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NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 15 June 1973, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Yakov MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1727)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488): Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10940 and Corr.1).

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488): Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10940 and Corr.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In letters addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece have asked to be allowed to participate in the discussion of the item which has just been included in the Council's agenda. In accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and with established practice, I propose, if there are no objections, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to take seats at the Council table and to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the item.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Z. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. O. Olcay (Turkey) and Mr. C. P. Panayotacos (Greece) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Before today's meeting was convened, I contacted the members of the Council as well as the representatives of the interested parties, with a view to reaching agreement on the draft resolution distributed as document S/10946. Since there were no objections to the draft, I take it that Council

members find the draft resolution generally acceptable. Accordingly, I intend to put it to the vote now and then to call on those representatives whose names appear on the list of speakers, in accordance with the procedure which the Council has more than once followed on similar occasions.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Austria, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: China.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none with 1 abstention.¹

3. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council will now hear statements from those representatives who wish to speak on the item after the vote.

4. The first on the list of speakers is the representative of Cyprus on whom I now call.

5. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish to thank the Security Council for allowing me to participate in this debate.

6. First of all, Mr. President, may I offer you our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. Your diplomatic skill, your objectivity and your long experience in guiding the deliberations of the Council have been well known and appreciated in the United Nations over many years. More recently—in the course of the past week—we have had the opportunity of seeing those qualities at work. It is fortunate that a man of your outstanding calibre should be presiding over the Council at a time when so many issues of great importance are being dealt with by this body.

7. We have before us the report of the Secretary-General, a comprehensive and balanced document reflecting the situation and the development of the United Nations operations in Cyprus under Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)].

8. It may be pertinent at this juncture to recall that this resolution provided for a two-pronged United Nations

¹ See resolution 334 (1973).

effort, namely, first, that of peace-keeping, including military deconfrontation and normalization and, secondly, that of peace-making in the search for a peaceful solution, originally through a mediator—whose constructive report still remains a valuable document endorsed by the Secretary-General's good offices. At the present stage, those local talks are being conducted in a reactivated and expanded form with the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafell, and the presence in an advisory capacity of two constitutional experts on Greece and Turkey, Mr. Dekleris and Mr. Aldikaçti, as well as the two interlocuters, Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denkaş.

9. I take this opportunity to say that the participation in the talks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has made a most positive and constructive contribution and that the presence of the two constitutional experts has proved equally helpful.

10. These talks, which are being held on the agreed basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary State, are generally recognized as offering the best way for a peaceful and lasting solution of the problem, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cyprus. The talks have now reached an advanced stage and, according to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, have been "conducted in a constructive manner" offering the possibility of a substantial measure of agreement, although it is stated that "much patient work will be needed to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory end" [*S/10940 and Corr.1, para. 79*].

11. The positive trend in the conduct of the talks thus far is an encouraging indication and we look forward to a continuing spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. My Government will go all the way within its means towards promoting and enhancing that spirit and will continue the negotiations with the utmost goodwill. It is, therefore, earnestly to be urged that concepts reflecting extreme views one way or the other or of such a nature as might be disruptive to the State would, in the exercise of reason and moderation, be carefully avoided. The talks may thus offer the expectation of agreement on a balanced and viable constitutional structure, in accordance with the established norms for a unitary State. A just and enduring solution can thus be achieved.

12. The precise form of constitutional structure for Cyprus is still the subject of negotiation in the local talks and therefore cannot at present be fully discussed in the Council. The negotiations, however, are conducted upon a basis, as I have already stated, the constitutional part of which provides for a unitary State. The term "unitary State", which has been partly discussed, has a clearly defined legal meaning and content. Its essential characteristic, to distinguish it from a federal State, is that institutions of local government function under the control of the State. Within that constitutional framework of a unitary State, variations as to the particular form to be applied in Cyprus are being discussed in the local talks. They cannot, however, stray into the field of federation which lies entirely outside the agreed basis and which, in any case, by the very nature of territorial realities in Cyprus is wholly inapplicable. Of course, the characteristic pre-

condition for a federal State is the existence of a pattern of territorial separation between the separate units to be federated. That pattern does not exist in Cyprus where in all of its six districts the Greek and Turkish population live intermingled. Nor can the concept of federation be applied or function without its being related to distinct territorial entities. Such a notion or function is not known in public law and has no place in any existing constitution in the world, nor has it been applied anywhere. On these matters, and in particular reference to Cyprus, an eminent British jurist and constitutional expert, Lord Radcliffe, who was mandated in 1956 by the British Government to deal specifically with this question, declared that Cyprus could not be organized as a federation because

"There is no pattern of territorial separation between the two communities and, apart from other objections, federation of communities which does not involve also federation of territories seems to be a very difficult constitutional form."²

Furthermore, the United Nations Mediator, Mr. Galo Plaza, found on the very same grounds that a federal system of government in Cyprus was wholly inapplicable, pointing out that any such attempt would be destructive to the State and would inevitably lead to its partition [*see S/6253 of 26 March 1965*]. Constitutional abnormalities, whether conceived in a policy of excessive separatism or otherwise, could never be workable or, for that matter, acceptable.

13. What is of paramount importance in the relevant negotiations is that the resulting constitutional structure be practically workable. To that end it should not violate universally-established norms in a manner rendering its performance so cumbersome as to lead to its breakdown. Constitutional norms reflecting the accumulated wisdom of experience over the ages cannot, for whatever reason, be ignored or transgressed with impunity as to the resulting product. We feel confident that, in the expanded local talks, no such straying from constitutional norms would be allowed—particularly in view of the presence of the two constitutional experts—to endanger the genuineness of the present effort towards a stable solution in a sense of mutual respect and a truly co-operative spirit.

14. Regarding deconfrontation and normalization, the Secretary-General's report expresses concern over the continued lack of progress in this field. My Government, consistent in its policy of co-operating with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, has all along and on all occasions declared its willingness to accept general and island-wide military deconfrontation. It has also accepted partial deconfrontation, as now proposed by UNFICYP, which is ready to negotiate agreements, as well as provide a United Nations military presence, by way of a further assurance that no risk whatever is involved to either side by the deconfrontation. Such an initial step during the coming months would help generate greater confidence between the two sides and the report points out that this might well lead to a more general measure of military

² See *Constitutional Proposals for Cyprus*, Report submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 1956, Cmnd. 42 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office), p. 13.

deconfrontation throughout the island. Among the benefits from such deconfrontation, the report stresses, would be a reduction in tension and also the creation of a situation in which a significant reduction of the United Nations force would become possible, thereby reducing the over-all cost of UNFICYP. Both aspects are important, particularly with a view to reducing the force, and the relevant proposal should be met with a positive response.

15. In regard to normalization, the restoration of full freedom of movement is the fundamental premise from which other aspects of normalization would flow. The report points out, in paragraph 72, that "restriction on the freedom of movement of civilians still remains one of the most serious problems in the island" and refers to previous reports showing the developments since the Government took the initiative of the unilateral elimination, in 1968, of all restrictions on freedom of movement in the expectation of response from the other side.

16. In this respect, a previous report of the Secretary-General remarks that, whereas Turkish Cypriots may move freely throughout the island, Greek Cypriots continue to be denied access to Turkish Cypriot enclaves and to a number of public roads among which are main communication roads such as the Nicosia-Kyrenia road and so forth [S/9233 of 3 June 1969, para. 55]. This situation in a sense affects also the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots who, as another previous report points out, are still required to observe certain formalities of control when passing through Turkish-Cypriot barriers and checkpoints [S/8622 of 11 June 1968, para. 65]. As this unwarranted situation continues, it would seem that at least a phased restoration of freedom of movement in those areas and main public roads particularly might be started in the same way as the proposal by UNFICYP in respect of deconfrontation.

17. For indeed, aside from the relief from hardship, perhaps the most important aspect of the restoration of freedom of movement is its relevance to the psychological climate in the relations between the two communities. In a previous report, the Secretary-General pertinently remarked:

"The relaxation of restrictions has unmistakably demonstrated that Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live in peace and harmony and seem already prepared to accept and support reasonable compromises." [S/8446 of 9 March 1968, para. 153.]

and also that

"it had been gratifying to observe . . . the ease with which ordinary people of both communities were beginning to resume their former amicable relations". [Ibid., para.149.]

In a subsequent report, the Secretary-General, referring to the happy way in which the Greek and Turkish Cypriots resumed their contact after the lifting of all restrictions, remarked that it was "an eloquent demonstration of the fact that the people of Cyprus desire to live in peace and harmony again and are able to do so" [S/8914 of 4 December 1968, para. 37].

18. The willingness for conciliation and co-operation is always alive among the majority of the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus and spontaneously comes to the surface whenever the opportunity presents itself, regrettably rarely as that may happen. The most recent opportunity has been this year's drought and the effective work accomplished by the intercommunal agricultural survey, the success of which is attributed, in the Secretary-General's report, "to the excellent co-operation shown by both communities" [S/10940 and Corr.1, para. 70].

19. The common desire of the people for increased co-operation in economic matters has also been noted in a number of the Secretary-General's reports, all of which stress the need for an integrated economy. Yet there has been no effective advance in that direction. Again, as noted in several reports, this is one of the regrettable outcomes of a policy of excessive separatism which runs counter to the vital interests of the country and more particularly to the interests of the Turkish Cypriots, resulting in an imbalance in the economic well-being between the two communities with respect to which the Government has offered to supply funds and assistance towards the raising of the standard of living of the Turkish Cypriot community, which is a result of separatism.

20. Normalizing the relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots through conciliation would present no problem whatsoever so long as no artificial obstacles and rigid prohibitions were placed in the way. Let us allow the warmth of feeling of the Cypriot people—Greek and Turkish alike—to find its natural outlet in acts of goodwill and genuine co-operation and also in effective co-operation with the United Nations Forces in Cyprus in its efforts towards the military disengagement and normalization that have been so long delayed. This is the best way to enhance the common endeavour in the talks, by bringing a new spirit into them aimed towards overcoming differences and difficulties in a more positive, more accommodating and more co-operative approach and in keeping with the moral demands of our present-day interdependent world. A just and enduring solution can in this way be achieved to the benefit of the people of Cyprus—Greeks and Turks alike—and in the wider interests of peace in that troubled area of the Mediterranean and in the world at large.

21. Before concluding, I should like to say a few words to express my Government's gratitude to our Secretary-General for his genuine and consistent efforts regarding the problem of Cyprus and its solution on a just, workable and lasting basis. I also wish to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for his untiring efforts in the conduct of the local talks and otherwise in carrying out his functions in Cyprus to which he has brought his many talents and great experience, wisdom and diplomatic skill. Likewise we thank the Secretary-General's collaborators in the Secretariat, more particularly the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer and the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Urquhart, for their valuable services in this regard, as well as the Commander of the United Nations Force, Major-General Prem Chand, for the very useful work he has been carrying out in the island in close co-operation with

my Government. Finally, once again, I wish to put on record how grateful we are to the countries whose generous contributions in military personnel and financial assistance have made possible the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

22. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The next speaker on the list is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

23. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assuming the presidency of the Council. Your high personal qualities and your vast experience, so amply proved during the past fortnight when this body had to deal with such a complex and chronic problem as the Middle East, are a guarantee of success for the tasks which still remain to be dealt with during the current month. Inspired by the harmonious good neighbourly relations happily existing between our two countries and their ever-increasing economic co-operation further enhanced by exchanges of high level visits in recent years, I assure you of my delegation's full co-operation and trust in the course of the debate on Cyprus.

24. May I also be permitted to express my delegation's appreciation to the members of the Council for enabling us to participate in the debate on the present agenda item.

25. There are permanent members of the Council, there are non-permanent members of the Council and there are some countries like my own which seem to be the permanent clients of the Council. Therefore, from time to time I also have to salute the presence of newcomers in the Council, because we do come here very often, and in that respect I would extend the particular feelings of sympathy and friendship of my country to the representatives of Austria, Australia, Peru, Kenya and Indonesia whom I have the honour of seeing for the first time during the debate on Cyprus.

26. The periodic report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus once again forms the frame of the deliberations of the Security Council on the matter. Keeping in mind the virtue of brevity, particularly after the trying times the Council has just had on a major and challenging question and out of deference to the Minister for Foreign Affairs who, I understand, will address the Council after the discussion of the present item, I shall try to limit my statement strictly to essentials.

27. In paragraph 34 of the report, the Secretary-General notes that "the intercommunal military situation has remained quiet during the period under review", and that "there have been few incidents between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots". My delegation notes with satisfaction this general assessment of the situation. We are happy that intercommunal relations have remained calm, since we believe that the prevalence of such an atmosphere is an essential—although not the only—requisite for the process of confidence building in the island, which in turn is a condition for the success of the ongoing talks.

28. In paragraph 35, the Secretary-General observes that "most of the incidents reported during February, March and April were not intercommunal in nature but were the result of activities of anti-Government Greek Cypriot

groups". The following paragraphs give an outline of the magnitude of these incidents. Though the violence has been limited to the Greek Cypriot community, what concerns us at this stage is the possible negative consequences of these incidents—as written in the report—either by accident or by design, on the security of the Turkish community. On the other hand, one inevitably is concerned by the negative effects of these incidents on the peaceful efforts and on the difficult process of confidence building in the island. Indeed, in paragraph 92, the Secretary-General says "it is evident that these developments have had an adverse effect on the intercommunal talks".

29. In this connexion I must also draw attention to the continuation of statements from many Greek Cypriot quarters, including the highest ones, professing for the future of the island an ultimate political objective other than its permanent independence. Such statements, particularly when they are made by persons who now occupy most of the responsible positions, are bound to have negative effects on intercommunal trust and thus on the enlarged intercommunal talks, the purpose of which is to explore the constitutional possibilities with a view to re-establishing permanently the independent State on the basis of the partnership of its two constituent communities.

30. In paragraph 94 of his report, the Secretary-General says:

"Progress in achieving a return to normal conditions has been noticeably slow. The public services rendered to members of the Turkish Cypriot community remain inadequate in some respects."

Chapter III gives a detailed account on this subject. One notes with regret that, after almost a decade, the Turkish Cypriot community, which, as I have had the sad duty of reminding this Council on more than one occasion, is the major, if not the exclusive, sufferer from the present stagnation in relation to returning to normal conditions, still continues to live under conditions of severe deprivation and discrimination, even in such public service areas as electricity, water and mail. Furthermore, the Turkish community is denied its fair share of the benefits of the present economic development in the island as well as of the international assistance extended to it.

31. In this connection, I would emphasize that, in the extensive assistance that Cyprus continues to receive from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the share of the Turkish community and its participation in the projects are, in the words of the Secretary-General, "still disappointingly low" [*S/10940 and Corr.1, para. 61*]. It is all the more distressing if one keeps in mind the fact that the Turkish community has always enthusiastically wished to participate in UNDP-assisted projects. Pending a lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, I believe that much more can and should be done on the practical level, in the preparatory and implementary stages of the UNDP projects, to ensure adequate participation of both communities, for the betterment of the island's economy as a whole. Here is one area where progress again depends upon the willingness of the Greek Cypriot side to co-operate with UNDP, UNFICYP and the Turkish Cypriot community. Such a co-operative attitude would be a positive step towards the creation of mutual confidence and as a by-product would

enhance the prospects for success in the enlarged intercommunal talks.

32. Reluctant to look only at the gloomy side of the Cyprus picture, I find, as I hope members of the Council might also find, relief in chapter IV, where the Secretary-General expresses a note of optimism with regard to the success of the broadened intercommunal talks, the fifth and sixth rounds of which were devoted to the important issue of local autonomy. We concur with his statement that these talks are "a positive, constructive and valuable step towards the settlement of the constitutional issues paving the way to the solution of the long-outstanding Cyprus problem" [*ibid.*, para. 83], and accordingly the Turkish Government has extended its earnest and full support to the broadened intercommunal talks since they started.

33. The time consumed since the inception of the broadened talks and the limited results achieved so far might seem disappointing. However, as the report suggests, the complexity and the vital importance of the problem should be borne in mind and "not only the substance of those problems but the words used to define them and their interpretation may become matters of lengthy and difficult debate" [*ibid.*, para. 80]. As a good example, in the following paragraph the Secretary-General tries to illustrate the controversial nature of one such term and the positions of the two communities thereon, thus indicating the difficulties inherent in subscribing to controversial, undefined terminology. Indeed the Secretary-General, in his wisdom, omitted on purpose such undefined terminology in his aide-mémoire of 18 May 1972 [see S/10664, para. 62], which sets the terms and the basis for the present broadened intercommunal talks. Obviously the nature of the agreed final settlement is for the parties themselves to decide as recognized once more in the Secretary-General's report.

34. We have already heard this morning, in the course of a learned lecture on constitutional law, the views of one of the parties on an issue which, in the very words of the representative of that party, would better be left to those discussing the various possibilities for a workable constitution in the island at this time. Looking around this table, I can hardly understand the fears expressed with regard to some kind of federative system, which seems, after all, to have been the choice of so many of the Members of the Organization. That does not mean in any way that Turkey or, as far as I know, the Turkish Cypriot side is committed to one form or another in the discussions of the future constitutional framework that will be adopted for the State, to preserve its independence and territorial integrity. I think that at this stage it is sufficient for me to say that the problem is, after all, the responsibility of others and I hope that they fulfil it in Cyprus to the best of their ability.

35. In keeping with one of its basic tenets of foreign policy, the Turkish Government, which is one of the directly interested parties entrusted with moral and contractual obligations, is determined to promote and contribute to a just and permanent peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus, one that will fully safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish and Greek communities and the other parties concerned. We have repeatedly stated, and I shall repeat once again in the very

words I used in the past, that we shall continue to work for changing Cyprus from an island of intercommunal strife into a model of a bicomunal State, where, as originally conceived and created, both communities will live as masters of their homeland, neither one dominating the other, and as equal partners in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of their island.

36. The Secretary-General recommended the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. The Turkish Government agreed to that recommendation, which was accepted a short while ago by this body, and I should like to express our appreciation to the members of the Council, as well as to the countries contributing to UNFICYP, for making possible the continuation of the Force's services in the island. Recognizing the difficulties, financial and otherwise, that they have to confront in order to make that contribution, I am once more pleased to express my delegation's concurrence with the view of the Secretary-General, who considers that the presence of the Force is required for the maintenance of the relative security essential to the parties in their peaceful efforts.

37. Before concluding—and I hope that, for a change, I shall not have to speak again in the debate—I should like to express my Government's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and to his assistants both here and in Cyprus, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, the Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, whose presence I welcome in our deliberations, the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand, and all their staff, as well as the members of the Force, for their dedicated and constructive work.

38. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Greece on whom I now call.

39. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): First of all, Mr. President, may I be permitted to associate myself with the congratulations and best wishes which have been extended to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council? My delegation acknowledges with appreciation the skill with which you have prepared the ground for this debate devoted to the question of Cyprus and we wish you every success for the remainder of your term in office. I should also like to thank you for giving the Greek delegation the opportunity to participate in today's meeting and present a few observations on the Secretary-General's report, which has given us once again an up-to-date, realistic and comprehensive assessment of the situation in Cyprus, as well as of the role of the United Nations presence there during the last six months.

40. The general conclusion that stems from the report in question is undoubtedly that this strife-torn island has to take more steps along the road to a normal state of affairs before any substantial reduction of the United Nations commitment in Cyprus can safely be envisaged. In this respect, we share the Secretary-General's concern over the fact that no substantial progress has been made towards the return to normal conditions and a military deconfrontation. It is encouraging, however, to note that, in spite of circumstantial differences and other difficulties arising from

time to time, there appears to be consensus among all parties directly concerned that the reactivated intercommunal talks are the best—indeed the only—available way of promoting a peaceful solution of the problem confronting Cyprus. As the Secretary-General very aptly points out, these talks constitute:

“a positive, constructive and valuable step towards the settlement of the constitutional issues paving the way to the solutions of the long outstanding Cyprus problem.”
[S/10940 and Corr.1, para. 83.]

41. Needless to say, talks should be only a means for acting and an agreed settlement still appears to be remote. On the other hand, one should not lose sight of the fact that the Cyprus problem, unique in its complexity, cannot be solved overnight. Patience, good faith and good sense are the threefold prerequisite to any viable solution. And to those among us who show signs of understandable restlessness or restiveness, I say this: As long as one cannot act, to talk is already something. Furthermore, it is self-evident that any settlement has to be in conformity with the Charter and the Security Council's resolutions of 1964 and 1967 and also take into consideration the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole, within the framework of international peace and security. May I stress once more that the constant objectives of the Greek Government's policy are based on the two resolutions in question and that the records of the Council testify to the consistency of this policy.

42. In the same context, the Greek delegation voices its gratification at the fact that the intercommunal talks have been conducted in a constructive manner, according to the report's assessment. We find it also particularly heartening that, in Mr. Osorio-Tafall's view, there appears to be a good possibility that a substantial measure of agreement may be reached on questions of principle.

43. In his report, the Secretary-General has however cautioned us that much patient work will be needed to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory end. On the other hand, it is encouraging that the situation in the island has remained almost calm during the last six months and no major incidents of an intercommunal character have occurred, in spite of the unfortunate intestine antagonisms still besetting the Greek community. We do believe and fervently hope that calm and good sense will ultimately prevail and spread in all directions, for the benefit of all.

44. The Greek Government has repeatedly deplored all acts of violence and reiterated its belief that a negotiated constitutional settlement is the only solution. We were the first fully to endorse, in October 1971, the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire [see S/10401, para. 79] on the reactivated intercommunal talks. We shall definitely be the last ones to give up endeavouring to ensure their successful consummation, firmly convinced that the procedure now followed is the most likely to lead to an arrangement satisfactory to all concerned. It is consequently in everybody's interest to refrain from any individual or collective action or any hasty initiative that could stir up passions and embitter the atmosphere, thus rendering a solution corres-

pondingly more difficult. On the other hand, it is hardly necessary to emphasize further to the parties concerned the disastrous consequences of a breakdown in the talks.

45. In the light of all those considerations, we fully endorse the Secretary-General's proposal on the extension of the UNFICYP mandate for another six months. Actually, the Force's outstanding services to peace have by far exceeded the frame of the island alone and given, in our opinion, vibrant proof of the value of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. I cannot, however, in this respect help expressing our disappointment that so few members of the Security Council have been contributing to financing the United Nations operations in Cyprus—all the more so since UNFICYP has by no means outlived its usefulness. It is therefore to be hoped that in order to keep these operations workable as long as needed, more members of the Council, as well as Members of the United Nations, will volunteer their material support. For its part, Greece will continue paying its substantial share in order to help check the financial deficit that causes—and for very good reason—our Secretary-General's concern.

46. I furthermore believe that this is also an appropriate moment to remind ourselves once more that, in a wider scope, we cannot have something for nothing; we cannot fulfil the mandate of our Charter and make the United Nations an effective instrument of world peace without providing the necessary tools. As regards more specifically Cyprus, the degree of success of the reactivated talks depends largely on the preservation of peaceful conditions, détente and deconfrontation. The mere presence of Blue Berets in the island constitutes the strongest deterrent against a possible recurrence of intercommunal violence. May I also point out in this respect that neither resolution 186 (1964), by which the function of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force was defined, nor resolution 244 (1967) by any means linked the duration of the stationing of the Force in Cyprus to the length or even the existence of intercommunal talks?

47. Peace-keeping and genuine efforts at peace-making are two different facets of the whole operation, through which the role of the United Nations is being asserted. Although I agree in principle with the views formulated last year in this forum by some colleagues—in particular, the representatives of the United Kingdom and Italy—that peace-keeping cannot be a substitute for peace-making, I consider it equally true that peace-making, at least through direct intercommunal talks, becomes illusory without the reassuring presence in the island of the peace-keeping forces. It would consequently be more appropriate to assert that under the peculiar circumstances prevailing in Cyprus, there is no substitute for peace-keeping as a means—the only means—to success in peace-making.

48. Bearing this in mind, my Government expresses once more the hope of seeing UNFICYP continue extending its helping hand in the search for a just and lasting solution, as long as needed. After all, to use Rudyard Kipling's words, no question is ever settled until it is settled right. We shall not deviate an inch from this line of reasoning and conduct, as we consider the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus to be

one of the most important expressions of the Security Council's discharge of its ultimate task in the maintenance of international peace and security. We do not see really who could assume the heavy responsibility for its premature interruption or drastic reduction.

49. In concluding my remarks, I should like to reiterate how deeply we are appreciative of and grateful for the Secretary-General's constant interest in the question of Cyprus. Since he took up his office, he has spared no effort for the ultimate success of the reactivated intercommunal talks under their enlarged new formula. For our part, we shall never cease to back up his endeavours aimed at bringing about an agreed solution of the problem, based on the concept of an independent, sovereign and unitary State of Cyprus. On this occasion I should also like to thank his able assistants, namely the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Roberto Guyer and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall. We are indebted to both of them for their painstaking efforts in order to prevent, as far as they could, a deterioration of the situation and to bridge the differences still dividing the parties. Lastly, our thanks are extended to the Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, Major-General Prem Chand and to the officers and men under his command, for the constructive efforts they have deployed on the spot with inexhaustible patience, commendable impartiality and unlimited good will.

50. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): First, I hope that I may be permitted a personal observation. As a relative newcomer to the ranks of the Security Council, I wish to express my great personal pleasure in participating in a discussion which has been marked by expressions of harmony, hope and promise for the future, particularly in the important area of peace-keeping.

51. The United States delegation supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for another six months. The Force continues to contribute to the maintenance of law and order in Cyprus and thus to the maintenance of peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean.

52. I should like to express our appreciation for the highly professional work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and I should like also to pay our respects to the officers and men of the eight countries contributing forces to UNFICYP, which, under the leadership of Major-General Prem Chand, serves on the front lines of international peace-keeping.

53. In the light of events in Cyprus since the Council's last meeting in December, the United States continues to be cautiously optimistic. The possibilities for substantive progress may be brighter than ever before in the long course of this frustratingly complex problem.

54. We find grounds for encouragement in the Secretary-General's careful and informative report. The military situation in Cyprus has remained calm. There have been few incidents between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and only one shooting incident in the past six months has been

judged to be a breach of the cease-fire. This is in dramatic contrast to the experience during earlier periods.

55. We are gratified that the intercommunal meetings between Turkish and Greek Cypriot leaders have continued in a relatively restrained and constructive atmosphere. We strongly urge all sides to take fullest advantage of this promising atmosphere and of the opportunity now at hand. We persist in our hope that in the end all elements of the Cypriot nation will reside peacefully with one another in a sovereign, independent and united Cyprus.

56. The situation within Cyprus contains elements of accomplishment and hope, as well as unfinished business. It is also apparent that constructive changes in the external considerations in the Cyprus situation have markedly improved the atmosphere since the United Nations peace-keeping operation was first established.

57. Ten years ago—even three years ago—the threat of involvement by States outside Cyprus was calculated as a real possibility. Now, in our judgement, the Cyprus situation is characterized by a much closer identity of views among the neighbouring Powers. This development has had a beneficial effect on international peace and security in the area and has helped to restore more normal conditions in Cyprus. These are key objectives of the United Nations Force and the constructive attitudes of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus deserve our full, unqualified support.

58. The Secretary-General has again conveyed to us the melancholy news of continued financial deficits in the operation of the United Nations Force. He has repeatedly appealed for additional contributions. None the less, effective support of this United Nations peace-keeping operation has been left by United Nations Members to a small number of States which continue to contribute more generously than their own interests or responsibilities would dictate. The Secretary-General estimates that this deficit may soon reach \$18.9 million. My Government has sought in the past few years, in consultation with the Secretary-General and other contributors, to encourage reduction or, better, elimination of this deficit. We had hoped that our formula of matching contributions and our special payment of \$8 million last year would stimulate financial contributions to this United Nations peace-keeping force by other Members. We have been disappointed in the results. None the less, we continue to urge the Members of the United Nations, above all members of this Council and those who benefit most directly from the presence of UNFICYP, to co-operate in efforts to put UNFICYP on a sound and current financial basis.

59. In the absence of a positive response to appeals by the Secretary-General, we do not see how the present size and operations of UNFICYP can continue to be maintained much longer. Fortunately, however, we believe the Cyprus situation has progressed to a point where we can consider seriously reducing manpower in the United Nations Force as well as streamlining and reorganizing its operations.

60. In this connexion, the United States strongly supports the intention of the Secretary-General, noted in paragraphs

89 and 99 of his report, to make a thorough study of ways and means to reduce the United Nations commitment in terms of finances and manpower. The United States will fully support such further economies in the UNFICYP operation as the Secretary-General can achieve without jeopardizing its effectiveness. In our view, the study undertaken by the Secretary-General should, at the very least, constitute an analysis of precisely what kind of adjustments in forces or operating procedures could be made to eliminate the annual deficit and how the Secretary-General would implement those adjustments.

61. We also hope that concurrently the Secretary-General and his staff will examine the creation of alternative force models. We have in mind a thorough review, for example, of models based on hypothetical reductions in the neighbourhood of 25, 50 and 75 per cent of the current strength of UNFICYP. The study might address alternative restructurings of the Force, to make it more mobile, redefine its operating procedures and assure adequate logistic support of each of these hypothetical levels within the terms of its current mandate.

62. Needless to say, we make these suggestions with no intention of committing the Secretary-General, present contributors to the Force, or the Security Council to any specific force level or structure. Clearly, these changes can only be determined in the light of many factors, after a careful review of the situation in and around Cyprus and with the full agreement of all concerned. But we do believe it is time for a fundamental and detailed re-study of the structure, operations and financing of the Force. We welcome the Secretary-General's intention to address these problems prior to our next consideration of this subject in December.

63. Mr. WEIR (United Kingdom): Once again we have voted in a spirit of guarded optimism to extend the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further six months. The main reason for such guarded optimism is the opinion of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, recorded in the report on the last six months' operation, that there appears to be a good possibility that a substantial measure of agreement may be reached in the intercommunal talks on the questions of principle. It is on those talks that our main hopes are pinned and it is my Government's firm view that they represent the best way of achieving progress towards a settlement.

64. In this context, I take the opportunity to welcome the presence of Señor Osorio-Tafall at this meeting. We all owe a great debt of gratitude to him for the skill and perseverance he has shown in Cyprus over the years and my Government is deeply appreciative of the continuing efforts made by him and his colleagues, both military and civilian, towards achieving a settlement of the dispute. We are likewise much indebted to the Secretary-General himself, whose observations in his admirably clear and constructive report we endorse and support.

65. There is no doubt, in the view of my delegation, that the role of the United Nations Force continues to be of the greatest value in maintaining a close watch on developments

in the internal military situation, in investigating matters involving the two communities in Cyprus and in using its good offices to help avoid confrontations. This is clearly brought out in the Secretary-General's report. It is for this reason that my Government has again willingly supported the extension of the UNFICYP mandate and pledges to maintain our troop contingent and the existing level of our logistic support. I might perhaps mention at this juncture that the British financial contribution to the operation is now running at an annual rate of some £4.5 million—a not inconsiderable amount. This figure includes both the basic costs of our troops and the extra costs, which we are absorbing as part of our contribution, and also our logistic support to other contingents. These latter figures, our extra costs and the cost of logistic support, have risen steeply. Nevertheless, in view of the serious financial position of the Cyprus operation, my Government has been willing, for the period of the renewed mandate, to absorb the increase.

66. The Secretary-General's report is indeed gloomy on the financial situation; far gloomier on this aspect than on any other. The financial situation has clearly worsened and the mounting deficit must be a matter of concern to us all. I should like to say one or two things about this. First of all, we hope that all contributors will adopt the same course that my Government and some other Governments have taken of absorbing the increased costs which have arisen; in other words, increasing their total financial contribution. This, however, is not in itself enough and my second point is that my Government hopes that a more generous contribution will be made by all Member States in response to the Secretary-General's appeal. This is an operation which is of importance for us all. Finally, my delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to achieve economies without jeopardizing the effectiveness of UNFICYP. We well understand that the implementation of any recommendations for reductions in the Force would have to depend upon political and military conditions prevailing at the time, as well as upon the financial considerations. We hope none the less that significant economies will prove possible.

67. One point which disturbs my delegation as much as it clearly disturbs the Secretary-General is the fact that he has had to report that "progress in achieving a return to normal conditions has been noticeably slow" [*S/10940 and Corr. 1, para. 94*]. We have been particularly interested in the proposals made by the Secretary-General for reducing tension and generating confidence between the two communities. We realize that progress on this front must depend on the generation of confidence through progress in the intercommunal talks. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of confrontation benefits no one and it constitutes a heavy commitment on UNFICYP resources. As the report notes, there is a link between this problem and the military problem. UNFICYP, however, is ready to help with the negotiation of appropriate limited agreements as an initial step and to assist in their implementation. My Government strongly supports the proposals of the Secretary-General and his representatives in those fields. If this opportunity is exploited and the hoped for progress attained in the intercommunal talks, the situation could be transformed by next December. It is our earnest hope that it will be.

68. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just extended for the twenty-fourth time the mandate for the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. My delegation's support for this decision should be interpreted as an affirmation of the confidence of my country—which is speaking on this question for the first time in the Council—in the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in Cyprus.

69. In his clear and precise report, the Secretary-General has drawn our attention to the fact that talks between the two communities were conducted in a constructive way and that, in the opinion of his Special Representative in Cyprus, it seems that there is some possibility that in the near future the efforts under way will lead to a basis for agreement between the parties. My delegation is convinced that talks are the most promising way to reach a solution to the problems on the island. It is highly desirable for those talks to lead to solutions satisfactory to both communities. For that reason we very much welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, which led to the resumption of talks a year ago.

70. However, in spite of the resumption of talks and the rather encouraging pace at which they are being conducted, the Secretary-General has once again drawn our attention to the fact that the situation remains quite unstable and that the calm which has generally been maintained has been interrupted by moments of tension and sporadic acts of violence. I regret to have to add that it is unlikely that the situation will change before the fundamental problems are solved. In the circumstances, we believe that the observations of the Secretary-General are quite justified and we support his proposal to extend the mandate of the Force for a period of six months.

71. As I said at the beginning of this statement, my Government is particularly interested in the situation in Cyprus for, over the past nine years, we have been associated with the United Nations peace-keeping efforts. A month after the adoption of resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, my Government responded positively to the Secretary-General's request that there be placed at his disposal a military and police contingent and, at the present time, Austria maintains not only a considerable military contingent but also a field hospital and the most sizable civil police force within the United Nations Force. Furthermore, over the years we have made voluntary contributions to the financing of this peace-keeping mission. However, the financial deficit, which regrettably continues to grow, is a source of major concern to my Government and other contributing Governments. I cannot fail to express our disappointment over the fact that the many appeals the Secretary-General has addressed to Member States to contribute more generously to the financing of the Force have been heeded only inadequately. On a number of occasions my delegation has expressed the view in the General Assembly that the present method of financing peace-keeping operations, which is based only on the contributions of a limited number of countries, is neither adequate nor justified. We hope that these questions will receive well-deserved attention within the context of efforts

to establish a constitutional framework for all peace-keeping questions.

72. As regards the United Nations Force in Cyprus, we appreciate the determination of the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to achieve a solution to the financing problem. We are pleased to learn that studies are under way to find ways and means of reducing the United Nations financial commitment to the Force.

73. There is no doubt that the United Nations Force is continuing to do an excellent job in Cyprus and I should in particular like to say that we very much admire the efforts of Major-General Prem Chand.

74. Certainly, the extension of the United Nations efforts in Cyprus for the twenty-fourth time, without any final or satisfactory results, seems at first sight very discouraging, but when we realize that one of the possible alternatives is armed confrontation, we cannot hesitate to give our firm support to this United Nations operation. However, we also share the frequently expressed and growing concern that the United Nations presence on the island seems to be established and taking on more and more the character of a standing obligation of the United Nations and the contributing countries. We join with other delegations, then, in expressing our most sincere hope that a lasting and unequivocal peace will soon be established in Cyprus.

75. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): This is the third time, during our current term in the Council, that the Yugoslav delegation has participated in the six-monthly review of the United Nations operation in Cyprus, which started as early as March 1964, almost a full decade ago, with Security Council resolution 186 (1964). An almost full decade of consolidated though always precarious peace is much better than one of hostilities of any kind. Still, this decade must not pass without a major positive change in the situation, without a final breakthrough.

76. Once again we have the benefit of having before us an exhaustive, balanced and vigorous report by the Secretary-General. While it concerns itself, as it should, with the immediate aspects of the UNFICYP operation in Cyprus, it is obvious that we all have to be mindful of the larger elements of time and space which are relevant when considering the situation in and around the Republic of Cyprus. The current Security Council debate on the whole Middle Eastern question highlights the precarious state of peace, or absence of full-scale war or hostilities, in an area plagued by constant crisis. The interdependence of peace and progress in the Middle East, in the Mediterranean and in Europe and the dangers of any untoward developments spilling over from one part to another of these interconnected regions have been stressed by many speakers. That is especially true of my delegation, Yugoslavia being a European and Mediterranean country.

77. It is also in that context—the context of the danger of the Middle Eastern crisis being additionally complicated by new factors of tension and rivalries in the wider areas of the Persian Gulf and elsewhere—that all the parties directly concerned with the matter before us must realize once

again how imperative and how urgent it is—and it is becoming more so with every passing moment—to make final progress and reach such agreement in Cyprus as will solve the crisis that we have been considering semi-annually for so long.

78. We have stated before and are now repeating the same position in the same words: that a firm and constant commitment to the independent, sovereign, free and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, an equal Member of the United Nations, and to its unity and territorial integrity has been and remains the *sine qua non* of any progress in and around Cyprus. That would permit a solution of the crisis and change the situation by transforming that area of tension into an island of co-operation, peace and harmony and a factor of security and stability in the Mediterranean and beyond.

79. Equally, we have stated before and are now repeating the same basic position: that the Republic of Cyprus, under the Charter, the relevant United Nations resolutions and basic principles of international law is, as a sovereign State, entitled not only to full respect of its territorial integrity but also to full observance of its inherent right to non-interference in its internal affairs and to not having force or the threat of force used against it in any circumstances from any side whatsoever. The only possible basis for the solution of their problems has been and remains the mutual understanding and agreement of all the people of Cyprus and of its two communities, and the desire of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people to live in justly shared unity, united and unified in peace and harmony, reaching and consummating reasonable compromises without pressure from outside.

80. Those are the reasons why we are heartened by the reference in the Secretary-General's report to the steady continuation of, and some further progress achieved in, intercommunal talks. Those are the reasons why we share his appraisal and hope stated in paragraph 83 of the report. Those are also the reasons why we agree with the indication that more time—but a defined length of time—should be allotted to those discussions, as stated in paragraph 79 which declares that "in any case at least another four months of discussions will be needed". Indeed, in such complex and sensitive matters patience is always well advised and all the time that is genuinely needed should be utilized. But we all know that nothing can last indefinitely and that the other half of the art of diplomacy—that is, problem-solving and compromise—should also be employed.

81. The last six months have, fortunately, passed again without the outbreak of any major hostilities. At the same time, however, many known dangerous and damaging incidents have taken place, often shattering relative normalcy, if one may use this term. Also some crisis-laden political manoeuvres around Cyprus were attempted. It is to the credit of the Government of Cyprus, of UNFICYP and all the factors that have withstood and contained those incidents, that those manoeuvres did not shatter essential peace and stability and that the intercommunal talks could and have been permitted to continue, marking some progress. It would not be wise for anyone engaged in the

talks to temporize, expecting that developments, like the ones alluded to above, could benefit one side and weaken the other. The success of these talks, which are concerned with the joint fate of the people of one island, of one State, can be achieved only in a common spirit of confidence and not in a competitive spirit of taking advantage over the other side.

82. One can only regret that the Secretary-General has had to report again that, while this time there are signs of increasing economic progress within each community of the island, even if not evenly distributed [see S/10940 and Corr.1, para. 62], little progress has been achieved in the field of military deconfrontation and that a return to normal conditions has been slow [ibid., paras. 93 and 94]. We would, on the whole, support the approach of partial deconfrontation, a limited measure of military disengagement, as leading to a more general one, and we would commend UNFICYP's readiness to negotiate appropriate limited agreements to this end and to provide a military presence to ensure that there should be no increased risk to the security of either community as a result. We only urge that both sides, not only one, as heretofore, adopt an approach that will facilitate the creation of a better atmosphere for further negotiations and final results.

83. This aspect of the situation leads me to the subject of UNFICYP itself, its performance, its role and the financial aspects. This is a point on which I should like, as before, to express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Roberto Guyer, and to Mr. Osorio-Tafall for all they have done and are doing in the political field, in activating and sustaining the onward movement and momentum in the intercommunal talks, for their care about UNFICYP and other matters. We continue to have a very high opinion of and a feeling of gratitude to the Force, its Commanding Officer, Major-General Prem Chand, and all its officers and men for their work, dedication and contribution.

84. We feel that the presence of UNFICYP and its essential role in successfully maintaining peace in the island provide a positive example of what the United Nations can do under the most trying circumstances. Let this example and experience and the renewed prestige of the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations be borne in mind as we are addressing ourselves to finding ways and means of settling other international disputes and crises, some of which are not too far removed in time and space.

85. It was because of such a positive view of the role, performance and legacy of UNFICYP, and because we were mindful of appeals made by the Secretary-General concerning the difficult financial position of UNFICYP, that the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has decided to make a voluntary contribution to the financing of UNFICYP in the amount of \$20,000, under the terms of Security Council resolution 186 (1964). A note to that effect was handed to the Secretary-General the day before yesterday, 13 June.

86. At the same time, while noting the renewed recommendation of the Secretary-General, with the concurrence

of the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, for the mandate of UNFICYP to be extended for yet another limited period, we trust that the Secretary-General will be able, as he intends, to make meaningful recommendations for the reduction of the United Nations commitment in terms of both finance and manpower.

87. We fervently hope that the time will come soon when the normalization of life and relations in the Republic of Cyprus will not require the presence of UNFICYP, which cannot last indefinitely anyway. It is true that sometimes, as in the past decade, the presence in a country of such a force of the world Organization is beneficial and even indispensable. But it is equally true that, ultimately, no country should rely on that too much; nothing is healthier than the ability to sort out one's own affairs and to maintain one's own stability by one's own means. Therefore, no outside factors should make it more difficult for the people of Cyprus, their two communities, their Governments, to find a solution for their own, and nobody else's, problems, rendering the presence of UNFICYP unnecessary.

88. Therefore, we sincerely hope that a definitive and positive turning-point will be reached soon in the negotiations between the two communities in Cyprus in the forthcoming period and that the two communities will be in a position to reach a final agreement. It is indeed high time that this agreement was reached and peace and mutual trust established with a view to ensuring the development and full progress of Cyprus. We hope that we shall be able to note, in December this year, that a long and strenuous mission of the United Nations has been completed successfully. However, if such a development—so much desired by all of us—should not materialize, then we shall no doubt be obliged, next December, to cease to express this desire in a routine-like way and examine, in a comprehensive manner, the problems and obstacles still standing in the way of the positive completion of this peace-keeping mission of the United Nations.

89. I should like to conclude this statement by reiterating my Government's appreciation of our long established and good relations with the neighbouring and friendly countries of Greece and Turkey. Our relations with the Republic of Cyprus are, of course, excellent; our two heads of State in their close personal relations have contributed to this to a great extent. They will continue their close partnership in further contacts and consultations among the non-aligned countries, particularly at the coming summit conference of non-aligned countries, to be held next September in Algiers.

90. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus that we have just decided upon once again calls for some comments from my delegation, as from other members of the Council, marked by mingled resignation and hope. Nevertheless the emphasis was clearly on hope last December when we welcomed the resumption of talks between the two communities and expressed the hope that, despite the obvious difficulties of the undertaking, the spirit of compromise might prevail over suspicion and intransigence.

91. The role played by the Secretary-General in framing and securing the acceptance by the two parties of the new

formula, the influence exercised by his Special Representative and the assistance of the constitutional experts constituted in our eyes and continue today to constitute guarantees for these talks; they thus justify the hopefulness that continues to prevail here. The fact remains, however, that in the final analysis it is up to the parties involved to come to an agreement and fix its terms, the objective being to equip the Cypriot State with institutions guaranteeing its independence and sovereignty and offering to its population as a whole, as well as to each community, security and effective participation in public affairs.

92. In this regard, we note with satisfaction that despite certain difficulties which led one of the negotiating parties to question the usefulness of its continued participation—difficulties now happily surmounted, thanks *inter alia* to the intervention of the Secretary-General—43 meetings have been held since the resumption of the talks. The Special Representative does not rule out the possibility that a satisfactory conclusion may be reached within a period of four months. He couches this estimate in very cautious terms, however, since he at the same time underscores the complexity of the problems at issue, which explains even the fundamental differences concerning the choice of terms used to define the object of the talks. No matter what our legitimate concern to assist the parties in their difficult task, it goes without saying that it is not for us to settle the debate; the final solution to the constitutional problems of Cyprus must emerge from the actual talks between the two communities.

93. Nevertheless, the success of the talks being very largely dependent on the mutual confidence of the parties, some external conditions need to be met, including, of course, calm on the island and the absence of confrontation between the communities. In this respect, incidents have been infrequent over the recent period; nevertheless, the report does note acts of violence in one of the communities. The purpose of the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for the past nine years has been precisely to restore and then to maintain order in the island. But this concern has never in our eyes constituted an end in itself. The point was to give the two communities an opportunity to settle their problems in such a way as to eliminate the causes that justified the dispatch of the Force, so that the latter might withdraw and give place to the normal means available to a sovereign State to ensure public order.

94. The very success of the Force in carrying out its mission may have contributed over the years to make less immediately obvious the need to arrive at such a settlement as soon as possible. A *de facto* coexistence between the two communities, while undoubtedly fraught with pressures and threats, has little by little grown up, while the risks of confrontation have tended temporarily to decline. Nevertheless, everyone remains well aware of the precariousness of this state of affairs, which owes its fragile equilibrium, among other things, to the presence of the Force.

95. Today, however, the talks are well under way. The quest for stable institutions to meet the wishes and needs of the two communities is in progress. In the circumstances,

while agreeing to the renewal of the Force's mandate for a period of six months, we fully share the concerns of the Secretary-General which have impelled him to study ways and means of reducing the United Nations commitment in Cyprus and we look forward with interest to the recommendations that he intends to put before us in his next report in December.

96. For such reductions to be effected it is unquestionably necessary, as he has written, that progress be made in the talks between the two communities. But the time has perhaps come for the parties, in their efforts to reach desirable compromises, to take into consideration the prospect of a progressive withdrawal of the Force, which is inevitable. The objective of the Council when it set up the Force more than nine years ago remains our essential concern, namely, the establishment of a situation ensuring the harmonious coexistence of the two communities and public order, without recourse to emergency or artificial measures. It is to this difficult but already long-standing task that the representatives of the communities have committed themselves in the resumed talks. Therefore we hope that conditions that will make it possible to bring the United Nations operation in Cyprus to an end will soon be met and that real and lasting peace will be established in the island.

97. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Let me begin by saying that the frank and very comprehensive report provided by the Secretary-General on the present state of the United Nations operation in Cyprus has served to persuade my delegation completely that, in the circumstances as described in that document, there is a continuing need for the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and we have, accordingly, voted in support of the draft resolution in document S/10946. We have in no sense given our support uncritically, as what has sometimes been called a matter of ritual. As the Secretary-General has noted in paragraph 98 of his report, the Governments that have been providing contingents for UNFICYP for the past nine years, including my own Government, have been somewhat uneasy at the growing length of the United Nations commitment in Cyprus and at the delay in reaching the settlement called for by the Council in March 1964. We too would not want the continued and obviously beneficial presence of UNFICYP to come to be taken for granted as indefinite as far as duration is concerned, particularly in view of the mounting costs of the operation, as disclosed by the Secretary-General. Accordingly, we note with satisfaction that the Secretary-General intends, in the light of developments over the coming months, particularly in the intercommunal talks, to make appropriate and, we hope, comprehensive recommendations in the direction of economy in his next report to this Council. In any event, we should certainly wish to see the total burden of costs shared more equitably throughout the United Nations as a whole.

98. In the meantime, we fully accept the Secretary-General's judgement that it is essential that the mandate of the Force be maintained for a further limited period and Australia, for its part, will continue for the next six months to provide its police contingent at its existing strength and its financial contribution to UNFICYP at its existing level.

99. The Secretary-General's report, unhappily, reveals significant evidence of continuing instability within Cyprus. Thus, while the intercommunal military situation appears to have remained quiet in the past six months, with few incidents between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, militant activities conducted by groups of anti-Government Greek Cypriots have led to reprisals by other Greek Cypriots and have had disturbing effects among the Turkish Cypriot community.

100. It is a matter for disappointment also that there seems to have been little progress in the field of military deconfrontation, which, if it could be achieved even to a limited extent, would by all accounts help to reduce tensions and thus perhaps make possible some reduction of the United Nations Force. It is to be hoped that some progress in this direction can be made as a result of the consultations foreshadowed in paragraph 93 of the report.

101. We note also that, while there has been a significant increase in economic activity within each of the two communities, there remains a marked disparity in the respective degrees of progress attained by the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and that economic and social contacts between the two communities remain limited. In the light of the continuing lack of confidence between the parties, the best hope for progress towards a settlement of the problems of Cyprus clearly lies in the intercommunal talks that continue to take place, with the participation of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and the constitutional experts made available by the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

102. We can only urge the two parties to increase their efforts to reach agreement, first of all on the broad principles of a constitutional settlement that will take account of the wishes and needs of all Cypriots, so that the process of constitution-making on a balanced and viable basis, in the words of the representative of Cyprus, can then proceed, with a substantial measure of common understanding between the parties. It is gratifying that the Special Representative has been able to report that the talks have been taking place in a constructive manner and that there appears to be a good possibility that a substantial measure of agreement may be reached on questions of principle. Since we have to accept that progress in this area is bound to be slow and painful, we can only hope that the Special Representative's prediction that at least another four months of discussions will be required does not prove to lean too far in the direction of optimism. At any rate, we can draw a measure of reassurance from the restrained, responsible and generally optimistic tone of the statements made here this morning by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece.

103. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the tireless, patient and dedicated efforts of the Special Representative, my old friend and colleague Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and to the high qualities of leadership displayed by the Commander of the United Nations Force, Major-General Prem Chand.

104. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): I have asked for the floor to express very briefly my delegation's appreciation

for the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. The report itself gives a very comprehensive picture of the activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for the period from 2 December 1972 to 31 May 1973. While much progress has been made in fulfilling the mandate of the Force, in accordance with resolution 186 (1964), "to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions", much still remains to be done to bring the two communities into complete harmony once again. Consequently, my delegation fully supports the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for at least a further period of six months; hence our vote in favour of draft resolution S/10946. It is our hope that further progress in the normalization of the situation will have been made to enable at least a substantial reduction, if not the withdrawal of the Force at the expiration of the present extended term of its duty.

105. My country enjoys the most cordial and happy relations with Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. We are bound together by a common aspiration to international peace and security and by a common desire to enhance international co-operation for mutual development through trade, technical collaboration and cultural exchange, in order to ensure prosperity and a good life for all our peoples.

106. In the case of Cyprus, our mutual ties are based on a common struggle against colonialism, a struggle which brought their national leader and hero, President Makarios, to the shores of our land as a prisoner and deportee of the colonial system at a time when our own President was also a prisoner of the colonialists in a colonial gaol in our country. Since the attainment of independence by both our countries, the President of Cyprus had visited my country more than four times to strengthen the political, cultural and ecclesiastical ties between our two countries. We co-operate and together strive for world peace and order in the non-aligned movement. It is therefore my country's most sincere wish that peace, accord and tranquility be vindicated in Cyprus now and at all times.

107. It would be presumptuous for Kenya, or any other nation, to dictate to Cyprus how to go about its internal affairs in order to achieve peace between the two communities on the island which make up the nation of Cyprus. Whatever my delegation says here, therefore, should be taken in the form of friendly advice motivated by our

desire to see peace and prosperity fully restored to the island.

108. My delegation believes that it is imperative that the intercommunal talks be continued under the good offices of the Secretary-General and his representative. To succeed, however, there should be an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence on both sides and a determination to sink their ethnic differences so as to build a common national identity. My delegation believes that this is possible within the framework of the concept of an independent, sovereign and unitary State of Cyprus, within which the two communities will play active roles for the betterment of all the peoples of the island.

109. With mutual trust and confidence on both sides, the fears which have been voiced by the Turkish Cypriots with regard to the concept of a unitary State, and which are mentioned in paragraph 81 of the report, need not arise. My country, among many others in Africa, Asia and Latin America, is composed of people of different races and tribes, and yet it has been possible for all of us to live together and form a nation which serves the interests of all the peoples, regardless of creed, race or ethnic origin. This is not to diminish the real and complex problems in Cyprus, but only to propose and to indicate that with goodwill and the assistance of the United Nations Force, harmonious relations can be created. Before that is possible, however, the two communities must do all within their power to end the artificial separation that now prevails in the island.

110. As a first step, complete freedom of movement for civilians and the United Nations Force should be restored throughout the island. That would facilitate the creation of mutual confidence without security risks to either of the two communities. Side by side with the restoration of freedom of movement, the two communities should deliberately embark on gradual island-wide military deconfrontation under the close supervision of the United Nations Force. That would facilitate substantial reduction of the United Nations presence, at least at the end of the period of extension.

111. I very much trust that these suggestions will be found helpful in resolving the intercommunal conflicts in the island of Cyprus, a nation which is so friendly to my own.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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