



CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 21: Question of Cyprus: report of the Secretary-General (continued)	1355
--	------

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

AGENDA ITEM 21

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

1. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again the General Assembly has before it the long-standing item on the situation in Cyprus, without our even being able to glimpse a solution which would return to the country its territorial integrity and mean a peaceful understanding between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. As I begin this statement, I would pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his indefatigable efforts. He has availed himself of the means that exist under the Charter and has acted in accordance with clear mandates from the General Assembly and the Security Council, carrying out with patience and tenacity his mission of good offices with the parties directly concerned. United Nations official documents are proof of what he has done.

2. The satisfactory result that has been sought so vigorously has not been achieved in our opinion, because in all the negotiations the primary ingredient, that is, the political will to produce an agreement that would end this crisis, which has already lasted too long, has been missing.

3. Cyprus has been a Member of the United Nations since 20 September 1960 and is also a member of the community of non-aligned countries, but ever since 20 July 1974 Cyprus has been militarily occupied by Turkey, in open violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, which reads

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.”

4. Within the same general framework and in an effort to carry out its mandate successfully and to produce a settlement, UNFICYP was established by the Security Council on March 1964. That “emergency force” has consumed many millions, yet the conflict remains as

dangerous as ever. How much more will have to be invested in that “emergency force”? That capital could be used by the two communities on the island, 40 per cent of which has been occupied, in the interests of peace and harmony.

5. Another aspect of the problem that is of grave concern and calls for settlement is the problem of the displaced persons and refugees. These are men, women and children who have left their lands, their homes and the things they love through force or fear, and they are entitled to have returned to them what is theirs and to live in peace, in an atmosphere of respect for fundamental human rights.

6. The Secretary-General’s report that we have before us at this thirty-fourth session [A/34/620 and Corr.1] is hardly encouraging. There are no grounds for optimism. That is clear from a reading of the report, and in particular of paragraphs 14 to 19. It is clear from the report that the invading Power does not try to conceal its intention to deal with the matter as it pleases. Perhaps it feels that with the passing of time and the consolidation of its Power on foreign soil there will be no choice but to accept a *fait accompli*. That possibility is emerging ever more clearly and, in the face of it, the international community must redouble its efforts to defend the principles embodied in resolution 1514 (XV), which says quite unambiguously:

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

7. Convinced of that obvious truth, we sponsored, in 1978, the draft that became resolution 33/15. Compliance with that resolution, however, has been unjustifiably postponed. Today we are one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.40, which, *inter alia*, deplores the continued presence of foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, and also all unilateral actions that change the demographic structure of that country.

8. We endorse this draft resolution, whose operative part states that, *inter alia*, the General Assembly: first, reiterates its full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; secondly, expresses its support for the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [*ibid.*, annex V], concluded under the auspices of the Secretary-General; thirdly, affirms the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective sovereignty and control over the entire territory of the State and its natural and other resources; fourthly, demands the immediate and effective implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974); fifthly, demands the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and

foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus; sixthly, calls for respect of the human rights of all Cypriots and the instituting of urgent measures for the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes in safety; seventhly, calls upon the parties concerned to refrain from any unilateral action which might adversely affect the prospects of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus.

9. This draft resolution simply reiterates long-standing demands which have already been accepted by the international community. We should hope that in this case, as in previous years, a favourable decision will be adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Al-Haddad (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

10. Mr. MATHIAS (Portugal): The situation prevailing in Cyprus constitutes a matter of great concern to my country. Not only does it prevent the people of that island from leading a peaceful and normal life, narrowing the country's prospects of prosperity, but it also embitters the relations among other countries in the area and therefore creates a situation which might constitute a threat to world peace and security. In the year that has elapsed since we last gathered here to deal with the matter, intense diplomatic activities have been deployed in search of a settlement for the Cyprus question. The Secretary-General's tireless efforts, conducted with remarkable skill and patience, have resulted in some considerable advances. It was therefore all the more frustrating to see the recess of the intercommunal negotiations, which my delegation had warmly welcomed.

11. We feel, however, that the 10-point agreement concluded at Nicosia on 19 May 1979 provides an adequate framework for the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. The United Nations force on the island has been able to maintain peace, and this also helps to create an appropriate climate for negotiations.

12. Basic conditions for the resumption of the talks between the two communities thus seem to exist. It is now up to the parties to show their political will to overcome the differences that separate them. The people of Cyprus deserve to live in harmony and to be able to look to the future with confidence.

13. We hope that the efforts of the international community will be acknowledged and that the parties will recognize that UNFICYP has a temporary status and that conditions should be created to allow for its withdrawal. Only through free and direct negotiations between the two parties, leading to a comprehensive and mutually acceptable settlement based on respect for the legitimate interests of the two communities can peace be achieved in Cyprus.

14. No one other than the two parties can provide a true solution of the question. The opportunity and the means for such a solution should no longer be delayed.

15. We therefore strongly appeal to the two Cypriot communities to resume negotiations and to make a serious effort to bridge their differences. As the Secretary-General stated in his very informative and clear report:

"There is no alternative to a concrete and effective negotiating process if a mutually acceptable, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is to be achieved." [A/34/620 and Corr.1, para.33.]

16. Mr. SADA (Nigeria): Once again, as if performing a ritual hallowed by time, the General Assembly is considering the question of Cyprus. The debate this year has added poignancy for my delegation not only because the situation in Cyprus, a country with which Nigeria maintains close ties, has deteriorated, but also because of the most regrettable failure to build upon the foundation of hope and the judicious compromise indicated by the 10-point agreement reached on 19 May 1979.

17. One of the more disquieting features of past consideration of this agenda item has been the impasse caused by the non-implementation of the many resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. Those resolutions have consistently reaffirmed United Nations support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. They have also decreed non-interference by foreign and other interests in the internal affairs of Cyprus. In my delegation's judgement those were the right decisions.

18. By its resolution 33/15, adopted on 9 November 1978, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, authorized the Secretary-General, as it had done in previous resolutions, to make available his good offices for the negotiations between the two communities. My delegation read with keen interest the Secretary-General's report on the question of Cyprus and commends both him and his staff for their admirable efforts.

19. As I said earlier, Nigeria, like many other countries, saw in the 10-point agreement reached on 19 May at Nicosia more than an encouraging glimmer of hope. For us, it represented that long-awaited first step along the difficult road to a peaceful, just and durable solution to the problem that has bedevilled Cyprus for far too long. The news that the envisaged intercommunal talks were adjourned indefinitely soon after has been a source of concern to my country. In spite of that unfortunate setback, my delegation once again appeals to the two communities to resume the talks and stick to the priorities outlined in the 19 May agreement.

20. Because of its implications for international peace, considerable attention has also been devoted, as usual, to the question of Cyprus in other international forums during the past few months. I wish to limit myself to the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government¹ and Sixth Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries.²

21. The Lusaka meeting, *inter alia*, noted with satisfaction and endorsed the Kyprianou-Denktaş agreement of 1979, concluded under the aegis of the Secretary-General, but expressed its grave concern at the failure to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem, regretted the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks, which should be based on that

¹ Held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979 (for the Final Communiqué, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, document S/13515).

² Held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979 (For the Final Declaration, see document A/34/542).

agreement, and expressed the hope that those talks could be resumed at the earliest possible date with a view to reaching a just and lasting solution on the basis of United Nations resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question and in accordance with the 19 May agreement.

22. After considering the question of Cyprus, the Conference of the non-aligned countries at Havana not only reaffirmed its solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic of Cyprus, a founding member of the non-aligned movement, but also demanded the immediate implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX), adopted unanimously by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974).

23. I reiterate Nigeria's conviction that the various decisions and resolutions of the United Nations as well as those of the meetings of the Commonwealth countries and of the non-aligned countries, provide a basis for a just settlement. It is a matter for deep regret and grave concern that those resolutions have not been implemented. Having lived through the gruesome experience of a civil war that threatened the territorial integrity, national ethos and social fabric of our country, we fully appreciate the travail to which Cyprus has been subjected, particularly since 1974.

24. We call for an end to the crisis. We appeal again to all States to respect strictly the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We appeal for an end to all foreign interference in its affairs and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the foreign armed forces and all other military presence from the Republic of Cyprus.

25. My delegation remains convinced that only the implementation of these principles can play a decisive role in ensuring the return of peace and justice to beleaguered Cyprus.

26. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Most of the States Members of the United Nations agree that a solution to the problem of Cyprus can be found only through negotiations. Most countries also agree that the United Nations can play the part of principal mediator in bringing closer together the views of the parties to the conflict, and that it is through negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations that this can be done.

27. In order to implement General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974), the following objectives must be achieved: first, we must ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus; secondly, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Cyprus; thirdly, there must be no interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

28. The international community welcomes the agreement reached on 19 May 1979 by the President of Cyprus and the President of the Turkish Cypriot community and the 10 points included in that agreement. We should like to express support for the implementation of the various points of that agreement, and we call on the parties concerned to begin to implement them.

29. We support those who call for guarantees of the independence of Cyprus against any foreign influence,

and we reaffirm the fact that Cyprus must remain a non-aligned nation. In its final Declaration the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana last September, reaffirmed that point. We also welcome the demand for the complete demilitarization of Cyprus.

30. Democratic Yemen joins with other countries in appealing to foreign troops stationed in the island to preserve the structure of Cyprus and refrain from making any changes that might jeopardize the interests of Cyprus. We appeal to those forces to refrain from any act that would infringe the sovereignty of Cyprus over its heritage and natural resources. We believe that the presence of those forces is an obstacle to the establishment of lasting peace in the island and to the success of the negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

31. We wish to thank the Secretary-General for the active and sincere part he has been playing in seeking to bring peace to Cyprus and for his efforts to that end. We hope that he will continue his efforts to ensure the implementation of the 10-point agreement.

32. We should like the name of Democratic Yemen to be added to the list of countries sponsoring draft resolution A/34/L.40.

33. Mr. RADIX (Grenada): The General Assembly has before it yet again this year the question of Cyprus, a Member of the United Nations. Cyprus, like Grenada, is a member of the non-aligned movement and an island nation. My Government therefore has observed with great concern the armed invasion and continued military occupation of part of that sovereign country, in violation of the Charter, by a State Member of the Organization.

34. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada wishes to take this opportunity to express its solidarity with and support for the Government and people of the Republic of Cyprus in the defence of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We wish to call for the strict observance of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974) since, in the view of our delegation and of the international community, these resolutions remain the basis for a real and lasting solution to the problem.

35. We are encouraged by the constructive discussions held in Nicosia on 18 and 19 May of this year between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktaş. We note that those positive contacts resulted in a 10-point agreement, which we regard as helpful.

36. Having regard to the report of the Secretary-General and noting the right positions taken by one of the interested parties, we deplore that party's inflexible position which has resulted in a lack of progress in the solution of the matter, which is a threat to international peace and security.

37. Intervention such as we have seen in Cyprus provides an object lesson for small island States. These operations usually begin with overt or covert actions

that tend to destabilize Governments, thus paving the way for later armed aggression by reactionary elements from within and their allies outside. We are convinced that overt or covert aggression against a sovereign State must be considered an international crime.

38. We reject the postulate that the demographic changes within the Republic of Cyprus, which have been brought about by armed aggression, can ever lead to a just and lasting peace in that country for its people. The only way peace can be brought about is by the continued dialogue of the people of Cyprus, without pre-conditions, and accordingly we join in urging the parties to resume discussions. We note that the Secretary-General and the non-aligned movement remains ready to use their good office whenever the people of Cyprus issue that call.

39. The proposal of the President of Cyprus for the total demilitarization and disarmament of that country³ is a welcome and constructive step. It is also a positive indication of the willingness and eagerness of the Government of Cyprus to find a solution to the problem. We also feel that the suggestion of the Foreign Minister of Cyprus that a committee on Cyprus should be formed [68th meeting, para. 36] is a positive step which commands our support.

40. Those who hold hard positions on the Cyprus question are, in our view, unaware of the physical hurt and genuine distress of the Cypriot people. Many of them have been forcibly deprived of their homes and way of life because of the ambitions of external aggressors. That the two communities can exist as a viable economic unit is questionable. We appeal to the parties to the dispute to take down the wire of partition, roll back the armour of distrust and together build a society based on the principles of mutual respect and co-operation. Peace has its price and that price is the resumption of negotiations between the parties.

41. We congratulate the Government of Cyprus on its efforts to promote peace and stability in that country.

42. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Before the General Assembly is the report of the Secretary-General, submitted pursuant to the General Assembly resolution 33/15 of 9 November 1978, on the question of Cyprus. My delegation would like to thank him for the efforts he has made in the search for a solution of the problem of Cyprus during the past year.

43. We note with appreciation that the Secretary-General has continued to provide his good offices in the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, within the framework of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975) and recently by its resolution 451 (1979) of 15 June 1979. We also note that for various reasons the talks have been adjourned, to be resumed at a date and time to be announced. In the meantime, the Secretary-General and his assistants have conducted various consultations, but no date has been agreed upon for the resumption of the talks. My delegation would therefore take this opportunity to urge the parties involved in the talks and consultations to make all the efforts necessary to ensure the resumption of the

talks without delay. We believe that it is only through a process of negotiation and consultation that a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, based on the legitimate interests of the two communities, can be achieved.

44. Although my delegation supports the objectives of the negotiations and the intercommunal talks regarding the question of Cyprus, we feel that the time that has been taken to resolve the situation is being prolonged unnecessarily by forces external to the situation. We are aware of the agony that Cyprus has undergone since the tragic events of 1974, when her sovereignty and national integrity were violated by a foreign Power. The consequences of that violation continue even today, and that Power has continued persistently to defy the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Cyprus. The Turkish occupation army remains in the territory of Cyprus and has maintained a posture aimed as stalling all the efforts of the United Nations to restore normality in Cyprus. That Power has continued to encourage dissension within the two communities by prodding one community to frustrate all conciliation efforts. Such manoeuvres and direct actions on the part of Turkey have created a very dangerous situation in the area. We appeal to Turkey to desist from these activities and policies of occupation in order to pave the way for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions in respect of the State of Cyprus.

45. Having said that, I would sum up briefly the views of my delegation with regard to this problem. My delegation wishes to reaffirm Kenya's full support for General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 451 (1979), calling upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. We believe that the interests of the two communities of Cyprus can be fully met within the context of the larger interests of the State of Cyprus.

46. On this basis Kenya wholeheartedly supports the Secretary-General in his active involvement in efforts to achieve the early implementation of the above resolutions and to facilitate the success of the intercommunal talks. We believe that in situations such as that prevailing in Cyprus disciplined negotiations should provide a lasting solution to the problem.

47. We are aware of the humanitarian problems that have been caused by the events of 1974. In order that they may be resolved, we call urgently upon both Cypriot communities as well as the international community to tackle them by affording humanitarian assistance to those in need, while faithfully contributing in every possible way to the efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the problem.

48. We urge the international community to give humanitarian assistance to the displaced persons, while efforts continue to be made to make it possible for them to return to their homes and property.

49. Let me end by reiterating that Kenya considers Cyprus to be one country and does not recognize the so-called Federated Turkish State of Cyprus. We reject ethnic and racial allegiances of considerations as a basis for the creation of States in the twentieth century. To accept such a proposition would be to lend support to racists and the proponents of *apartheid*, whom we regularly condemn in this forum. We therefore give support to all efforts for the reconciliation and restoration of normality in the State of Cyprus. It is with those views in mind that my delegation is happy to sponsor draft resolution A/34/L.40.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting, para. 145.

50. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Let me say at the outset that Pakistan's position on the question of Cyprus is based on strict respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. It is also our firm conviction that lasting peace can return to that island only through a settlement that ensures the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two Cypriot communities within an independent, bi-communal and bi-zonal federal republic, as envisaged in the guidelines of 12 February 1977 agreed to between the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas.⁴ Furthermore, we believe that for the attainment of such a settlement direct negotiations between the two Cypriot communities on the basis of equality are indispensable.

51. In the light of these basic considerations in our position, my delegation wishes to express its profound appreciation of the persistent efforts made by the Secretary-General to bring about a mutually acceptable settlement. Those efforts resulted in the conclusion of the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 between Mr. Denktas and Mr. Kyprianou.

52. The Government of Pakistan welcomed that agreement, especially since it called for direct negotiations between the two communities. The agreement went a step further and called upon all parties concerned to desist from taking steps which could prejudice the prospects of such negotiations.

53. The need for intercommunal negotiations was further emphasized by the Secretary-General in his report, in which he stated clearly that, "there is no alternative to a concrete and effective negotiating process if a mutually acceptable, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is to be achieved" [A/34/620 and Corr.1, para. 33].

54. Like other States committed to finding a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus, we hoped that the intercommunal talks envisaged in the 10-point agreement would be resumed in a constructive and meaningful way and would yield positive results. Unfortunately these hopes have so far remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless there is no reason why a determined effort should not be undertaken to bring about the resumption of the intercommunal talks by promoting confidence between the two communities. As acknowledged in the Secretary-General's report, there exists sufficient common ground for the continuance of the intercommunal talks. The two sides agree to discuss with each other the various constitutional and territorial aspects of the Cyprus question, including the central issues of bi-zonality and security. Similarly, both sides agree on the eventual withdrawal of all troops, although they differ on the time-frame for such withdrawal. Difficulties in that regard are not insurmountable, especially in view of the repeated assurances by the Turkish Government of its commitment to withdraw all its troops from the island. We have also noted with gratification the latest statements by the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktas, in which he reiterated his community's strong desire for the immediate resumption of the intercommunal talks [*ibid.*, annex I].

55. Bearing in mind the fact that the resumption of the intercommunal talks is the key to settlement of the

Cyprus question, my delegation considers that draft resolution A/34/L.40 does not serve the primary goal of achieving peace and harmony in Cyprus.

56. First, the adoption of such a draft resolution would not be conducive to building up confidence and trust between the two communities, which is an essential prerequisite in the search for a just and lasting settlement of the problem.

57. Secondly, the draft resolution is one-sided and partial. It does not take into account the views of the Turkish Cypriots, who constitute one of the two principal parties concerned. Mr. Denktas has already declared that such a resolution would contradict the letter and spirit of the solution agreed upon at the summit meetings of the leaders of the two Cypriot communities. Moreover it may be recalled that the Turkish Cypriot leader has raised strong objection to similar resolutions adopted in various international forums in which the Turkish Cypriot community was not able to voice its views. Obviously no approach that does not treat the two Cypriot communities on an equal footing and does not respect their views on specific issues will facilitate a solution of the Cyprus problem.

58. Thirdly, the proposal contained in paragraphs 13 to 15 of the draft resolution on the setting up of an *ad hoc* committee in our opinion prejudices the outcome of direct negotiations by presupposing lack of progress in them.

59. Such a proposal is likely to prejudice the success of the intercommunal negotiations, which in the present circumstances remain the only realistic and viable way of achieving a just and lasting solution of the problem. In this regard we respect the judgement of the Secretary-General, who states in his report:

" . . . I consider the chances of reviving the intercommunal talks will depend on keeping it alive and pursuing the path of concrete negotiations. . . .

"It is up to the parties to pursue that process or face the prospect of an indefinite continuation of the *status quo* . . ." [*Ibid.*, paras. 32–33.]

60. It is the responsibility of the international community to encourage the process, that can change the existing *status quo*, and not to take steps or decisions that could obstruct or undermine that process. My delegation is convinced that the chances of the resumption of concrete and effective negotiations between the two communities would diminish if we were to adopt draft resolution A/34/L.40, which detracts from the realistic and far-sighted approach evolved through the patient endeavours of the Secretary-General, which, as I stated earlier, have already shown convincing results in the 10-point agreement of 19 May. Indeed, the adoption of draft resolution A/34/L.40 would constitute a step backwards.

61. The international community should make an effort to bridge the gulf of mistrust separating the two communities and to adopt an approach acceptable to both the Cypriot communities. In the view of my delegation the international community can best achieve that objective, in the present circumstances, by lending its full support to the 10-point agreement and calling upon the two communities for the early resumption of direct negotiations between them on the items outlined

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

in the Secretary-General's report. This approach, which is endorsed by all the relevant United Nations resolutions, the Geneva Declaration of 1974⁵ and the existing guidelines and agreements accepted by the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, alone will serve the cause of peace and stability in Cyprus.

62. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity of commending UNFICYP for its role in maintaining tranquillity in the island. Pakistan favours continuation of the mandate of UNFICYP for as long as it is considered necessary by the Secretary-General. Its existence should not, however, become a substitute for efforts to reach a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

63. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The Assembly is currently considering the question of Cyprus for the sixth year. The broad participation by delegations in the debate, even in this sixth year, is testimony to the widespread concern over the prolongation of the tragedy of Cyprus, with all that that entails for the peace and security of the Mediterranean.

64. What is more, the question of Cyprus, involving as it does a small, militarily weak country under foreign occupation, is a test case of the ability of the Security Council to come to the help of such States in maintaining their sovereignty. For that reason the question has special significance for delegations like my own.

65. In his report, the Secretary-General informs us that the period following the adoption by the Assembly of resolution 33/15 was one of intense diplomatic activity aimed at achieving the objectives of the United Nations in relation to Cyprus. The fruit of that activity was the agreement reached in Nicosia under his auspices on 19 May 1979. That agreement sets out, in the words of the Secretary-General, "the agreed basis, priorities and procedures" [*ibid.*, para. 7] for the resumption between the two Cypriot communities of the talks that had been broken off in 1977. My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the two sides concerned of the genuine negotiating spirit displayed on that occasion and to the Secretary-General for his role in that achievement. Unfortunately, after that significant advance, the intercommunal talks came to a standstill in June.

66. The agreement of 19 May 1979 gives further confirmation of the uniqueness of the problem of Cyprus, to which my delegation referred last year. Here is a problem for which the framework for a solution already exists, agreed upon by the parties involved and unanimously adopted by this Assembly. I refer to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), in which the Assembly, *inter alia*, commended the negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and supported their continuance. Those intercommunal talks came to a halt in 1977. Two years later, in May 1979, the two sides were able to agree on a basis for resuming them, though no progress has been made since that agreement.

67. My delegation will not on this occasion go into the details of that impasse as recorded in the report of the

Secretary-General. I merely express Guyana's profound regret that the two sides have so far not been able to reach final agreement on the settlement of the problem of Cyprus despite the agreement in question.

68. That agreement was possible through a display by the two sides on that occasion of a readiness to negotiate in a serious manner with a view to reaching just such a solution. Unfortunately that preparedness was not sufficient to overcome feelings of mutual suspicion and mistrust, which must indeed be overcome if further progress is to be made in the negotiations. The stalemate we are now witnessing only serves the interests of aggression and occupation. While it continues, positions harden and become inflexible and the two sides move further away from each other and an eventual solution. That is why the Assembly must now be insistent that the two communities should resume the negotiations in a positive constructive spirit, for, as so many speakers have said before me, there is only one way to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus. That solution cannot be achieved by unilateral action or through the policy of the *fait accompli*, but only by means of negotiations between the two communities of Cyprus.

69. It is necessary, absolutely necessary, to break the old habit of basing present perceptions on past experiences. If reasons to distrust each other's motives are sought, they will always be found. We note from paragraph 31 of the Secretary-General's report that in August-September of this year he sounded out the parties on some suggestions designed to remove the difficulties on which the talks had foundered last June. He expressed the view that, had those suggestions been accepted at the time, it might have been possible for the parties to negotiate the concrete elements of a settlement, as provided for in the 19 May agreement and the 1977 guidelines. Both sides rejected that proposal when it was presented to them, we are told. More than a month later, according to the Secretary-General, one of the parties decided to accept that approach; the other party expressed doubts about the motives and timing of the step.

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

70. What is necessary, then, is a totally new constructive attitude towards the negotiations; at the same time, unilateral actions must be avoided which prejudice the creation of a climate of trust and understanding propitious for the resumption of the negotiations. My delegation would therefore like to join other delegations in calling for the implementation, in all their aspects, of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from Cyprus and for the prompt resumption of the negotiations between the two communities, to be conducted freely, on an equal footing, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable settlement of the problem of Cyprus. It will be recalled that at their meeting held at Havana last September, the heads of State or government of non-aligned countries placed great emphasis on those actions.

71. The soul of Cyprus lies inside Cyprus itself, and nowhere else; it is not traded on the market-place of political or strategic advantage. The integrity of the territory of Cyprus is sacred; the territory of independent Cyprus must be free from dismemberment and alien oc-

⁵ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974, document S/11398.

cupation. The destiny of Cyprus is to be worked out by the people themselves, by the communities of Cyprus and no one else.

72. My delegation would therefore like to address a solemn appeal to all outside forces: the greatest service you can render to Cyprus, the most meaningful assistance you can give to Cyprus is to leave it alone, to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs, and to respect its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. If we cannot assist the progress of the negotiations without seeking to influence them in any way, then let us refrain from further complicating that process.

73. For its part, my delegation is dedicated to continuing and redoubling its efforts, both within the contact group of the non-aligned and elsewhere, to seek to ensure the speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus.

74. Before concluding, I must once more commend the Secretary-General for his patience and untiring efforts in the delicate and tremendously difficult task assigned to him by the Assembly in the matter of Cyprus.

75. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this question.

76. The representative of Cyprus has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on him to do so, I would remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly, namely, that his statement should be made from his seat and limited to 10 minutes.

77. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): I shall not go into the details of Mr. Eralp's statement, because most of his oft-repeated and worn-out allegations have been adequately answered in my statement to the Assembly [68th meeting] and by the statement of the Greek Cypriot interlocutor at the Special Political Committee.⁶

78. Mr. Eralp is constantly trying to detract the Assembly's attention from the fact that Turkey is, for all intents and purposes, an aggressor and to give it instead the image of the good Samaritan. Unfortunately for Mr. Eralp those two concepts have nothing in common. I shall simply dwell on the most salient points of his statement.

79. First, Mr. Eralp tries to give the impression that the Greek Cypriot side—and specifically the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou—has reneged on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines. The facts totally belie that statement. Whereas the Greek Cypriot side fully honoured the guidelines by presenting proposals for a federation, in pursuance of the said guidelines, the Turkish Cypriot side presented proposals for the creation of two separate States. Mr. Kyprianou affirmed the guidelines in the May 1979 10-point agreement. The Turkish side, on the other hand, sought to evade the guidelines by demanding their alteration by

the addition of the terms "bi-zonality" and "security of the Turkish Cypriots" that are not mentioned in those guidelines. That the addition of those terms would amount to a nullification of the guidelines and the 10-point agreement has been authoritatively confirmed by Professor Soysal, constitutional adviser to the Turkish side and adviser to the Turkish-Cypriot negotiator at the June intercommunal talks, in a statement made by him on 18 October 1979.

80. Secondly, the allegation that the Greek Cypriots are waging an economic war on the Turkish Cypriot community is not only absurd but adds insult to injury. The invader comes in, deprives the indigenous population of all their possessions, drives them out by force of arms and then, because the wealth it has usurped turned to dust in its hands owing to its inability to exploit it, complains that the victim of the brutal aggression is responsible for its economic difficulties.

81. Thirdly, in an effort to confuse, Mr. Eralp misrepresents even the facts as categorically given in the Secretary-General's report by stating that the summit meeting between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktaş resulted from the personal initiative of the latter. The Secretary-General's report of 8 November states the following:

"On 4 April, Mr. Roiandis visited me in Geneva and indicated to me that the Greek Cypriot community would welcome it if I would convene a high-level meeting in order to break the impasse which had developed." [A/34/620 and Corr.1, para. 6.]

82. Fourthly, both in the plenary Assembly and the Special Political Committee reference has been made by us to actual statements made by Mr. Denktaş and others showing an intention to partition the country. Our position was not a matter of conjecture; it was a factual one. Denktaş said in unequivocal language: "I personally believe that the time has come for the establishment of a separate State". Turkish Cypriot political leader Ozgur, whose party represents 23 per cent of the Turkish Cypriots, said very tersely: "Denktaş is trying to facilitate the partition of Cyprus". Many other similar statements have been made. In reply to the aforementioned barrage, Mr. Eralp referred to a comment by Mr. Papadopoulos. Mr. Eralp's logic is very bizarre. If Denktaş keeps repeating very openly his preaching of partition, do we have to ask Mr. Papadopoulos to tell us what Denktaş's aims are? Partition does not depend on Mr. Papadopoulos; it is within the ambit of Mr. Denktaş's aspirations. The authoritative voice is that of Denktaş, and he has been saying "yes" to partition since 1954.

83. Fifthly, Mr. Eralp has insulted the intelligence of all those present by implying that we are trying to avert a solution of the problem because we are pleased with things as they are. In other words, we have been looking for someone to occupy our country and we must now feel obliged because Turkey condescended to send its troops to Cyprus. It is really surprising that Mr. Eralp is not asking us to express our gratitude for the Turkish aggression by contributing to the expenses of the Turkish occupation force in Cyprus.

84. On the issue of the role of the Turkish army in Cyprus, Mr. Eralp again resorted to absurdities. He said that the Turkish army of occupation which—according

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Special Political Committee, 33rd meeting, and ibid., Special Political Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

a report of the Commission on Human Rights, has killed in cold blood, looted, destroyed and plundered — is a peace-keeping force. What a way to keep the peace! Mr. Eralp should remember that, as has been said, he who excuses himself accuses himself.

85. Mr. Eralp's efforts to find pretexts for the tragic situation in Cyprus, which is the offshoot of an unforgivable act of aggression, have actually worsened Turkey's position. He would be wise to remember that one should keep silent unless one has something to say which is better than silence.

86. I submit that each and every one of the representatives here, when exercising their voting right, must pay heed to the issue of aggressors which, like Turkey, naturally prefer to call themselves "peace-keepers" and are ready to use their army for attack. Almost all of their countries have a stronger neighbour which one day may develop the voracious taste to wear the uniform of a self-appointed police constable, as Turkey had done in the case of Cyprus.

87. A few minutes ago I received from Cyprus a telex containing a statement by the Minister for the Interior and Rehabilitation of the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. This statement was made during a panel discussion on rehabilitation. It reads as follows:

"Following the happy peace operation, starting from 1974 and over the years, 22,146 families and tens of thousands of individuals who came to the Federated Turkish State region were settled and were also given partial status."

In other words, since 1974, almost 100,000 Turks have come to Cyprus as colonizers. The aggression is called a happy event, a joyful event, an event for jubilation. We have 100,000 people for Turkey in Cyprus, and then we are told that the intention of Turkey is not to partition Cyprus.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.