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**1780**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 19 JULY 1974

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#### NOTE

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## SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 19 July 1974, at 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Javier PÉREZ de CUÉLLAR (Peru).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1780)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
  - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
  - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335)

*The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Members of the Council will recall that at its 1779th meeting the Security Council decided, following appropriate requests, that Cyprus, Turkey and Greece might participate without the right to vote in the discussion of the item before the Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the established practice of the Council. In this connexion I wish to make the following statement.

2. In the course of consultations among all members of the Council, the Secretary-General informed the

Security Council that he had received from Nicosia, on 17 and 18 July 1974 respectively, two telegrams. The first read as follows:

"I have the honour to inform you that by decision of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus as from 15 July 1974 the till-then Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations, Mr. Zenon Rossides, has been relieved of his post and duties. Signed: Dimitriou, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Cyprus".

The second telegram reads as follows:

"I hereby have the honour to inform you that Ambassador Loucis Papaphilippou has been designated as Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cyprus to the United Nations, and he will be arriving in New York within the next 24 hours accompanied by members of the Cypriot delegation to the United Nations. His credentials and those of the Cypriot delegation will be presented to you by him personally. In order that the new Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cyprus to the United Nations may be able to attend the Security Council meeting on Cyprus, which is scheduled for today, I hereby request an adjournment of the meeting of the Security Council for 24 hours. Signed: Dimitriou, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus."

3. The members of the Security Council took note of the information given by the Secretary-General. They are agreed that, in respect of the current debate on the situation in Cyprus, in which Cyprus was invited to participate, at its request, by decision of the Council taken at its 1779th meeting, the President of Cyprus, His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, who had expressed the wish to address the Council, would be received in that capacity. Consequently Ambassador Rossides, having been duly accredited by the Head of State of Cyprus, is to be regarded as representing Cyprus in the current debate on the situation in Cyprus in the Council. Accordingly, if I hear no objection, I shall invite His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios and the representatives of Turkey and Greece to take seats at the Council table.

4. I now request the Chief of Protocol to escort His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios into the Council chamber and to the seat reserved for Cyprus.

*President Makarios was escorted into the Council chamber and took a place at the Council table.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Olcay (Turkey) and Mr. Panayotacos (Greece) took places at the Council table.*

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In addition, I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters dated 17 July 1974 from the representative of Yugoslavia and 19 July 1974 from the representative of Romania, and also one of today's date from the representative of India, requesting that Yugoslavia, Romania and India, respectively, be invited to participate in the Council's discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, I propose, if I hear no objection and in accordance with the usual practice, to invite the representatives mentioned to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

6. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I shall invite those representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to come to the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia), Mr. Duma (Romania) and Mr. Jaipal (India) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now have the honour to call upon His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus.

8. President MAKARIOS: I should like at the outset to express my warmest thanks to the members of the Security Council for the keen interest they have shown in the critical situation created in Cyprus after the coup which was organized by the military régime of Greece and was put into effect by the Greek officers serving in and commanding the Cyprus National Guard. I am particularly grateful that the Council agreed to postpone its meeting until my arrival here to give me the opportunity of addressing it on the recent dramatic events in Cyprus.

9. What has been happening in Cyprus since last Monday morning is a real tragedy. The military régime of Greece has callously violated the independence of Cyprus. Without a trace of respect for the democratic rights of the Cypriot people, without a trace of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, the Greek junta has extended its dictatorship to Cyprus. It is indeed a fact that for some time now their intention was becoming obvious. The people of Cyprus for a long time had the feeling that

a coup by the Greek junta was brewing, and this feeling became more intense during recent weeks when the terrorist organization EOKA-B, directed from Athens, renewed its wave of violence. I knew all along that that illegal organization had its roots and supply resources in Athens. I became aware that the Greek officers staffing and commanding the National Guard were recruiting members for that organization, and they supported it in various ways, to the point of giving it access to the munition supply stores of the National Guard. In the camps of the National Guard, the Greek officers were conducting open propaganda in favour of that illegal organization and turned the National Guard from an organ of the State into an instrument of subversion. Whenever, from time to time, I complained to Athens about unbecoming conduct by Greek officers of the National Guard, the reply was that if I had concrete evidence in proof thereof those found guilty would be recalled. From the whole tenor of their attitude, I received the unmistakable impression that their standard response was a pretence of innocence. A few days ago documents came into the hands of the Cyprus police clearly proving that EOKA-B was an appendage of the Athens régime.

10. Funds were being remitted from Athens for the upkeep of that organization and detailed directives regarding its actions were also given to it. I then found it necessary myself to address a letter to the President of the Greek régime, General Gizikis, asking him to give orders for the cessation of the violence and bloodshed by EOKA-B and for its dissolution. I also requested him to recall the Greek officers serving with the National Guard, adding that my intention was to reduce the numerical strength of this force and to turn it into an organ of the Cyprus State. I was waiting for a reply. My impression was that the Athens régime did not favour the reduction of the force, much less the withdrawal of the Greek officers.

11. The Greek Ambassador in Cyprus called on me, on instructions from his Government, in order to explain that the decrease in the numerical strength of the National Guard or the withdrawal of the Greek officers would weaken the defence of Cyprus in case of danger from Turkey. That was an argument which, even though it appeared logical, was not convincing because I knew that, behind that argument, other interests were hidden. I replied that as things had developed, I considered the danger from Turkey of a lesser degree than the danger from them. And it was proved that my fears were justified.

12. On Saturday, 13 July, a conference under the presidency of General Gizikis was held in Athens which lasted for many hours. It was attended by the Greek Chief of Staff of the armed forces, the Ambassador of Greece to Cyprus, the Commander of the National Guard and other officials, for the purpose of discussing the content of my letter. As was stated in the communiqué issued at the end of this conference,

it was to be reconvened on Monday, 15 July. The reference in the communiqué to a second conference was deceiving; for while on Monday I was waiting for a reply to my letter the reply came, and it was the coup.

13. On that day, I returned from my summer house on the Troodos mountains, where I had spent the week-end, and by 8 a.m. I was at my office at the Presidential Palace. Half an hour later I was welcoming in the reception room a group of boys and girls, members of the Greek Orthodox Youth from Cairo who had come to Cyprus as my guests for a few days. Hardly had I greeted them when the first shots were heard. Within seconds the shots became more frequent and a member of the Presidential Guard informed me that armoured cars and tanks had passed the fence and were already in the yard of the Presidential Palace, which was shaking from mortar shells. The situation soon became critical. I tried to call the Cyprus Radio Station for the purpose of issuing a special broadcast announcing the Presidential Palace was under attack, but I realized that the lines were cut off. Heavy shelling was ever-increasing. How my life was saved seemed like a providential miracle. When I eventually found myself in the area of Paphos, I addressed the people of Cyprus from a local radio station informing them that I was alive and that I would struggle with them against the dictatorship which the Greek régime was trying to impose.

14. I do not intend to occupy the time of the members of the Security Council with my personal adventure. I simply wish to add that during the second day of the armed attack the armoured cars and tanks were moving towards Paphos, while at the same time a small warship of the National Guard began shelling the Bishopric of Paphos where I was staying. In the circumstances, I found it advisable to leave Cyprus rather than fall into the hands of the Greek junta.

15. I am grateful to the Government of the United Kingdom, which made available a helicopter to pick me up from Paphos, transfer me to the United Kingdom bases, and from there by plane to Malta and London. I am also grateful to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and to the Commander of the United National Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for the interest which they showed for my safety. My presence in this room of the Security Council was made possible thanks to the help given me by the United Kingdom Government and the representatives of the Secretary-General whose keen concern for me and for the critical situation which developed in Cyprus moves every fibre of my heart.

16. I do not know as yet all the details of the Cyprus crisis caused by the Greek military régime. I am afraid that the number of casualties is large and that the material destruction is heavy. What is, however, our primary concern at present is the ending of the tragedy.

17. When I reached London, I was informed of the content of the speech of the representative of the Greek junta to the United Nations. I was surprised at the way they were trying to deceive world public opinion. Without a blush, the Greek junta is making efforts to simplify the situation, claiming that it is not involved in the armed attack and that the developments of the last few days are an internal matter of the Greek Cypriots.

18. I do not believe that there are people who accept the allegations of the Greek military régime. The coup did not come about under such circumstances as to be considered an internal matter of the Greek Cypriots. It is clearly an invasion from outside, in flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. The so-called coup was the work of the Greek officers staffing and commanding the National Guard. I must also underline the fact that the Greek contingent, composed of 950 officers and men stationed in Cyprus by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance, played a predominant role in this aggressive affair against Cyprus. The capture of the airport outside the capital was carried out by officers and men of the Greek contingent camping near the airport.

19. It is enough to state on this point that certain photographs appearing in the world press show armoured vehicles and tanks belonging to the Greek contingent in Cyprus. On the other hand, the Greek officers serving with the National Guard were directing the operations. In these operations, they recruited many members of the terrorist organization EOKA-B, whom they armed with weapons of the National Guard.

20. If the Greek officers serving in the National Guard were not involved, how does one explain the fact that among the casualties in battle were Greek officers whose remains were transported to Greece and buried there? If Greek officers did not carry out the coup, how does one explain the fact of night flights of Greek aircraft transporting to Cyprus personnel in civilian clothes and taking back to Greece dead and wounded men? There is no doubt that the coup was organized by the Greek junta and was carried out by the Greek officers commanding the National Guard and by the officers and men of the Greek contingent stationed in Cyprus—and it was reported as such by the press around the globe.

21. The coup caused much bloodshed and took a great toll of human lives. It was faced with the determined resistance of the legal security forces and the resistance of the Greek people of Cyprus. I can say with certainty that the resistance and the reaction of the Greek Cypriot people against the conspirators will not end until there is a restoration of their freedom and democratic rights. The Cypriot people will never bow to dictatorship, even though for the moment the brutal force of the armoured cars and tanks may have prevailed.

22. After the coup the agents of the Greek régime in Cyprus appointed a well-known gunman, Nicos Sampson, as President, who in turn appointed as ministers known elements and supporters of the terrorist organization EOKA-B.

23. It may be alleged that what took place in Cyprus is a revolution and that a Government was established based on revolutionary law. This is not the case. No revolution took place in Cyprus which could be considered as an internal matter. It was an invasion which violated the independence and the sovereignty of the Republic. And the invasion is continuing so long as there are Greek officers in Cyprus. The results of this invasion will be catastrophic for Cyprus if there is no return to constitutional normality and if democratic freedoms are not restored.

24. For the purpose of misleading world public opinion, the military régime of Greece announced yesterday the gradual replacement of the Greek officers of the National Guard. But the issue is not their replacement; the issue is their withdrawal. The gesture of replacement has the meaning of an admission that the Greek officers now serving in the National Guard were those who carried out the coup. Those officers did not, however, act on their own initiative but upon instructions from Athens, and their replacements will also follow instructions from the Athens régime. Thus the National Guard will always remain an instrument of the Greek military régime, and I am certain that the members of the Security Council understand this ploy.

25. It may be said that it was the Cyprus Government which invited the Greek officers to staff the National Guard. I regret to say that it was a mistake on my part to bestow upon them so much trust and confidence. They abused that trust and confidence and, instead of helping in the defence of the island's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, they themselves became the aggressors.

26. I am obliged to say that the policy of the military régime in Greece towards Cyprus, and particularly towards the Greek Cypriots, has been insincere. I wish to stress that it was a policy of duplicity.

27. For some time talks were going on between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots in search of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, which on many occasions has occupied the time of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The representative of the Secretary-General and two constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey have been attending the talks. The Security Council has repeatedly renewed, twice yearly, the mandate of the Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, expressing every time hope for a speedy solution of the problem.

28. It cannot be said that up to now the progress of the talks has been satisfactory. But how could there

be any progress in the talks while the policy on Cyprus of the régime in Athens has been double-faced? It was agreed by all the parties concerned that the talks were taking place on the basis of independence. The régime of Athens also agreed to that, and time and again the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that the position of Greece on this issue was clear. If that was the case, why did the military régime of Greece create and support the terrorist organization EOKA-B, whose purpose was stated to be the union of Cyprus with Greece and whose members called themselves "unionists"?

29. Inside the camps of the National Guard, the Greek officers continually charged that while enosis was feasible, its realization was undermined by me. When reminded that Greece had made its position clear on this and that it supported independence, their reply was that no attention should be given to the words of diplomats. In such circumstances how was it possible for the talks to arrive at a positive result? The double-faced policy of the Greek régime was one of the main obstacles to the progress of the talks.

30. In the circumstances that have now been created in Cyprus, I cannot foresee the prospects of the talks. I would rather say that there are no prospects at all. An agreement that may be reached by the talks would be devoid of any value because there is no elected leadership to deal with the matter. The coup d'état of the military régime of Greece constitutes an arrest of the progress of the talks towards a solution. Moreover, it will be a continuous source of anomaly in Cyprus, the repercussions of which will be very grave and far-reaching, if this situation is permitted to continue even for a short time.

31. I appeal to the members of the Security Council to do their utmost to put an end to the anomalous situation which was created by the coup of Athens. I call upon the Council to use all the ways and means at its disposal so that the constitutional order in Cyprus and the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus can be reinstated without delay.

32. As I have already stated, the events in Cyprus do not constitute an internal matter of the Greeks of Cyprus. The Turks of Cyprus are also affected. The coup of the Greek junta is an invasion, and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks. The United Nations has a peace-keeping force stationed in Cyprus. It is not possible for the role of that peace-keeping force to be effective under conditions of a military coup. The Security Council should call upon the military régime of Greece to withdraw from Cyprus the Greek officers serving in the National Guard, and to put an end to its invasion of Cyprus.

33. I think that, with what I have placed before you, I have given a picture of the situation. I have

no doubt that an appropriate decision of the Security Council will put an end to the invasion and restore the violated independence of Cyprus and the democratic rights of the Cypriot people.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall suspend this meeting for a few moments while the Secretary-General and I escort His Beatitude from the chamber.

*President Makarios was escorted from the Security Council chamber.*

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name is that of the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

36. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): Mr. President, I should like first to thank you for making my speech possible. My presence today in this forum is quite an accidental one, pending the arrival of a new Permanent Representative. I feel, however, particularly happy to be once more among old friends and colleagues, despite the fact that this happens under extremely painful circumstances. My personal experience, however, as a former Ambassador to Cyprus, entitles me to give you with increased authority certain facts that led to this untoward situation, as well as a first-hand exposé on the background of what is happening today in this strife-torn island.

37. To begin with, I should like to reiterate the official stand of the Greek Government with regard to the recent events in Cyprus, as it is clearly stated in a letter addressed by the Greek Prime Minister to the Secretary-General and dated 16 July [S/11337].

38. I furthermore wish to stress the contents of a statement made by Foreign Minister Kypraios, which reads as follows:

“The recent events in Cyprus are an internal affair of an independent country, Member of the United Nations. Greece in this case respects the strict rule of non-intervention in others’ internal affairs. The Greek policy on Cyprus remains unchanged, consisting of the safeguarding of the independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. The Greek Government places much importance on the continuation of reinforced intercommunal talks and expresses the hope that all parties concerned will exercise restraint following the recent events in the island.”

39. In view of this crystal-clear attitude, I flatly and unreservedly reject as utterly groundless the vicious allegations of any so-called direct involvement of the Greek Government in the military coup that led to the ousting of Makarios. Actually, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, General Denissis, the Commander of the Greek contingent

in Cyprus, as well as the Greek Ambassador to Cyprus were all in Athens for consultations on the tenor of Makarios’ letter many days before the outbreak of the coup. It should, however, be noted that from the very beginning all communications, by telex or otherwise, between Athens and the Greek Embassy in Nicosia were, till yesterday at least, cut off. This fact constitutes by itself the best proof, if proof were needed, that the Cypriot armed forces had been acting on their own, in full secrecy, and were reluctant to share with anybody either the progress of their operations or their ultimate goals. These are the true facts. All the rest is pure fabrication, ludicrous innuendoes or deliberate distortions unworthy of refutation.

40. I was therefore sincerely appalled by certain hasty and arbitrary, to say the least, assessments made during last Tuesday’s meeting [1779th meeting] by some of the participants. Allow me, in turn, to make some brief answering remarks.

41. The preposterous accusations against Greek officers formulated by, of all people, Mr. Rossides—whose personal status as a representative remains, incidentally, still doubtful—caused me a deep feeling of sadness, because I no longer recognized the fiery patriot of the 1950s and 1960s I had known and used to admire. Before making accusations, he should at least respect the memory of those Greek officers who shed their blood during the events of 1964 for the survival of Cyprus’s independence. Has he forgotten that it was a Greek air officer who saved Makarios’ life in the assassination attempt by one of his closest collaborators? Has he buried in oblivion the fact that for years the Greek officers suffered patiently and silently nameless insults, humiliations and even obscenities on the part of leftist pro-Makarios elements and other paramilitary stooges? Maybe Mr. Rossides’ memory is weakening and needs some refreshing. I deem it futile, however, to indulge in further elaboration of facts well known to all Cypriots, facts that would make the dead Greek officers turn in their graves.

42. To insinuate, on the other hand, that a handful of Greek officers was able to annihilate in a few hours Makarios’ powerful military machinery and overcome his alleged vast popular support does not seem to make any sense. After all, he was the man who had repeatedly boasted that he had outlived 13 Greek Governments and could outlive many more. The representative of the USSR has also carelessly spoken of “a gross interference by external forces”. That brought back to my memory a similar statement made six years ago at this very table by the ten Soviet representative, who also contended, in almost the same wording, that his Government had irrefutable evidence of external interference in Czechoslovakia’s internal affairs.

43. And, last but not least, my friend and dear colleague the Turkish representative, Mr. Olcay, referred in his statement to a so-called Greek intervention. Should I remind him, in turn, of the Turkish air bombardments of civilians in 1964? He furthermore mentioned the "presence and illegal activity of Greek forces in Cyprus". Could he really let his audience believe that the hundreds, if not thousands, of Turkish officers now training the Turkish Cypriot forces and neutralizing all political opponents of Denktaş, such as the well-known lawyer Berberoglou, are in Cyprus for their health or acting legally? On my part, I can assure him, anyway, once more, that no threat whatsoever—either to the national status of Cyprus or to the rights guaranteed to the Turkish community—exists except in the imagination of those who by their preposterous accusations against the Greek officers are trying to cover up their real schemes and goals.

44. As regards today's statement by Makarios, I reserve my comments until the legitimate representatives of the Republic of Cyprus, who are arriving in New York tonight, are given the opportunity to express their views.

45. Turning now to the very essence of the problem created by the present situation in Cyprus, I believe that one should bear in mind certain facts that explain the true reasons that led to the revolutionary initiative of the National Guard forces. In fact, the recent events in Cyprus recall the English proverb, "Old sins cast long shadows". In the aftermath of Cyprus's independence, Makarios started promoting the personality cult and the pursuit of grandeur. Combining the mentalities of Caesar and the Pope, he identified himself with Cyprus, as Louis XIV did with France, and ultimately became the victim of his own errors, ambitions and illusions. True, he outlived 13 Greek Governments, but he ultimately also outlived his own usefulness, in the same pattern that has sealed the fate of many other prominent political leaders of ex-colonial countries, such as Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Obote and others.

46. He was at odds with all Greek Premiers—not only with the junta—including Karamanlis, Venizelos (who would never consent to talk to him), Papandreou, Paraskevopoulos, Stefanopoulos and others. He systematically and arrogantly ignored the wise advice and admonitions of the Ethnic Centre. Contemptuously disregarding the written warnings by former Foreign Minister Averoff, he insisted on proposing the 13 points for the amendment of the Zurich Constitution, thus opening Aeolus' bags, which resulted in the tragic clashes of December 1963 and the *de facto* partition of the island by the so-called green line.

47. Inconsistent in character, on the one hand he whole-heartedly supported independence and, on the other hand, he often misled the simple Cypriot

people by professing enosis every time he needed a booster for his declining popularity, believing that he could fool all the people all the time—an unscrupulous demagogue and a great showman, a master in grand stands such as the one you have just seen, but always running a one-man show, surrounded by puppets and yes-men. He abhorred opposition as well as competition. Until the end of December 1971 he stubbornly declined to accept U Thant's formula for the enlarged intercommunal talks, obsessed by the fear that Greece and Turkey might have made a secret deal in order to sell out Cyprus.

48. In February 1972 he turned a deaf ear to Athens' last advice for the formation of a Government of national unity. In reply, he created and armed his own paramilitary units of Praetorians instead—namely, a bunch of SS zealots. He persecuted his political opponents and torture was used systematically against them as a means of extorting confessions, according to a recent official survey. They were also excluded from political life and all public offices.

49. Countless political murders, including the assassination of Makarios' No. 2 man Georgadji, have been perpetrated, if not with his blessing at least with a display on his part of indifference and apathy. Piled-up hatred escalated throughout the years. Even his closest friends felt frustrated and thrown away like squeezed lemons, to use Georgadji's last words before his assassination. It is also worth noting that the man who overthrew him, Nicos Sampson, a former EOKA freedom fighter, was also among his friends. His newspaper *Mahi* was subsidized by the Makarios-controlled monastery of Kykkos, the real Bank of Cyprus. But he also became gradually disillusioned, like so many others before him, by Makarios' Machiavellian manipulations.

50. True, Makarios, thanks to his personal magnetism, had succeeded in keeping large crowds under his spell. True also, he was charismatic. But his ultimate downfall became unavoidable for the simple reason that, as Richard Morris, the Columbia University historian, has so aptly pointed out, "Perhaps our century has a surfeit of charismatic leaders; today we could do with honest ones".

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Turkey.

52. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): So much of what has been said up to now, including today, tempts me to use the formula "we told you so"—which usually has a rather unpleasant connotation—that I really have to exert all my efforts to refrain from using it. I shall try to confine my present statement to some general remarks designed to clarify Turkey's legal position.

53. Turkey continues to view the situation on the island as very grave. The developments of the past

four days have certainly not alleviated the deep concern felt in Turkey. On the contrary, everything seems to indicate a worsening of the situation.

54. In Cyprus itself, as has been demonstrated and continues to be demonstrated at today's meeting, there seems to be a problem of legitimacies. The Greek Cypriot administration under Archbishop Makarios has, in our view, its legitimacy to the extent that it has conformed to the Constitution of the State established and guaranteed by international treaties. The coup seems to have eliminated every appearance of legitimacy on the Greek Cypriot side. As I had occasion to state at the last meeting of the Council, in this context and in the present circumstances the only legitimate constitutional institution right now in Cyprus seems to be the Turkish administration under the Vice-President of Cyprus.

55. As is well known, Turkey has special responsibilities under international agreements. These apply to the constitutional structure and the international status of Cyprus. It is, in our view, the duty of the world community to restore the *status quo ante*. For its part, Turkey considers it its duty to make use of the rights conferred on it by international treaties.

56. I hope that any resolution adopted by the Council will take cognizance of the international treaties which gave birth to Cyprus and whose violation led to what is known as the Cyprus conflict, which for more than 10 years has occupied the Council at least every six months.

57. To illustrate what I mean I would say that it is not a new fact in the international arena to see Governments overthrown—and the word "overthrown" itself usually implies the use of force. Yet not one of those incidents is considered or discussed by the Security Council. Why, then, are we discussing the problem of Cyprus with regard to a change of government—a change of government by force, it is true, but still a mere change of government? The only reason why the developments in Cyprus are before the Council is their international character. The reason is that these developments concern Turkey, Greece and Cyprus in a conflict pertaining to the internationally established and guaranteed status of the Turkish and Greek communities of the island, within the framework of a Constitution recognizing their partnership in the defence of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the island.

58. I should like to state, again within this framework, that the constitutional structure of the island was not disrupted for the first time a week ago; the most recent events do not constitute the only disruption of the island's Constitution. Indeed, the Security Council was seized of the matter as the result of a long-standing situation in which the constitutional structure had been disrupted. That is why we would suggest—to the extent that a State that is not a member

of the Council may be allowed to make such a suggestion—that whatever resolution is adopted by the Council should reflect the fact that the constitutional structure had been jeopardized for some time and that what is happening now is a further disruption of the situation, to which this august body will try to find a solution.

59. I know I said that I would not yield to the temptation to say "we told you so", but I feel that I should do so to this extent: I would remind the Council that on many occasions Turkish representatives sitting where I am sitting now—we seem not really to have changed our place—tried to draw the attention of the Council and of the Secretariat of the United Nations to the illegal importation of arms and personnel into the island of Cyprus. In respect of the arms that have been illegally imported in the past—under whatever pretence and whatever heading—I should like to express the hope that those armaments that have been in UNFICYP custody will remain in UNFICYP custody, as agreed before.

60. It will be remembered that the cessation of such acts and the withdrawal at a certain stage of all the Greek personnel on the island whose presence was in excess and therefore in violation of the provisions of international agreements were among the main points of the understanding reached between the parties in order to ease the 1967 crisis. Today I must note with regret that the coup was master-minded and carried out by precisely those foreign elements which were mentioned at that time and whose presence in Cyprus was neither initiated by nor the result of any invitation or indication of approval from the Turkish Government or by the Turkish community in Cyprus—one of the two communities constituting the population of the island. That fact seems now to be established beyond any reasonable doubt by the evidence that we have just heard from no less a person than his Beatitude the Archbishop.

61. I should like to associate myself with what was said by the Archbishop on the following point. The question of withdrawal versus replacement of the Greek officers of the National Guard has a certain importance from my country's point of view also. Hence, I should like to say that the goodwill of Athens will not be shown if the 650 Greek officers are maintained, there being merely a change of the individuals constituting this body and no change in their numbers and their role on the island.

62. That is all I wish to say at this stage. I thank you, Mr. President, for having given me this opportunity to speak.

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

64. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, permit me to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing the Yugoslav delegation to participate in the consideration of this very important and urgent matter now before the Council.

65. It is a great honour for us to welcome the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. His presence here today, and his convincing and deeply moving address will, I am sure, greatly strengthen the efforts in this Council that are aimed at assisting his suffering country to resist aggression and preserve its sovereignty and independence. His appeal, we are convinced, cannot and must not remain unanswered. It is our firm belief that through action by the international community—the Security Council in particular—the constitutional rights of President Makarios and his Government will be restored, that the democratic forces in Cyprus and in the world will triumph over the forces of reaction and foreign intervention and that we shall soon be able to welcome his return to Cyprus and his resumption of the noble task of maintaining his country as an independent, multinational and non-aligned community, a task that President Makarios has carried out for years with unparalleled devotion and success.

66. The views of my country concerning the events in Cyprus have already been made abundantly clear. The brutal armed attack, organized from abroad and aimed at forcibly overthrowing the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, and the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, has provoked the profound indignation and bitterness of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the entire Yugoslav public. The statements by my Government on 15 July and by President Tito on 16 July express in very clear terms the feelings of all the Yugoslav peoples.

67. The armed intervention, which is being carried out with the direct participation of officers of the Greek armed forces, represents the most flagrant assault on the independence, sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, its Government and President Makarios. It is an open and armed interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country which has for a number of years, under the leadership of President Makarios, struggled, together with the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries, for peace and international co-operation, for implementation of the principles of the policy of non-alignment and for the right of each people to decide its own destiny. This intervention, for which the Government of Greece bears full responsibility, is a ruthless violation of the basic principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

68. The Yugoslav peoples and their Government followed with keen sympathy and supported the liberation struggle waged by the Cypriot people

against colonialism and are well acquainted with the tireless efforts of President Makarios to preserve the freedom, independence and integrity of Cyprus. That is why we find especially revolting the fact that the *putschists* had directed their criminal action to the liquidation of President Makarios, symbol of that struggle, outstanding fighter for equal and democratic relations in the world and veteran champion of the policy of non-alignment since the very first day of his country's independence.

69. The *putsch* protagonists and those behind them are making the positive development of relations between the two communities on the island impossible. Their criminal action involves the peoples of Cyprus in new and grave hardships, while also generating the possibility of a renewal of mutual bloodshed. Consequently it threatens peace and security most directly, especially in the Mediterranean and in Europe, and injects new elements of tension into this important and sensitive region of the world.

70. For all these reasons, my Government considers it indispensable that urgent action be taken by the Security Council. It is indeed regrettable that the Council did not act decisively at its first meeting on this question, on the afternoon of 16 July, in spite of the urgency, the clearness of the case and the specific proposals made by the representative of Cyprus, Ambassador Rossides.

71. The Security Council today faces one of its most difficult tests. The eyes of the entire international community are directed towards it and the vast majority of Member States hope for just, decisive and effective action by it. The Council must, therefore, without delay, take the necessary steps to bring an immediate end to the Greek intervention in the independent Republic of Cyprus. Condemnation of the *putschists* and their supporters, a demand for the immediate withdrawal of Greek military interventionists and full support for President Makarios and the legitimate Government of Cyprus in resuming the task of preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the island—such a decision of the Council is imperative if normalization of the situation and consequently the preservation of peace and security on Cyprus, in the region and beyond are to be achieved. Such a decision should be carried out with by every means at the Council's disposal.

72. In conclusion, I should like to point out that President Makarios and the legitimate Government of Cyprus enjoy the support of non-aligned and other progressive and peace-loving countries in the world—that is, the great majority of Members of our Organization. That was clearly expressed in the statement made by the representatives of non-aligned countries on 16 July in Geneva, in which they pledged their full support to President Makarios and his legitimate Government and their struggle to preserve

the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

73. At today's meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries in New York the following statement was agreed upon, and I have been given permission to read it to the Council:

"The Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries donounces the blatant attempt to oust the President and legitimate Government of non-aligned Cyprus through the armed intervention of external forces. Non-aligned countries have always condemned all forms of external interference. Consequently, they consider the intervention in Cyprus as a gross violation of the basic principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter, which constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security since it poses a threat to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

"The Co-ordinating Bureau therefore now calls for the speedy end of Greek intervention in Cyprus, the withdrawal of Greek officers and other Greek military personnel, and the restoration of the constitutional rights of the President of Cyprus, Makarios, and his Government, so that the people of Cyprus can again freely exercise their democratic rights and liberties."

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the representative of Romania to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

75. Mr. DUMA (Romania): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to express my gratitude to you and to the members of the Security Council for having granted me the opportunity of stating the position of the Romanian Government on the events now taking place in Cyprus, of which the Romanian people have learned with feelings of deep anxiety and indignation.

76. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, and as stated by the legitimate head of the Cypriot State, President Makarios, as well as by other delegations in the Council, these events have serious international implications and demand firm action by the Organization and, first of all, by the Security Council.

77. As we know, consistent with its policy, Romania resolutely declares itself against every act of force and every form of intervention in the internal affairs of other States, for strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, and for the right of all peoples to develop freely and independently and to decide their own destiny in keeping with their interests, without any outside interference.

78. No State, under any circumstances, in any form, or for any reason, should be allowed to impose its will upon another State, another people or another

Government. Imposing a foreign will cannot help but lead to tension and conflict, and this runs counter to the positive course of *détente* taking place in the world, including Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean area.

79. Deeply attached to the principle that all people are masters in their own houses and that they and only they are rulers of their destinies, public opinion in Romania most resolutely disapproves the coup d'état organized by foreign military forces stationed on the territory of Cyprus.

80. The act of force committed a few days ago, which seriously endangers the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, places in jeopardy the very existence of a State and belongs to an era in which relations among States were based on force, on the right of the most powerful, and on the exploitation of some peoples by others.

81. The foreign military interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus, a State Member of the United Nations, flagrantly transgresses the elementary principles of the Charter and the recognized rules of international law: first of all, non-use of force and non-interference in internal affairs. This intervention threatens both the democratic gains of a sovereign people, the Cypriot people, and the peace and security of the peoples in the Mediterranean area and Europe, who are making special efforts to build a new system of security on the old continent and in the area of the Mediterranean sea.

82. Romania, which has been developing broad relations of co-operation and friendship with the Republic of Cyprus, expresses its full support for the legal Government of President Makarios and reasserts its solidarity with the fight of the Cypriot people for the defence of its independence and sovereignty and its homeland's territorial integrity.

83. Starting from the interests of international peace and security, Romania demands that an end be put to the interference of a foreign militia, that the request of the legitimate head of the State of Cyprus for the withdrawal of the Greek military from the island be met and that constitutional order be restored in Cyprus.

84. The Romanian Government considers that the United Nations should act with all its power to defend the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

85. In keeping with the provisions of the Charter, it is the duty of the Security Council to take urgent and efficient measures with a view to re-establishing constitutional order in Cyprus. In this way, the Council will meet the Cypriot people's aspirations for the development of their country on the road of democracy and progress, and will make an effective

contribution in support of their fight to defend the independence and sovereignty of their homeland and to live freely and independently, without any outside intervention.

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the representative of India to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

87. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, may I express to you, and through you to the Council, the gratitude of my delegation for giving us an opportunity to state our views on the situation in Cyprus, which is now engaging the attention of the Council.

88. When one recalls the long history of the struggle of the people of Cyprus for their independence from colonial rule, one cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that it was the Government of Greece which first brought before the General Assembly, in 1954, an item concerning the application of the "principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of Cyprus". Some 20 years have passed since then, and today we find in Cyprus a situation which involves primarily the violation of this fundamental principle of self-determination.

89. Cyprus became an independent country in 1960 and was admitted to the United Nations. Cyprus became a party to the Treaty of Guarantee<sup>1</sup> of 1960; which provided for certain unique constitutional arrangements and guarantees involving Great Britain, Turkey and Greece. Later the Security Council adopted resolution 186 (1964) which established a United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. As a result of those historical developments the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus came to be guaranteed multilaterally and its constitutional arrangements also came to be an essential factor in the stability and peace of the region. Anything which upsets the delicate political balance implicit in these arrangements is bound to create a situation of the utmost gravity for world peace.

90. Today we find this delicate balance upset by an unwarranted act of intervention. According to President Makarios, the Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard spearheaded this armed intervention against the constitutionally established Government of Cyprus. This fact alone—that is, the fact of foreign military officers becoming involved in the internal affairs of Cyprus—converts what might have been an internal problem into an international problem. There is no doubt that the intervention of the Greek officers of the National Guard is tantamount to technical external intervention. This has indeed created a chain reaction which might now well pose a threat to world peace.

91. This intervention also poses a threat to the constitutional arrangements established and guaranteed by international treaties. Furthermore, it constitutes a violation of the legitimate rights of the people of Cyprus, a violation of their Constitution, and poses a possible threat to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

92. In our opinion, it is necessary to re-establish the conditions envisaged in the constitutional arrangements and international treaties that led to the establishment of an independent Republic of Cyprus. It is the responsibility of the world community to do this and to ensure that external armed intervention is eliminated from the political life of Cyprus once and for all.

93. We observe that in his letter of 2 July 1974 the President of Cyprus had requested the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel. It has been claimed that the National Guard was under the sole control of the Government of Cyprus. If that was the position, there was no excuse for not immediately withdrawing, at the request of the Government of Cyprus, all foreign military personnel in the National Guard. The very fact that this was not done and that the request of the President of Cyprus was not acted upon by itself constitutes foreign intervention. Subsequently that intervention has gone to the length of ousting by force the legitimate Government of Cyprus.

94. It is our hope that the Security Council will try to restore the *status quo* before the armed intervention took place, and in this regard the co-operation of all the parties to the Treaty of 1960 is necessary as a matter of legal obligation. We should like to see also a speedy restoration of normal conditions in which the people of Cyprus can once again freely exercise their democratic rights and liberties under the constitutional arrangements already established and guaranteed by international treaties.

95. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Today the Security Council has heard an important statement by the head of the Cypriot State about what has actually happened recently in Cyprus and who is behind the coup which the Greek officers of the National Guard are attempting in the Republic of Cyprus.

96. The statement by the lawful President of the Republic of Cyprus, his Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, leaves absolutely no doubt on this score. I think that even those members of the Security Council who at the preceding meeting tried to maintain that they were not sufficiently clear about what is happening in Cyprus can agree with this.

97. The facts described in detail here by President Makarios are perfectly obvious and completely proven: facts of direct and flagrant interference by outside

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

forces aimed at the overthrow of the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by the President, Archbishop Makarios, who was elected to that office as a result of the free expression of the people's will.

98. The anti-Government conspiracy and mutiny in Cyprus were staged by Greek officers stationed in Cyprus who were sent there by the Greek Government and who obey orders from Athens. In addition to the Greek officers of the National Guard, officers and soldiers of the ELDYK Greek national contingent, stationed on the island in accordance with the international agreements of 1960, are openly participating in the mutiny. In particular, they took part in the storming of the presidential palace in Nicosia on 15 July and in the seizure of the airport. The strike force of the anti-Government *putsch* consists of Greek officers, and also Greek terrorist organizations which have emerged from underground and whose close link with Athens had previously been confirmed many times. President Makarios spoke convincingly here of this link.

99. The intervention by the Greek military has created a threat to the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and to international peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean region. Arrogantly flouting the principles of the Charter, external forces have over a long period deliberately and for far-reaching ends purposely exacerbated the domestic situation in Cyprus and then proceeded to embark on flagrant military interference from outside in the internal affairs of this sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

100. The Soviet people resolutely condemns the Fascist *putsch* carried out in Cyprus with the assistance of the Greek military, and expresses support for the democratic and patriotic forces of the country which are waging the struggle against the conspirators and the mutineers.

101. The events in Cyprus are attracting the attention of the world public and press, which are expressing great concern and alarm about these developments. The Soviet people understand this alarm, and we share it.

102. I must report that the Soviet Mission has been receiving telegrams from various organizations, including United States organizations, resolutely condemning the military *putsch* in Cyprus. Thus, a group of eminent persons from United States universities, including Harvard, Boston University, Tufts, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and others, declare in their telegram:

“Cyprus has been subjected to aggression on the part of the Greek junta. We call for United Nations intervention aimed at an immediate cease-fire and the protection of the lawful Government of President Makarios.”

Another telegram received from Mr. Iosifides, on behalf of the American Committee for Democracy and Freedom in Greece, states that there is no doubt at all that: “the overthrow of the lawful Government of the Republic of Cyprus was planned and carried out by officers of the Greek army”. As the telegram stresses, this is an act of armed aggression “against a sovereign State and is a clear violation of the United Nations Charter”.

103. The attempts of the Greek Government to conceal its involvement in this criminal act—in the armed *putsch* aimed at the forcible overthrow of the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios—and to portray the events taking place in Cyprus as the result of an internal struggle are utterly and completely unfounded and cannot delude anyone. Indeed the vain efforts of the representative of the Greek régime here to portray these events as a “revolution” are merely laughable.

104. The attempts made by the representative of Greece to distract the Security Council's attention from the question under discussion with the aid of slanderous inventions, the question concerning the flagrant interference by Greece in the internal affairs of Cyprus, simply show that he perhaps finds it difficult, if not impossible, to refute the incontrovertible facts of his Government's interference in the affairs of Cyprus. If we needed any additional proof that it is in fact the Greek military who stand behind the conspirators and direct them, today's statement by the Greek representative has provided it.

105. It is a generally recognized fact that the conspiracy in Cyprus was staged by the Greek officers stationed there, who were sent to Cyprus by the Greek Government and who obey orders from Greece.

106. In the history of the last few decades there has scarcely been any instance in which the world public and press have been so unanimous as they have been in this instance in condemning what has happened recently in Cyprus. Even the Western press has been forced to recognize that an armed *putsch* has taken place in Cyprus, ordered by the military clique in Athens. Thus, *The Times* of London of 17 July wrote in a leading article: “The Greek Government denies the allegation [its involvement in the intervention in Cyprus], but as long as the Greek officers remain in Cyprus the denial will hardly be convincing.”

107. It is also true that perhaps never before in the whole history of the United Nations has any Government found itself in such deep political isolation as the Government of Greece—which stands behind the organizers of the coup in Cyprus—does today. And this is not surprising. In the eyes of the whole world, the Fascist régime in Athens has engaged in the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, thereby arrogantly flouting the principles of the Charter and the elementary rules of international law.

108. The Security Council also cannot fail to be concerned about the agency and press reports that the perpetrators of the *putsch* are now inflicting bloody reprisals on the patriots of Cyprus—those who continue to remain true to the principles of democracy and who uphold the legitimate Government of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios. The perpetrators of the *putsch* plotted the villanous murder of President Makarios and spread provocative rumours about his death in order to disorganize the resistance forces. They did not even stop at criminal acts threatening the lives and security of diplomatic representatives in Nicosia. As is already known to members of the Council, during the last few days the Soviet Embassy in Nicosia, the residence of the Ambassador and the homes of staff of the Soviet Embassy were subjected to deliberate fire from automatic weapons and machine guns. It was later learnt that the diplomatic missions of other countries too, including the Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic and the residence of its military attaché, have also been under attack.

109. The criminal elements that provoked the bloody events in Cyprus, and the Government of Greece supporting them, will not succeed in evading responsibility for these criminal acts.

110. The view is now prevailing throughout the world that the *coup d'état* in Cyprus was actually planned by certain circles in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which obviously cannot tolerate the independent existence of the Republic of Cyprus, pursuing an independent foreign policy, a policy of non-alignment. There are grounds for endorsing that opinion. This conclusion must be drawn from the position taken by the representatives of certain NATO countries when the Council considered the question of the situation created in Cyprus as a result of outside intervention. Those present here will recall that at the last meeting of the Council it proved impossible to adopt effective measures to halt the intervention and support the legitimate Government of Cyprus because the representatives of certain NATO countries objected to this. Clearly, this is connivance with the *putsch*—and, even more, support for it in any form—which would constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, since President Makarios remains the lawfully elected President of Cyprus and his Government continues to enjoy the loyal support of the Greek and Turkish communities.

111. The vital interests of all Cypriots urgently require the immediate ending of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Republic and the halting of the dangerous game being played with the fate of Cyprus by the NATO military and its Greek agents. This is also required in the interests of strengthening peace in the eastern Mediterranean region. We have no doubt that the Cypriot people will yet have their say. The striving of that valiant people—however small in number—for freedom and independence

cannot be stifled. The people of Cyprus have proved this by their long struggle for independence against all attempts to suppress their will.

112. The statement by the Soviet Government of 17 July clearly sets forth the position of principle of the Soviet Union on the item we are discussing today. It stresses, *inter alia*, that:

“The Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles of foreign policy, has always been and always will be on the side of the Cypriot people in their struggle for the right to decide their own fate themselves. It has supported and will continue to support the independent existence of Cyprus as a sovereign State. It is quite understandable that this consistent position of the Soviet Union should meet with the support and approval of the peoples of the world.

“The Government of the USSR considers that all States which cherish the peace and freedom of peoples should raise their voices in defence of the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios, and in favour of the immediate cessation of foreign military interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. The first step should be the immediate removal from Cyprus of all Greek military personnel.” [see S/11340]

113. Speaking yesterday, 18 July, at a dinner given in honour of a Party-Government delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mr. N. V. Podgorny, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, declared that the Soviet Union fully sides with the people of Cyprus, who are struggling for their freedom and independence. He stressed that the policy of peace and of easing international tension is not to the liking of the reactionary circles which are attempting to regain their lost positions, to weaken the national liberation movement and to strike a blow at the progressive achievements of the people. The latest evidence of this, as Mr. Podgorny pointed out, is to be found in the tragic events in Cyprus resulting from the armed coup organized by the Greek military and certain NATO circles which are supporting it against the legitimate Government of the country headed by President Makarios. Mr. Podgorny, on behalf of the Soviet Union, firmly demanded that this flagrant interference from outside in the internal affairs of the sovereign Republic of Cyprus be ended immediately.

114. As the Soviet delegation has already declared, the Security Council, as the principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, should, in view of the seriousness of the situation which has arisen, urgently—I stress, urgently—take the necessary decisive steps aimed at the immediate ending of the armed interference of the Greek military in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, and at the immediate withdrawal of the

Greek soldiers now on its territory. Time will not wait. The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, who is here, is looking to us for help, and Cypriots—both Greek and Turkish—are looking to us for help. The United Nations cannot and must not remain indifferent to the fate of the sovereignty, freedom and independence of the Republic of Cyprus, a State Member of the United Nations. If the Security Council and the States which are members of the Council respect the lofty principles and purposes of the Charter not in word but in deed, they not only should but must resolutely champion the cause of Cyprus. It is essential that the criminal actions of those who have infringed the sovereignty and independence of this State and those who are conniving with the perpetrators of the *putsch* and supporting them should be resolutely condemned and stopped.

115. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Cyprus is a third world country in the Middle East and Mediterranean region. The Chinese Government and people are seriously concerned about the present situation in Cyprus.

116. The people of Cyprus have a glorious revolutionary tradition of fighting against imperialism. They waged a prolonged heroic struggle to win national independence, safeguard State sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose colonialism and imperialism, and finally independence was achieved. In this struggle, Archbishop Makarios played an outstanding role, which we highly admire. Since independence, under the leadership of President Makarios, Cyprus has pursued a policy of non-alignment, resolutely opposed imperialism and colonialism, and made useful contributions towards supporting the just struggle of the third world countries and peoples.

117. The Chinese Government has always held that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected by all countries. We are firmly opposed to aggression and subversion by any outside force against a sovereign State. The question of Cyprus should be settled by the people of Cyprus themselves.

118. At the present time, it is of particular importance to maintain vigilance against the super-Powers taking advantage of the situation in Cyprus to meddle and fish in troubled waters.

119. The Chinese Government and people support the third world countries and peoples as well as the people of the rest of the world in their solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Cyprus.

120. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): We are gathered at a moment when peace is clearly threatened in the eastern Mediterranean. I believe that as responsible members of the Security Council

we all have an obligation to ask ourselves what is the most useful contribution we can make to avoid conflict and to stabilize peace.

121. We have listened with great attentiveness to the words of Archbishop Makarios. We join in the sense of relief that all of us feel that he is able to be with us today and to express his views so eloquently. My Government looks forward to welcoming President Makarios in Washington to discuss with him what additional steps can be taken to resolve this crisis and to help end the agony of the Cypriot people.

122. Let there be no misunderstanding about the attitude of the United States Government in this situation. As I stated in the Council on Tuesday, the United States Government continues to support the independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the existing constitutional arrangements.

123. Further, I should like to emphasize a fundamental point: the United States does not consider enosis, or union between Greece and Cyprus, as an acceptable solution of the Cyprus problem. The United States continues to believe in the future of a free and independent Cyprus as a sovereign nation capable of making its own decisions in full equality with the rest of the independent countries of the world. We do not consider military intervention by any party, for any reason, to be justified in the present situation.

124. In our view, the first and very important step is that all interested parties continue to exercise the utmost restraint and good judgement to prevent this crisis from taking further unfortunate turns. In particular, the United States Government is firmly opposed to any attempt to bring about a military solution to the present problem. Such attempts would severely, perhaps irretrievably, set back the negotiating process which alone can bring about the peaceful and constitutional solution we all desire. Therefore, we most earnestly appeal to all the Governments concerned to resist the temptation to settle this issue by force. We ask them instead to pursue the much harder but wiser course of negotiation.

125. Having said that, however, I am sure that all of us around this table will recognize that there are many critical uncertainties in the present situation. We are gratified to note that the fighting on the island apparently has ceased. Yet the threat of military action in that area remains a grim prospect.

126. I note with considerable interest that the representative of the Soviet Union is impressed by the fact that United States citizens have sent messages to his Embassy expressing their view on this crisis. I am not surprised that he is impressed. United States citizens have the right to communicate with anyone regardless of the point of view they wish to express.

127. We are all aware of the special treaty provisions which govern the relationships of the Governments concerned in Cyprus and the historically unique constitutional arrangements which were established to provide an acceptable basis of association between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.

128. Given the forcible overthrow of the existing Government, it is quite understandable that strong emotions are widely felt about how to resolve this problem. It is also quite natural that many members feel compelled to pronounce themselves quickly on some of the very complicated issues involved.

129. At the same time, the Security Council does have very definite responsibilities which we must always keep clearly in mind. Our obligation is first and foremost to contribute to a peaceful resolution of disputes.

130. Thus, in considering what action we should take, we should ask ourselves precisely what it is that we are trying to achieve. What we clearly should not be seeking is pronouncements which serve only propaganda purposes or would be without practical effect or which, because of their nature, would serve to inflame an already aggravated situation.

131. For example, one suggestion, proposed in informal consultations, is to have the Council demand that Greece remove its officers in the Cypriot National Guard. At this point I merely suggest that if such a proposal is pursued, members of the Council should carefully weigh the implications. Would it perhaps lead to an even more unstable situation? What would be the prospects of compliance with such an appeal? I raise those questions without foreshadowing or prejudicing my Government's ultimate position on this matter. And, lest there be any misunderstanding about the general attitude of the United States, my Government has always opposed intervention in the internal affairs of one country by another, and to the extent that this may be the case in Cyprus, I repeat: we deplore it.

132. We believe that the Council is unanimous in its view that the Cyprus crisis demands a peaceful and constitutional solution. But what we need to search for, of course, before we pronounce wisely is the best way to achieve this result. In our view, it can be accomplished only through discussions among the parties which are themselves directly involved. These discussions are already under way. Intensive consultations have been taking place in London between the United Kingdom and Turkish Governments and a representative of my own Government. Other consultations are taking place urgently in the area. Under these circumstances the United States considers it would be a serious error to rush to judgement on an issue of this gravity. We have an obligation to peace, to statesmanship, to allow enough time for peaceful resolution of this crisis—no

matter how difficult or insurmountable the deadlock may seem.

133. My Government has had some experience in bridging differences which have defied solution in that part of the world. Let us not at this stage permit over-hasty actions in another crisis in that important region to complicate and delay efforts in process outside this chamber. Together we can achieve what cannot be achieved alone. Let us give peace a chance.

134. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): This has, I think for all of us, been a unique and a moving day. Rarely indeed can any one of us have participated in an occasion so poignant and so full of emotion. It is therefore doubly regrettable that the representative of the Soviet Union should have chosen this particular issue to engage in propaganda that would have been more apt 10 or 15 years ago.

135. I listened with great interest, as I always do, to the representative of the Soviet Union. He talked about NATO involvement. He talked about the NATO Powers' obstructiveness being responsible for the failure of the Security Council to act last Tuesday. Let me deal with those two *canards* now.

136. As far as the failure of the Council to act is concerned, I expressed the view last Tuesday—and I was joined by some other colleagues around this table—that we needed facts. We did last Tuesday. I also expressed the opinion that if President Makarios was coming to the Council we should hear him before adopting a resolution. It is perhaps noteworthy—and I might remind the representative of the Soviet Union of this fact—that this afternoon President Makarios indeed himself thanked the Council for not proceeding to a resolution until after he had been given an opportunity of addressing the Council.

137. On the second point raised by the representative of the Soviet Union—NATO involvement behind the coup—I might remind him that, as we have heard from President Makarios this afternoon, it was a NATO Power, the United Kingdom, which actively participated in making it possible for President Makarios to leave the island of Cyprus at all. Had it not been for that NATO Power, the United Kingdom, as President Makarios himself said this afternoon, it is extremely unlikely that we would have had the opportunity of hearing him. With great respect to the representative of the Soviet Union, I must say that it is a strange form of involvement by the United Kingdom in a plot—if indeed that is the allegation—if one of the first acts of involvement is to remove from his position of vulnerability the very person that we are supposed to be engaged in overthrowing. I was tempted at one stage to say to the representative of the Soviet Union, in good humour, and with goodwill, that he should not believe everything he reads in *Pravda*, but since he quoted *The Times* of London

in the course of his speech I feel that there is some cause for qualified optimism, at any rate, as far as he personally is concerned.

138. I take the floor this afternoon merely so that I may perhaps be permitted to clarify some of the positions which have been ascribed to the United Kingdom in the last few days. We have heard this afternoon from the President of Cyprus—and may I say how delighted we were in the United Kingdom that we were able to assist him in leaving the island and to give him such assistance as we have been able to since—a version of this week's events in Cyprus in which he made serious and far-reaching allegations against the Government of Greece. He said that the actions of that Government had amounted to a direct involvement by Greece in the affairs of an independent nation, Cyprus. I think this does need to be considered by the international community and I think it does need to be answered.

139. As the Council will know, there have been extensive discussions this week involving the United Kingdom Government and the Turkish Government, as two of the guarantors of the 1960 Cyprus settlement. The latest position is that an invitation has been extended by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Government of Greece for talks in London on Sunday. We see this as an opportunity for us to express directly to the Government of Greece my Government's views and concern about the situation in Cyprus. In particular we would intend to discuss with it and others concerned how the National Guard should be officered in the future and indeed whether the system of providing security in Cyprus should be modified. As the Council will appreciate, this is a matter of direct concern and responsibility to the Government of the United Kingdom as one of the guarantors of the 1960 agreement. I hope very much that the Greek Government will be able to come to London on Sunday and that such talks as then take place will be helpful.

140. The announcement yesterday by the Government of Greece of the replacement of the officers was, in our view, a helpful step. As one of our Ministers said in the House of Commons this morning, it means that the officers who led the coup in Cyprus will be withdrawn from the island. The withdrawal will start in the next few days, and we see that as significant progress, but we also see it as only the first step towards a solution of the problem.

141. May I perhaps, too, clarify my Government's position as far as President Makarios himself is concerned. In the House of Commons this morning the Minister of State of the Foreign Office, when asked the question whether he would confirm that in the view of Her Majesty's Government the elected leader of Cyprus was still President Makarios, used these words: "I am happy to confirm that the elected and the proper leader of Cyprus is President Makarios." That remains

our position, and we would therefore wish to see him back in his rightful place. He came to us today, in our view, as the elected head of the Cyprus Government and as such he is the only head of Cyprus that it is proper, in our view, for the United Nations to hear.

142. Against that background, what does the Council now proceed to do? First of all, may I follow the representative of the United States in urging restraint. If indeed talks are to take place, as we very much hope they will take place in London on Sunday, and if those talks are to be fruitful, it does mean that they must be given an opportunity for success, and in turn that means that those most directly concerned with the Cyprus situation must exercise extreme, perhaps even extraordinary, restraint in the next few days. It seems to me to be in everyone's interest that there should be a peaceful settlement of the present dispute. Restraint at the moment is the precursor of that peaceful settlement, and the lack of restraint at this particular time, I believe, would jeopardize that opportunity.

143. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, as this is the first time that my delegation has taken the floor under your presidency, let me offer you my delegation's congratulations and good wishes. We had hoped that this month of yours would be one of peace and constructive endeavours to strengthen peace. However, your wisdom, experience and diplomatic skill will be a special asset to the Council in the face of the dramatic and tragic events the Council now faces.

144. These events and this situation have been described by the man and leader who, for so many years, for so many decades indeed, was the symbol of the freedom and independence of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. We have listened to his statement with the utmost attention and it is hard not to be deeply impressed and indeed moved by it. That the President of Cyprus has decided to address the Council in person is a most unusual event and projects right into this chamber the dramatic turn the grave events of recent days have taken.

145. The Council and the international community as such are now faced with a full account of the facts, which will deserve our and the international community's most serious consideration.

146. Only a few weeks ago, when the Council renewed the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for the twentieth time, marking a decade of United Nations involvement in the peace-keeping on Cyprus, all those who spoke here, including the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, had voiced their hope, and I might even say their confidence, that the solution for the problems besetting the Republic of Cyprus for such a long time might be within our grasp. At a time when we all seemed

determined to combine our forces, in the United Nations and elsewhere, to assist the communities on the island to take definite steps towards a lasting settlement, the events of recent days can only be regarded as a severe blow to the achievement of our common and long-standing objective: the establishment of peace, security and stability in Cyprus and thus in the whole area of the eastern Mediterranean.

147. Austria, which more than once in its history has paid a heavy price for its freedom and independence, has always been deeply committed to the principle of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of the international community. This is particularly important and valid in the case of Cyprus, a young nation never removed from the threat of outside interference in its internal affairs. The deep interest and sympathy that Austria and the Austrian people have always felt for Cyprus and the Cypriot people is built not least on common allegiance to values cherished by our two peoples and arising out of the common history of the European nations.

148. Austria has never failed, in its spirit of friendship, to provide Cyprus, in the hour of need, with such assistance as was required to permit peaceful development in the island. Austria was thus among the first countries to provide contingents to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. It is needless to say, therefore, that the violent overthrow of the elected and constitutional Government of President Makarios by military means, the overthrow of the elected leader of a democratic country, has caused deep concern in Austria.

149. I should like to read, in an unofficial English translation, a statement which was issued yesterday by the Austrian Press Agency:

"The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria is following the events in the Republic of Cyprus with deep concern. Without wishing to prejudice further developments or the results of deliberations of the matter within the United Nations and other appropriate international forums, the events in Cyprus give rise to consternation, and it must be emphasized that any interference from outside—Austria itself having been in 1938 a victim of such intervention—would have to be considered as jeopardizing the international equilibrium and as constituting a serious threat to nations living together in peace. Should it indeed be possible to overthrow the Governments of sovereign States by outside intervention, a process of demoralization is bound to develop in international affairs. Hope is being expressed, therefore, in the Austrian Foreign Ministry that all States, irrespective of allegiance to military alliances or social system, will not lose sight of this aspect in considering the events in Cyprus."

150. It is obvious, therefore, that the present situation is a highly explosive one, not only for Cyprus itself but possibly for the peace and stability of the whole area of the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, we feel it to be a duty of the Security Council to act, under the Charter as well as in accordance with the special responsibilities of the Organization for the island, laid down in resolution 186 (1964) and many subsequent pronouncements.

151. We feel that action by the Council is required, action in conjunction with all other constructive efforts. This action is required to remove a dangerous threat to peace and international security and a threat of further military action in the area. Action by the Council is required to protect the constitutional structure of the island against irreparable damage. Action by the Council is also required, however—and, we feel, above all—to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus from all foreign interference and to allow the people of Cyprus, both its communities, to decide freely, in exercise of their sovereignty, about the future of their Republic, this Republic which has become such an indispensable element for peace and stability in the area.

152. We are confident that all members of the Council, with the help of all other interested parties, will wish to join in such a constructive endeavour, and that this readiness can be expressed as speedily as possible. My delegation stands ready to join with others in such an effort.

153. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, let me say first of all how pleased my delegation is to be serving here under your skilful presidency for the second time. I should like, also, to pay tribute to the able guidance of our proceedings during the month of June by your predecessor, Ambassador El Hassen of Mauritania.

154. We have all listened with the closest attention to the eloquent and moving appeal made to the Council this afternoon by Archbishop Makarios in his capacity as President of Cyprus. I am quite sure that all Council members will feel the greatest sympathy for him in the tribulations that he has endured in recent days. Notwithstanding these tribulations and despite his forced departure from his country, Australia still regards him—and I say this unequivocally and in the words of my Prime Minister in the Australian Parliament three days ago—as the President of Cyprus, the head of the Constitutional Government of that country, and its only legitimate head. The Government and people of Australia also respect him as the head of State of a fellow member of the Commonwealth of nations, re-elected unopposed as President 16 months ago, and in fact the senior head of Government among all Commonwealth countries.

155. His presence here at this time only serves to emphasize the gravity of the situation that the United

Nations, and particularly the Council, has come face to face with through the past few days. It is a situation that has given rise to deep concern in Australia, which has always supported and continues to support the sovereign independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

156. My Government has been providing a police contingent to the United Nations Force in Cyprus since its establishment in 1964. We have fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to bring about stability and harmony in the relations between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island.

157. We have, of course, always been aware of the acute tensions existing not only between the two communities but also within the Greek Cypriot community. But we had believed—even within the past few weeks—that there was reason to hope that the promised resumption of talks between the community leaders there gave some prospect of movement towards a relaxation of these stresses. It might be said, therefore, that the violent events that began on the morning of 15 July caused us shock more than surprise. There seemed no reason for this to happen at this particular time—unless it arose from the request of President Makarios on 2 July for the removal of the Greek officers of the National Guard of Cyprus.

158. It is clear that those officers cannot escape the primary responsibility for the violence and bloodshed that have taken place and have shaken the whole fabric of the constitutional structure that was no painstakingly created for Cyprus in 1959 and brought into force in 1960.

159. In the light of the categorical denial by the Government of Greece itself of any complicity in the events of the past week and in the light of its reaffirmation of its respect for the sovereign independence and the integrity of Cyprus, it is to be regretted, to say the least, that the Government of Greece did not respond immediately and favourably to the President's request of 2 July, and furthermore that it has not seen fit—so far as my delegation is aware—to express disapproval of the kind of leadership that its military officers have evidently been providing to the National Guard of Cyprus.

160. My delegation has noted and feels bound to underline a statement by the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the House of Commons on 17 July that the Government of Greece bears a heavy responsibility for the situation in Cyprus under the firm commitments it entered into under the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960. It is a responsibility shared with the Governments of the United Kingdom and Turkey, and also with the Government of Cyprus, under which the parties have undertaken to recognise and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, and also

state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of its Constitution”.

161. In terms of commitment by the Government of Cyprus, it is a responsibility that President Makarios for his part has discharged successfully for 14 years. Who is there better than President Makarios to carry forward the task of unifying the peoples of Cyprus by constitutional means and leading his country to a prosperous future in which it can stand on its own feet, free of outside interference in its internal affairs?

162. In the background of the present disruption of constitutional order in Cyprus, as we must all be aware, lies the danger of wider international conflict—as other speakers have rightly reminded us. This can only mean that the Council, while registering its strong disapproval of what has happened and calling for an end to Greek military interference in Cyprus, must appeal for the utmost restraint everywhere and the avoidance of any action which might aggravate this highly volatile situation, while in the meantime the process of negotiation goes forward through the statesmanship of those Governments most closely concerned, including those Governments which I mentioned earlier.

163. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): the next speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

164. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish, in the first place, to thank all the members of the Security Council for their very constructive statements and for realizing the importance of this meeting, not only for Cyprus, but also for the world. This is a critical period in the progress of the world. Today's meeting is reminiscent of another occasion, when a small country went to the League of Nations and asked for support against a threat of force directed at its independence, freedom and territorial integrity. Unfortunately, nothing was done in that case; but I hope that that lesson will lead the Council to take a different attitude in the case of Cyprus—not because it is Cyprus, but because we now live in a world that has had the experience of the Second World War—and not to treat the cause of Cyprus, as presented by Archbishop Makarios, in the same way as the League of Nations treated the cause of Ethiopia, as presented then by Haile Selassie.

165. I was heartened to hear all the statements, but the statement by the representative of Austria in particular reminded me of an occasion during the Second World War when his country, which had the closest relations with Germany, ties of friendship and blood, was placed by the régime in Germany—not by the German people, not by the German nation, but by the particular régime at the time—in the same position as Cyprus has been placed in today.

166. This is a most tragic situation: a threat to the independence, sovereignty and freedom of the people

of Cyprus, their national identity, their own historic tradition as a Greek island through the ages, an island with its own history and tradition. It struggles for freedom, only to find itself in the position of complaining against a threat to its independence, sovereignty and freedom by a régime—I say a “régime”, not “another country”—now ruling in another country with which it has the closest relations.

167. Now, my colleague the representative of Greece, Mr. Panayotacos, honoured me by referring to me, and I would not consider it appropriate not to mention him, because that would show great disregard. The fact is that I must first answer his position.

168. As to his position on all that the President of Cyprus put before this Council, and the proofs that he brought forward about the direct implication of the régime in Greece in this brutal attack on Cyprus, this attack that not only has caused so much loss of life and such destruction of property and of freedom, but also threatens the ideals of the island—and I hope the island will survive this threat against its national ideals—it is not necessary to answer Ambassador Panayotacos, who simply dismissed the charges of Archbishop Makarios as “mere fabrication and distortion”. The speeches made by the members of the Council are in themselves an answer; an answer from me is not needed.

169. It is the unanimous conviction of the international community that the military *putsch* in Cyprus was engineered, ordered and executed by the military régime of Greece. It is regrettable—very regrettable—but it is truth and a reality we cannot overlook. This has been emphatically expressed by the world press all over the globe. It is an extraordinary thing that all agree. From whatever part of the globe they come—West, East, aligned and non-aligned alike, and whatever their ideology—they are all agreed on that, so why should I answer? As I say, I do so out of regard for him.

170. It has also been emphatically expressed in other important international bodies, such as the Permanent Council of NATO in Brussels, the group of non-aligned countries in Geneva and the European Common Market Executive Commission, among others, and also by almost all Governments. Consequently, the international issue of outside intervention in the present case is already stated, and aggression against Cyprus is beyond dispute.

171. Mr. Panayotacos also referred—and I thank him for it—to my fervent patriotism in the 1950s and the 1960s. Well, I would say that that same patriotism, more enhanced in a heart bleeding from the agony and suffering imposed on Cyprus, is now what urges me to come to this Council and, at my age, fight again for the rights of the Cypriot people—as a people, as a country, as a nation, as part of a nation,

but still a country in its own right, a State Member of the United Nations.

172. This is not the only case of people of the same ethnic character and origin constituting more than one State. There are the Arab States of the Middle East. They are exactly the same. They have the same ethnic origin, the same ideals—everything. They happen to be separate States, but that does not in any way detract from their national identity or their ethnic origin. So, in the case of Cyprus, its independence should not be attacked from any side. This, I think, should be borne in mind by all, and I am very happy to see the support given from all sides in the Council to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. And, directly connected with it, there have emerged from the statements of all members that have spoken today the recognition and support of Archbishop Makarios as the unifying force in Cyprus—as the continuing President of Cyprus, whatever forces and artificial *putsches*, engineered from outside, may have tried to effect.

173. I do not want to take the time of the Council if it is to proceed to a resolution tonight. If it is going to adjourn, I may have something more to say. Perhaps, before finishing my statement tonight, I might refer to the charge made by the representative of Greece that human rights have been violated in Cyprus. I would remind him and the Council that in spite of the great difficulties caused by outside intervention—and even though the President, Archbishop Makarios, as he has said, knew of the situation, of the criminal acts instigated from outside, and of the violence in the island—President Makarios did not interfere with the rights of the citizens of Cyprus. There was freedom of the press until the last moment; and, in spite of licence in the papers, never was there any suppression of that freedom of the press. No martial law was imposed; no emergency was called; no arbitrary military courts passed judgements or inflicted punishment. Everything was done in the regular constitutional way. How can one accuse Cyprus, and the President of Cyprus, of ill-treatment and torture in prisons? Why should that take place? It could take place in any régime that imposes martial law and other such measures. I do not want to enter into what happens in Greece under the present régime; it is not my business to do that; I hope everything is all right. But in Cyprus there has been no violation of human rights and, as the President has declared, when this matter was brought to his attention while he was President, he invited a parliamentary committee to investigate those charges. I wish that were done in other countries where violations of human rights are repeatedly referred to and reported.

174. It is needless for me to answer such charges. The important thing now is, how is Cyprus to recover from these wounds—wounds inflicted, regrettably, lamentably, from that source? How? Not by words; it has to be done in an effective way. Therefore, we

look forward to the resolution that the Council will adopt—a resolution that will be constructive, that will restore to Cyprus the rights of its people that have been trampled upon, the democratic rights that have been respected in Cyprus all along but which have now been so ruthlessly crushed by the use of the tanks to which the Archbishop referred. As to their provenance—where did they come from, what marks did they bear, by whom were they driven?

175. It would be a terrible example that would have a most demoralizing effect upon the peoples of all nations if this situation were left unchanged and the people of Cyprus remained under the dictatorship of a projected régime from Athens. The position has to be normalized, and that cannot be done unless there is a strong, constructive and effective resolution of the Security Council, to which my President and the people of Cyprus as a whole, of whatever ethnic origin, look forward.

176. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I have asked to speak in order to make a few brief comments on the statements by the representative of the United Kingdom.

177. First of all, I should like to recall that in speaking of certain representatives of certain NATO countries I did not mention by name our colleague, the United Kingdom representative. If he takes these critical remarks as directed at him, that is his own affair. We take note of it. However, I should like to suggest to him that, when next certain circles are criticized for certain acts, he should not hasten to raise his hand and state that he is being criticized.

178. Secondly, in denying any involvement of NATO countries in the events in Cyprus, the representative of the United Kingdom apparently forgot that Greece, which, as has been precisely established, is the organizer of the intervention in Cyprus and the guiding force behind the military coup, is a member of NATO. Perhaps the representative of the United Kingdom knows something that I am unaware of, namely, that Greece has been excluded from NATO? I have not heard this piece of news.

179. Thirdly, speaking seriously, the Soviet delegation is greatly concerned at the attempts of certain representatives of certain NATO countries who have been continuing even today to delay the adoption by the Council of effective measures aimed at halting foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, achieving the withdrawal of the Greek military personnel who organized the *putsch* and, thereby, restoring democratic rule in Cyprus and the Government headed by President Makarios.

180. We have already stated that under the Charter the Council is obliged to take immediate and effective measures.

181. There have been references here to talks between the interested parties being held somewhere else. These references cannot be taken as a pretext for the Council not to take appropriate action for its part. Today we are discussing the situation in Cyprus in connexion with the appeal made by the legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus and by President Makarios in person, and we are obliged to take our own measures. We must take appropriate steps to respond to this appeal by the legitimate Government and must put an end to foreign military interference in the affairs of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

182. Today we heard a detailed statement by the President of that country. We received confirmation of the facts of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus directly from the head of State. What prevents the Council from taking appropriate measures now, immediately, at this very meeting? In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, there is nothing to prevent us from taking such action.

183. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

184. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I wish to make a few remarks, and I shall try to keep them very brief.

185. I shall not dwell on the *lapsus linguae* of Mr. Rossides when he called Cyprus a Greek island in the Mediterranean. It is characteristic and therefore not unexpected. We Turks of both Turkey and Cyprus are used to it.

186. Today we are living through what might seriously be called a Greek tragedy: a drama of Greeks, not a word being said about the plight of the Turks. I would not call that a characteristic attitude of the Security Council; certainly not. But, there has always been a tendency to consider that one of the elements of the population is more worthy of the care of the Council than the other. I hope that will not be so in future.

187. I want to make a remark of a very general nature just as a kind of future reference for all the members who have spoken of the people of Cyprus. There is no people of Cyprus. One can speak only of the population of Cyprus, and in making this statement I am merely quoting Archbishop Makarios. The rights of the two communities must be considered separately and on a level of equality with no imposition on the weaker community.

188. It was in that context—and I am now answering a remark by my friend Mr. Panayotacos of Greece—that in 1964, when the defenceless Turkish community was attacked by the Greek Cypriot armed units, with civilian Greek Cypriots at that time gathered as in a *corrida* to assist in the kill, that Turkish air force planes had recourse to a police action aimed at restoring the

rights of the Turkish community and putting an end to the slaughter of that community. That is in reply to what was said about a bombardment by the Turkish air force.

189. Now to keep the record straight, again in reply to the representative of Greece, I should like to say this: if the Turkish community, which has no outlet in Cyprus, succeeded—as claimed by my dear friend Mr. Panayotacos—in receiving thousands of officers from Turkey for the training of its fighters, I leave it to the members of the Council to imagine the possible number of Greek officers from Greece which might be introduced into an island where all the means of communication and all the coastline were and are under their entire control, and with the entire Greek administration at their beck and call.

190. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

191. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I am very sorry to have to take a little more of the Council's time.

192. My friend and colleague Mr. Olcay took exception to my statement that Cyprus was a Greek island. I was speaking about Cyprus as a unit in history. The 3,000-year-old history of Cyprus cannot be denied. I am sure that Mr. Olcay, a man of learning, cannot deny the history of Cyprus, cannot deny that all through the ages it has been predominantly Greek. That is true of its culture, its civilization—and examples of this can be seen in the rich collection in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; indeed they occupy a very prominent place there.

193. The history of a country cannot be denied. It is there. There could be no point in Mr. Olcay's denying the history of Cyprus. As I have said, it is a 3,000-year-old history. It dates back to a period long before there was any Turkish presence in Cyprus.

194. Now, of course, there is an 18 per cent minority of Turkish Cypriots. That is most welcome. There is an advantage to variety. It is not necessary to be solidly one people. There are common interests that far surpass any difficulties that have been artificially created in Cyprus. We would look forward to living not only in peace and co-operation but in amity with the Turkish community of Cyprus. If there is no outside intervention, the two communities can live in peace, mutual respect and mutual co-operation,

with full participation by the Turkish Cypriots in every aspect of life.

195. That is the ideal situation, and it is not at all hindered by the history of Cyprus. The history is there. The present realities are also there. The two do not conflict at all. Hence, I see no reason why there should be any dispute between Mr. Olcay and me on this issue.

196. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

197. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I hope we are not going to enter into one of those ritual Rossides-Olcay, Olcay-Rossides exchanges. I merely wish to say that despite all the historical elements in the statement by Mr. Rossides, the historical argument—especially when it goes back thousands of years—could be terribly dangerous in our modern world. Therefore, the less said about thousands of years of history, the better.

198. We should try to stick to the present, and in my view, if we do so we can hardly call Cyprus a Greek island. That is what Turkey has been striving to explain for the past 15 years in this and other forums of the United Nations.

199. In fact, that is why we are here today. We want people to know that Cyprus is not, should not be and will not be a Greek island.

200. I wish to make just one other comment. The relationship between the two communities, though it is to be hoped that it will become better in the future through adequate constitutional measures, is far from being a relationship that can give the Turks the confidence that would allow them to consider themselves free and equal citizens, which they should have been under the Constitution that gave birth to Cyprus. We are striving towards that ideal, but I must say that, especially in the past 10 years, we have not achieved much progress in that respect.

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): A draft resolution [S/11346] which is the result of consultations carried out among members of the Council has been circulated. Members of the Council may wish to study this text, and I would hope that it can be put to the vote at our next meeting.

*The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.*

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