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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before resuming the debate on this item, I should like to invite the General Assembly to turn its attention to the report of the Special Political Committee [A/34/690] on the meeting which it held yesterday on this item. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Special Political Committee?

It was so decided (decision 34/408).

2. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Consistently and unswervingly supporting universal peace and the security of the peoples and favouring the strengthening of the process of international détente, the Soviet Union believes that, in order to attain these goals, it is necessary to take urgent and effective measures for the settlement of crisis situations existing in various parts of the world, including such an acute international problem as the one now under discussion, the situation in Cyprus.

3. From the very beginning of the conflict in Cyprus, the United Nations has constantly been devoting careful attention to this problem. The United Nations has clearly stated its position on the Cyprus question in a number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. As long ago as 1974, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was subsequently endorsed unanimously by the Security Council. The resolution lays down the fundamental principles for a settlement, namely: respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment; the implementation of the earliest possible withdrawal of all foreign troops and foreign military personnel from that coun-

try; the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs; the return of all the refugees to their homes in safety. In subsequent years those very important provisions were repeatedly confirmed by the General Assembly. At its previous session the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 33/15, which once again called for the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and of subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Cyprus, "which"—in the words of the resolution—"provide the valid basis for the solution of the problem of Cyprus".

4. Unfortunately, we are compelled once again to note that the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly aimed at bringing about a settlement of the Cyprus question have so far not been complied with, and this cannot fail to give rise to the most serious concern.

5. For more than five years now Cyprus has in practice been divided into two parts. There continues to exist an abnormal situation in the island caused by the artificial delay in obtaining a political settlement, the presence on the island of foreign troops and the incessant attempts by external forces to interfere in the internal affairs of the Cypriots. In disregard of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, opponents of a free and independent Cyprus are aiming at imposing upon the people of Cyprus their versions of a so-called "solution" to the crisis. The main goal of these manoeuvres is to consolidate the presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] forces in the island and create a military spring-board in the eastern Mediterranean region. It is clear that such plans essentially contradict the fundamental national interests of the Cypriots and serve to complicate even further the search for an effective settlement of the Cyprus problem.

6. The maintenance in Cyprus of dangerous tension cannot of course fail to give rise to serious concern on the part of the whole of the international community. No peoples that cherish the interests of peace and security can possibly remain indifferent to the fate of the Republic of Cyprus and its people. As representatives are well aware, the participants in the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September, called upon all States strictly to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and neutrality of the Republic of Cyprus and also called for the cessation of all foreign interference in its internal affairs and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and the cessation of any kind of military presence in the Republic of Cyprus [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 199].

7. The Soviet Union has firmly and consistently favoured the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus

as well as respect for its policy of non-alignment. It is in favour of a settlement which would bring about the demilitarization of the island, provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island and the elimination of all foreign military bases. Sensible allowance for the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus, with an unconditional respect for the principles I have just mentioned, would do a great deal to promote the attainment of a just and long-term settlement of the Cyprus problem. In our view, a constructive intercommunal dialogue could in this regard play a positive role. The possible positive results of intercommunal talks should be consolidated either by decisions of the Security Council or by the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations.

8. The Soviet Union has been and remains the partisan of a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus by the Cypriots themselves, with due protection of the interests of both the Greek and the Turkish communities. In this regard we believe it to be imperative to put an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and to call a halt to all attempts to impose upon the people of Cyprus plans and decisions worked out behind their backs and in contradiction with their interests.

9. The Soviet Union also attaches great importance to the immediate implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus and is ready for its part to promote the settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interests of its people, of security in the eastern Mediterranean and of international détente. To those ends, the Soviet Union has, as representatives know, proposed the convening within the framework of the United Nations of a representative international conference to consider the question of Cyprus.¹ The convening of such a conference could constitute a significant factor for the cause of a just settlement of the Cyprus problem and the strengthening of peace in the eastern Mediterranean.

10. The Soviet Union continues to believe that the United Nations should play a decisive active role in attaining a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, so that the Republic of Cyprus may be preserved as a sovereign, independent State with its territorial integrity intact, as is provided for by the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the question of Cyprus.

11. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, in a recent statement stressed:

"The goals of détente should be served by the settlement of such an acute international problem as the situation in Cyprus. The Soviet Union has always been in favour of such a settlement of this crisis, which would be based on the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and respect for its policy of non-alignment. We are in favour of the demilitarization of Cyprus, on the territory of which not a single foreign soldier or foreign military base should be left. We hope for the success of the intercommunal talks

at present going on in the island, and we are in favour of the implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus."

12. It is precisely the promotion of a settlement of this kind that we see as the fundamental goal of the discussion of this item in the General Assembly.

13. Mr. WILSKI (Poland): Once again the General Assembly has been compelled to inscribe the item entitled "Question of Cyprus" on its agenda. It is with a feeling of deep regret and disappointment that we have noted this fact, particularly since, during the year that has elapsed since last year's debate, we have witnessed certain encouraging developments, so ably assisted by the Secretary-General of our Organization, which added to our hopes and expectation that resolution 33/15 would be among the last, if not in fact the last, adopted by the General Assembly on this question. Alas, as we all know, these hopes have failed to materialize.

14. Our concern over the existing situation not only stems from the fact that the time is long overdue for finding a solution that will finally bring peace, stability and justice to the people of Cyprus, although this reason alone would suffice to justify our position; it is also based on our profound conviction that in order to facilitate and speed up the implementation of the principal task of the United Nations—namely, to consolidate and deepen international détente and extend it to all regions of our globe—we have to eliminate conflicts and hotbeds of tension wherever they may exist. One of them is indeed the still unresolved question of Cyprus, which, as pointed out in resolution 33/15 of 9 November 1978, "continues to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security".

Mr. Sharif (Somalia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

15. As we have already stated, Poland believes that all the practical foundations for a just and lasting resolution of the Cyprus question are contained in numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In resolution 33/15 they are summarized very succinctly: support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, immediate withdrawal from it of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence, urgent resumption in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, abstinence by the parties concerned from any unilateral action that might adversely affect the solution of the problem.

16. What we need, therefore, to achieve a speedy solution of the Cyprus problem is urgent and effective implementation in good faith of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

17. Of particular importance for the resolution of the internal aspect of the question under discussion are the intercommunal talks, for long now recognized as providing the best forum for the discussion of the complex issues at stake. It was therefore with deep satisfaction that the world community learned last May that an agreement for their resumption had been reached in Nicosia. Welcoming the agreement, in operative paragraph 2 of its resolution 451 (1979), the Security Council urged the parties:

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

“... to proceed with the intercommunal talks within the framework of the ten-point agreement in a continuing, sustained and result-oriented manner, avoiding any delay”.

18. However, as the Assembly is aware, since mid-June last there has been no further progress in this regard. We deeply deplore this situation and share the position of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, set out in its political declaration as follows:

“The Conference expressed its support for the ten-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. Denktas, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General and called for the immediate resumption of the talks between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner, to be conducted without any foreign interference and on an equal footing, on the basis of the above-mentioned agreement and in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement.” [A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 198.]

19. As far as the external aspects of the Cyprus question are concerned, here also Poland's position remains unchanged: we strongly believe that the prompt convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations would contribute greatly towards the working out of a viable and lasting solution to the problem. Let me recall that this proposal continues to receive the full support of the Government of Cyprus, as expressed by President Kyprianou in his address to this Assembly on 1 October, when he said:

“We reiterate our acceptance of this proposal because we believe that it has much merit and we hope that the General Assembly will take a decision for the holding of such a conference, which we believe can prove very constructive in tackling the problem of Cyprus.” [15th meeting, para. 46.]

20. We welcome the reiteration by President Kyprianou of his proposal of last year for the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Cyprus,² the implementation of which would, as we have stated before, contribute towards the creation of a favourable atmosphere, both internally and externally, and the building up of mutual confidence between the two Cypriot communities.

21. We have also noted with great interest President Kyprianou's proposal for the appointment of a committee [*ibid.*, para. 47] to co-operate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in finding a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions [*ibid.*, para. 47]. Indeed, this proposal merits most careful consideration.

22. A speedy and mutually acceptable solution of the Cyprus problem based upon both considerations of principle and the practical measures I mentioned earlier

in my statement has to be found lest the question of Cyprus should continue to be a perennial item on our agenda, undermining the authority and prestige of the United Nations and confronting us with the ever-increasing threat of a conflagration likely to endanger even more gravely international peace and security.

23. We wish to express our earnest hope that the Member States concerned will not fail to undertake urgent and determined efforts in this direction. For our part, we stand ready to co-operate in the efforts the international community may wish to undertake with a view to speeding up a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus question.

24. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): On behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, I should like to express our concern at the fact that, although another year has passed since we last discussed the question of Cyprus in the General Assembly, little real progress seems to have been made towards a solution to the problem of that island.

25. We find this lack of progress all the more disturbing because the situation in Cyprus is one which is of particular interest to the nine members, in view of our very close contacts not only with Cyprus and its people, but also with Greece and Turkey. We have great sympathy with the hardships endured by the people of Cyprus and are very anxious to see an early settlement which will be acceptable to both sides in the conflict.

26. The nine members greatly welcomed the agreement reached between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas on 19 May of this year when they met in Nicosia under the auspices of the Secretary-General [A/34/620 and Corr.1, annex V]. The commitment of both parties to resuming intercommunal talks in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay, was considered by the nine members to have been a breakthrough in a situation which had been stalemated for too long. We have consistently put forward our common view that only direct negotiations between the parties concerned can lead to a settlement which guarantees the territorial integrity, the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. Thus we also welcomed the undertaking of both sides to refrain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks.

27. It was with considerable disappointment, therefore, that we learned of the suspension of the resumed talks in June of this year. However real and serious may be the points of disagreement between the parties which prompted this suspension, the interruption of these talks can only be viewed by the international community as a backward step for Cyprus and its people.

28. The nine members have been aware of the considerable efforts expended by the Secretary-General since June to get the talks restarted. We would like to express our deep appreciation of the Secretary-General's work in this regard and our continued support for his efforts. We recognize the patience and perseverance exhibited by the Secretary-General and his representatives in the execution of his mandate in Cyprus and we continue to attach great importance to the role of his good offices in assisting the parties concerned in their search for a lasting settlement. We regret that, as on previous occasions, the parties have not made full use of the

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting, para. 145.

assistance thus offered them by the United Nations. The nine Community members believe that, while the United Nations can encourage and support the efforts of both sides to reconcile their differences, it is still direct negotiations between the parties concerned, within the framework already established, which offer the best hope of a solution.

29. We note from the Secretary-General's helpful report on the question of Cyprus [A/34/620 and Corr.1] that there is already a certain amount of common ground between the two sides. It remains to translate this common ground into a lasting and mutually acceptable settlement. This will require an imaginative and statesmanlike approach from the parties concerned and, above all, a willingness to negotiate directly. We can only hope that the prospect of the alternative, which is, in the Secretary-General's words, "an indefinite continuation of the *status quo*, with all the instabilities, frustrations and potential dangers implicit in it" [*ibid.*, para. 33], will encourage both sides to meet this challenge. The nine European countries call upon both sides to resume the suspended negotiations on the basis of the guidelines to which they have already agreed, in accordance with the proposals made by the Secretary-General.

30. In conclusion, I should like to put on record once again our appreciation of the work of UNFICYP, in which several countries members of the European Community participate and which plays a significant role in the maintenance of peace in Cyprus.

31. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): A year has elapsed since our last debate on the "Question of Cyprus" and this problem has been urgently raised again in order that it may be considered by the General Assembly. It goes without saying that the tense situation that exists in Cyprus and that has existed for several years, becoming even more complex and explosive following the events of 1974, is first of all a cause of great concern for the people of Cyprus themselves. But this situation is also of concern, quite rightly, to peoples that love peace and justice. We could not remain unconcerned and indifferent in the face of the hardships that have already sorely tried the Cypriot people, or in the face of the adverse circumstances which now bedevil the Republic of Cyprus.

32. The Cypriot people, who have suffered a great deal over a long period from colonial domination, have unfortunately not yet found the necessary tranquillity nor attained all the conditions which would allow them to devote themselves entirely to working for their own well-being and progress in their own independent and sovereign State.

33. The Albanian people, who harbour sentiments of sincere friendship towards both communities of the Cypriot people, have always followed with concern and attention the development of events and the situation in Cyprus. The Albanian people and their Government have always expressed the wish that a just and lasting solution might be found for the problems in Cyprus, and that the Cypriot people might once again as soon as possible recover peace, stability and harmony and that they might lead a normal life having rid themselves for ever of the possibility of once again falling victim to the ambitions and intrigues of the imperialist Powers as was their fate so often heretofore.

34. But, to our regret, we must observe that the problems of Cyprus have not as yet proved susceptible of solution and the difficulties which hinder all progress along the path towards such a solution have not diminished to the extent that was hoped. The tense and explosive situation in Cyprus continues. The Cypriot people continue to undergo the adverse effects of the serious events which have taken place thus far. Cyprus, furthermore, remains a hotbed of tension and conflict in the region of the eastern Mediterranean.

35. It is quite clear that the just and lasting settlement of the question of Cyprus is a matter of the greatest importance. This settlement is even more urgent as the risks of subsequent aggravation of the situation in Cyprus and the surrounding areas may increase with the deterioration of the general international situation and on account of the intensification of the aggressive, expansionist policy of the super-Powers, their rivalry and their bargaining in pursuit of domination of and hegemony over the world.

36. When we think of the main factors which have been and still are at the root of all the evils which are afflicting the Cypriot people, we should note first of all that the crisis in Cyprus is the result of American-Soviet rivalry for hegemony and the apportionment of zones of influence in the eastern Mediterranean. If the American imperialists lit the fire of the conflict in Cyprus in order to attain their ambition to transform the island into a military base and a stronghold of the aggressive NATO bloc, the social-imperialist Soviets hastened to benefit from the situation as well, in order to ensure political and military advantages for themselves in the eastern Mediterranean.

37. The geographical position of Cyprus in the Mediterranean, where the two imperialist super-Powers maintain large fleets for military aggression, and its proximity to another region of tension, the Middle East, whets the appetite and covetousness of the United States and the Soviet Union, which are seeking to ensure bases and bastions for their activities of expansion and penetration in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East and in the Balkans.

38. The two imperialist super-Powers have often pretended to be working for a solution of the problem of Cyprus, but American diplomatic manoeuvres or plans such as the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference on Cyprus are intended only to keep the situation unstable in that country in order that it may favour the pursuit of the super-Powers' game to the detriment of the Cypriot people.

39. The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always observed a clear attitude of principle towards the question of Cyprus. Our country has always firmly condemned the intrigues and plots of the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers which endanger the rights and interests of the Cypriot people and work against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

40. We have always thought that a just and lasting solution of the question of Cyprus was necessary not only to put an end to the dangerous situation in that country and to enable the Cypriot people to lay the foundations for a new and better life, but also to avert

any possibility of adverse or dangerous complications for all the other countries in the area. The solution of the problem of Cyprus would eliminate a hotbed of tension in the Mediterranean and a factor that exercises a negative influence on the situation in the Balkans.

41. We realize that the problems confronting the Cypriot people and the State of Cyprus are numerous indeed and not easily solved, and that the adversaries of a just and lasting solution of those problems are trying to prevent such a solution. It is clear that before the attainment of a solution of a question such as that of Cyprus a difficult path remains to be trod. The Cypriot people has encountered numerous obstacles along this path and it is absolutely clear that it will have to deploy a great deal of effort and to act with great determination in order to prepare the conditions necessary for the final solution of the problem.

42. We were and remain convinced that it is only the Cypriot people which can find a solution to this undesirable, grave and disquieting situation which persists in its country. It is for that people and it alone to decide on its destiny, according to its will, its present and future interests, its political inclination, protected from any attempt at interference in its internal affairs and from the imposition of any solution by foreign Powers. This means that the interests of the Cypriot people demand that it should be left free to settle its own internal affairs in conformity with the fundamental rights of the two communities inhabiting the island of Cyprus.

43. We believe that the establishment and strengthening of mutual understanding, confidence and harmony between the two communities provides the only sure way to bring about a real settlement of the problem of Cyprus. It is by the pursuit of such a course that, we believe, the harmful complexes created in Cyprus by the enemies of the Cypriot people can be removed and the dangerous intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers blocked.

44. The Albanian delegation would like to emphasize once again that it welcomes any step that would contribute to the establishment of harmony and understanding between the two communities.

45. To conclude, we should like to reiterate that the Albanian Government is constant in abiding by its immutable position of promoting respect for the freedom, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Cyprus.

46. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): We cannot but note with regret that no substantive progress towards a solution of the Cyprus question has been made in the period under review. This question continues to figure in unchanged form on the agenda of the General Assembly. This causes us serious concern and stimulates deeper thought, all the more since the framework and principles for the settlement of this question have been agreed on and laid down in talks between the highest representatives of the two communities and in a number of United Nations resolutions, in particular in resolution 3212 (XXIX).

47. There is no doubt that the continuance of this crisis jeopardizes peace and stability not only in Cyprus

but in the wider Mediterranean region as well. We should not labour under the illusion that the solution of this crisis can be postponed indefinitely without negative consequences. We should not and we cannot let the international community become accustomed to a state of long-lasting violation of the sovereign rights of a State that is beginning to assume the character of prolonged uncertainty. This is both a moral and political obligation for us that we can meet only by constant and all-round active involvement in seeking a solution of this crisis. We view the present debate also primarily from this angle.

48. The Yugoslav positions concerning the Cyprus crisis are well known as they have been set forth repeatedly in this forum. This was done recently in the general debate by the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia who placed the problem of Cyprus within the context of the "right [of all peoples] to self-determination, to independence and sovereignty without foreign interference" [see 13th meeting, para. 129], and considered that "a just and durable solution of this crisis can only be found through peaceful means, by implementing the relevant resolutions of the United Nations" [*ibid.*, para. 130]. He emphasized in particular that

"This calls for agreement between the two communities leading to the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and ensuring the equality and well-being of those two communities and the harmony of their life together." [*Ibid.*]

49. What is involved here, therefore, are all the elements that characterize the situation in Cyprus. Consequently, we are faced with a crisis that is continuing and having a wider negative impact. We are faced also with the presence of foreign troops and military personnel on the territory of a sovereign and independent country, a State Member of the United Nations, and with the division of a country that is deprived of its basic sovereign rights. At the same time, attempts at imposing unilateral solutions and transforming a temporary state into a permanent one are increasing in number. The worst aspect in all this is that one cannot discern any immediate prospects of change in the existing situation, a fact that has the effect of exacerbating contradictions, increasing tensions, deepening distrust between the two communities and complicating the process of negotiations. All this creates favourable ground for the action of forces that are not interested in seeing the crisis resolved. The elements that I have just outlined are certainly not encouraging.

50. The non-aligned countries have, from the beginning of the crisis, been lending full moral support, in accordance with the well-known principles of the policy of non-alignment, to the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. They have always considered the question in all its aspects with particular attention, not only because of its serious character as an area of crisis, but also because of the fact that the independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus is of paramount interest to all members of the movement.

51. All the documents of the non-aligned Conferences refer to the following basic points: the imperative need

to implement United Nations resolutions, the promotion of negotiations between the two communities, on equal terms, with a view to the attainment of and respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; the withdrawal of foreign armed forces and every other military presence from the Republic of Cyprus; and the cessation of all unilateral actions aimed at altering the premises of a just solution. The positions adopted at the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, also accentuated this. Furthermore, that Conference expressed its support for the 10-point agreement reached between the representative of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and called for

“... the immediate resumption of the talks between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner, to be conducted without any foreign interference and on an equal footing, on the basis of the above-mentioned agreement and in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement.”
[A/34/542 annex, sect. I, para. 198.]

52. My delegation believes that the 10-point agreement represents an essentially new movement in the relations between the two communities, with regard both to the substance of the problem and to the course to be followed towards its solution. Of course, it would not have been possible to reach this agreement if, in addition to the constructive approach of the representatives of the two communities, the other parties involved had not made a positive contribution to that end. The Secretary-General played an important role in promoting this agreement and we want to give him credit for this and to pledge our support for his further efforts. Developments after the agreement, as also noted by the Secretary-General in his report, have revealed not only the existence of great difficulties in the way of implementing it but also the existence of certain unchanged common positions regarding some essential elements.

53. In our opinion there still exist some unchanged positive elements, on which our further efforts can and should be based, although no tangible results have yet been achieved in the sense of a final solution of the question of Cyprus. They can, of course, be implemented only if all the parties, and above all those acting from a position of strength, tackle the problem of settling the Cyprus crisis on the basis of the generally accepted principles embodied in United Nations resolutions and in keeping with the legitimate interests of both communities.

54. Besides the agreed positions on elements contained in the 10-point agreement, there also exists, at least ostensibly, basic agreement among all parties concerned on the final objectives to be attained, on the acceptance of the active role of the United Nations as manifested by the presence of peace-keeping forces and the activity of the Secretary-General and on the joint acceptance of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) as an immutable framework and basis embodying all the essential elements and principles for the solution of the

Cyprus crisis. Respect by all States and forces for the provisions and principles contained in this resolution is a condition of finding a durable and just settlement of the Cyprus crisis.

55. Yugoslavia has always attached particular importance to the resolution of the Cyprus question. Our interest is derived from our consistent dedication to the principles of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of every State and from our deep conviction that only a free, independent and non-aligned Cyprus can become an indispensable factor of stability in the Mediterranean region and beyond. Our efforts to reach a solution to the Cyprus problem are also prompted by the fact that we belong to the same region and that we maintain and wish to develop still further—very friendly relations with Cyprus and the other countries of the region.

56. The basic question now is, what remains to be done in order to change the situation? We believe that there is no substitute for talks between the two Cypriot communities and the indispensable withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

57. First of all, the two communities could and should strive to find a solution. A solution can be durable only if it is based on their lasting interests and legitimate aspirations. In this respect, resolution 3212 (XXIX) and the recent 10-point agreement provide a mutually accepted framework and basis for the talks. For the successful outcome of the talks it is necessary to create conditions that will ensure that the talks are free, that they are conducted on an equal footing and that they are based on concrete proposals with a clearly defined common aim, namely, the establishment of a common State in which the rights and interests of both Cypriot communities will be guaranteed.

58. It is also necessary to refrain from any unilateral acts likely to alter the substantive determinants of the Cyprus issue and render impossible the search for a lasting and just solution. There is no substitute for the settlement which can and should come from Cyprus itself, since it is the two communities that live together and are linked by destiny that are primarily called upon to create the conditions for their coexistence in equality and harmony. Otherwise they may be faced with solutions imposed from outside that could be at variance with their lasting interests. We do not advocate the copying of any specific model, as in this ever more diverse world of ours there are a large number of inspiring examples of coexistence between peoples and nations, regardless of past and present contradictions. The United Nations cannot remain passive in that process; it should create the conditions for, and work towards, the implementation of its own resolutions. An active role for the United Nations is indispensable, here as elsewhere, in order to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of small and militarily and economically weak countries.

59. In conclusion, I wish to stress that my country will continue to work actively for a solution conducive to the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the decisions of the United Nations.

60. Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again, as in so many previous years, the General Assembly is considering the question of Cyprus. As previous speakers have pointed out, the past year has not yielded any tangible results in a solution of the Cyprus problem. Time, usually described as a healer of wounds, has in fact only worsened the abnormal situation existing in Cyprus. The island Republic, which was the victim in 1974 of an anti-Government revolt inspired by NATO and subsequently of an armed foreign invasion, continues to be artificially divided into two parts, north and south.

61. As a result, the complicated internal and external problems of that country have remained unresolved for some years now and the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus have all suffered. Foreign troops and foreign military bases still remain on its territory. Attempts are being made to undermine the policy of non-alignment followed by Cyprus.

62. We believe that constructive intercommunal dialogue could play a positive role in promoting the attainment of a just and durable settlement, taking into account in a sensible manner the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus.

63. All those who have a genuine interest in seeing a just settlement of the Cyprus problem, those who not only in words but in deeds really nurture the interests of peace in Europe, have welcomed with great hope and have been following closely any positive measure aimed at overcoming inertia, making progress towards the settlement of the crisis and creating favourable prospects for restoring justice.

64. Unfortunately, the early solution of the Cyprus problem is meeting resistance in certain foreign circles, primarily the North Atlantic military bloc, which is striving to convert Cyprus into a tool of its aggressive policy in the eastern Mediterranean and into a strategic bastion giving access to the States of that region and to the Middle East.

65. The members of that bloc want to turn the course of events to their own advantage in their own strategic interests. They are striving to remove the Cyprus question from the field of vision of world public opinion and to turn it into a "family affair" of the NATO partners. They seek to link the process of the settlement with manoeuvres by the West that are totally alien to the interests and aspirations of Cyprus.

66. It is obvious that all that will come of the talks on the Cyprus problem in the closed circle of States belonging to that military-political bloc is new dangers for the Cypriot people. Such a settlement, brought about behind the backs of the people of Cyprus, could lead only to further complications in the situation obtaining in the country.

67. The immediate cessation of all foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus is without doubt the essential prerequisite for the successful normalization of the situation in the island.

68. A solution to the Cyprus problem—and this is something that my delegation has been saying and continues to say with great conviction and vigour—must be based on unswerving compliance with the decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus and on respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of that State. The problem must be solved without any attempts at foreign intervention. This means that it is imperative to withdraw all foreign armed forces from the territory of the island and eliminate all military bases: in short, it means the total demilitarization of Cyprus. We believe that a just and lasting settlement in the island could be brought about at an international conference on Cyprus, as has been repeatedly proposed by many delegations.

69. Observance of these conditions would lead not only to a just and democratic solution to the Cyprus problem but also to the elimination of a dangerous hotbed of tension in the eastern Mediterranean and the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

70. Mr. MANSOURI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly has now been examining the problem of Cyprus for six years. The numerous resolutions adopted by the Assembly, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was adopted unanimously and subsequently endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974), which constitutes the appropriate framework for the solution of the problem of Cyprus, as well as the resolutions adopted subsequently by the General Assembly, have all remained dead letters.

71. Our delegation has examined the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/34/620 and Corr.1. We should like to thank the Secretary-General for his untiring diplomatic efforts, particularly in the course of this year, to reconcile the views of the parties in the conflict and to bring about a resumption of the negotiations by the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Those efforts were designed to ensure application of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in order to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the problem, based on respect for the legitimate interests of the two communities and the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

72. We also wish to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, services it has provided for thousands of refugees from both communities. We hope that the eagerly-awaited negotiations will be resumed by the two communities, because we believe they could lead to the ending of the displacement and suffering of the people of Cyprus.

73. The Syrian Arab Republic desires to strengthen its ties of friendship and co-operation with the people of Cyprus in all spheres. We have always in the past supported the struggle of the people of Cyprus and we reaffirm today our support for the Cypriot people in their struggle and their efforts to find a just and lasting solution to their problem, based on the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

74. During the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, our delegation supported a solution of the Cypriot problem based on the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

75. Our delegation believes that an atmosphere of mutual trust must be created and that the doubts that exist between the parties must be dissipated so that the ties of friendship that have united the two communities throughout their history may be re-established. That coexistence must be re-established and encouraged and must take precedence over every other consideration. We could not accept any classification of national or international entities on the basis of creed or community because that would lead only to chauvinism and discrimination. History has shown that the international community of today neither admits nor accepts reasoning that consists in dividing unified national political entities on the basis of creed, community or race.

76. In paragraph 29 of his report the Secretary-General says:

“The agreement reached under my auspices at the conclusion of the high-level meeting in Nicosia on 19 May was a considerable advance”.³ [A/34/620, para. 29.]

In paragraph 33 of the same report, the Secretary-General stresses the urgent need for negotiations with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable, just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Those resolutions have been accepted by all the parties to the conflict. Therefore even greater efforts must be made to speed up the process of negotiation between the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and on a constructive basis that is acceptable to both communities. These negotiations should be undertaken on an equal footing, in full freedom and without any foreign interference, and should be based on over-all and specific proposals put forward by the two communities with the object of reaching an agreement that will guarantee their legitimate interests. Moreover, those negotiations should take place within the framework of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and be based on the principle of non-alignment.

77. In conclusion, let me state that what our country, the Syrian Arab Republic, would like to see is a Middle East in which peace reigns, and a Mediterranean area free from any conflicts, founded on equity, the realization of legitimate rights and the elimination of aggression and its causes. Such a situation can be achieved only through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

78. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): Ever since 1963 our General Assembly has regularly had before it the item on Cyprus, which has been one of the problems that have caused constant concern to the United Nations, which is eager to achieve, by all possible means, a negotiated, just and lasting settlement of the dispute between the two Cypriot communities on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island.

79. All efforts to that end have been virtually in vain. Cyprus continues to be a hotbed of severe tension, without any apparent sign of a forthcoming political solution. The situation has been complicated by the continued presence of foreign troops, which, by intervening directly, if only by their mere presence, or indirectly, by inflaming existing rivalries and passions, have been blocking any solution which the antagonists might well have achieved by themselves had they been left alone.

80. Of course, this state of affairs constitutes flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations. It is indeed a classic case of aggression, armed intervention and illegal military occupation of the territory of a State, in flagrant violation of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

81. So far, no legally acceptable grounds have been invoked by the occupying Power to justify its action. The General Assembly was so keenly aware of this that, on the basis of the immutable principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a Member State and of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of another State, it adopted a whole series of resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and all foreign interference in its internal affairs.

82. But it is not only the General Assembly that has been concerned with the situation in Cyprus. The Security Council, in turn, eager to discharge its responsibilities in safeguarding international peace and security, by its resolution 365 (1974) reaffirmed these fundamental principles for a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

83. In spite of everything, however, those resolutions, which were a kind of echo of the will of the international community, had no effect.

84. In the face of that deadlock, the Secretary-General, whom we take pleasure in congratulating on his tireless efforts for peace, undertook a series of measures to narrow the differences between the two parties. Unfortunately, his initiatives have yet to yield the hoped-for results, although the 19 May agreement, which laid the foundations for the intercommunal negotiations [A/34/620 and Corr.1, annex V], could have constituted a favourable start for the early settlement of the conflict. We were therefore deeply disappointed to learn that the talks were broken off almost as soon as they began. It is our hope that they will be resumed as soon as possible, and we support any action that would lead to their resumption, convinced as we are that the withdrawal of foreign troops would create a climate much more conducive to constructive dialogue. After all, it is not always easy for a Government to negotiate while its territory is under foreign military occupation.

85. My country, which has made non-intervention a cardinal principle of its foreign policy, has always opposed all forms of interference in the domestic affairs of other States. Whether in Africa, Latin America, Asia or Europe, we have always resolutely condemned aggression committed by one State against another, irrespective of the pretext. We deplore the present state of affairs in Cyprus and very much fear that it may create a *fait accompli* which can only be detrimental to the interests of the United Nations and also of small States, the only guarantee of whose existence is the strict ap-

³ Quoted in English by the Speaker.

plication of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States.

86. We are ready to support any fresh efforts that will make it possible for the two Cypriot communities, free from all outside pressure, to resume their dialogue with a view to fruitful reconciliation and the reconstruction of their common homeland.

87. Mr. BARTON (Canada): In each of the last five years we have discussed the continuing problems of Cyprus in plenary session in the General Assembly and this year is no exception. The world community remains faced with a serious problem that affects not only the inhabitants of Cyprus itself but the security of the eastern Mediterranean as well.

88. The past year has been both encouraging and disappointing: encouraging because a new basis for negotiations was laid as a result of the 19 May agreement between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş to resume the intercommunal talks; disappointing because, once renewed, the talks lasted a mere week before being adjourned.

89. Canada retains a deep and active concern for and interest in the affairs of Cyprus. We do so from our concern for the peace and security of that part of the world. We sympathize strongly with Cyprus, a fellow member of the Commonwealth, in the unfortunate situation in which it finds itself. But, most important, we are directly concerned as a result of our participation in UNFICYP.

90. That the military situation remains calm in Cyprus is a tribute to the dedication of the entire membership of UNFICYP, soldiers and civilians alike. We are proud of the contribution they continue to make, but we continue to be concerned that a peace-making process should accompany peace-keeping on the island. If troop contributors are to retain their faith in the value of peace-keeping, the parties concerned must exert greater will and determination in the search for an acceptable solution to the problems of Cyprus. My country—and we are not alone in this—cannot be expected to continue its participation in UNFICYP indefinitely unless we see some indication that a negotiated settlement can be reached by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the meantime, the financial situation of UNFICYP remains parlous. Once again we urge Member States to provide financial support to the peace-keeping force on Cyprus. Activities in aid of international peace and security are the responsibility of all States Members of this Organization, and the case of Cyprus is no exception.

91. We were encouraged by the 19 May agreement between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş. This agreement constitutes a valuable basis on which serious and sustained—and I emphasize the word “sustained”—intercommunal talks can take place, encompassing as it does the guidelines agreed to by Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktaş at the meeting of 12 February 1977⁴ and the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning Cyprus. We offer our congratulations to all those involved in the process which resulted in the agreement,

especially the Secretary-General and his staff, without whose efforts this agreement would not have been possible. What has been discouraging is that the opportunity presented by the resumption of talks on 15 June was allowed to drift away because of the difficulties which emerged at the negotiating table. A continuation of the present situation is dangerous. The Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization this year points out that the *status quo* “tends to create a dynamic of its own, which does not necessarily facilitate an agreed solution” [see A/34/1, sect. III], and that is an understatement. We strongly support the approach that the Secretary-General takes in his report on Cyprus and the recommendation he makes that the intercommunal talks on the basis of the 19 May agreement should be resumed no later than January 1980 [see A/34/620 and Corr.1, para. 32]. We would underline two points dealt with in the 19 May agreement, namely, priority for reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under United Nations auspices and initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and a return to normal conditions. Progress on those two points would lead to an immediate and tangible improvement in the lives of Cypriots; it would as well break the dynamic of the *status quo* and pave the way to reaching agreement on the underlying constitutional and territorial issues.

92. Our objective is to obtain a political settlement in Cyprus as quickly as possible. For this purpose the one indispensable element is the agreement of the two parties. If they can agree, nothing is impossible; if they disagree, nothing else will produce a solution. All the rest of us can do is try to help.

93. In theory, there are various ways in which, under the Charter, that could be done. In fact, however, there is only one mechanism that has been agreed to so far: to use the good offices of the Secretary-General to assist the dialogue between the communities. This device has in fact produced a modest but important success in dealing with a problem where success has been notably absent thus far. The Secretary-General, to judge from his report, clearly believes his services could be of further use in the near future. My delegation certainly agrees.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

94. The next question is, does the Secretary-General need further help at this stage? Various ideas have been put forward which are designed for this purpose. We have considered them carefully, consulting others, because our object is always a political solution through the intercommunal dialogue and we do not reject in principle any device which we are convinced would serve this purpose. For the present, however, we see no such suggestion that is likely to be useful. The suggestion of an international conference we consider likelier to distract than aid the dialogue between the communities. The concept of a committee we find difficult to envisage working in practice to aid the Secretary-General, however much that might be the sincere intention of the participants. In these circumstances, we intend to support by our vote only the sort of resolution that, in our view, is likely to help the dialogue and help the Secretary-General; proposals likely to have the opposite effect we will vote against. Apart from our concern to see a political settlement in the island, it is only in such a

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977, document S/12323, para. 5.*

way that we can justify the continued participation of Canadian forces in UNFICYP, where they have now served for 15 years.

95. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

96. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I cannot refrain from setting straight for the record certain inaccuracies in the statement of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Greece that we heard this morning [70th meeting].

97. He expressed an objection to my qualifying the Turkish forces temporarily in Cyprus as peace-keeping forces. In fact that is what they are. As can be seen from all the reports of the Secretary-General, up to 1974, there was no peace and no tranquillity in Cyprus until that year, and peace has prevailed in the island since the arrival of the Turkish peace force. UNFICYP proved unable, by its very structure, to prevent hostilities and bloodshed between the two communities on many occasions, such as the Grivas onslaught of 1967, when Grivas was sent from the mainland of Greece. Nor was it able to prevent the invasion of the island by Greek forces from the mainland in 1974.

98. The Under-Secretary maintained that the temporary presence of 25,000 troops in Cyprus—temporary until a negotiated settlement is reached—continued to pose a threat to the Republic. I respectfully submit that the real threat to the Republic comes from the illegal Greek Cypriot National Guard, the private armies, such as the one of Mr. Lyssarides, and the fact that, but for the presence of the Turkish peace force, the Greek Cypriots could rapidly mobilize 45,000 men and systematically proceed to annihilate the Turks of Cyprus, as they have tried to do in the past, in order to put an end to the independence of Cyprus and annex it to Greece. I would add that, while the Under-Secretary seems to have some information concerning the numbers of the Turkish peace force, there is no information concerning the size of the Greek national military personnel that are serving in large numbers in Cyprus. The Secretary-General states in paragraph 21 of his latest report [A/34/620 and Corr.1] that he has no firm figures on that presence.

99. As for the problems incidental to an unfortunate and, we hope, temporary division of the island which were mentioned by Mr. Zaimis, I suggest that he should read the letters on those questions addressed by the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus to the Secretary-General. Those problems, like the ones affecting the Maronite Community, the Greek students in the north and the functions of the International Red Cross have been and are now being ironed out through the auspices of the Turkish force. The attempt by the Greek Cypriot régime to declare unlawful the circulation of postal matter bearing the stamps of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, through a decision of the Universal Postal Union taken on 19 September 1979 in the course of its last Congress, held at Rio de Janeiro, has met with a negative response in the international community.

100. The Under-Secretary referred to the fact that the euphoria created by the 19 May agreement was dispelled very soon afterwards. This is unfortunately true, but it

was not due to anything said or done by the Turkish community. It was brought about rather by the action of the Greek Cypriot leadership which, within a week of the start of the talks—before the ink on the agreement was dry—had run to the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo [A/34/357], in contravention of point 6 of the agreement, thus choosing the delusive path of international forums—those of Colombo, Lusaka and Havana, and now the General Assembly—rather than that of meaningful negotiations in good faith.

101. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): I merely wish to state at this time that my delegation will reply on Monday to the allegations and the distortions of truth which the representative of Turkey included in his replies of yesterday and today.

AGENDA ITEM 51

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PART I) [A/34/691]

102. Mr. MESALLATI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We appreciate the opportunity to speak before the General Assembly on behalf of the group of Arab States on a question of great urgency. We have been shocked at the recent arrest by the Zionist occupation authorities of Mr. Bassam Shaka'a, the Mayor of Nablus in the occupied West Bank, with a view to expelling him from his country.

103. The Zionist occupation authorities committed this inhuman act because Mr. Shaka'a made a statement in which he is alleged to have expressed his sympathies with the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. We know that this is a pretext completely without foundation. The purpose behind this barbaric act, which is completely contrary to the most elementary of human rights, was to silence every patriotic Palestinian voice opposing the Zionist occupation of occupied Arab territories and formed part of a series of calculated actions aimed at the elimination of all Palestinian leadership and the silencing of every voice heard in protest against the Camp David agreements,⁵ which the Palestinian people have rejected.

104. The action undertaken by the Zionist occupation authorities against Mr. Shaka'a is a clear attempt to terrorize every voice that expresses opposition to the so-called self-rule in the occupied Arab territories, in accordance with the Camp David agreements, which deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination. Such measures by the Zionist entity in the occupied Arab territories—which also include driving out the Arab population and expanding the Israeli settlements there—clearly show that the Zionist entity disregards the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

105. The arrest of Mr. Shaka'a, in order to deport him from the country and to dismiss him from his post as

⁵ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

Mayor of Nablus, despite the fact that he was elected by the Palestinian people, is part of a series of inhuman practices engaged in by the racist Zionists, who are trying to stifle Palestinian public opinion and suppress freedom of expression, an entirely legitimate freedom which is recognized by the United Nations. Furthermore, this practice pursued by the Zionist entity authorities with regard to Mr. Shaka'a is in serious and flagrant violation of article 49 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁶ which prohibits deportation from one's homeland.

106. The international community, today more than ever before, should put an end to these practices which infringe the fundamental human rights of the people in the occupied Arab territories. It should also boldly face up to its responsibilities in order to put an end to the tragic plight of the peoples of the occupied Arab territories; and it should take measures to preserve human rights, which are being violated every day by the racist Zionists. The group of Arab States has authorized me to express its grave concern about and condemnation of this grave violation of international law, which clearly reveals the true designs of the Zionist entity in flouting elementary human rights. From this rostrum I call upon the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, to take urgent measures to prevent the Zionist authorities from deporting Mr. Shaka'a.

107. The Assembly has before it the report of the Special Political Committee [A/34/691] which contains, in paragraph 7, a draft resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority in the Special Political Committee. We hope that it may speedily be adopted by the General Assembly.

108. Mr. BLUM (Israel): A draft resolution was adopted yesterday in the Special Political Committee in great haste and with utter disrespect for the relevant rules of procedure. Today that draft resolution has been rushed to the General Assembly, which is now called upon to discuss it and vote upon it. There was—and is—no good reason whatsoever for all this haste and panic.

109. The matter with which the General Assembly is now being called upon to deal is *sub judice* in the Supreme Court of Israel, sitting as a high court of justice. The question of the deportation of Mr. Bassam Shaka'a will be argued before and decided by the highest court of Israel within a very short time—as a matter of fact, within a few days.

110. The action taken by the Israel authorities against Mr. Shaka'a was based on solid grounds and the deportation order against him was made in accordance with the laws obtaining in Judaea and Samaria, and he was taken into custody under the same laws.

111. Now that the matter is under consideration in the high court of justice, it would be most improper and very peculiar to go into it here any further at this stage.

112. The double standards and, indeed, cynicism practised against Israel at the United Nations are blatantly obvious. In the present case, the General Assembly is

asked to interfere in a pending legal case, in utter disregard of and contempt for proper judicial proceedings.

113. But over the last few years there have been countless instances of the most serious murderous attacks by terrorists, particularly those set into operation by the so-called PLO, without these outrages ever having been made the subject of resolutions at the United Nations. Let me just remind representatives here of a few of these attacks.

114. On 31 May 1972 three Japanese Red Army terrorists allied with the PLO and acting on its behalf machine-gunned Christian pilgrims and other passengers arriving at Lod Airport. The toll included 27 killed and 80 wounded, the majority being pilgrims from Puerto Rico. On 5 September 1972 a gang of terrorists belonging to El Fatah but operating under the cover name of "Black September" murdered 11 Israeli sportsmen at the Munich Olympic Games. El Fatah, it will be recalled, is the largest terror group within the so-called PLO, and is under the direct command of Yasser Arafat.

115. On 1 March 1973 a band of eight terrorists of El Fatah, again acting under cover of the name "Black September", seized the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Kartoum, Sudan, tied up the outgoing Chargé d'Affaires of the United States Embassy, the incoming United States Ambassador and the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires. Despite all efforts to obtain their release, these three diplomats were murdered at the direct command of Yasser Arafat, transmitted by telephone and using the expression "*Nahar el-bared*". This charming detail was subsequently made known by the Sudanese authorities.

116. On 15 May 1974 three terrorists, belonging to the so-called Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, another murder group forming part of the PLO, seized a school in Ma'alot in Israel. Twenty-four civilians, mostly children, were killed and 60 others wounded.

117. On 21 December 1975, a gang of terrorists, calling themselves members of the "Arm of the Arab Revolution", attacked the Conference of the oil ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in Vienna, killing four civilians. They took 60 hostages, including 11 oil ministers. The terrorists were permitted to fly to Algeria with some of the hostages and were granted political asylum there.

118. On 16 June 1976 Arab terrorists murdered Mr. Francis E. Meloy, Jr., the United States Ambassador in Beirut, together with another embassy official and the embassy driver.

119. On 11 March 1978 a murder squad dispatched by the so-called PLO and belonging to El Fatah infiltrated the Israeli coastline and murdered some 34 civilians in a bus on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, 1950, No. 973.

120. The list of murders committed by terrorists of the PLO since the establishment of that criminal organization in 1965 is much too long to be spelled out here in full. Since January 1965 approximately 700 innocent civilians have been murdered—men, women, school children and infants—and some 4,000 others have been wounded in Israel by the PLO.

121. More than 2,000 Arabs, Christians and Muslims have likewise been killed or wounded by the PLO in Israel.

122. Yet not one of these outrages—not a single one—has been the subject of any United Nations resolution.

123. Would the General Assembly be prepared to adopt a resolution calling for the release of all those countless detainees around the world who have no access to their local courts and are denied the right of *habeas corpus*? We all know, of course, that the General Assembly is not prepared to take such action. Instead, in a cynical display of professed concern, it addresses itself to a case which is being handled in Israel in accordance with all the enlightened principles of law and justice.

124. In the present case, legal action was taken against a public official for weighty reasons. Immediately a hullabaloo is raised. Rules of procedure are broken. The agenda is turned upside down. A cynical draft resolution is steam-rolled through the Special Political Committee and rushed to the plenary meeting.

125. But not one word is said by any Committee or other organ of the United Nations concerning the murderous attack on the Ambassador of Israel in Lisbon, which occurred only a few days ago and in which innocent persons were killed and wounded.

126. What a sense of priorities! What a sense of human values!

127. This draft resolution, like so many others adopted here at the United Nations against my country, is but another example of how the United Nations is being exploited for anti-Israel propaganda, creating artificial tension and not serving any useful purpose. It is also a telling example of the notorious double standard applied against my country by this Organization.

128. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no other delegations wishing to comment on the report as such, may I take it that subsequent statements will be limited to explanations of vote?

It was so decided.

129. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendation contained in the report of the Special Political Committee to the General Assembly [A/34/691] are reflected in the relevant summary records of that Committee.⁷

130. I would remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, on 21 September 1979, that:

“... when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary Assembly, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary Assembly is different from its vote in the Committee”.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

131. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): The nine States members of the European Community abstained yesterday in the Special Political Committee in the vote on draft resolution A/34/SPC/L.17 on procedural grounds.⁸ We shall, however, vote in favour of it today. We fully share the concern of the sponsors in this matter, a concern already expressed by the President of the Security Council on 14 November.⁹ The nine member States once more wish to place on record that they regard the phrase “occupied Palestinian territory” as the territory occupied by Israel in 1967.

132. Mr. SCHMID (Austria): At yesterday's meeting of the Special Political Committee the delegation of the United Arab Emirates introduced a draft resolution which certainly merited our urgent attention and thorough study. The rules of procedure, however, provide in a very wise manner that delegations ought to be given the necessary time to examine a new proposal and to seek instructions. As the draft resolution was put to the vote only one hour after its introduction, the Austrian delegation, for reasons of principle, felt obliged to abstain in the voting. However, Austria views the recent order for the deportation of the Mayor of Nablus with serious concern. Therefore we shall support the draft resolution contained in document A/34/691, but, with regard to the first preambular paragraph, we interpret the words “occupied Palestinian territory” within the meaning of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

133. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): This statement is made on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

134. Our delegations share the concern and anxiety expressed in the draft resolution in paragraph 7 of document A/34/691 and will vote in favour of it. We wish, however, to put on record that we understand the “occupied Palestinian territory” mentioned in the draft resolution to be the territory occupied by Israeli armed forces in the 1967 war and referred to in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

135. Mr. Vanden HEUVEL (United States of America): We shall vote in favour of this draft resolution. It carries forward the expression of concern which we supported as a statement by the President of the Security Council. The contemplated action involving the Mayor

⁸ *Ibid.*, para. 68.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Special Political Committee, 33rd meeting, paras. 61-81, and ibid., Special Political Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1979, document S/13629.*

of Nablus is a source of tension and must therefore be a source of deepest concern for all of us who are concerned with peace in the Middle East.

136. In casting this vote, we reserve our position on the phrase "occupied Palestinian territory". The position of my Government is well known on this point. It is important, however—indeed, we believe it is crucial to the integrity of this Assembly—to take sympathetic note of what has been said here today by the Ambassador of Israel. Innocent lives have been lost, the peace of the world has been threatened, a legacy of fear and grief has been left behind by countless acts of terrorism directed against Israel and countless innocent persons. We must take special note of the attack this week on the life of the Israeli Ambassador in Lisbon. It cannot be impossible for the nations of the world to note with deepest regret this kind of event and the violation that it represents of the fundamental principles of world order upon which this Organization is based; and we therefore express that deepest regret on behalf of the Government of the United States.

137. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): At yesterday's meeting of the Special Political Committee, we drew attention, just before the vote, to the translation of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/34/691. I note that today the amendment has not yet been made in the French text. Obviously, the original text is in English and we can only base ourselves on that English text for the true interpretation; but since we are working on the basis of the French text, I should like to draw the attention of the Secretariat to a change to be made in the first paragraph, using the word "annuler" instead of the word "rapporter".

138. The PRESIDENT: The necessary change will be made in the French text. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 7 of its report [A/34/691], entitled "Situation in the occupied territories". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand,

Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Papua New Guinea

The draft resolution was adopted by 132 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 34/29).¹⁰

139. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their vote after the vote.

140. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): The decision of the Israeli occupation authorities has given rise to urgent and emergency consideration, first in the Special Political Committee and then in this Assembly, because it tears apart the very fabric and foundation of international law upon which the United Nations is founded, and because the Organization's continued meaningful existence is contingent upon the preservation of international law, its provisions and its imperatives.

141. This is a unique situation requiring unique, emphatic, proper and prompt action. The decision by the Israeli occupation authorities to imprison the Mayor of Nablus, Mr. Bassam Shaka'a, pending his expulsion from his ancestral homeland, the biggest city in the occupied West Bank, is not the first, nor will it be the last, flagrant violation of international law and of United Nations resolutions by a gang calling itself a government, which is evidently running amok and behaving in a more berserk fashion with each day that passes. Nor has the decision on imprisonment and expulsion surprised us, or the Assembly, for the present leaders of Israel have had a long and notorious career in criminal brutality, which they evidently cannot control or change.

142. Menachem Begin, the butcher of 250 men, women and children, the entire unarmed village of Deir Yassin, a suburb of West Jerusalem; the slaughterer of over 100 British, Arab and Jewish civil servants at the King David Hotel; Begin, who ordered and rejoiced at the indiscriminate hanging from the treetops of ordinary British soldiers who had committed no crimes; Begin, who remained on the "most wanted" list of the British Government until he became a Prime Minister; the man who has blown up the houses of ordinary Palestinian families, numbers of them, while their owners were inside, men, women and children; the man who has been butchering the Palestinians in tens of thousands in their exile in Lebanon; this man is hardly the person to change his character in spite of all the assiduous efforts to give him, and all his efforts to give himself, an image of respectability in the eyes of the world. His Palestinian victims and the world in general know him too well to be surprised by his latest act of blatant illegality, which is matched only by his incredible tactical blunder.

¹⁰ The delegations of Botswana, Malta, Sri Lanka and Swaziland subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

143. The General Assembly has categorically and overwhelmingly expressed its very deep concern over this atrocious act of illegality, because the question relates to the occupied territories and their inhabitants, who, for the past 12 years, have no protection for their lives and property, let alone any freedom, since occupation is inherently a negation of freedom. They have been living and continue to live in bondage, exposed to the whims and at the mercy of their gaolers, in the absence of any protection or protecting power whatsoever.

144. The General Assembly must assume the role of their active custodian. The world community has expressed its concern and must continue to do so in a situation which is as unique and ominous as it is indescribably ugly. Where is the Geneva Convention of 1949 concerning the protection of civilians under occupation? Where are the human rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Is this the way to seek a just, equitable and lasting peace in the Middle East—by expelling the Mayor of the biggest town in the West Bank? Or are the Israelis determined to destroy every convention and every instrument of legality and eventually reduce the United Nations, the ultimate hope of humanity, to an empty shell?

145. What has the Mayor of Nablus done or said to provoke the wrath of the Israeli oppressors, the fascists? It is definitively acknowledged, even in their own papers, that in the course of a private conversation with the military governor of the West Bank, and in spite of all the deliberate provocations uttered by the Fascist oppressors, Mr. Shaka'a, the Mayor, said no more than what everyone else in the world says daily: namely, that as long as the Israeli occupation continued, raids such as the one that took place along the coastal road in 1978 were expected to continue. He expressed no value judgement one way or the other, but was merely stating the plain fact that every Israeli politician, every journalist and ordinary people in Israel and elsewhere state every day as a matter of course. That is why the Israelis spend billions on their sinister security apparatus. And, even assuming that the Israelis have annexed the occupied territories, it is the inalienable right of every inhabitant to live and die in his homeland. Deportation is totally unacceptable under international law, and, I am sure, under all national laws in the civilized world. The ruthless occupator authorities could bring Mr. Shaka'a to trial, as they have tens of thousands of Palestinians, even though there are not the flimsiest grounds for doing so; but under no law in the world is a person subject to expulsion from his homeland.

146. I am convinced that the time is long overdue for the General Assembly to tell Israel in no uncertain terms that the Assembly, which is the only custodian of the Palestinian people, under God, will not tolerate the continued membership of an authority that deliberately defies all the norms of international law and solemn conventions. The Israelis may choose to be guided by the law of the jungle, but the United Nations, this solemn and august Assembly, is not a jungle and will not accept the behaviour of beasts from its Members.

147. As I stated earlier, this is not a question of an individual, be he a mayor or just an ordinary citizen, for the greater part of a whole nation, the Palestinians, have already been uprooted from their homes. It is a question of the reputation of the United Nations, its moral authority, the sanctity of solemn conventions, the

violation of which compromises the very fabric of the United Nations, and, last but not least, of the fact that the United Nations, through all its previous resolutions, is a direct trustee of the Palestinian people under the terrible yoke of the occupation.

148. In expressing concern and requesting that the decision to imprison and expel the Mayor of Nablus should be rescinded, the United Nations should make it clear that it is not as powerless as the Israelis think. This Organization can and must, if its request goes unheeded, take steps to freeze and suspend Israel's membership in this great body, as it rightly did with Israel's twin sister, South Africa.

149. Enough is enough, and we cannot afford to accept yet another Israeli slap with our arms folded. Let not the representative of Israel attempt to resort to questions of procedure, as he started to do earlier in his statement, and as he tried but failed to do in the Special Political Committee, not only because he was proved wrong procedurally according to article—

150. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the representative of Jordan—

151. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): May I have one minute to conclude?

152. The PRESIDENT: No, you may not have one minute to conclude, but you may conclude in one sentence. It has to be one sentence only.

153. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): Could I make it an amplified sentence?

154. The PRESIDENT: You have to conclude in one sentence.

155. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): My Government regards expulsion as an inseparable part of the over-all Israeli plan to devour the whole of the Palestinian homeland, a plan which they are pursuing incessantly and through which so far they have absorbed almost one third of the occupied lands.

156. The PRESIDENT: I must express my appreciation to the representative of Jordan for concluding in one sentence, however long.

157. Mr. KODJOVI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The position of Togo on the question of the Middle East is well known, especially as regards the rights of the Palestinian people and the prejudicial activities of Israel in the Arab territories that have been occupied by force.

158. The peace that we call for can only come about if each party works for it sincerely and resolutely.

159. In voting in favour of the draft resolution in document A/34/691, we wished to denounce vigorously the events taking place at Nablus, which violate the rights of the people in the occupied territories and can only aggravate the conflict and compromise any possibility of a settlement.

160. The PRESIDENT: I shall call on those delega-

tions wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply. I should only like to remind representatives of the General Assembly's decision in connexion with the 10-minute limit for statements in exercise of the right of reply. I now call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

161. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): I would not be speaking at this late hour, were it not for the bombardment by the representative of Israel of the delegations at this plenary Assembly with his distortions. I shall also have a word for the representative of the United States.

162. The history of terrorism in the Middle East is very well known. Those who introduced terrorism into the Middle East and into Palestine were the Zionist gangs who came from Europe to destroy the national homeland of the Palestinians and to establish a Zionist homeland for the Jews in Palestine. It was the Israeli representative's Prime Minister who, on 9 April 1948, went into the village of Deir Yassin and massacred 254 people in cold blood. It was his Prime Minister who orchestrated and planned the bombing of the King David Hotel where 95 lives were lost and 123 were injured. It is his Government which bombarded Qibya and which, in 1956, massacred 26 people in the city of Kafr Kassim who were supposed to be Israeli citizens, because they came 10 minutes after the curfew had started. The history of terrorism in the Middle East is well known to everyone.

163. In March last year, the Israeli Air Force and Army destroyed 80 villages in southern Lebanon, killing over 2,000 people and injuring 8,000 more. It is the Israeli representative's Government which has converted a whole nation into a nation of refugees. So the history was started by the Zionists in Palestine. Our people had never committed an act of violence against anyone prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in the homeland of the Palestinians.

164. In relation to the allegation that there is due process of law in Israel, everybody knows that in this case the judge and the adversary are the same. The expulsion order had been issued before Mr. Shaka'a was taken to court. It is one of the few cases in the history of what is known as "due process of law" where the accused was condemned before he was brought to "justice". Mr. Shaka'a was accused of supporting the resistance of his people against foreign occupation. Occupation is illegal and has been declared illegal by the United Nations. Therefore, resistance to it can only be legal, since it cannot be that occupation and resistance to that occupation are both illegal. If Mr. Shaka'a was indicted because of his affiliation with or support for the PLO, then the Government will have to expel every single Palestinian in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, even those bearing Israeli citizenship, because every Palestinian is a member of the PLO, whether he lives in Palestine or outside it.

165. With regard to the statement of the representative of the United States, the least I can say — despite the fact that we appreciate the position of the United States on the question of the expulsion of Mr. Shaka'a — is that I wish he had not said what he did about violence against Israel. He is aware of the kind of terrorism that the Palestinian people have been subjected to, yet he did not say one single word about the thousands of Palestinians who are in Israeli gaols. He did not say one single word about the thousands of lives that have been lost in Lebanon and elsewhere. He does not say anything about the kind of weapons that his Government supplied to Israel, the napalm and cluster bombs by which our children were victimized. Therefore, I definitely wish that the United States representative had not said what he did. But this is an election year, and one understands why such things are said.

166. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I should just like to refresh the memory of the Jordanian representative and remind him that Mr. Bassam Shaka'a was detained by the Jordanian authorities in 1958. He escaped from prison and fled to Syria and was then sentenced to four years' imprisonment *in absentia*. He was granted a pardon in the general amnesty in Jordan in 1965. I thought that the representative of Jordan would be interested in being reminded of all this.

167. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): I do not believe that it would be fair to this Assembly for me to reply to the representative of Israel's irrelevancies and diversionary tactics.

168. Whether Mr. Shaka'a was detained or not and for whatever reason, let the representative of Israel remember that at that time both the East Bank and the West Bank shared sovereignty in equality and that it was not a situation where a foreign occupier had already devoured one third of the remnants of the Palestinian homeland. I am not aware of the particular incidents or what happened in that situation. All that I can say is that no Jordanian citizen has ever been expelled from his territory, and in this particular case and when we had unity he was a citizen there. Even people who were seditious or plotted against the Government were forgiven and given the highest posts in government. It is a totally different picture. He was a citizen. He and some others in Nablus were Cabinet Ministers. They were the people governing not only Nablus but also Amman and other cities on both banks.

169. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Since the representative of Jordan does not remember the circumstances of Mr. Shaka'a's detention in 1958, I will oblige him and remind him of those circumstances. Mr. Shaka'a was detained for his membership in and affiliation with the Ba'ath Party in Jordan.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.