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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

AGENDA ITEM 110

Question of Cyprus (*continued*)

1. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): During the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly almost all the representatives who made statements expressed their satisfaction at the success of the efforts to strengthen international security and widen international *détente*. Hotbeds of conflict which for many years had burdened international relations and frequently brought the world to the brink of nuclear war had been eliminated or circumscribed. But the foreign intervention in Cyprus made it clear that the opponents of *détente* have certainly not laid down their arms as yet.

2. In his statement at the beginning of the debate on this item the representative of the Republic of Cyprus said:

“What happened in Cyprus was not an accident. The coup was not an accident. The invasion was not an accident.” [2270th meeting, para. 31.]

That is very true. The infringement by certain North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] circles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment policy of a Member State of the United Nations was precisely what exacerbated the situation in the eastern Mediterranean and created a further threat to the maintenance of international peace.

3. The representative of a certain country has an allergic reaction to any reference to the invidious role played by some well-known NATO circles in the affairs of Cyprus. We have seen that reaction in the Security Council and also in the General Assembly at this session. We must ask: What is the reason for that reaction? Is it not that the influential circles of his country are supporting precisely those NATO forces which, for military and strategic reasons, wish to change the non-aligned policy of the Government of

Cyprus? The suffering people of Cyprus are the victims of the expansionist policy of certain NATO circles that are still thinking in terms of the so-called cold war. That is what makes it necessary for the United Nations to use urgently all its available resources to settle the Cyprus question on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

4. The German Democratic Republic has long had good and friendly relations with Cyprus. It defends the lawful right of the people of Cyprus to the political and territorial integrity of their State. It is in favour of the recognition by all of the sovereign decision of Cyprus to adhere to a policy of non-alignment. Responding to the appeals of the Government of Cyprus and the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic, like a number of other States, has provided assistance to those who have directly suffered from this foreign intervention. I am thinking first of all, of course, of the tens of thousands of refugees who have been forced to leave their country and are enduring great suffering and privation. By providing special financial assistance and sending medicine, and by giving medical treatment to the wounded who are in hospitals of the German Democratic Republic, we are striving to lessen the suffering of the Cypriot people. In so doing we are, however, fully aware that a lasting and effective solution of the humanitarian problems will be possible only through a political settlement of the conflict.

5. In our opinion it is necessary to bear two points of principle in mind in discussing and endeavouring to solve the Cyprus problem. First, the restoration of the constitutional order and the establishment of conditions making it possible for the two communities of Cyprus to live together peacefully are internal matters, which can and must be resolved by the people of Cyprus themselves without any intervention from outside. That principle has always been used as a guideline by the United Nations also. In that connexion, we welcome the recent efforts of the Government of Cyprus to solve its controversial domestic problems through talks.

6. Secondly, the efforts of the United Nations should be directed towards the cessation of foreign intervention and the withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops and military personnel, and towards ensuring the sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus, as called for in Security Council resolution 353 (1974). Resolute action by the United Nations is essential if this hotbed of conflict is to be eradicated and favourable conditions are to be established for the success of external efforts to settle the domestic problems of Cyprus. Moreover, there must be total respect for and strict compliance with the United Nations Charter in regard to all States, no matter what their political structure or size.

7. In this spirit, the President of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic and the President of the Republic of Finland stated, at recent talks they held, that they considered it urgently necessary to ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in accordance with Security Council resolutions, and that it was also necessary to resolve the international aspects of the Cyprus problem within the framework of the United Nations.

8. As will be clear from the statements of various speakers, there is essentially broad agreement concerning the matters of principle involved in the solution of the Cyprus problem. However, the question arises as to how the targets involved can be attained. It has been demonstrated in practice that a solution within the narrow NATO circle is not possible, especially since not all of the States involved are dealing with Cyprus as an equal partner in the talks.

9. Events in Cyprus have demonstrated the complete absurdity of the so-called system of guarantees under the Zurich and London Agreements.¹ Indeed, that system of guarantees has been used for purposes that are entirely in conflict with the interests of the people of Cyprus. Moreover, that system of guarantees, based as it is upon the political interests of certain imperialist States, nowadays has no justification and no prospects of surviving.

10. Proceeding from the foregoing appraisal of the situation, one inevitably comes to conclusions that coincide with the proposals formulated in the statement by the Soviet Union on 22 August 1974.² What is required is the convening of a conference within the framework of the United Nations, in which States members of the Security Council would take part, as well as representatives of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and other countries—and, in particular, non-aligned countries. The principal task of that conference should be, first of all, to ensure termination of international interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus; in other words, the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The facts demonstrate that Cyprus does require genuine, solid guarantees that would protect its independence, its territorial integrity and the peaceful development of its internal order.

11. The newly established system of guarantees should ensure the prevention of any attempts to convert Cyprus into an unsinkable aircraft-carrier serving the interests of a specific group of States. The guaranteeing of the proper implementation of decisions of the conference is something which should be undertaken by the States permanent members of the Security Council, which bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

12. The foreign intervention in Cyprus has now lasted for a number of months; it is daily bringing new suffering and privation to the Cypriot people. There has also been a marked deterioration in the economic situation. The assistance provided by other States can improve the extremely difficult living conditions of the people of Cyprus only to a certain extent. It is with considerable apprehension, therefore, that other countries view the existence of this hotbed of conflict; they have every justification in seeing it as a threat to their own security, as well as to the strengthening and expansion of the process of international *détente*.

13. We share the view expressed in this forum by numerous representatives to the effect that the Cyprus tragedy is a test case for the security, and indeed the very existence, of all small and medium-sized States, and that it is thus a test case for the United Nations.

14. That is why the Organization should act forthwith in the spirit of the aforementioned proposals and justify peoples' trust in the United Nations as a universal organization for collective security. The German Democratic Republic, for its part, is ready to act within the context of constructive co-operation.

15. Mr. SAITO (Japan): The Government of Japan has followed recent developments in the Cyprus situation with great concern. The situation is serious and, if it does not improve, will threaten international peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean. Beyond any doubt, the continuation of the present situation will certainly result in further human tragedy and suffering for the people of the island.

16. The United Nations has long been involved in the question of Cyprus, and I am convinced that the Organization can and should play a very significant role in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the island's problems. We hope that the current debate in the General Assembly will lend a new impetus to these efforts.

17. Let us hope, therefore, that the debate will be conducted in a constructive manner and in a sincere attempt to find a settlement that will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. To this end, it is most important that we exert our best efforts to agree upon a resolution that will be acceptable to all the parties concerned.

18. My delegation has listened very attentively to the statements in the Special Political Committee by the representatives of the two communities. They were very instructive and have certainly contributed greatly to deepening and enlarging the knowledge and understanding of many delegates. It seems to my delegation that, although the views of the parties concerned are far apart on many important questions, they are all agreed on the central and most essential principle, that is, that any solution should be based on respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They are also agreed in opposing any form of partition or annexation of Cyprus, or of any of its parts, by another country. These principles should be the starting point for all efforts to bring about a settlement of this complex problem.

19. The Government of Japan firmly believes that every effort should be exerted to find an early solution to the problem, based on the existence of the two communities, which will guarantee the observance of these principles.

20. The principles contained in relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the most important of which is resolution 353 (1974), should also be taken into account in attempting to achieve a settlement.

21. The reduction and withdrawal of foreign troops other than those allowed by international agreements, and an early settlement of the problem of refugees and displaced persons, are very important elements

of these resolutions and should be included in a settlement.

22. In an otherwise gloomy situation, the continuing talks between the leaders of the two communities—Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas—are rays of hope. To be sure, the scope of their discussions is still confined mainly to humanitarian problems, but the continuation of the dialogue between the two communities offers the best way, in present circumstances, to keep the situation under control, alleviate human suffering, and pave the way for political talks leading to a peaceful settlement.

23. My Government hopes that both the Turkish and Greek Governments will give their full support to the talks, and that, before long, political negotiations will be opened by the parties directly concerned, including the Turkish and Greek Governments.

24. The initiative taken by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which led to the opening of the talks between the leaders of the two communities, is the best recent example of United Nations efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of this long-standing problem. The United Nations has been involved in the Cyprus question for years, and has greatly contributed to the maintenance of peace on this troubled island through the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP] and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who helped arrange the intercommunity talks. The activities of UNFICYP since the events which began last summer are well known. Japan has steadily supported these efforts and will continue to support them.

25. My Government is particularly grateful for the Secretary-General's initiative regarding the dialogue between the leaders of the two communities. The Government of Japan hopes that the Secretary-General will continue his efforts, and will take positive initiatives for a peaceful settlement. My Government will support such initiatives whole-heartedly and will extend all possible co-operation.

26. Mr. MALDONADO AGUIRRE (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): A careful examination of the various points that have been submitted throughout this debate, as well as a careful examination of the events themselves that have occurred and are occurring in Cyprus, demonstrates the fact that this item falls within the purview of the General Assembly to the extent that this august body acts within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States is the foundation of any action that could be recommended. Similarly, the right of the people of Cyprus to resolve its internal or national problems in a way fully consonant with its institutional régime, to reside in the territory of its country and to exercise its rights to life and to the pursuit of freedom and well-being are also foundations for such action.

28. Thus, the delegation of Guatemala firmly supports any efforts to ensure respect for these principles and rights.

29. No State guarantor of the existence of the State of Cyprus can renege on obligations assumed in the Treaty of Guarantee¹ so long as the United Nations Charter establishes as a principle full compliance with, and respect for, international compromises that are

freely consented to. If conflicts exist in any way between a treaty and the United Nations Charter, it must be recalled that the obligations imposed by the Charter must prevail over any other obligations contracted in another international agreement.

30. In this case, the Charter stipulates that Members of the Organization in their international relations shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the legitimately acquired political independence of any State. It thereby can be inferred that non-compliance with these obligations or duties is non-compliance with the Charter.

31. The efforts in this body to restore to Cyprus as a sovereign country the full enjoyment and exercise of its rights as a State do not permit the delegation of Guatemala to go any further in its support than what is stipulated by the Charter itself, inasmuch as any other matters falling essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Cyprus should be solved by that country in the way it feels to be most in keeping with its interests.

32. Guatemala believes that it is essential that Cyprus, as a Member State of the United Nations, should be able to comply with its international commitments, among them the duties imposed upon it by the Charter. This possibility can only be realized if troops of the countries guaranteeing the existence and independence of Cyprus are withdrawn and if Cyprus can restore its institutions freely and independently.

33. The delegation of Guatemala clearly and emphatically states that: first, it firmly supports any measure to ensure respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Cyprus; secondly, it fully supports any effort leading towards the prompt and immediate return of citizens of Cyprus to that country and to their homes; thirdly, it condemns any acts that are designed to deprive a State of its institutional régime or that would attempt to compel it to accept an impairment of its territorial integrity or to destroy the principle of solidarity according to which the coexistence of different ethnic, linguistic or cultural communities within one State is a political reality.

34. Mr. BELLIZZI (Malta): The question of Cyprus is one in which the United Nations has been involved for over a decade. But the form in which it presents itself this year, following the tragic events of the past summer, makes it both unprecedented and much more explosive than it had ever appeared before. The question of Cyprus perhaps presents an illustration of the unfortunate results that can be expected to flow from political problems when they are allowed to persist beyond reasonable limits. The inability of the parties to achieve a negotiated solution of the problem of Cyprus, as it presented itself before last July, was undoubtedly an important factor leading to the present grave situation. That inability in its turn was no doubt influenced by the strictly peace-keeping terms in which the problem was perceived by all the parties which could have contributed towards a lasting settlement. As the Secretary-General rightly points out in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

"The Cyprus experience has demonstrated yet again how important it is to ensure that peace-keeping efforts must not be the pretext for slackening

the momentum of the search for a settlement of underlying problems. If those problems are allowed to persist, they will eventually erode the political assumptions on which peace-keeping itself rests, of which the principal one is that all concerned have rejected the use of force." [A/9601/Add.1, sect. VI, p. 4.]

35. It is to be hoped that this lesson will duly be taken to heart, and that from the tragedy that has befallen Cyprus there will emerge not only a firm resolve on the part of the international community to come to grips with political problems before they become too intractable, but also and above all a renaissance of the sovereign independence of Cyprus and a vindication of the policy of non-alignment it has pursued throughout its existence.

36. It is not my intention to dwell too long on the events that gave rise to the present deeply disturbing situation in Cyprus. Those events are well known to us all, and although they must be kept constantly in mind as we search for a solution, it is towards the present and to the future that our efforts must principally be directed. None the less, it is hardly possible to speak on the subject of Cyprus without specifically referring at least to the recent past.

37. When this Assembly, in its resolution 2077 (XX), called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from any intervention directed against it, it may have appeared to the casual observer as an exercise in superfluity, in view of the basic provisions of the United Nations Charter. That the General Assembly should have felt it necessary to make this call, which does little more than repeat certain of the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, illustrates the unique characteristics of the Cyprus problem. At the same time, however, it reinforces the obvious fact that whatever special considerations there may be, Cyprus can in no way and under no pretext be denied the full and unconditional respect for its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and its political independence, which all States, sovereign and equal Members of this Organization, enjoy under the Charter.

38. The coup d'état staged in Cyprus on 15 July 1974 at the instigation of the military dictatorship then ruling Greece, was an unqualified act of aggression and unbridled interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. In seeking the overthrow of the legitimate Government of Cyprus and of its elected President, Archbishop Makarios, the late and unlamented military junta of Greece resorted to an utterly irresponsible act of adventurism of which the only good thing that can be said is that it served to enable the people of Greece to rid themselves of the dictators and to regain their democracy. But the damage to Cyprus was done, and it is grave and bitter. For the coup in Cyprus sufficiently alerted Turkey as to provoke it to intervene militarily and to invade the island. The original Turkish invasion was perhaps an understandable if excessive reaction to what was clearly perceived as a threat to the safety of the Turkish-speaking Cypriot community in Cyprus. It also created a crisis to which the Security Council devoted its urgent attention in a series of meetings last July and August. But in spite of the Security Council's

clear and unequivocal call for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops, contained in Council resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, Turkey continued to dispatch more troops and to consolidate its hold on the island. That resolution also called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and called for an immediate end to foreign military intervention, the withdrawal of foreign military personnel and the restoration of constitutional government.

39. As against that mandatory call, we have today a situation where some 36 per cent of the national territory of Cyprus is under foreign military occupation, and nearly one third of the entire population of Cyprus has been reduced to the status of refugees within its own country. Such a situation is hardly conducive to the creation of conditions in which peace and constitutional government can be restored. On the contrary, it makes impossible even any attempt to return to normalcy and it poses a grave threat to international peace and security; in particular, it threatens the stability of the entire eastern Mediterranean region. These fears were expressed by the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, to which Malta belongs, in its declaration of 6 August 1974.⁴ As a non-aligned country and a Mediterranean island State, Malta is deeply concerned about events in Cyprus, and we fully endorse the declaration of the non-aligned countries to which I have just referred. That declaration also reaffirmed full support for the democratically elected President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios; it demanded the immediate and full implementation of the objectives of Security Council resolution 353 (1974); it asserted the inalienable right of the people and of the legitimate Government of Cyprus to full and free participation in all decisions leading to a return to normalcy and to the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus; and it reiterated that the independence, freedom and non-alignment of Cyprus were vital for peace and stability not only in the Mediterranean but generally in the world. Above all, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries stressed that further delay in the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel from Cyprus posed a direct threat to international peace and security.

40. As has been frequently remarked, peace is indivisible, and a threat to the independence and security of one non-aligned country is a threat to the security of all. It is in this context of its significance to the maintenance of international peace and security that the question of Cyprus ought, if only for selfish reasons, mostly to agitate the Members of the United Nations. However, beyond that dimension, let us also not forget for a single moment the enormous sum of human suffering, distress and despair to which the people of Cyprus have been reduced as a result of foreign interference in their internal affairs. The immediate alleviation of this suffering must, for obvious humanitarian reasons, be the first priority of the international community, and from that point the way towards a negotiated and equitable solution, to which all the people of Cyprus can freely subscribe, would be facilitated. However, the alleviation of suffering implies much more than the humanitarian assistance which is so urgently required and which has been estimated by the United Nations High Com-

missioner for Refugees at more than \$22 million to the end of this year. It implies, above all, the speedy return of all the displaced persons to their homes and properties. Indeed, it is impossible even to envisage any settlement of the Cyprus problem without first solving the immediate problem of the displaced population.

41. I have already referred, briefly, to the close concern of my country with the situation in Cyprus. That concern derives not only from our geographical proximity and close ties of friendship with Cyprus but mainly from the fact that we too are a small, non-aligned country which believes in the practical application of the principles of non-alignment and of security and co-operation in Europe, and which places its reliance on the collective security system envisaged by the United Nations Charter. We are indeed deeply concerned that these principles, which have been reaffirmed and strengthened in several solemn pronouncements of the United Nations, including the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)], should be applied in practice. It is imperative for this Organization not to fail to raise its voice whenever and in whatever circumstances these fundamental principles are infringed. It is in the light of these basic considerations that my delegation will take its stand on any draft resolution that may be laid before us.

42. My delegation considers that draft resolution A/L.738 includes all the necessary elements that, if applied faithfully and with fairness, could lead to an equitable and permanent solution. My Government is also aware of the strenuous efforts conducted within the Group of Non-Aligned Countries to find an alternative formulation of the same necessary elements on which a solution to the crisis must be based. It is our hope that these efforts on the part of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries will meet with the success they deserve and that a draft resolution that will command the widespread support of this Assembly will be submitted.

43. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): For more than 100 days now a situation has existed in Cyprus that is painful for the Cypriots, dangerous to peace and security in a region already beset with tensions and hence dangerous for international peace and security, and inconceivable during a period in which it is agreed that *détente* is politically indispensable and possible in practice and that it is becoming the dominant trend in international relations.

44. Foreign intervention in the affairs of Cyprus continues. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic have been infringed. The lofty principles of the United Nations, the very bases for relations among States, are being subjected to a harsh test. The resolutions of the Security Council are ignored. On the human level, the loss of human life and the destruction are vast, and the problem of refugees has taken a tragic turn.

45. On the international level, force once again has been used in the service of narrow strategic and political interests, ignoring the will and the interests

of the Cypriot people and ignoring the dangers such an action poses to international peace and security. Force has been used against a non-aligned country, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. This is an attack upon not only Cyprus but the entire non-aligned movement. The statement by Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, to this Assembly was particularly convincing in this connexion. Heavy is the responsibility of those who planned, provoked and effected this military intervention. Heavy is the responsibility borne by those particular NATO circles that wish to sacrifice an independent non-aligned State for their interests, for their military preparations in the eastern Mediterranean. Heavy is the responsibility borne by those who attempt to decide the fate of a State and a people without it and against it.

46. The gravity of this situation provokes a deep concern in international opinion, which demands that an end be put to a situation in which the very fate of a Member State of the United Nations, its independence, its sovereignty and its non-alignment are at stake.

47. In his speech to the General Assembly on 10 October the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Mr. Edward Gierek, defined the attitude of Poland as follows:

"We are also in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus conflict, which will restore that country's sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity. We are convinced that this objective would be attained by convening a representative international conference within the framework of the United Nations." [2264th meeting, para. 12.]

48. Therefore we are opposed to any attempt to divide the territory of Cyprus. We have denounced the external intervention in the affairs of Cyprus, the military intervention of which Cyprus is a victim. We have requested that an end be put to this and that all foreign troops be withdrawn. We have stressed the need to establish an appropriate international political and juridical framework so that the rights of the Cypriots can be assured and guaranteed and so that the Cypriots themselves can build the domestic political structure of their country in consonance with their own desires.

49. We are aware of the importance of the internal aspect of the situation in Cyprus, an aspect which, in our view, should be resolved by the Cypriots themselves, both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. We are aware of the international implications of that situation, and it is for this reason that we urge a just and speedy solution. This is, objectively, indispensable and, subjectively, possible on the basis of respect for the rights of the Cypriots and the provisions of the resolutions and proposals that have been advanced as the Cyprus crisis was, unfortunately, developing.

50. This attack on the fundamental principles of international relations cannot long remain unanswered. We cannot allow faits accomplis to multiply. We cannot remain indifferent to the difficulties being faced by the Cypriot people. We cannot permit any worsening of a crisis that is contrary to the general evolution of international relations on the basis of *détente* and

international co-operation—a crisis that threatens international peace and security. The General Assembly has been seized of this crisis and it must act, and act quickly.

51. The bases for a settlement of the Cypriot crisis were defined in the resolutions of the Security Council in particular. We must guarantee Cyprus unconditional respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. This is merely an elementary duty of all States in their relations with other States. We must fully implement the principles of the Charter and the numerous United Nations documents that prohibit any intervention in the affairs of other States. We must ensure the cessation of foreign intervention and, in particular, require the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

52. Moreover, besides respect for, and implementation of, these general principles, and besides the essential matter of the withdrawal of foreign forces, there must be a guarantee for the existence of political and juridical conditions external to the independent status of Cyprus.

53. The experience of the past three months has demonstrated—if more evidence were necessary—what an anachronism, how unjust and how outdated is the guarantee system that was stipulated in the Zurich and London Agreements of 1960.¹ It is impossible to continue with a system that seeks to guarantee the status of a non-aligned State through members of NATO. That system is bankrupt. In this situation, a just and appropriate resolution of the international aspects of the Cypriot crisis can be achieved only within the appropriate international framework, and it is precisely the United Nations that can and must provide such a framework.

54. In this connexion, the proposal of the Soviet Union to convene a representative international conference within the framework of the United Nations² is deserving of careful consideration and support. By its very nature, the United Nations is the most appropriate place to bring up and to settle the international aspects of the Cypriot crisis. We have in mind the possibilities open to the United Nations under the Charter, the representative nature of the Organization, and the role of the Security Council and its permanent members in peace-keeping and the maintenance of international security.

55. Since the very beginning of this crisis, the problem of Cyprus has been a subject of concern and discussion within the United Nations. This Organization must therefore serve as a forum and a framework for negotiations that take into account the existing facts: in other words, the eradication of the political and military domination of the post-colonial era; the growing role of the non-aligned States, both as individual States and as a movement; the new relationship of forces in the international arena; and the requirements of the present situation, which can be characterized by the fact that the use of force is more and more regarded as illegal and there is greater and greater adherence to the cause of *détente*.

56. On this basis, Poland advocates a representative international conference within the framework of the United Nations to examine the international aspects of the problem and to work out appropriate and effective guarantees for Cyprus.

57. At the beginning of my statement I noted that an appropriate and urgent solution of the problem of Cyprus was both necessary and possible. We are fully aware of the existence and interplay of forces opposing *détente* and the harmonious development of international co-operation. We are, however, convinced that *détente*, as a profoundly rational and positive process, will continue to be the dominant trend in international relationships. Therefore, in the interest of Cyprus, in the interest of its communities, in the interest of peace and security in that region and in the world as a whole, and in the interest of *détente* and peaceful international co-operation, we support an immediate and just settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

58. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the United Nations is faced with a problem that challenges its capacity to fulfil its responsibility to protect small countries and to maintain international peace and security. And once again a Member nation of the Organization is caught up in war; its people is torn apart, and nations confront each other around this State. And once again peace is the victim.

59. Egypt has closely followed developments in the Republic of Cyprus since 15 July last. It is deplorable and most distressing that that peaceful island should little by little be transformed into an arena of combat that has made refugees of tens of thousands of its population and put a halt to the development of a country that had sore need of being able to concentrate its time and efforts on restoring its well-being and past glories and its positive role.

60. If Egypt is closely following the problem in Cyprus, it is out of its attachment to the principles of the United Nations Charter and also because of two particular considerations. First, there is the element of personal experience, since Egypt has also endured and suffered from warfare, and its consequences, from colonialism and partition, and large sectors of its population have been driven from their homes and have seen their country split up, their people turned into refugees. The other consideration is the strategic and political importance of Cyprus, not only for Egypt and the Arab world but also for the security of the Middle East area and for international peace. We belong to countries that are very much aware of the degree to which wars that have been imposed upon them have interfered with the social and economic progress of their peoples.

61. We know full well how political life, once having been determined by arbitrary geographical distribution, becomes difficult and complex. Egypt knows what are the harmful consequences of the legacy of colonialism, this legacy that is so burdensome, that hampers all efforts. Egypt is familiar with the human suffering and the high economic cost that is the result of the presence of refugees. Cyprus, with its people and its foreign policy and its sensitive strategic position, represents for us in the Middle East and within the Group of Non-Aligned Countries a fundamental element in international peace and security. Any impairment of the security of Cyprus or of its status is an impairment of the security of the Middle East and of its stability, and involves a weakening of the movement of non-alignment to which Cyprus has made such a glorious contribution.

62. As stated by President Anwar El-Sadat in the message he addressed to the conference on support for the people of Cyprus, held at Cairo on 30 July 1974:

“This island holds a strategic and critical position not only for the Arab nation and in the Middle East but also for the situation in the whole world.”

He also said:

“I wish to express our gratitude to the national leadership in Cyprus, which has made such a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the principles of non-alignment and to the strengthening of its foundations, and has helped to give it depth and meaning. This policy is a part of the prevailing conditions in the world, and it is acquiring a growing importance in this respect.”

63. For all these reasons and considerations, Egypt, which is closely linked to the parties in the conflict and maintains with them a traditional friendship, wishes to repeat what was stated by President Anwar El-Sadat to Archbishop Makarios on 18 July, as well as in the declaration adopted by the Group of Non-Aligned Countries on 6 August 1974,⁴ and was repeated in the speech made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt in the General Assembly [2250th meeting, paras. 61-62]. This attitude is as follows: we must show total solidarity with the people of Cyprus, with both the Greek and Turkish communities, and with its lawful Government. The independence of Cyprus, and its sovereignty and territorial integrity, must be safeguarded. There must be no intervention in the affairs of Cyprus and the two communities should be left to decide freely upon the type of life and government that they are willing to accept for themselves. Security Council resolution 353 (1974) must be supported, and used in the settlement of the crisis.

64. From the bottom of our hearts, we appeal to the representatives of both communities in Cyprus, that in their efforts to arrive at a settlement of the problem they bear in mind the image of life in their country both during and after the war. Experience shows that this will undoubtedly contribute effectively to ironing out difficulties and finding a solution to the problem of thousands of refugees, now dispersed and famished, who are hoping that tension and combat may cease in their country.

65. We also appeal to the other international parties concerned, to make every effort to facilitate the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. They must demonstrate the political wisdom which is so vital now, and which is in accord with the history and the great civilization of the island.

66. We wish to pay a tribute in this connexion to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, who have stated that they are anxious to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, as well as its territorial integrity, and that neither of them has the intention of encroaching upon that sovereignty and unity in any form whatsoever. Once again we express the hope that they will contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to a situation where both communities of the Cypriot people will be able to decide freely upon the form of life in their country.

67. We should like to recall that Cyprus is not the first State to bring together two communities to live harmoniously within a system that they themselves have accepted.

68. All those who love peace are in duty bound to pay due tribute to the United Nations for the role it has played at all times under the guidance of the Secretary-General and his colleagues. The Organization has contributed much to restoring peace and maintaining it on this island and has done much to bring together representatives of the two communities. It has contributed to the creation of an atmosphere that will promote peace and hope.

69. Mr. UPADHYAY (Nepal): Cyprus is a small country, but a sovereign and independent State, equal with all others, big or small. It has the same rights and obligations as any other State, and this is a fundamental matter.

70. Cyprus, though small, is a unique country. It has a distinct identity, which it has the right to preserve, and this is also a fundamental matter.

71. The territorial integrity of the island of Cyprus is a necessary component for maintaining its status as a member of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries. It has a right to demand the end of any threat to its integrity and identity, and this is also a fundamental matter.

72. But the most fundamental matter of all is that a challenge has been posed to the United Nations itself. It is endeavouring to mediate with the representatives of the communities within Cyprus in collaboration with the Government of Cyprus and with the co-operation of the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom—and here I quote from Security Council resolution 186 (1964):

“... for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security.”

73. Unfortunately, the events that have taken place since 15 July 1974 have grossly undermined United Nations efforts and have threatened to destroy whatever understanding had been generated between the communities in Cyprus by United Nations efforts. This grave problem of conflict, though apparently a problem between the communities in Cyprus, involves in fact a larger question, namely, the independence of Cyprus, or even the existence of Cyprus.

74. Intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus from different foreign sources at one time or another further threatened the peace of the whole region. Thanks to the prompt action of the Security Council, escalation of the conflict was halted.

75. The development, or rather the deterioration, of the situation in Cyprus is especially disturbing to us because we share with Cyprus some fellowship as a small nation, a developing nation and a non-aligned nation.

76. My delegation has been concerned with this problem because, besides being an issue involving international peace and security, it is also an issue that involves the deep-rooted devotion of my delega-

tion to the ideals of independence, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of other States. This problem involves the question of territorial integrity of all States, big and small, and the question of the survival of the independent identity of a nation.

77. My country, as one of the non-aligned countries and one of the countries which subscribes fully to the Bandung spirit,⁵ has always supported the principles of independence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and non-interference in the affairs of other States. These are the principles upon which the concept of non-alignment has developed. We, as a small developing country, have always been firm adherents of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and any violation of it gives us cause for concern.

78. My delegation fully subscribes to the view expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his message to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey on 15 July 1974:

“At the heart of the problem of Cyprus are its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence. Any development which affects them obviously has the most serious consequences for the responsibilities of the United Nations in relation to Cyprus as laid down by the Security Council.”⁶

79. The trouble started, first of all, with an attempted coup d'état against the constitutional Government of Cyprus by some officers of the National Guard. The nature of the National Guard and its officers has been made evident by the letter addressed to the President of Greece by Archbishop Makarios, in which, according to the representative of Cyprus, he said:

“Please do not forget that the National Guard is a Cypriot army, not a Greek army. Therefore, it should come under the control of the Government of Cyprus. That control has not been exercised so far, but now I request that all these officers be recalled.”

80. The trouble that started with the connivance of foreign interests cannot be brought to an end unless all forms of foreign interference are withdrawn. We therefore stand by Security Council resolution 353 (1974), which, *inter alia*, calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus; demands an immediate end to foreign military intervention in Cyprus; and requests the withdrawal without delay from Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July 1974.

81. My delegation is in favour of the full restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island of Cyprus and express our full confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose mediation efforts alone can be useful in restoring the situation to normal. We urge all the parties concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General on the basis of all relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly resolutions 353 (1974) and 361 (1974).

82. However, it is my delegation's conviction that no solution of an internal problem can be imposed by outside forces. The internal problem between the Cypriots, whether they belong to the one community or the other, will have to emerge from within. It will be up to them to decide on the form of government they believe will be best suited to them, and it will be for them to decide how to administer the different areas. In this respect, the Secretary-General can play a much more constructive role than any other power. Of course, it is essential for the success of the Secretary-General's efforts that he gets full support and co-operation not only from all the permanent members of the Security Council but also from the parties concerned in the present crisis.

83. My delegation will therefore support any move in the General Assembly directed at ensuring respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. To achieve this objective the first prerequisite, in the opinion of my delegation, is the total withdrawal of all foreign troops and personnel.

84. My delegation believes that the solution of the problem requires that the role of the Secretary-General be enhanced and UNFICYP be strengthened, in order to maintain peace in Cyprus.

AGENDA ITEM 84

Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/9825)

85. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly part I of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/9825] on agenda item 84.

86. In paragraph 8 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution adopted this morning by the Committee, by which the Assembly would authorize the Secretary-General to enter into commitments not to exceed \$5 million for UNEF (including UNDOF) for the period from 1 November 1974 to 30 November 1974 inclusive.

87. I should like to point out that the comments, observations and reservations made by representatives in the Fifth Committee, as well as the reservations expressed in explanation of vote, are reflected in the summary record of the 1654th meeting of the Committee.⁷

88. I hope that the draft resolution will meet with the approval of Member States.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in explanation of vote before the vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/9825].

90. Mr. BENKHAYAL (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to explain my delegation's vote on the draft resolution in the report of the Fifth Committee now before the Assembly.

91. My delegation will vote against the draft resolution because it is based on resolution 3101 (XXVIII), on which the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic cast a negative vote. That vote was based on the fact that the creation of the Force was designed to prevent the achievement of the objectives of the Arab masses. Indeed, the effect of the creation of that Force has been actually to help the aggressor and its acts of aggression.

92. My country's position on this entire question has not changed. I do not think I need repeat what we have already said on the subject during the last session of the General Assembly and in the Fifth Committee today during the discussion of the draft resolution now before us.

93. My delegation wishes to place it on record officially that the Libyan Arab Republic does not consider itself bound by any consequences, financial or otherwise, of the implementation of this draft resolution.

94. Mr. KITI (Kenya): My delegation wishes to explain its vote before the vote on the draft resolution in the report of the Fifth Committee.

95. When this draft resolution was put to the vote in the Fifth Committee, my delegation did not participate in the voting. We had explained during the debate in the Committee that several technical difficulties would make it hard for us to participate in the vote.

96. One of those difficulties is that the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee merely authorizes the Secretary-General to enter into commitments; it does not speak of an appropriation. It is our understanding that in the United Nations—and indeed in any bodies where the spending of money is involved—it is not commitments but appropriations that are apportioned. That is why my delegation proposed that, at this stage, we should agree to authorize the Secretary-General to enter into commitments but should wait until we took up his main report before deciding on the apportionment. We assume that when we take up the Secretary-General's main report we shall authorize him to appropriate a certain amount, which will be apportioned among all Member States in the appropriate way.

97. Our second technical difficulty is this: the present recommendation omits some Member States because they are not included in the resolution on which it is based. I have in mind Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada, which were not Members of the United Nations when the formula in resolution 3101 (XXVIII) was drawn up. We were not given any satisfaction about where those three countries would be placed, and we thought it rather premature at this stage to recommend a scale of apportionment that does not exist.

98. Despite those difficulties, Kenya regards peace-keeping operations as a very important matter and we shall therefore cast an affirmative vote when the draft resolution now before the Assembly is put to the vote.

99. We reserve our right to participate fully in the discussion of the Secretary-General's main report,

which we understand is about to come out. We do hope that when the apportionment recommended here is put into effect, the three countries that I have mentioned will be given the benefits accorded to the least developed and the developing countries, because we are all aware of the difficulties those three countries face.

100. Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In explanation of its vote on the draft resolution in the report of the Fifth Committee, my delegation would like to state that the method of apportioning the expenses of UNEF among Member States has not been just; it has not taken account of the important principle of distinguishing between the aggressor and the victim; they should not be put on an equal footing. Therefore, it is quite illogical and unjust that my country should pay part of the expenses of something resulting from Israeli aggression against it; accordingly, the delegation of my country will vote against this draft resolution, reserving its right to speak in detail on item 84 when it is discussed next month.

101. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): Iraq has repeatedly dissociated itself from all the resolutions which established the United Nations Force in the Middle East. Our position was clarified in some detail in the Security Council when that body recently decided to extend the mandate of UNEF. My delegation will therefore not participate in the voting on the draft resolution in document A/9825.

102. Mr. ÇOMO (Albania): During today's discussion of this question in the Fifth Committee, the Albanian delegation voted against the draft resolution, and we explained our reasons for taking that stand. The position of Albania in connexion with UNEF is very well known, as is our position on contributions thereto. We have always been opposed to this, and will again this afternoon vote against the appropriations for the Force and against the authorization for the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for the month of November.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/9825].

The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to 3, with 2 abstentions (resolution 3211 A (XXIX)).⁸

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those delegations that have indicated a wish to explain their votes after the vote.

105. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connexion with the draft resolution just adopted by the General Assembly providing that the Secretary-General, for the period from 1 to 30 November 1974, should expend on UNEF, including UNDOF, an amount not to exceed \$5 million, the delegation of the USSR deems it essential to draw the Assembly's attention to the decision adopted by the Security Council on 23 October of this year and contained in resolution 362 (1974), in which the Council expresses its confidence that the Force will be maintained with maximum economy.

106. That decision of the Security Council makes it mandatory for both the Secretariat of the United

Nations and the Command of UNEF and the Command of UNDOF to exercise maximum economy in the expenditure of the monies allocated. It should be taken into account that the funds assigned for this purpose are allocated as a consequence of the aggression of Israel against Arab States. They are financed by the Organization in such a way that all Members of the United Nations contribute to them. These funds are supplied by the taxpayers and are national funds, and maximum economy should be exercised in expending them. That is what is called for by the Security Council resolution to which I have just referred.

107. We consider it essential to point out that this circumstance should be borne in mind, and we wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly, the Secretariat and the Command of UNEF to this decision of the Security Council.

108. Mr. ARMAN (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to comment on document A/9825, concerning the financing of UNEF and UNDOF.

109. The delegation of Democratic Yemen expressed its view in the Fifth Committee today, as well as when this subject was discussed in the Fifth Committee last year. We did not take part in the vote last year and we did not take part in the vote this year,

because we reject Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In spite of this, Democratic Yemen has paid its contribution.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*, Cmnd. 679 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1959).

² For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

³ Signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11424.

⁵ Bandung Declaration, adopted at the African-Asian Conference held at Bandung from 18 to 24 April 1955.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11336.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Fifth Committee*, 1654th meeting.

⁸ Resolution 3211 B (XXIX) was subsequently adopted at the 2303rd plenary meeting on 29 November 1974.