settlement". It succinctly proposes that a federal system of government should be constructed on the intrinsic and day-to-day realities of Cyprus and that it should seek to strike a balance of forces and values. It also discusses the Varosha zone. The flexibility of that study obviously does not concord

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

with all the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX), of 1 November 1974, and 3395 (XXX), of 20 November 1975.

17. Without prejudice, secret motives or useless rhetoric, we have to update those proposals and harmonize them with our own aspirations and our sense of realism and of the possible. It is necessary, however, to accentuate the vocation of non-alignment which was so dear to Archbishop Makarios. I shall share with representatives the pleasure I had in reading the following line from his letter of 2 July 1974 to General Ghizikis in which he said: "I am not a district governor appointed by the Greek Government, but an elected leader..."

18. Any settlement must draw inspiration from that powerful declaration of independence. Let us talk no longer of Cyprus as one of the last *terrae irredentae* of Hellenism or of the geographical contiguity which, since the sixth century, has excused the exodus of Cypriots from Anatolia.

19. We would like to see Cyprus as it was in the 1950s at the time of the Zurich and Geneva agreements and the tripartite London Conference. Its agriculture was flourishing, its large mines were active, and its tourist trade remarkably well organized. Its gross national product was one of the highest in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus was the country in the world which had proportionately the largest number of university graduates after the United States and Canada. I need not recount what has happened since 1974 in that country.

20. Instead of the flames of fire, may the flames of Greek universalism return to that land of sun and legend and may the foreign sword be replaced by ploughs in the fields and the peaceful crescent on the minarets. That is my Government's most cherished wish.

21. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to express the condolences of my Government and people, as well as my own, to the family and to the people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the sad occasion of the death of the Permanent Representative of Mongolia.

22. We believe that we have a responsibility to contribute to the quest for peace in any part of the world and, aware of that role, we have asked to speak in this debate.

23. We wish to express our profound respect for the people of Cyprus and our gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Nicos A. Rolandis, for his excellent statement [*116th meeting*], in which he related the latest events that are occurring in his country, as well as the expressed will of the Government which he so excellently represents to seek an answer to the problem by means of peaceful solutions and dialogue.

24. The intercommunal talks have not made the expected progress; both communities and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General agree with that assessment and about the gravity of the situation. One fundamental obstacle to the continuation of these talks is the occupation of 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus by Turkish troops, an occupation which has lasted since 1974. This constitutes a factor of force

which does not contribute to the development of the intercommunal talks on an equal footing, without coercion and on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the high-level agreements.

25. It is necessary not only to provide a new impetus and to appeal to both communities so that, with renewed political will, they may make the necessary effort to pursue the talks in a constructive manner, but also to refer to the practical obstacles and once again to appeal to Turkey to withdraw its troops from the territory of Cyprus and desist from its attempts to change the demography of Cyprus. We must renew our support for the absolute right of Cyprus to its sovereignty and complete control over its territory and natural resources.

26. In this context and in short, we express our full support of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), and we demand the immediate implementation of those resolutions, which are the very essence and sole basis for the solution of this problem. We demand an end to the violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. For that purpose, the General Assembly and the Security Council must take appropriate measures to end the presence of all foreign troops and ensure the return of all refugees to their homes. We condemn any measure designed to bring about changes in the demographic structure of the island, since the situation created by that kind of measure must not be allowed to influence the solution of the problem of the people of Cyprus.

27. Likewise, we should like to state quite clearly that we support the decisions adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 17 March 1983, as well as other earlier decisions taken on the problem of Cyprus. We firmly support the people and Government of Cyprus, their independence, integrity, national unity and policy of non-alignment.

28. We also support the talks between the Cypriot communities, and particularly the 10-point agreement reached in Nicosia on 19 May 1979 between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktaş,¹ who, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, at that time succeeded in arriving at viable agreements. In this connection, we shall continue to support the moves which the Secretary-General may make in this respect, in the hope that on this occasion maturity will win over intransigence.

29. We understand the difficulties that arise in any process of peaceful settlement, particularly when force is not eliminated from the context. Nicaragua, which is at present invaded and involved in an undeclared war waged against it by the United States, is aware of the difficulties of dialogue, which is the rational way of solving problems, but it believes, both in respect of its own situation and of the one we are dealing with, that despite the intransigence and militaristic policy of the adversaries, we must insist on the quest for a just and lasting peace, which can be

achieved only through dialogue and a political solution of differences.

30. In this connection, we warmly welcome the Secretary-General's intention, expressed by him in his report [A/37/805 and Corr.1], to pursue his personal effort, with renewed interest, in the quest for negotiated solutions.

31. Finally, we should like to repeat publicly our full support for draft resolution A/37/L.63, submitted by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries; as we see it, this is the right and proper way to solve the problem.

32. Mr. DORR (Ireland): At the outset, I should like to express to the Government and delegation of Mongolia my sincere condolences on the loss they have suffered in the death of our colleague, their Permanent Representative.

33. Ireland approaches the problem of Cyprus with a particular sympathy and concern. We have close and friendly relations with the Government of Cyprus and with the other Governments involved; and we continue to support and to participate in UNFICYP in Cyprus. Beyond this, however, it is not surprising that we should feel a special sense of sympathy for all of the people of a small island which is the home of two communities of differing traditions and outlook as they try to work out how best they may live at peace.

34. We believe that, in any such situation, a settlement which will bring true peace requires that the communities concerned should be willing to come to terms with their own history. There is need for an acceptance by each community of the existence and of the rights of the other with which it has to share the island; there is need, too, for a measure of goodwill on each side and a willingness to engage seriously in a dialogue to establish agreement on political structures. These should provide full respect for the legitimate rights of all and room enough for the sense of identity of each to find adequate expression.

35. That is why we have always strongly supported the intercommunal talks in Cyprus. It seems to us, concerned and sympathetic as we are, that there is no other way forward for the people of that troubled island.

36. Those talks, with the help of successive special representatives of the Secretary-General, have gone forward now for many years. First, the Secretary-General himself, when he was Special Representative, and now in turn his Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, deserve great credit for their efforts to promote this dialogue. We are glad to learn from the report of the Secretary-General that the atmosphere of the talks has remained "co-operative and constructive" [*ibid.*, para. 3].

37. This is something. But we also find it understandable that there should be impatience at the slow pace and at the inability so far to achieve concrete agreement on the future political structure of the island of Cyprus. We can understand, too, that there is a fear on the Greek Cypriot side that, as time passes and the Turkish army remains in the northern part of Cyprus, a *fait accompli* will become so accepted and consolidated that the fundamental concepts of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus may

be weakened. That is something we do not want to see happen or to support.

38. Precisely because of its concern not to see a *fait accompli* become accepted, the Government of Cyprus, at several times in the past, has felt it necessary to take the problem to the international forums available to it, and particularly to this Assembly, in order to demonstrate and emphasize international support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

39. For our part we support these concepts and we want to see them upheld. How could we not do so? But we also think it right, whenever we are called on to vote on a draft resolution, to try to judge as best we can whether, at that particular time, the draft resolution and our vote for it would make progress in the intercommunal talks, to which we attach such importance, more or less likely. This can mean that the decision on our voting position is sometimes a difficult one. I emphasize that the difficulty for us arises precisely because of our concern about the problem, our sympathy with all the people of Cyprus and our ties to and links with the main parties involved.

40. Now, for the first time since 1979, the General Assembly is considering the problem of Cyprus, and we must decide once again how to vote on a draft resolution on the issue. We have reservations about some paragraphs in draft resolution A/37/L.63, put forward by a group of non-aligned countries. But, subject to those reservations, we find much of the text acceptable. The question then remains whether adoption of this draft resolution now and a vote for it by countries such as my own are likely to affect the intercommunal talks and if so, how?

41. We have heard arguments on both sides of this question. On one side, it has been argued strongly that adoption now by the Assembly of such a draft resolution is necessary in order to assert basic principles and to maintain the support of public opinion for the intercommunal talks. On the other side, it is argued equally strongly that such a resolution now will harm the atmosphere for those talks and may even make it impossible to continue with them.

42. In considering those arguments my delegation is struck by the fact that, according to the Secretary-General's report, the pace of the talks was "adjusted" [*ibid.*]—which is to say, slowed down—by consent, for many months, because of the presidential election which took place in Cyprus last February. We know also from the report of the Secretary-General that it is his intention in the near future to increase his personal involvement in the issue in an effort to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process. His intended initiative will be particularly important because of his own standing and diplomatic skill and because he has such a good personal knowledge of the problem, having dealt with it for some time as Special Representative of the previous Secretary-General.

43. Now that the election in Cyprus is over and the Secretary-General is about to take this important initiative, we look for a new and serious effort to give momentum to the intercommunal talks, and we wonder if it would not have been wiser and more prudent to have deferred raising the issue again in the General

Assembly, at least until the next session in September which, after all, is no more than four months away.

44. Nevertheless, the Government of Cyprus has decided to raise the problem again before the Assembly at this stage, and it is, of course, entitled to do so. For our part, now that the issue has been raised, we have given careful consideration to the draft resolution before us. We have weighed our support for much of the draft and our wish to give clear expression to that support, against our reservations on some paragraphs such as, for example, paragraph 15, and our feeling that it might have been wiser to defer for the moment the decision to bring the problem once again before the General Assembly. After due consideration and balancing these arguments on either side, Ireland has decided to vote in favour of the draft resolution, while maintaining its reservations on certain paragraphs of the text.

45. In conclusion, I must say that whatever the outcome of this debate—and it seems to us likely that the draft resolution will in fact be adopted—we strongly believe that the intercommunal talks should and must continue. Nothing must be allowed to prejudice that. The plain fact is that a satisfactory outcome to those talks is in the real interest of all of the people of Cyprus and, indeed, of all of the people of the region. We fervently hope that the forthcoming personal involvement of the Secretary-General will give those talks a new momentum and that they will be continued in a serious way and with a willingness on both sides to reach a settlement at last of the problems of the island of Cyprus for the benefit of all its people.

46. Mr. IRUMBA (Uganda): I wish at the outset to express my delegation's condolences to the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic and to the family of Mr. Narkhuu on his untimely demise.

47. Again, Mr. President, I wish to express the appreciation of my delegation for the competent and dignified manner with which you have guided the proceedings of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your leadership this resumed session will successfully conclude its deliberations on the remaining issues on our agenda.

48. Uganda feels a special concern for Cyprus. Both our countries belong to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to the Commonwealth. We share common ideals and traditions. We, therefore, have profound sympathy and understanding for the tragic situation in which the people of Cyprus find themselves.

49. The question of Cyprus is a problem of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations. It involves important principles on which the Organization is based, namely, the sovereign equality of States, the rejection of the use of force in international relations, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is a situation which continues to pose a danger to international peace and security.

50. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been and continues to be deeply concerned that the sovereignty of Cyprus is still being violated. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government

of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the policy of *faits accomplis* and the violation of legitimate rights of States by military intervention. The Movement also spoke out clearly against actions aimed at changing the demographic structure of Cyprus and underscored the urgency of solving the problem of refugees and missing persons. Uganda fully subscribes to the position adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement.

51. It is regrettable that, in spite of repeated calls by the international community and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus have as yet to be implemented. Uganda maintains that General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) offers a framework for a solution and should be implemented without delay.

52. President Makarios in 1977² and President Kyprianou in 1979¹ reached agreement with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community on the principles and goals of the intercommunal talks. It was our hope then that those agreements would lead to meaningful negotiations between the two sides. However, the opportunities provided by those agreements have not been fully seized. It is a sad reality that the intercommunal talks have not made substantial progress.

53. Indeed, events on the ground make the possibility of a united, independent Cyprus recede further. Cyprus continues to be artificially divided by a barbed wire running through the island. The consequences of this have been hardship for the population and adverse economic repercussions for the country. There has been a progressive isolation of the two communities. A generation is growing up without having contact with its compatriots. As contact between the communities is being lost, the sense of national identity is progressively being whittled away. Measures are deliberately being taken with the objective of permanently dismembering the country and of making the negotiation process more difficult. This trend should be halted.

54. It is imperative for the international community to take measures aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to the crisis in the shortest possible time. My delegation thus welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard. We are encouraged by his commitment to give a fresh impetus to the negotiation process by increasing his personal involvement within the framework of his good offices.

55. I wish to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, for the skilful and diligent manner in which they have conducted the negotiations. Uganda, on its part, will continue to support the Secretary-General's efforts.

56. We appeal to the two countries, the two communities, to resume the talks in all sincerity. We believe that the two communities in Cyprus, without foreign interference, have the capacity to achieve a required settlement.

57. Uganda, however, maintains that whatever talks take place must be predicated on the unity, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus. Uganda rejects any attempts to partition, annex or assimilate parts of Cyprus.

58. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote. I should like to remind the Assembly that, under rule 88 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, the President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment.

59. Mr. MOSELEY (Barbados): I wish to add the voice of my delegation to the expressions of condolence addressed to the delegation of Mongolia on its recent bereavement.

60. For many years, the Government of Barbados has maintained a consistent policy with regard to the situation in Cyprus. This policy remains unequivocal. Barbados remains committed to the continuation of support for a just settlement by way of negotiation, as called for by General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which provides the basis for such a settlement. Barbados feels strongly that there should be total demilitarization of Cyprus and has noted the limited progress made towards the resumption of the communal talks; we would support any efforts which will lead to the success of those talks.

61. My delegation finds nothing in draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 inconsistent with this policy and does not share the pessimistic view that the literal contents of the draft resolution will seriously damage the fundamental intent of the resolution taken as a whole. My delegation especially welcomes paragraph 16, the intent of which is to underline the extremely important role of the Secretary-General in the effort to achieve a just and lasting solution of a problem which has demanded the patient goodwill of the entire international community. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

62. Mr. HELSKOV (Denmark): Denmark has consistently held the view that only direct negotiations between the parties concerned can lead to a settlement which guarantees the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. We therefore welcomed the resumption of the intercommunal talks on 9 August 1980.

63. After three years, it is high time for those talks to achieve substantial progress, and we have noted with great satisfaction that the Secretary-General is prepared to strengthen his personal involvement within his mission of good offices. We would like to assure the Secretary-General of our full support in this endeavour.

64. Denmark has for many years participated in UNFICYP and is willing to continue to do so. In this connection, I would, however, like to stress the need for increased voluntary contributions in order to rectify the serious financial situation confronting UNFICYP.

65. We recognize the goodwill with which the sponsors and supporters of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 have made their proposals and express the hope that the Secretary-General's efforts will be supported with firm resolve. However, we do not feel that the draft resolution as a whole represents an appropriate balance, and Denmark will therefore abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

66. Mr. RODRÍGUEZ-MEDINA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Colombia would like to say that it will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1. In so doing, we would like to demonstrate our solidarity with the fundamental principles which establish the sovereign equality, independence and territorial integrity of States and which condemn interference, intervention or attempts to solve disputes by military force.

67. Colombia is in solidarity with the valuable efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, who have tirelessly sought to solve the problem which, owing to its magnitude and long existence, constitutes a threat to international peace and harmony. We are convinced that only with those good offices and with the goodwill of the parties will we be able to glimpse the end to the crisis.

68. Our affirmative vote on the draft resolution also indicates Colombia's solidarity with the refugees who, in our opinion, should return to their place of origin with full enjoyment of their individual and collective rights; and our vote most particularly means our solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus as a friendly and non-aligned nation.

69. Miss TRUJILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish, first of all, on behalf of the delegation of Venezuela, to express our heartfelt condolences on the death of the Permanent Representative of Mongolia.

70. Venezuela, in keeping with the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and of the non-use or threat of use of force in the settlement of disputes and in keeping with our respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1, with the clear understanding that we will thus contribute to the establishment of conditions for the achievement of a lasting peace between two nations with which my country has important links of friendship.

71. Venezuela welcomes the efforts being made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve an understanding through the intercommunal talks.

72. In conclusion, I once again reiterate the support of my delegation for the resolutions which have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this question to the extent that they have brought us closer to a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

73. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The problem of Cyprus remains unresolved despite the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative.

74. My Government has always maintained that the solution of this thorny problem should be sought in the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General and through the intercommunal talks. Hence, we have noted with some hope the fact that in his report [A/37/805 and Corr.1], the Secretary-General indicates that the talks have remained co-operative and constructive and that he intends to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his mission of good offices.

75. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 because the draft reiterates the support we feel for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, principles which my Government has always upheld, and because in its operative part certain elements have been eliminated, elements which were included in General Assembly resolution 34/30, which, in our judgement, were not conducive to a solution of the problem. For these reasons my delegation will abstain on paragraphs 7 and 15 if a separate vote is taken on those paragraphs.

76. We trust that the two communities will continue the talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in order to achieve a just and lasting solution of the problem as speedily as possible.

77. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Over the years my Government has expressed its serious concern about the problem of divided nations, but even more so in the case of Cyprus, which for almost nine years now has experienced *de facto* partition effected through an overwhelming military presence. Also, in this particular case my delegation's concern derives not only from the fact that, with this partition, the Cypriot people as a whole are denied the possibility of realizing their fullest potential in unity and peace, but also because its prolongation adversely affects the fundamental precepts of this Organization, namely, the non-use of force and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force or through occupation. Furthermore, the prolongation of this dispute poses a danger to international peace and security, at least in the Mediterranean region.

78. My delegation, therefore, interprets draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 as a further call by the international community for the restoration and observance of the fundamental precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and for the preservation of peace in that area.

79. My delegation will, therefore, support the call for the speedy withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus and its total demilitarization. In order to obviate the fears of the minority community, the United Nations should guarantee their protection through the deployment of its forces on the island. This, we believe, will provide free and unfettered negotiations in the intercommunal talks.

80. Draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1, in our view sets out the principles and framework within which this problem could be resolved in the interest of both Cypriot communities, and, if implemented, will not only preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus, which the representatives of both communities espouse, but also guarantee the interests of the minority community as set out in the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977² and 19 May 1979¹.

81. Finally, we view the draft resolution as a magisterial pronouncement by the General Assembly, one of the organs charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, on the settlement of this matter peacefully and without any further delay. We appeal to all the parties concerned to harken to that call both in the interest of the Cypriot people

as a whole and in the interest of maintaining peace in the region.

82. Mr. LASARTE (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, my delegation would like to join preceding speakers in expressing condolences to the Permanent Mission of Mongolia.

83. The delegation of Uruguay will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1, thus reaffirming its support for the solutions put forward by the United Nations to achieve a broad-based, negotiated and stable agreement on the question of Cyprus.

84. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the draft resolution is not far removed in spirit from earlier texts adopted by the Assembly on this subject. Indeed, if we compare this draft resolution with General Assembly resolution 34/30, we note that the preambular part is very similar and that three of the operative paragraphs are identical while nine are similar. Five new operative paragraphs have been added and four paragraphs have, quite rightly, been omitted because conditions have changed since the intercommunal talks of 1979. Also excluded is reference to the possible establishment of an *ad hoc* committee; this will help the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices, for it will give him more room for action.

85. Thus, it is our view that the draft resolution is intended to create a new manner of negotiation by renewing the support of the General Assembly for the mission of the Secretary-General and urging a renewal of intercommunal talks, which constitute the only viable way of finding a peaceful settlement of a dispute which constitutes a constant obstacle to the consolidation of the national unity of Cyprus.

86. Nevertheless, my delegation would have preferred the draft resolution to maintain the formulation in paragraph 5 of resolution 34/30 concerning foreign troops, believing, as we do, that the critical emphasis of the present text may prove a limiting factor as regards the necessary climate of negotiation. We do not find operative paragraph 15 clear, as it does not precisely define the respective areas of competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Similarly, with regard to the reference to an international conference on Cyprus, which is included in the seventh preambular paragraph of the draft resolution and was included in the fourth preambular paragraph of resolution 34/30, we would have wished to see this completely deleted. The convening of such a conference might lead to a radicalization of the positions of the parties concerned.

87. Mr. BARBOSA de MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): May I first associate myself with the condolences expressed to the delegation of Mongolia.

88. During the debate on the question of Cyprus at the thirty-fourth session, the delegation of Portugal had the opportunity to define the general framework of principles upon which, in its view, any constructive effort must be based if a solution to the Cyprus question was to be achieved [73rd meeting]. Draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 contains elements which could become part of such a framework.

89. The draft resolution also recalls the fundamental principles of international relations and the essential

the forms of the functioning of the United Nations, which my delegation has often invoked with respect to other matters discussed in the General Assembly. Thus, my delegation cannot, without contradicting its own position, refuse to support the draft resolution, although these same principles and rules prevent it from subscribing to certain affirmations in the preambular part and to paragraph 15.

90. My delegation would, however, like to emphasize its ties of friendship with all the parties concerned, and we appeal to those who, as allies, have so many common interests to exert every effort in the pursuit of dialogue in order to ensure a peaceful solution which will meet the interests of the national communities involved.

91. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Turkey will vote against draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1 because the Turkish Cypriot community feels that this text is unacceptable and cannot be taken into consideration in the intercommunal negotiations and in the relations between the two communities. Our reasons are the following.

92. First, Turkey can only support the reaffirmation of the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition and occupation of territory by force. The forces in Cyprus are forces not of occupation but of protection. In order to describe properly the origin of the question of Cyprus, it is necessary to reaffirm, rather, the principles of supremacy of the rule of law, the inviolability of international treaties and the right of self-defence. The fourth and eighth preambular paragraphs and paragraphs 1, 8, 12 and 14 are completely out of place in this text.

93. Secondly, paragraph 7 is drafted in such a way as to offer to the Greek Cypriot community and Greece opportunities which would probably be utilized by them to sabotage the intercommunal negotiations and attempt uselessly to prolong them by delaying tactics, since this text could be interpreted by the Greek Cypriot administration and by Greece as making the withdrawal of Turkish troops a pre-condition either of the continuance of negotiations or of progress in those negotiations.

94. Thirdly, the second, third, sixth and eleventh preambular paragraphs and paragraphs 5, 6 and 10 concern the bases of a solution of the Cyprus question. It should be noted that Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community accept as the basis of a solution only those provisions of United Nations resolutions which they have already expressly accepted. The provisions on which Turkey has expressed reservations at the request of the Turkish Cypriot community—particularly those in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX)—are therefore not recognized by the Turkish Cypriot community or Turkey to be relevant texts which should be taken into consideration in the search for a negotiated solution.

95. The Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey fully support the high-level agreements concluded between the two communities in 1977² and 1979¹. At the same time, the Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey greatly regret that the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980³ and the "evaluation" paper were not mentioned in the draft reso-

lution as part of the basis for the intercommunal negotiations.

96. Fourthly, the inaccuracies and assumptions in paragraphs 3 and 11 of the draft resolution are not compatible with the provisions of the high-level agreements, although these are invoked in the third preambular paragraph and paragraph 5. This is an obvious contradiction.

97. Fifthly, as regards paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, on the total demilitarization of the island, this question has already been the subject of a specific provision of the high-level agreement of 1979 and the language of this paragraph is in no way in conformity with that provision of the agreement.

98. Sixthly, the tenth preambular paragraph is totally without basis.

99. Seventhly, the ninth preambular paragraph and paragraph 9 refer to "the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks". This categorical assertion contradicts the evaluations made by the Secretary-General which appear in his official reports.

100. Eighthly, the sole basis of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General is a provision of a Security Council resolution, not the resolutions of the General Assembly. Paragraph 13 contains, therefore, statements which in no way correspond to the legal realities. The Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey have always supported the good offices mission of the Secretary-General and the intercommunal negotiations under his auspices. Paragraph 16, however, is likely to prejudice the fulfilment of that mission. The very wording of this paragraph—"intention... to pursue a renewed personal involvement"—is not in accordance with the Secretary-General's report, in which he simply says "It is my intention to strengthen my personal involvement" [A/37/805 and Corr.1, para. 5]. Thus, the reference in this paragraph to the Secretary-General's report only increases the ambiguity of the text. This paragraph is unfortunately likely to lead to interpretations based on bad faith and designed to make it possible to avoid a thorough discussion of the "evaluation" paper by recourse to new delaying tactics at the negotiating table and fallacious arguments to the effect that the only basis for these negotiations should be a future initiative of the Secretary-General. The Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey do not doubt the good intentions of the Secretary-General, but we feel that this paragraph will only encourage the Greek Cypriot side to avoid a thorough discussion of the "evaluation" paper, as the statement of the representative of the Greek Cypriot community in the Special Political Committee on 10 May [50th meeting] proved that they wish to do.

101. Ninthly, the seventh preambular paragraph is entirely out of place.

102. Tenthly, it is contrary to international law to call upon States to support the Greek Cypriot administration, which has usurped the title "Government of Cyprus", and to allow it to exercise sovereign rights over the territory administered by the Turkish Cypriot community. Such an initiative can only result in the annihilation of the Turkish Cypriot community.

103. Eleventhly, paragraph 15 contains a totally inopportune recommendation to the Security Council,

and the drafting of the sixth preambular paragraph seems destined to support this recommendation.

104. Twelfthly, the draft resolution as a whole is totally defective because it nowhere mentions the principal objective of the intercommunal talks, which is undoubtedly a sovereign, independent, territorially integrated and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, which should also be bi-communal, bi-zonal and federal, as specified in the high-level agreements and in the opening statement of the Secretary-General.

105. These are the reasons why Turkey will vote against the draft resolution, at the request of the Turkish Cypriot community, which has decided to re-evaluate its position if this draft resolution is adopted.

106. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1, submitted by the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries dealing with the Cyprus question and co-sponsored by many other countries.

107. We find that this text contains certain basic elements with regard to the realities of Cyprus and certain fundamental guidelines which might contribute to the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. As to the remarks of the Turkish representative on the content of this text, they gave the impression that the Turkish representative would be willing to vote in favour only of a draft resolution which might confirm the results of the occupation of Cyprus.

108. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): In explaining the vote of Cyprus, I would like at the outset to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries for preparing and submitting the draft resolution on Cyprus. As I have mentioned on many occasions, Cyprus owes its very existence to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Cyprus exists because of the support and solidarity of the countries of that Movement and other friends in this Assembly. The Government owes its existence as a Government, the country owes its existence as a State to the Movement, for which we are all grateful, because our very existence has been threatened by the aggressive attitude and practices of Turkey.

109. The objective of my Government has always been sovereignty, independence and freedom. This has been, and will be, our target, our objective and the unswerving orientation of the aspirations of our people.

110. Two resolutions have been adopted recently by the House of Representatives of Cyprus on this particular point, and I should like to read to this Assembly a pertinent paragraph:

“The House declares that the immutable objective of the struggle of the people of Cyprus is full independence and sovereignty, the unity of the State, the territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the safeguarding of the security of the Republic of Cyprus and all its people, and the protection of the inalienable human rights of all the citizens of the Republic. It rejects any solution resulting in the abolition of the Republic of Cyprus and the territorial integrity of Cyprus, and precludes any solution resulting in any way in the annexation of the whole or part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by any other State, the manifest or disguised partition of the Republic of

Cyprus, or the declaration of any part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus as a separate State.”

111. I believe and trust that these resolutions of the House of Representatives of Cyprus answer fully and refute the allegations and falsehoods which we have heard in this Assembly and which I answered yesterday [120th meeting] during the limited time I had in which to exercise my right of reply. By voting for the draft resolution as a whole representatives will be voting for justice, for a small State, a State Member of this Organization, which was brutally invaded and attacked by a neighbour which is at least 80 times bigger in terms of area, population and military power. The Assembly will be voting against the scourge of invasion and the occupation of territory by force, which is anathema according to the norms of international law, justice and practice.

112. I should like to read a pertinent passage from the keynote speech of one of the most eminent personalities of our time, the Prime Minister of India, as President of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March:

“Only with coexistence can there be any existence. We regard non-interference and non-intervention as basic laws of international behaviour. Yet different types of interventions, open or covert, do take place, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America. They are all intolerable and unacceptable. Interference leads to intervention and one intervention often attracts another. No single Power or group of Powers has the justification or moral authority to so interfere or intervene. You cannot condemn one instance but condone another. Each situation has its own origins. Whatever they be, solutions must be political and peaceful. All States must abide by the principle that force or the threat of force will not be used against the territorial integrity or political independence of another State.”⁴

113. Although, probably, by its vote today the Assembly will not be able to undo the injustice already done to Cyprus—because, as we all know, this Organization does not have the mechanism for implementing its decisions—at least by voting for Cyprus and justice the Assembly will show once more that it stands firm by the beliefs and principles of this Organization, that it adheres to those tenets for which the United Nations was established in the aftermath of the Second World War and that it is prepared to go on voicing and upholding those principles until the time comes when their universal application becomes possible.

114. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1. A separate vote has been requested on paragraphs 7 and 15. As I hear no objection, I take it there is no objection to that procedure. I shall put paragraph 7 to the vote first. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde,

China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Morocco, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Samoa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Paragraph 7 was adopted by 89 votes to 5, with 27 abstentions.

115. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on paragraph 15. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

Paragraph 15 was adopted by 86 votes to 8, with 25 abstentions.

116. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.63 and Add.1, as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Somalia, Turkey.

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Maldives, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution, as a whole, was adopted by 103 votes to 5, with 20 abstentions (resolution 37/253).⁵

117. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

118. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): My Government abstained in the vote on the draft resolution just adopted. We should like however to place on record that there are certain elements in it which we support. In particular, we support paragraph 16. We do so in keeping with our firm support for the Secretary-General. We very much welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to strengthen his personal involvement within the framework of his mission of good offices and to make every effort to give a fresh impetus to the negotiating process. We consider that this intention on his part, as expressed in his report and taking due account of the evaluation launched by his predecessor, deserves the wholehearted support of the international community.

119. We have, however, a number of reservations about the resolution. For example, in paragraph 2, we should have liked to see the provisions of the 1960 treaties and arrangements more accurately reflected. Similarly, in regard to paragraph 4, our position is in accordance with point 7 of the high-level agreement of

19 May 1979¹ between the two communities. We also consider that paragraph 15 is inappropriate.

120. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): During the debate on the question of Cyprus [*117th meeting*], the Austrian delegation reiterated Austria's support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. In spite of certain reservations concerning the formulation of individual paragraphs, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution. We continue to believe firmly that the best way to re-establish the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is through the continuation of patient diplomatic efforts, above all those exerted by the Secretary-General and his able collaborators, in the framework of the intercommunal talks and on the basis of the "evaluation" paper.

121. The Austrian delegation has serious misgivings as regards paragraph 15, concerning action by the Security Council, and we therefore abstained in the separate vote on that paragraph.

122. Mr. LAUGEL (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution.

123. The wording of the text, however, gives rise to some reservations on the part of my delegation which I should like to express here. My delegation wonders whether the reference in the seventh preambular paragraph to the holding of an international conference on Cyprus is opportune, at a time when the Secretary-General has just announced his renewed personal involvement in the search for a solution, creating hope of a development in the intercommunal talks, which France entirely supports.

124. The formulation of paragraphs 7 and 8 seems to the French delegation to be ambiguous. While, for France, it is legitimate to condemn, in all circumstances, foreign intervention and occupation of the territory of a sovereign State, as regards Cyprus such a situation should not slow down the efforts aimed at finding a solution that would be acceptable to the parties concerned and in keeping with the principles of the independence, sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. The ending of the present situation should not be considered the only condition of a settlement.

125. Similarly, the use in the text of the resolution just adopted by the Assembly of terms and formulations that are more appropriate to the Security Council or that mix the jurisdictions of the two organs seems questionable. More particularly, in regard to paragraph 15, while my country is aware of the necessity for assuring the application of Security Council decisions, it feels that it is up to that body itself to decide the measures to be adopted, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations to ensure such application.

126. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation is saddened by the untimely death of the Permanent Representative of Mongolia, Mr. Narkhuu, and wishes to express its heartfelt and profound condolences to our colleagues and comrades of the Permanent Mission of Mongolia.

127. The Romanian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by seven non-aligned coun-

tries, as well as of those operative paragraphs of the text on which a separate vote was taken, believing that as a whole the draft resolution reflects, in broad terms, the position of principle of Romania concerning the question of Cyprus.

128. That position, which I had the honour of presenting to the General Assembly yesterday morning [*119th meeting*], has as its point of departure the need to solve the problem of Cyprus by peaceful means, through negotiations, on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, the need to ensure the peaceful coexistence of the two communities and our support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and for the intensification of the intercommunal talks, with more active participation by the United Nations, so as to arrive at an appropriate, mutually acceptable solution in the interest of the people of Cyprus, as well as of the cause of co-operation and peace.

129. The Romanian delegation would at the same time like to emphasize that we understand that the request for the withdrawal of troops formulated in paragraph 8 of the resolution means the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the territory of Cyprus, in keeping with previous United Nations resolutions.

130. We believe that it is not only possible, but in the interest of Greece and of Turkey, of the other Balkan States and, above all, of the people of Cyprus to arrive at a political solution of the Cyprus problem—an end which the resolution we have just adopted will undoubtedly serve.

131. Mr. SHAHANKARI (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like to explain why it abstained in the votes on the draft resolution, and to reaffirm its support for a just, peaceful settlement which is acceptable to both communities of the island and responds to their hopes and aspirations, and which respects the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

132. We believe that the best means of arriving at a solution is the resumption of the intercommunal talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on a basis of equality and in accordance with the 1977² and 1979¹ agreements. My delegation believes that those two agreements constitute the most valid basis and framework for dealing with all the aspects of the problem of Cyprus.

133. We should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the indispensable role he is playing. We place our full confidence in him and his ability and commitment to ensure that the negotiations lead to a constructive result. We are pleased to note his commitment to strengthen his personal involvement in the talks and to make every effort to give a fresh impetus to the negotiating process.

134. We believe that it is necessary to avoid any course which might be prejudicial to, or influence, negotiations, and we therefore believe that we must support the Secretary-General in his efforts and give him sufficient time to find a compromise formula which will be acceptable to both communities.

135. This is why we abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

136. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt): I should like to express the sincere condolences of my delegation to the Mongolian delegation on the death of the Permanent Representative of Mongolia to the United Nations.

137. The delegation of Egypt would have liked the resolution just adopted to have been drafted in more conciliatory terms. Our central concern is that we must encourage the process of negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, and in voting in favour of the resolution as a whole we were prompted by the overall consideration that its main thrust and its positive aspects are directed to the search for a peaceful political settlement through negotiations between the Cypriot communities, on the basis of the guidelines agreed to at the highest levels by the two communities, and the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

138. We cannot but reiterate our continued hope that the will for peace—a just and, hence, lasting peace—will prevail, and we are sure that the active and personal involvement of the Secretary-General, with his intimate knowledge of the intricate issues raised and his well-known diplomatic acumen, will sustain and strengthen the peace process.

139. At this juncture, we join other delegations in earnestly appealing to all the parties concerned to do all they can, in the face of obstacles that we do not minimize, to help the delicate talks achieve their agreed objectives successfully.

140. Mr. AMARI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): In its relations with other countries of the world, Tunisia has always been guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Our consistent commitment to those principles has always been evident in this forum, where we are considering today the question of Cyprus.

141. My country, which has friendly, mutually beneficial and peaceful relations with all the parties concerned in this conflict from which Cyprus continues to suffer, cannot but feel a sense of grave concern and disquiet when it notes that long years have elapsed without the two Cypriot communities succeeding in resolving their dispute. In spite of the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the two communities have not been able to overcome the difficulties which impede the path to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and effective non-alignment.

142. We hope that, thanks to the renewed efforts of the Secretary-General, the two Cypriot communities and the other parties concerned will now more than ever before display clear goodwill and a sincere desire to undertake intercommunal talks aimed at a just and lasting solution which would finally permit the divided people of Cyprus to know peace and prosperity and once again to enjoy sovereignty and independence, without outside interference from any quarter.

143. If, today, my country appeals urgently to the two Cypriot communities and, particularly, to the other parties concerned to turn the page of the recent past, in which hatred and acrimony have often prevailed over the considerations which ought to guide every State Member of this Organization, it is because the two parties concerned have vital interests to safeguard. My country gives due value to the theses put

forward by the interested parties. Further, we believe that the resolution which we have just adopted constitutes a praiseworthy attempt to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus. Nevertheless, it contains paragraphs which could have been improved to achieve a more balanced text.

144. Accordingly, Tunisia abstained in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole, while voting in favour of paragraphs 7 and 15.

145. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I need not emphasize the importance which my country attaches to the problem of Cyprus, given the excellent, friendly relations which exist between my country and the two parties to the dispute, and also our concern to safeguard the sovereignty, security and stability of that strategic region of the world. If this question remains without a complete and lasting settlement, it could well leave a bitter mark on that region which is so close to my country. That is why we have always followed with such keen attention the debates in this Assembly on the question of Cyprus and listened carefully to the statements of all delegations on this subject.

146. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the basis of the position of principle that a peaceful settlement of this conflict should be achieved through negotiation and intercommunal talks. Our support of that draft resolution has its roots in our conviction that it contains positive elements which could lead to a peaceful, lasting and just settlement of the question of Cyprus.

147. Our support of the draft resolution is based on our position of principle and on the support we always give to all the decisions of the United Nations to settle this problem. It is based also on the fact that the draft resolution contains positive and important elements, in particular its affirmation of the need to find a peaceful and comprehensive settlement, through talks and meetings between the two communities. The resolution reaffirms the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the rights, duties and obligations of Member States and relations between them. Above all, my delegation supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in this context.

148. My delegation believes, however, that paragraphs 7 and 15 of the draft resolution are drafted in a manner that is not fully in keeping with the aspirations of the two communities regarding the solution of the problem and do not help provide the impetus needed for the resolution of this important issue. That is why we think that the international community should lay stress on the points of agreement between the two communities rather than on the points which divide them. We must bear in mind the views not of one community only but of both communities if a solution of this problem is to be found.

149. My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the initiatives he intends to undertake in continuance of his commendable efforts to bring about the settlement of the question of Cyprus. We believe that dialogue and negotiations between the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General will enable him to highlight the positive elements in the draft resolution, thus leading to a positive solution of the problem.

150. Mr. KURODA (Japan): My delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution because it contains a few paragraphs which, in our view, will not contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem. However, my Government highly appreciates the report of the Secretary-General, in which he expresses his intention to strengthen his personal involvement and make every effort to give a fresh impetus to the negotiating process.

151. My Government earnestly hopes that the inter-communal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General will be accelerated and that an early and peaceful settlement of the problem will be achieved.

152. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): First of all, we wish to express our sincere condolences to the delegation of Mongolia on the untimely death of the Permanent Representative of Mongolia to the United Nations.

153. My delegation cast a negative vote on the draft resolution as a whole. We did not participate in the separate voting on paragraphs 7 and 15. We are not at this stage in a position to go along with some of the contents of the draft resolution, which give it the appearance of being somewhat unbalanced. It is also our feeling that more time should have been allowed for the efforts of the Secretary-General and the inter-communal talks to bear fruit.

154. It is our sincere hope that wiser counsel will prevail in dealing with this complex problem and that a just and lasting solution will be found. It goes without saying that Somalia supports the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, with which we have very friendly relations.

155. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The vote of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in support of the draft resolution reflects our desire to help the two Cypriot communities find a just solution to this problem. Our support for the draft resolution cannot be interpreted as a position taken in favour of either community, but solely as representing my country's desire to reaffirm its interest in the future of Cyprus and in the well-being of both communities.

156. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya hopes that the negotiations will be resumed under United Nations auspices and that they will result in a just and honourable solution for both communities that will

guarantee the interests of each as well as the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

157. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Mongolian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution. We think that the resolution just adopted is in keeping with the interests of the people of Cyprus and that it will promote a just solution to the problem on the basis of the principle of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of that State.

158. I should like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank all the delegations that have expressed, both in their statements and personally, their profound condolences on the occasion of the untimely death of the Permanent Representative of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, Mr. Narkhuu. I shall transmit those condolences to my Government and to the family of the deceased.

Suspension of the thirty-seventh session

159. The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank all representatives for their co-operation in the work of the resumed thirty-seventh session and to thank also the members of the Secretariat.

160. In accordance with Assembly decision 37/452 of 21 December 1982, items 38 and 141 remain on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, which I now declare suspended.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369 and Add.1, para. 51.

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977*, document S/12323, para. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14100, annex.

⁴ A/38/132, annex, appendix II.

⁵ The delegations of Antigua and Barbuda and of the United Republic of Tanzania subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.