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#### NOTE

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## 1927th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 15 June 1976, at 9.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Rashleigh E. JACKSON (Guyana).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1927)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:  
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12093)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.35 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in Cyprus:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12093)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken by the Council at its 1925th meeting, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Christophides (Cyprus), Mr. Türkmen (Turkey) and Mr. Papoulias (Greece) took places at the Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw attention to the text of a draft resolution that has been prepared in the course of extensive consultations, which appears in document S/12096.

3. As members of the Council are aware, we have had long and arduous consultations on the formulation of a draft resolution which could command the widest support in the Council and meet the requirements of the situation. Difficult though the job was, I am sure members will all agree that it was an eminently satisfying task and that the Council can feel confident that the decision we are about to take will make a constructive contribution to the search for a settlement in Cyprus.

4. In our consultations we took careful note of all the terms of the Secretary-General's report [S/12093], which has been most helpful. It is true that we were not able to reflect in the draft resolution all the elements desired by some of the members of the Council—like, for instance, those referred to in section III of the report, as well as some in section VII. Nevertheless, I know I speak on behalf of the majority of the members of this Council when I say that we share a deep concern for the future of the indigenous people of Cyprus. I am sure that the majority of the members of the Council share the hope that the adoption of this draft resolution will help in facilitating a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

5. Finally, I wish to express on my own behalf and on the Council's behalf appreciation of the understanding and co-operation shown by the parties directly concerned.

6. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution appearing in document S/12096.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none.<sup>1</sup>*

*Two members (Benin and China) did not participate in the voting.*

7. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have expressed the wish to speak following the vote. Before calling upon them, I shall call on the Secretary-General.

8. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I wish to assure the Council that I shall do my best to implement the resolution which it has just adopted. As far as the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is concerned, the necessary instructions will be given so that the Force may continue to function during the next six months. The full co-operation of the parties concerned is, of course, vital to the success of the Force in performing its difficult duties. In this regard, I hope that the function of the Force will be facilitated by the conclusion of the discussions with the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community in respect to the stationing, deployment and functioning of the Force in the north.

9. As I have stated in my report, I and my Special Representative are continuing our efforts to remove

the various obstacles in the way of a resumption of the negotiating process. I am fully aware of the importance of resuming the talks as soon as possible. I should like, however, to take this opportunity to stress once again that these negotiations must be meaningful and constructive. I am sure that, after five rounds of talks, the Council will understand my concern in this regard. This means that the parties should show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the other side. It means also that they must act with the utmost restraint and avoid actions which tend to increase the tension between the two communities and thus make negotiations more difficult.

10. That being said, I wish to assure the Council that I shall continue to make every effort to bring about the resumption of the negotiating process in conditions which give it a reasonable chance of being productive. I shall not fail to report to the Council on further developments.

11. There is one aspect of the functioning of UNFICYP which has not been mentioned in the resolution. I refer to the financial situation. As I have pointed out in my report, the deficit in the budget of UNFICYP now exceeds \$40 million. This situation represents an increasingly heavy and disproportionate burden on the Governments contributing contingents to UNFICYP. In the efforts that we shall be making to improve the situation, I very much hope that I shall have the full co-operation both of the members of the Council and of the Members of the United Nations as a whole.

12. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to thank you most warmly for your leadership and for your untiring efforts during the past few days. I should also like to express my appreciation to the members of the Council for their understanding and help on this very important question.

13. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General very much and express the Council's confidence in his dedication in and his energetic efforts to pursue the mandate given to him.

14. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): During the consideration of the Cyprus question at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, the Chinese delegation stated the Chinese Government's position on the Cyprus question in a comprehensive way.<sup>2</sup> Based on this position, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX).

15. The Chinese delegation firmly holds that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be respected. Cyprus, Turkey and Greece are all friends of China. We have all suffered from the imperialist tactics of sowing discord and "divide and rule". We fully understand that in view of the

complexity of the question, some time will be required for a settlement of the issues left over from history and of the immediate issues. It is our earnest hope that the two Cypriot communities and the parties concerned, bearing in mind the over-all interests, will further remove super-Power meddling, intervention and sabotage and, in particular, will avoid giving openings for exploitation by the super-Power which is bent on sowing discord and fishing in troubled waters, and that they will take a positive attitude to eliminate gradually, and not widen, their differences through patient and peaceful negotiations on an equal footing and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation so as to achieve a reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question at an early date.

16. With respect to the draft resolution contained in document S/12096, the Chinese delegation is in favour of that portion of the draft which reaffirms General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). But in view of the fact that the draft resolution mainly concerns the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, a question on which the Chinese delegation has always held a different position in principle, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote.

17. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, Panama, like Guyana, occupies one of the two seats reserved for Latin America on the Security Council, and it is thus particularly pleased to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of this august body. The skill with which you have been guiding our work only enhances your proven reputation as a genuine international statesman and the well-earned prestige of the Government of your country as one of the most honest champions of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. It is those purposes and principles which form the foundation of the movement of the non-aligned countries, to which Guyana and Panama have the honour to belong.

18. I also wish to express the appreciation of my delegation for the brilliant work done by the representative of France, Mr. Louis de Guiringaud, during the month of May, when he discharged the delicate tasks of the President of the Council deftly and with masterly composure. We might say of him that each one of his actions was a link in a chain of diplomatic successes.

19. Likewise, I am pleased to offer the heart-felt gratitude of my delegation to my eminent colleagues who on the occasion of my appointment as representative of my country on the Council, have said kind things both about me and about my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Aquilino Boyd, who today heads the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Panama.

20. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to each and every member of the Council, as well as

to the Secretary-General and to his efficient assistants, my firm intention of co-operating with them, both officially and personally, in our common endeavours and for the sake of strengthening the world Organization.

21. From the analytical study submitted by the Secretary-General on 2 February to the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization,<sup>3</sup> it is clear that the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is of paramount importance and constitutes its fundamental and constant task; furthermore, we must admit that the Organization has made a positive contribution to the maintenance and furtherance of international peace and security, as is borne out by the fact that during the 30 years the United Nations has been in existence mankind has been spared the nightmare of a world war.

22. The same study nevertheless records the equally correct view, held by a number of States that, lately, the United Nations has made little progress in increasing its effectiveness as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and security and that this is due, among other factors, to a lack of political will on the part of Member States to comply strictly with the Charter and to use United Nations organs and the means contemplated in the Charter.

23. Furthermore, the analytical study presents the views of States Members which point out that, among the reasons for the apparent absence of progress or failure in discharging the duty of maintaining international peace and security, are, besides those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the following: non-compliance on the part of Member States with decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly; the conduct of certain States which act counter to the purposes and principles of the Charter; and an abuse of the right of veto in the Security Council.

24. Therefore, Panama agrees with the emphasis placed by certain esteemed States Members on the need to ensure genuine compliance with the decisions of United Nations bodies, decisions such as that which the Council has adopted tonight. Accordingly, we are in favour of giving greater urgency to the need to search for ways to make the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council effective, rather than to revising the Charter. We believe that more emphasis should be placed on respecting the Charter than on changing it.

25. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, have performed an exceptional task which deserves praise and recognition by the Council.

26. From the report of the Secretary-General, we may draw the following conclusions:

—First, that the continued presence of the United Nations Force is essential, not only to help maintain quiet in the island, but also to facilitate the uninterrupted search for a peaceful settlement.

—Second, that UNFICYP and its civilian police, UNCIVPOL, are severely restricted in their movements.

—Third, that artificial changes are being made in the demographic structure of the island.

—Fourth, that the situation of the Greek Cypriots in the north is a matter of serious concern not only on purely humanitarian grounds but also because it increases tension between the two communities and tends to have an adverse effect on the efforts towards a just and lasting peace on Cyprus.

—Fifth, that the Secretary-General must continue to do everything possible to carry out the good offices mission entrusted to him by the Security Council.

—Sixth, that the sixth round of Vienna talks scheduled for May was postponed because the exchange of written proposals on the territorial issue could not be carried out.

—Seventh, that despite all the difficulties, the Secretary-General believes that a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem can be achieved through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. However, he warns that for those negotiations to serve a useful purpose, all the parties concerned must be willing to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also those of the opposing side. As we see it, what the Secretary-General wishes to convey in this diplomatic language is that the negotiations will succeed only if there is more co-operation between the parties.

27. Given the seriousness of the picture presented in the report of the Secretary-General, my delegation felt that the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP was necessary. May I avail myself of this opportunity to dwell on the important mission of the Force, whose devotion and sense of duty have won our admiration and appreciation. We pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration to the Commander of the Force, Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, as well as to his officers and men, and to the civilian staff. The Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Brian Urquhart deserve the same recognition.

28. The good offices performed by the Secretary-General in regard to the question of Cyprus represent, in the opinion of my delegation, an excellent example of how we can strengthen the role of the United Nations in the present-day world. In the Organization views have been expressed, which we share, to

the effect that the peaceful settlement of disputes is the most important expression of the wish of States to bring about agreement and international peace, just as it is an indispensable requirement for the protection of weaker States from possible abuses by stronger States.

29. It should therefore be made very clear that the good offices mission being performed by the Secretary-General has the absolute and enthusiastic support of all members of the Security Council without exception, and that furthermore, it had the unanimous support of all States Members when on 1 November 1974, they decided without dissent to adopt General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), paragraph 4 of which reads as follows:

*“Commends the contacts and negotiations taking place on an equal footing, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, between the representatives of the two communities, and calls for their continuation with a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement, based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.”*

30. Since they command such support, no country in the world can object to the activities carried out by the Secretary-General in the performance of the mandate conferred on him by the international community. Furthermore, we are all desirous of the success of the mission of the Secretary-General so that there may be positive proof that the means, methods and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes are effective within the United Nations system. We believe that in the mission entrusted to the Secretary-General it is not only his prestige—his great prestige—which is involved but also the prestige of and respect for the Security Council, the General Assembly and the entire United Nations.

31. Clearly, if within a reasonable period of time which should not go beyond the present year, 1976, there were no signs of progress because of the obstinacy or the defiance of one of the parties, it would then be necessary within the United Nations system for the Security Council and the General Assembly to propose some formula which would be viable in the field of multilateral diplomacy and which would be in harmony with the system for the maintenance of international peace and security laid down in the Charter.

32. My delegation believes then that it is important for us to adopt the appropriate formulas so that General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX) can be implemented as soon as possible, as well as resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974), and those other resolutions of the Council calling for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus to be respected.

33. In conclusion, the delegation of Panama, in voting for the draft resolution which has just been adopted, expresses its fervent hope that, through the United Nations machinery the distressing problem of the island of Cyprus will be solved by the effective application of the following measures, recommended by the General Assembly and the Council: first, the military occupation of the island of Cyprus by the Turkish army must be brought to an end as must any attempt to partition the island; second, there must be a prompt withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus; third, all foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus must cease; fourth, the constitutional system of the Republic of Cyprus must be respected, a matter which lies within the exclusive competence of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities; fifth, all displaced persons must be allowed to return to their homes and an over-all solution to the problem of the refugees must be found; sixth, any unilateral action by the parties in contravention of resolution 3212 (XXIX), including any artificial scheme to change the demographic structure of Cyprus, must be rejected; seventh, the United Nations Peace-keeping Force must remain in Cyprus for as long as the Council considers it necessary to ensure the consolidation of peace and security in the Republic of Cyprus.

34. In one of his reports, the Secretary-General said that the non-aligned countries, which have always fully supported the United Nations, played a vital role in carrying out the tasks of the General Assembly and of other United Nations bodies. The work you, Mr. President, have done over the last few days is a living demonstration of that great truth. We have complete faith in the increasingly significant contribution of the non-aligned countries to the process of strengthening the United Nations. “Accordingly, all the more do we need”—as Mr. Raúl Prebisch recently said at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:

The constructive cohesion of the countries of the third world, regardless of all their different levels of development, conditions and economic and social systems: unity within diversity. But all of this counts less than the vital and continued existence of the great common denominators.”

35. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): The Swedish delegation has been guided all through our arduous consultations by the conviction of its Government that the Security Council must once again prolong the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for another period of six months. My Government strongly supports the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report, namely, that the presence of UNFICYP is essential not only to maintain quiet in the island but also to facilitate the continued search for a peaceful settlement. We have also been guided by the conviction that the Council should do everything

in its power to support the negotiations taking place under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

36. Though the over-all situation in Cyprus has been relatively quiet, the picture emerging from the report of the Secretary-General contains elements which are clearly disturbing. The situation of the Greek Cypriots in the north gives cause for serious concern and adds to the tension in the island. The efforts of UNFICYP to assist the civilian population in that area and to provide humanitarian aid to the population in need have been seriously hampered by the fact that the Force has been severely restricted in its freedom of movement and denied free and normal access to Greek Cypriot habitations in the area. A failure to co-operate fully with UNFICYP seriously harms the efforts of the Force to assist in creating an atmosphere conducive to a just and lasting settlement. In the view of the Swedish delegation, such a policy is a short-sighted one and can only work against the interests of both communities in Cyprus.

37. It must be repeated once again here today that a prolongation of UNFICYP's mandate is not an end in itself. The time afforded through its prolongation must be used for meaningful negotiations between the two communities. The good offices of the Secretary-General still offer the only framework for the negotiations. We urgently appeal to the parties to avail themselves of the opportunity thus provided. After they were initiated by the Council in its resolution 367 (1975), the talks under the Secretary-General's aegis did show some encouraging progress, especially those of February this year in Vienna, which gave hope for a certain success. For various reasons the parties have not been able to follow up the results thus achieved.

38. The negotiating situation has deteriorated, and the parties have not been able to keep up the momentum from previous rounds in Vienna. We do not underestimate the difficulties and the delicacy of the problems confronting the negotiators. The consequences of failure in the efforts to get the inter-communal negotiations going once more, however, can only lead to deep suffering for all Cypriots and be to the detriment of all.

39. In spite of the setback after the Vienna talks, the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General must continue. We note that it is still the expressed wish of the parties to make further efforts in this context. There is, in fact, no viable and credible alternative to the talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. The Council must give its full support to those talks.

40. May I in this context declare that Sweden insists that any settlement of the Cyprus problem must safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Cyprus must also be guaranteed the right to continue its policy of non-alignment. We expect all parties to refrain from any

measures that might prejudice the integrity and independence of Cyprus—for instance, such measures as resettlement of population groups within, and immigration to, the island.

41. Sweden, as a troop-contributing country, unfortunately feels compelled to bring up, once again, even at this late hour, the precarious financial situation of UNFICYP. The report of the Secretary-General is very eloquent in this respect. It certainly does not overstate the gravity of the situation. The deficit in the budget of UNFICYP continues to increase, which means that troop-contributing Governments have to assume an ever more disproportionate share of the financial burden of UNFICYP. I think everyone will agree with us that it is a totally unacceptable situation that the maintenance of UNFICYP should be the task mainly of a small number of Governments. It is certainly the responsibility of the international community as a whole.

42. In conclusion, I want to express the deep gratitude of my Government to the Secretary-General, who with persistence and with great diplomatic skill carries out the tasks entrusted to him by the Security Council. To him personally, to his Special Representative, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, and to the immediate staff of the Secretary-General we express our deep appreciation for what they have so far achieved in their efforts to promote a stable and peaceful solution. May I also express our warm appreciation to the Force Commander, the officers and the men of UNFICYP for the exemplary way in which they have fulfilled their tasks under sometimes very trying circumstances.

43. Finally, a very special word of thanks goes to you, Mr. President. I had not had the opportunity to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency, but I am happy to have the opportunity now to congratulate you, not only on your accession to the presidency but on the masterful and extremely constructive way in which you have guided us through a very difficult period these last few days. We want to express our very deepest gratitude to you.

44. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, first of all, may I offer you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. The Council is fortunate indeed in having in the Chair, when it is seized of some of the most important and difficult issues on its agenda, a diplomat of your tact, your patience and negotiating skill—qualities of which we have had renewed and striking proof in the last few days.

45. My delegation joins others who have preceded me in expressing the warmest appreciation also to your predecessor, the representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud, for the consummate ability, skill and great devotion with which he conducted the Council's business during the month of May.

46. The question of Cyprus has been before the United Nations for many years now. The events leading up to the prevailing situation are too well known to require detailed recapitulation. At this juncture we have been concerned with two aspects of the situation: first, whether to renew the mandate of UNFICYP which would otherwise have expired at midnight—and I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the men and officers of the United Nations Force for the efficient and gallant manner in which they have discharged their duties in circumstances not always free of difficulty; and, secondly, what the Secretary-General has told us in his latest report on the prevailing situation, and, above all, what he has to say about the prospects for a definitive and lasting settlement.

47. Without taking an unduly sanguine view of things or wishing to minimize the difficulties and obstacles which lie in the way, my delegation shares the view of those who see elements of encouragement in the Secretary-General's report with regard to the future. My own country's policy with regard to the Cyprus issue was outlined by the leader of the Pakistan delegation to the last session of the General Assembly, when he said:<sup>4</sup>

“We are deeply conscious... of the need for an early solution of the conflict in Cyprus. Pakistan has always supported a settlement that would fully ensure the exercise of their fundamental rights for the two communities in the island and enable them to live peacefully side by side. We hope that the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the willingness to negotiate shown by the parties will pave the way for a final settlement and restore peace and tranquillity in that area.”

48. Pakistan has followed the progress of the intercommunal talks with deep interest. We endorse the efforts of the Secretary-General in this regard. With his customary tact and perseverance he has kept these contacts and exchanges alive and has maintained a dialogue which, despite the strains and stresses inherent in the situation, is, in our view, alone capable of promoting a settlement based on mutual accommodation.

49. May I take this occasion to express the deep appreciation of my delegation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, our former colleague Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, for the manner in which he has been discharging his onerous responsibilities in Cyprus.

50. While the final outcome undoubtedly depends on the ability of the leaders of the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus to agree on an arrangement satisfactory to both sides, we are also aware of the other cross-currents that influence events in that area. My delegation therefore views with satisfaction the fact that Turkey and Greece have agreed to meet and to discuss the problems that have troubled the rela-

tions between these two neighbours. A settlement between these two Powers, which are also Guarantor Powers in Cyprus, could not fail to have a salutary effect on the situation in the island. Wisdom and good sense suggest that the Security Council must complement, and not supplant, these contacts.

51. The Secretary-General, in the report he submitted to the Council a few days ago, states:

“I myself and my Special Representative have remained in close touch with the parties and have continued to explore actively with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives how best to overcome the present difficulties and to pave the way for the continuation of the negotiating process. Both sides, while expressing certain reservations, have indicated publicly that the intercommunal talks under my auspices continue to provide the best method of making progress towards an agreed settlement of the Cyprus problem.” [S/12093, para. 53.]

52. We welcome this willingness of the two communities to continue their search for an agreed solution. My delegation is encouraged to believe that an approach by their leaders based on mutual tolerance and a long view of their common interests will light their way to peaceful coexistence and help them to overcome current difficulties. This is also the Secretary-General's view, and I should like to quote again from his report:

“Despite all the difficulties I continue to believe that the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. But for those negotiations to serve a useful purpose, all the parties concerned must be willing to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side. It is also important that agreements reached at previous rounds should be respected and carried out.” [Ibid., para. 70.]

53. In this context, I find it necessary to say that if the Turkish Cypriot community is wary of promises it is because it feels that earlier promises made to it were violated. That unhappy past must now be forgotten and overtaken by a new experience of generous accommodation and trust.

54. The resolution which the Council has just adopted embodies the ideas and approach which I have outlined. It enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the Council's membership. It is designed to serve the interests of the parties themselves, even if they might, for diametrically opposite reasons, have preferred a draft which reflected more closely their own particular view of the situation. This is evidence, in my delegation's view, of the objectivity and realism

which went into the preparations of the draft which has been submitted to us and which has been adopted by the Council. My delegation voted in favour of the draft and expresses the hope that it will enable the parties, with the continued help of the Secretary-General, to find a way out of their present predicament.

55. Mr. President, I take this occasion to pay a tribute to you again for the skill and good will with which you have approached your task and to thank you for the efforts and labour you have deployed towards bringing the present debate to a successful conclusion.

56. Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, to see the work of the Security Council presided over by such a worthy and distinguished son of Guyana as you can only be a source of true satisfaction for my delegation, because, just as the revolutionary military Government of the People's Republic of Benin, imbued with the desire to cure forever the endemic ills from which my country has suffered since its accession to independence, has opted for a radical change in the old philosophical and political thinking inherited from a colonial past, just as the revolutionary Government of the co-operative Republic of Guyana has chosen to orient its actions according to a revolutionary concept in order to make your country a free and truly independent country, in other words, a State in which the achievement of fundamental political objectives necessarily means destroying the visible or invisible forces of international imperialism and neo-colonialism. The identical orientation of our Governments, chosen with paramount concern for security and well-being of our peoples, explains the similarity in the positions of our two delegations concerning the protection of the fundamental objectives and principles which should guide the present and future activities of the United Nations. This is why my delegation remains convinced that, despite the thorny and sensitive nature of the item on the agenda, the views of our Governments on the most appropriate means of solving this problem will be very similar.

57. It is clear that the question before the Council cannot and should not be solved merely by renewing the mandate of UNFICYP because we have only to refer to the report of the Secretary-General particularly paragraph 10—to mention only that one—to realize that, although it is true that the Force continues to discharge its functions to the best of its ability, it is nevertheless true that its humanitarian work has been carried out only on a limited basis. In such circumstances is it not tempting to wonder what purpose the presence of the Force is really serving? What does the renewal of its mandate mean in these conditions if not that we are asking the world community to continue to contribute to the maintenance of an impotent Force which cannot do anything to induce the two communities to seek a satisfactory solution in the interests of the whole population of Cyprus? What does it mean, if not that we are

making the international community connive in the occupation of a Member State by the troops of another Member State—and, what is more, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—and that, while the United Nations has found itself obliged to oppose that occupation, it has not thereby been able to obtain the withdrawal of the Turkish troops of annexation from the island. For my delegation, to be content at the present time with renewing the mandate of UNFICYP is to administer a tranquillizer to the Government and people of Cyprus; it means, of necessity helping the forces of occupation to consolidate their position and to impose a *fait accompli* on the international community.

58. It is obvious that the best way to avoid such pitfalls is to view the question as a whole and to make the renewal of the mandate of the Force called upon to maintain order and peace in Cyprus—if its presence is necessary—a result of the solution to be found. In saying this, my delegation wants to make it clear that Benin is not opposed to the recommendation contained in paragraph 71 of the Secretary-General's report. But my delegation thinks that before we give an opinion on the need to renew the mandate of the Force it is important, first of all, to review the question of Cyprus in its entirety. Otherwise, the United Nations may find itself in the position of a doctor who contents himself with giving palliatives to his patient without trying to find out the true reasons for his illness and thus to be able to administer a suitable remedy.

59. In my delegation's view, the problem before the Council is primarily that of the survival of a Member State as a single and indivisible entity. It is also a question of the independence, inviolability and territorial integrity of Cyprus. To forget or ignore that aspect of the question would be to content ourselves with a palliative instead of going to the root of the problem.

60. My Government's position was stated clearly in the General Assembly following the inadmissible act of the reactionary Greek generals, followed by the Turkish occupation, the aim of which is to impose partition as a solution. This position was confirmed again at last year's session of the General Assembly,<sup>5</sup> and the delegation of Benin, was instructed not to participate in the vote on resolution 3395 (XXX), whose insinuating and delaying character is only too obvious. Let it suffice for me to reaffirm here that for my country there is only one Cypriot State, whose Foreign Minister addressed the Council last Friday, [1925th meeting]. The conciliatory tone of his statement should arouse the sympathy of Member States, for the Cypriot Government must be exceptionally courageous and sincerely desirous of reaching a final solution to agree to talk with the representatives of a Government whose military force, are flagrantly occupying the part of the island that is the most important and vital to the Cypriot economy. My

delegation cannot fail to underscore that part of the Foreign Minister's statement in which he stressed that the situation in Cyprus was a challenge to the effectiveness of the United Nations, a challenge which many delegations, including my own, have frequently brought to the attention of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. It would not be fair to say that the Assembly has the same attitude to this warning as the Council. However, things are happening as if in illustration of the adage that the dog continues to bark, but that will not stop the caravan from going by.

61. So, despite the cries of alarm from the overwhelming majority of the Member States concerning the necessity of taking effective action to prevent future challenges of this kind, the super-Powers, animated by their rivalry, their desire for hegemony and their unshakeable determination to keep an eye on some of their acquisitions, apparently do not wish to make the least effort to maintain the credibility and respectability of our Organization. That exceptionally obtuse attitude has been explained by a famous statesman, our brother Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, when he said

“A crisis such as that of Cyprus has its origin in the imperfections of the international system which resulted from the Second World War and which during the period of the cold war was based upon the division of the world into antagonistic blocs and zones of influence supported by military bases.”

62. Today, the cold war appears to be over, at least in theory, and everyone is resolutely engaged in promoting détente, and yet the most vital questions, that of Cyprus among others, remain unsolved. Faced with these very significant facts, we may wonder whether, instead of talking of détente, it would not be better, as here and elsewhere Ambassador Baroody has suggested, to talk of *entente*, because if détente means stagnation and the consolidation of acquired positions to the detriment of the peoples who continue to endure atrocious and inhuman sufferings, we, the small States, the disadvantaged States, have many reasons for concern.

63. It is thus high time for the Security Council to think seriously about the question of Cyprus with a view to helping the Cypriot Government and people to solve their own problems. It is very distressing to note that since its birth under the sponsorship of our Organization—in other words, at a time when its geographical position and its colonial history left it no alternative but to accept a provisional solution which consisted in agreeing to its independence being guaranteed by other States, namely, Greece, Turkey, and, of course, the United Kingdom—a solution which was no solution—the Cypriot State has known only hardship and has had to cope with both internal and external difficulties, the latest of which is the inadmissible Turkish occupation.

64. If it is conceivable that the world community was wrong at that time, it is inconceivable now that, faced with the failure of the adopted formula, it should opt for inaction and try to prevent the United Nations from reviewing the Cyprus situation in the light of the experience acquired. It is clear that in trying to find a solution that will guarantee the constitutionality and territorial integrity of Cyprus, our Organization has helped to make a breach in the freedom of decision of its Government and introduced elements that may lead to its future desintegration. There is time to correct this mistake, if those who have the real key to the problem will contribute to its final solution.

65. My delegation takes this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts and those of his Special Representative to discharge to the best of their ability the mission of mediation entrusted to them. However, we may wonder whether in the long term these efforts to maintain contacts between the communities may not be paralysed by uprising or by an unfortunate lack of true co-operation engineered with a view to gaining time to consolidate positions that have already been established and that some wish to impose upon Cyprus at all costs.

66. That is a question that arises from a reading of the detailed and very well-balanced report of the Secretary-General, for, if the representatives of the legitimate Government of Cyprus have taken the pains to make their detailed and constructive proposals on the various aspects of the Cypriot problem, as we can see they have from annex I of the report, the Turkish party, on the contrary, has taken refuge in evasive and time-wasting proposals. For example, if we consider the question of constitutional principles, we see that when the Cypriot authorities in a more realistic and conciliatory manner spoke of a constitution that should lead the way to a federal republic of Cyprus, which would be a federation and not a confederation, the Turkish party proposed a federal republic composed of two confederated States, one in the north comprising the Turkish community, and one in the south comprising the Greek community. Thus it is clear that one side is doing everything to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus, while the other wishes to do everything possible to legalize the partition of the island and the destruction of the Cypriot State.

67. For the revolutionary military Government of the People's Republic of Benin, there can be no question of participating in a plot designed to split up a State Member of the United Nations, a State which is, moreover, a founding member of the non-aligned movement. The provisions in paragraph 7 of part A of annex II of the report, that the Federated States will not have the right to proclaim their independence unilaterally, can only make us smile, especially when we know that Turkish Cypriot leaders have unilaterally proclaimed their independence and that, despite pressure and

dilatory manoeuvres, the international community has refused to endorse that independence.

68. In other words, the report itself contains points which can justify my delegation's concern about the chances for success of the Secretary-General's mission. Since that concern might prove to be well founded sooner or later, it would perhaps be advisable to begin reconsidering immediately the proposal made some time ago by the delegation of the Soviet Union [S/11465 of 22 August 1974] for the convening of an international conference on this question, a conference in which all the members of the Security Council, the parties concerned and the representatives of the non-aligned movement would participate, on condition—and it is sad to have to say this—that the latter would be guided not by unavowed and unavowable considerations but by the firm will to seek the solution that would guarantee the unity, integrity and territorial inviolability of a founding member of the non-aligned movement.

69. My Government's position is dictated by a number of considerations. First, the unequivocal choice of non-alignment by the Government of Cyprus is a just choice and cannot but displease those for whom Cyprus can and must serve only as an important strategic base. Second, the time has come for our community to find a remedy for the confusion that has been created in the island. Finally, the Organization must in no way encourage the establishment of a biregional community in Cyprus, as the Turkish side desires.

70. As far as my Government is concerned, there can be only one Cypriot State, in which the two communities condemned to live together would necessarily find the formula that would be most favourable to their coexistence in harmony and agreement. To achieve this, it is important above all that all the foreign troops—Turkish and other—be withdrawn without delay from Cyprus so that the Cypriots may have a free hand to settle their problem among themselves. And then all the States in the region, which will no longer have any justification for keeping an eye on the island, must undertake not to continue interfering in the internal affairs of that State and to respect its independence, its sovereignty, its unity and its territorial integrity.

71. In my delegation's opinion, it is in this way that the people of Cyprus will be able to regain and develop their nationalism and that the affiliation of either community with any neighbouring country will finally disappear. This opinion is based on the fact that the case of Cyprus is not unique in the annals of international relations. If communities have been able to coexist without difficulties in other places, there is no reason why that kind of coexistence should not be possible in Cyprus if the communities there really wish to rid themselves of foreign influences.

72. My delegation has formulated those modest proposals by my Government in all good faith, but without any illusions. We are aware of the enormous influence of the forces of evil, whose interests are served by the perpetuation of such an intolerable situation. We have nevertheless submitted the proposals because we are convinced that the proposals of any Member State must be taken into consideration and that there can be no question of giving primacy to certain States, as though they alone held the true solution. To sum up my delegation's views, the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP cannot be justified, in the final analysis, except in the light of the genuine and final solution that the international community wishes to find to the question of substance, the origin of all the difficulties confronting the Cypriot State.

73. Before concluding, I wish to say a few words about my Government's position on the resolution that the Council has just adopted.

74. The fact that the Council has been able to adopt that resolution is the result, Mr. President, of your talents and your skill in the art of conducting negotiations. My delegation would have liked to see you get this question out of the rut into which some have wished to push it. We would have wished all the relevant aspects of the question to be taken up and dealt with in this resolution. Unfortunately, our hopes have not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, we congratulate you very sincerely on the Herculean effort you have made in working out this text, while taking account of the basic concerns of the members of the Council. My delegation, however, was not able to participate in the voting because the resolution, since it tries to satisfy all the parties—and, above all, the party of aggression and annexation—seems to overlook the basic preoccupations of the principal party, the delegation of the Government of Cyprus, the only Government recognized by the United Nations.

75. It is regrettable that the Council was not able to take into consideration the problem of the change in the demographic structure of the part of the island occupied by Turkey. It is regrettable that it was not deemed necessary to reconfirm in this resolution the sacrosanct principle of the United Nations regarding the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Finally, it is regrettable that it was not deemed necessary to affirm a fact recognized by all the members of the Council—that is, that General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974) have not been implemented. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Turkish side has not felt it necessary to give effect to those resolutions, because once resolution 3212 (XXIX) had been adopted—and adopted, it must be remembered, unanimously—the Turkish delegation hastened to empty the resolution of all its substance by expressing the most significant reservations.

76. My delegation dares to hope that the next discussion of this problem, envisaged for the month of

October, will give the Council the opportunity to go to the very heart of the problem and to take the measures that the situation demands.

77. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, speaking for the first time under your presidency, I should like to take this opportunity to extend my very warm congratulations to you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of June. I do not do so as a mere courtesy. Your outstanding qualities of leadership and your proven skill as a diplomat give my delegation great confidence that you will effectively, efficiently and objectively guide us throughout this month. The co-operative Republic of Guyana and the United Republic of Tanzania have cordial and brotherly relations. Although our two countries are separated by vast distances, our peoples share the same aspirations to true independence and self-determination. Through the non-aligned movement our Governments and parties have determined the rightful path which will make our peoples genuinely free, both politically and economically.

78. Let me also add my particular satisfaction at seeing you, Ambassador Jackson, a real brother, colleague and close friend, assuming this office for the second time since Guyana became a member of the Council.

79. Those of us who have had the pleasure of appreciating at close quarters your outstanding personal qualities of diplomatic acumen, negotiating skill and personal warmth, have indeed not been surprised by the very able, competent and effective manner in which you have brought our present debate to a fruitful conclusion. That we have been able to adopt a resolution at the eleventh hour is, in no small measure, due to your untiring, patient, energetic, skilful and impartial efforts. The exceptional leadership that you have displayed does great honour to your country, the co-operative Republic of Guyana, as it does credit to the Council.

80. May I also, through you, pay a tribute to Ambassador de Guiringaud of France for the very able and impartial manner in which he presided over the Council for the month of May.

81. The situation in Cyprus remains very serious and is a matter of great international concern. Foreign troops remain there. Thousands of Cypriots continue to be helpless refugees in the country of their birth. Resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX) remain unimplemented. And so we are left with no alternative but to renew the mandate of UNFICYP for the twentieth time in 12 years. The impression this may give the suffering people of Cyprus is that UNFICYP will be a permanent feature of their life.

82. In saying this, I am not trying to underestimate the role of UNFICYP. I am aware of the very useful

role being played by the selfless officers and men of the peace-keeping force. But, as we have stated in the past, UNFICYP should only be a means for finding peace and justice in Cyprus. It should not be left to be a recurrent exercise. Thus, in voting for the renewal of the Force's mandate, the Tanzanian delegation hopes that maximum efforts will be undertaken by all concerned to make use of the next six months more significantly for a resolution of the outstanding problems. In particular, we call for the immediate implementation of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

83. In making this observation, my delegation wishes to express its serious concern at the lack of progress in the implementation of the resolutions of the Council and the Assembly. We are also disturbed by some of the additional difficulties that confront the Cypriot people, as succinctly elaborated by the Secretary-General in his report. Here we are referring to paragraph 65, where it is pointed out that UNFICYP is not being granted free and normal access to Greek Cypriot habitations in the northern part of Cyprus. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to render humanitarian aid to the needy and displaced people in this area, in contravention of the spirit of the third round of the Vienna talks.

84. I wish to join my colleagues who have preceded me in thanking the Secretary-General for the tremendous efforts he has selflessly and persistently made in conformity with the mandate entrusted to him by the Council. In this connexion, we should like to underscore his pertinent observations, embodied in paragraph 70 of his report, to the effect that:

“... the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is through negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. But for those negotiations to serve a useful purpose, all the parties concerned must be willing to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side.”

85. In supporting the Secretary-General's apt remarks, my delegation would like once again to reiterate its position calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel from Cyprus. We believe that, left to themselves, the Cypriots have the magnanimity and wisdom to find a just and lasting solution to their problems. We also wish to emphasize the call for scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. Furthermore, any moves to disintegrate or dismember Cyprus must not be entertained.

86. Here we would like to emphasize paragraph 3 of the resolution which has just been adopted, which urges the parties concerned to exercise restraint and to refrain from unilateral or other actions which would adversely affect the prospects of negotiations.

87. Given time, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots can heal their wounds and start anew. But no solution can be imposed on them by force. Unity is something that must grow naturally if it is to last. Mutual confidence can be obtained in the transitional period. With relevant international guarantees, the rights of both communities can and should be assured.

88. One of the main problems in Cyprus continues to be the mutual suspicion and hostility, nurtured over many years, owing to injustices committed by each of the two communities against the other. The July 1974 events worsened the situation. Lives and property were lost. People were displaced and are now refugees. Attempts have since been made to change the demographic situation in some areas of Cyprus. Refugees have been denied the right to return to their villages. Foreign occupation is a *de facto* situation. And yet, despite all this, both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, in their proposals for a solution, agree that Cyprus should not be federated or united to any other State. My delegation believes that this is a good omen for meaningful negotiations. Whether Cyprus will have a strong central Government or one that has greater autonomy is for the people of Cyprus themselves to decide. But the necessary conditions must be created to facilitate such a genuine and free choice on the part of the Cypriot people, both Greeks and Turks.

89. Many sticky issues remain to be resolved concerning Cyprus; the constitutional issues, the territorial aspects and humanitarian matters are some of them. It is to be hoped that these will be sorted out at the sixth round of the Vienna talks.

90. We commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the very delicate key role they are playing in furthering the intercommunal talks. In order to facilitate the role of the mediators, the opposing sides should not be presenting *faits accomplis*. The main aim for all should be the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. And above all, as I have already stated citing the Secretary-General's observations, the two communities should strive for mutual understanding and show sensitivity to the legitimate interests of either side.

91. In voting for the resolution that has just been adopted my delegation had these considerations in mind. We are perfectly well aware that the resolution does not contain all the elements that we would have preferred it to contain, but given the present circumstances, I believe it is a step in the right direction.

92. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Tanzania for the kind and generous, and indeed flattering, remarks that he made about me personally. I also thank him most sincerely for the sentiments he expressed concerning the fraternal relations between our two parties, our Governments and our peoples. Those sentiments are very happily reciprocated.

93. Mr. KANAZAWA (Japan): Mr. President, I should like to begin by extending my congratulations and good wishes to you upon your assumption of the presidency for the month of June. There has already been ample proof that your excellent diplomatic skill and your masterful appreciation of the political evolutions of our time have enabled you to guide our deliberations to fruitful and constructive results. I am confident that in the remaining half of this month you will continue to preside over our Council for the further successful fulfilment of our tasks.

94. I wish also to pay a tribute, as previous speakers have done, to Ambassador de Guiringaud of France for having presided over the Council with such skill during the busy month of work in May.

95. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/12096, by which the Council extended the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further period of six months. We cannot fail to express our profound gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your extraordinary efforts in producing a text under the most difficult circumstances. We wish to emphasize once again our belief that the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, and the extra time we have gained by this action, should not be used by any other parties to drag out the negotiations in any way.

96. My delegation wishes to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts in making possible the fifth round of the Vienna talks last February, after lengthy and difficult consultations. We are, however, painfully aware of the failure of the sixth round of the talks to get started in May as scheduled. However, we are encouraged by the Secretary-General when he states in paragraph 53 of his report:

“Both sides, while expressing certain reservations, have indicated publicly that the intercommunal talks under my auspices continue to provide the best method of making progress towards an agreed settlement of the Cyprus problem.”

97. We wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their continued efforts to remove the various obstacles in the way of a resumption of the negotiations. My delegation wishes to draw the attention of the parties directly concerned to the paragraph of the preamble of the resolution just adopted to the effect that the usefulness of those negotiations depends upon the willingness of all the parties concerned to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side.

98. It is also important that the agreements reached in all previous rounds of talks be adhered to. My delegation wishes to urge the parties with all the greater emphasis to take conciliatory positions and to give

their full co-operation to the Secretary-General's efforts.

99. In concluding, I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for the effective administration of the Force. We wish also to pay a tribute to the officers and men of the Force and to its civilian staff, as well as to the Governments which have contributed contingents to the Force.

100. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): My delegation would like once again to express its most sincere congratulations on the patient and skilful manner in which you, Mr. President, have handled this very delicate subject. We have been much impressed by our even-handed approach to all the problems which have arisen during the past five days.

101. Tonight's renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus marks the twenty-ninth time that the Council has taken this action. As he has so often done before, the Secretary-General has stressed the need for flexibility and good will in the negotiating process. Once again, in the paragraph 70 of his report, that is before us he urges the parties to take into account "not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side".

102. Members of the Council must surely echo the Secretary-General's appeal for greater energy, flexibility and dedication to the success of the intercommunal negotiations. Over the years too many opportunities have been lost because the concessions necessary for agreement entailed high political risks. As the body charged with the maintenance of international peace—and through its long involvement in the Cyprus question—the Council has the right to expect that serious risks be taken in the search for a lasting settlement.

103. The Secretary-General has again earned our admiration for the tireless and imaginative way in which he has carried out his mission of good offices. The last six months have presented very special difficulties. My Government fully understands, and shares, the view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 69 of his report that "before reconvening the talks, it is obviously necessary to have reasonable assurances that they will be meaningful and productive". The Secretary-General will, we are certain, lend the prestige of his office and his personal ingenuity to obtaining the assurances necessary to ensure the success of the Cyprus talks.

104. In straightforward terms, the Secretary-General has, in paragraph 65 of his report, expressed concern over the situation of Greek Cypriots in the north. My delegation shares the hope expressed by other members of the Council that this situation will improve in accordance with past agreements covering Greek Cypriots in the north.

105. In the last two years the United States has doubled its annual contribution to UNFICYP from \$4.8 million to \$9.6 million a year. We have done this in order to maintain quiet on the island and ensure conditions supportive of the intercommunal negotiations. It is accordingly with deep concern that we have read in paragraph 72 of the Secretary-General's report that the future of the Force is imperilled because "voluntary contributions have continued to be made in insufficient amounts and by a disappointingly small number of Governments". Surely the time has come for Governments interested in a just Cyprus settlement to donate their fair share to UNFICYP. The permanent members of the Council have a special responsibility to contribute to international peace and security. That high responsibility cannot be diminished by peace-keeping doctrinal considerations stemming from different circumstances and an earlier era.

106. My Government remains convinced that a just and durable peace in Cyprus is not only possible but is deeply desired by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike. At the last General Assembly session, Secretary of State Kissinger outlined five principles<sup>6</sup> which the United States considers essential to a permanent settlement. Let me repeat these principles, which are consonant with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus. First,

"a settlement must preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus."

Secondly,

"it must ensure that both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities can live in freedom and have a large voice in their own affairs."

Thirdly,

"the present dividing lines cannot be permanent. There must be... agreed territorial arrangements which reflect the economic requirements of the Greek Cypriot community and take account of its self-respect."

Fourthly,

"there must be provision for the withdrawal of foreign military forces other than those present under the authority of international agreements."

And, fifthly,

"there must be security for all Cypriots; the needs and wishes of the refugees, who have been the principal victims and whose tragic plight touches us all, must be dealt with speedily and with compassion."

107. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to those who make the United Nations operation in

Cyprus the remarkable combination of peace-keeping and peace-making that it is. The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, Under-Secretaries-General Urquhart and Guyer and their fine staffs, Lieutenant-General Prem Chand and the officers and men of UNFICYP—these people represent, in my Government's estimation, the very highest standards of international service. Their conduct reflects the ideals of this Organization, and we salute them.

108. The PRESIDENT: I will now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of GUYANA.

109. In considering the item on the agenda before us, my delegation could not but recall that UNFICYP was created in 1964 in certain specific circumstances and that it was ascribed a function consistent with those circumstances. Today, 12 years later, the Council is still concerned with the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. In the intervening period, however, the fortunes of the people of Cyprus as they sought to maintain and strengthen their unity, as they sought to make secure their sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment, have been subjected to much travail. The sequence of events of two years ago and actions since then are the most immediate reasons for present concern.

110. It was nearly two years ago that the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX). That resolution represented the prescriptions of the international community for a just and lasting peace in Cyprus. My delegation believes now, as it did then, that resolution 3212 (XXIX) provides the only valid framework for an equitable and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. It thus behoves this Council in the discharge of its responsibilities for international peace and security to ensure that there is no deviation from the terms of that resolution. The essential elements of resolution 3212 (XXIX) are well known; they do not therefore need to be recapitulated. However, my delegation is constrained to remark on the slow progress of its implementation. We therefore, once again, call for its prompt and effective implementation.

111. Pursuant to resolution 3212 (XXIX), the General Assembly itself, through its resolution 3395 (XXX), sought to make more dynamic and more urgent the search for a solution. And the Security Council, by several resolutions—365 (1974), which endorsed resolution 3212 (XXIX); 370 (1975), and 383 (1975)—has been engaged in prescribing specific modalities through which an early settlement of the Cyprus problem could be achieved. While reaffirming essential and unalterable principles, the Council has placed much emphasis on the negotiating process between representatives of the two communities as a most important element in the search for an agreement satisfactory to the people of Cyprus, to the Council and to the international community as a whole.

It is through the instrumentality of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General that the Council seeks to achieve its objectives.

112. As is well known, the Secretary-General has spared no effort to reach a successful conclusion of his mission. My delegation wishes to pay him special tribute for the selfless expenditure of his energies, for his unremitting dedication and for his unswerving commitment to a pacific and urgent settlement in Cyprus, as indeed to the cause of peace everywhere. And we would like to associate in that tribute, his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and the other officers of the Secretariat who lend the Secretary-General such unstinting support.

113. It is against that background that my delegation will review the halting progress made in the inter-communal talks and the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/12093. Despite the high hopes for rapid movement which had been fostered when resolution 3212 (XXIX) was unanimously adopted, and when resolutions 365 (1974) and 370 (1975) were adopted by the Council, my delegation finds, regrettably, that many obstacles still frustrate the efforts of the Secretary-General and the will of the international community. Foremost among these is the manifestation of attitudes which betray mistrust and indeed hostility assuming legitimacy from past experiences and perceptions of present intentions. And these attitudes inform postures at the negotiations. That is why my delegation whole-heartedly endorses the observation of the Secretary-General in paragraph 70 of his report that for the negotiations

“to serve a useful purpose, all the parties concerned must be willing to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side”.

In this regard, my delegation also shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 69 that, before talks can be reconvened, “it is obviously necessary to have reasonable assurances that they will be meaningful and productive”.

114. But these are not the only obstacles to peace in Cyprus. While, as stated in paragraph 66 of the report, discussions concerning the stationing, deployment and functioning of UNFICYP are making progress, my delegation takes particular note of the fact that the freedom of movement of UNFICYP and its civil police in the north of the island is still restricted, thus rendering it difficult for them to contribute in any effective way to the welfare, well-being and security of the Greek Cypriots in the north. The situation of the Greek Cypriots in the north is, as the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 65 of his report, “a matter of serious concern”. For unless that situation is immediately altered, tension between the two communities is likely to increase, with the

efforts towards a just and lasting peace in Cyprus being adversely affected.

115. My delegation is also seriously concerned at the persistence of reports of attempts at changing the demographic character of the population in the north, as well as reports of colonization. We have listened with great care to the statements made in this Chamber on these matters and have studied the relevant sections of the Secretary-General's report. Let me state quite clearly that Guyana is implacably opposed to attempts at changing the demographic structure in Cyprus, no less there than in any other part of the world, including occupied Arab territories in the Middle East.

116. Despite the obstacles at present being confronted, my delegation does not despair of the prospects for the future of Cyprus. It is true that the picture today does not dispel every pessimistic notion. Yet my delegation wishes to maintain the belief that previous rounds of intercommunal talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General do reveal a ray of hope. The way forward lies in respect for and the speedy implementation of the agreements already reached during those talks and in the demonstration of a genuine will on the part of all concerned, but more especially on the part of those who believe that the cards are now stacked in their favour, to honour their international obligations and to put the interests of the people of Cyprus above all other considerations.

117. We call upon all parties to extend unreservedly their fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General. Let us hope that when this Council meets in a few months' time to consider the question of Cyprus once again, substantial progress, if not total success, will have been recorded.

118. Before concluding, my delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff for their sterling service and their efficiency and devotion to the important, but difficult, task entrusted to them by the Council, and to those countries which have made contributions of men and material resources towards the peace-keeping operation and its upkeep.

119. Finally, I wish to voice the hope that with support for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP, the continued search for a peaceful and durable settlement of the Cyprus problem is, indeed, being facilitated.

120. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In speaking in explanation of our vote, I should like to state the following. The delegation of the Soviet Union did not oppose the adoption of this resolution, although we think it is not strong enough. However, we noted that paragraph 2 of the resolution refers to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), paragraph 1 of which reads as follows:

*"Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it."*

In paragraph 2 of the same resolution, the General Assembly

*"Urges the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs."*

121. In paragraph 2 of the resolution adopted today, the Security Council calls for the urgent and effective implementation of the aforementioned resolution of the General Assembly as well as of the Council's own earlier resolutions on the question of Cyprus. In not opposing the adoption of this resolution today, the delegation of the USSR also took into account the fact that it contains another important provision. I am referring to paragraph 3, in which the Council

*"Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint to refrain from any unilateral or other action likely to affect adversely the prospects of negotiations and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council."*

I stress that the Council urges the parties to refrain from "any unilateral or other action likely to affect adversely the prospects of negotiations". The expression "other action" is a very broad term; it covers the Council's requirement that the parties should refrain from any unilateral action designed to bring about changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus. This has been mentioned by a number of other speakers before me. Such an approach is fully in conformity with an important provision of the General Assembly's second resolution on Cyprus—I am referring to General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX)—in paragraph 6 of which the Assembly

*"Urges all parties to refrain from unilateral actions in contravention of resolution 3212 (XXIX), including changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus."*

The importance of this General Assembly resolution lies, among other things, in the fact that 13 members of the Security Council out of 15 voted for it, and only two members of the Council abstained. This is a circumstance of no small importance.

122. We also took into account paragraph 4 of the resolution adopted today in which the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for an additional six-month period is made subject to the attainment during that period of sufficient progress towards a final solution of the problem of Cyprus. We think it is another positive fact that, in

accordance with the wishes of the party most directly concerned—the Government of Cyprus—the present consideration of the question of Cyprus has been conducted on a very broad basis. The problem of Cyprus has been considered from every point of view during the repeated and continuous consultations among the members of the Council as well as in its official meetings, and the discussion was not confined to an examination of the narrow question of the renewal of the mandate. This broad consideration of the problem of Cyprus by the Council at this time is a positive prelude to a further broad discussion of it in September of this year. That is why the Secretary-General is requested, in paragraph 6 of the resolution, to continue his mission of good offices and to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution by 30 October 1976. Thus, during the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the Council will again consider all aspects of the question of Cyprus and will then see who is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the problem in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations, and who is against it.

123. Taking into account all these circumstances, the delegation of the Soviet Union did not oppose the adoption of this resolution, despite certain deficiencies to which a number of other speakers have referred.

124. In concluding, I should like to draw attention to another matter.

125. One of the previous speakers at this meeting, the representative of a certain “mono-superPower”, as usual introduced some repetitious and trite expressions about the “two superPowers” into his statement. This demagogic language distracts us from the substance of the tragedy in Cyprus and serves to cover up those who are truly responsible for this tragedy, glossing over, in particular, NATO’s role in it. It is not difficult to see that that representative assumed the role of devil’s advocate. That demagogic language is used in the United Nations by the representatives of that mono-superPower in order to cover up its policy of stirring up hotbeds of military tension and deliberately refusing to participate in the elimination of those hotbeds or to co-operate with the Security Council in settling urgent international conflicts.

126. The policy of that mono-superPower is to stir up and provoke conflicts and to lead the world into another world war. But let us hope that that policy will not have the desired effect. In order to cover up that unpopular and indefensible policy which is detested by all peoples, the representatives of that mono-superPower have to resort to demagogic language about the two superPowers and to a pathological anti-Sovietism. Such demagoguery is so clumsy and naïve with respect to the Cyprus question also that it cannot deceive anyone—except perhaps little children and big fools.

127. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Cyprus.

128. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): In its wisdom, the Council has adopted the draft resolution before it after long and arduous deliberations. This resolution, like so many others adopted by this body, is the result of a compromise. We, for our part, would have thought that the situation in Cyprus, as it emerges from the Secretary-General’s report and the debate in the Council itself, warranted a stronger text in order to meet the tragically serious conditions in my country.

129. Some Council members have expressed the view that if Turkey continues to flout the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and the commitments which are set out in the Vienna agreement of 2 August 1975 [S/11789, annex] and the Vienna communiqué of 21 February 1976, [S/11993, annex] then the Council could adopt a stronger resolution when it discusses the Cyprus problem in perhaps about four months’ time, as provided in paragraph 6 of the resolution that has just been adopted. Since they do not know the situation in Cyprus at first hand, those delegations cannot, perhaps, imagine the tragedy of the people of Cyprus and particularly the tragedy of those who are expelled daily and those who live in refugee camps under subhuman conditions. It may also be that some members of the Council have not realized either that the more numerous the expulsions of Greek Cypriots from the occupied area, and the greater the colonization of that area, the more remote will become the chances of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. Perhaps those are the reasons for which the Council has adopted a resolution that is not as strong as is warranted by the serious conditions that persist in Cyprus.

130. Of course, we realize the difficulties involved, and we believe that in the circumstances the resolution adopted was the best the Council could do. We should therefore like to look at this resolution and its positive elements. We feel that the resolution as a whole meets a number of our basic demands. I will not go into detail, since the hour is late and I would not want unnecessarily to prolong the proceedings. But I would draw attention to a few of the paragraphs.

131. I would point out the emphatic reaffirmation of Security Council resolution 365 (1974), in which it endorsed resolution 3212 (XXIX), and the call for their urgent and effective implementation, as well as that of Security Council resolution 367 (1975), goes a long way towards fulfilling the Council’s responsibilities. Also, the request for a report by the Secretary-General on the implementation of the present resolution and those resolutions referred to therein by 30 October 1976 at the latest keeps the Cyprus question in all its dimensions before the Council for such further action as may be required in the light of developments. More particularly, the veiled yet unmistakably clear references to the expulsions of Greek Cypriots from the occupied areas and the colonization of those areas through the importation of mainland Turks in a systematic effort to change the demographic structure

of the Republic of Cyprus, coupled with a call by the Council upon the parties concerned—in this case, evidently, Turkey—to refrain from any unilateral actions, and the appeal to all parties to extend their fullest co-operation to so as to enable UNFICYP to perform its duties effectively are a source of satisfaction as, in effect, they constitute a call upon Turkey to cease the expulsions and the colonization and to allow UNFICYP to operate unrestrictedly in providing the safeguards for the Greek Cypriots in the north, with the protection agreed upon under the Vienna agreement of 2 August 1975.

132. This is further reinforced by the paragraph emphasizing the need for the parties concerned to adhere to the agreements reached at all the previous rounds of the talks. Of course, that covers not only the substantive agreement of 2 August 1975, but also the procedural agreement of 21 February 1976 regarding the requirement for the submission of concrete proposals by the Turkish side on the territorial aspect. The Greek Cypriot side has already submitted such proposals. This is to serve as a prelude to the finding of a common basis for the negotiations.

133. I shall say nothing more at this late hour. I would merely take the opportunity to express our appreciation to the members of the Council for their concern and, more particularly, to those who spoke out strongly in favour of the just cause of Cyprus. Our particular gratitude goes to you, Mr. President, for all your efforts and long labours, in the best tradition of the United Nations, and also for your statement at the beginning of the present meeting in introducing the draft resolution, in which you pointed to the deep concern for the indigenous people of Cyprus, in relation to the situation set out in the Secretary-General's report.

134. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. Atalay, to whom the Security Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a further statement. As I hear no objection, I invite Mr. Atalay to take a place at the Council table and to make that further statement.

135. Mr. ATALAY: I should like to express the views of the Turkish Cypriot side on the resolution adopted at this meeting by the Security Council.

136. The resolution uses the term "Government of Cyprus", which we do not recognize, for reasons which we have set forth several times before this Council. Therefore, the resolution is unacceptable to us as a whole.

137. However, I should like to put it on record that the Turkish Cypriot side is giving its consent to the extension of the mandate of the Force and is ready to resume the intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

138. Our views regarding Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) and General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) are already on record with the Council.

139. I should like also to express to you, Mr. President, my appreciation for the extreme competence and objectivity with which you have conducted the meetings of the Security Council that have culminated in the adoption tonight of the resolution extending the mandate of UNFICYP.

140. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Turkey.

141. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I think that at this late hour I would be well advised to refrain from replying to the Greek Cypriot representative. Needless to say, I do not accept his unilateral interpretations of the resolution adopted tonight by the Council.

142. I should like to explain very briefly my Government's views on the resolution which has been adopted by the Council.

143. During the discussions at the Council's previous meetings I have made clear our basic and unchanged position regarding the representation of Cyprus. We have to dissociate ourselves from any documents containing a reference to the so-called Government of Cyprus. We maintain and emphatically reiterate our view that there is at present no government which can represent Cyprus; there are merely two communities which are entitled to speak with equal voices in all forums where the question of Cyprus is debated. The reference to a Government of Cyprus is therefore irrelevant. For that reason, irrespective of our views on the substance of the resolution, we cannot accept it in its entirety. We can, however, examine its provisions on their own merits and indicate to what extent they are acceptable to us.

144. We support the general thrust of the resolution, putting emphasis on the continuation of the intercommunal talks. The fourth paragraph of the preamble notes the view expressed by the Secretary-General that the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem lies in negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. We whole-heartedly concur with that view. We hope very much that the Secretary-General will be able to undertake as rapidly as possible a renewed effort to promote the intercommunal talks, within the framework worked out by the parties before and during the fifth round of talks in Vienna. I can assure him that he can count on our active and sustained support in his endeavours.

145. Paragraph 2 refers to and reaffirms Security Council resolution 365 (1974), which endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). The reservations formulated by the Turkish delegation on resolu-

tion 3212 (XXIX) are well known to the members of the Council. Furthermore, we take the view that the terms of resolution 3212 (XXIX) do not apply to the present situation, particularly in view of the results of the intercommunal talks held since its adoption. Indeed, the agreements reached at those talks have already been translated into practical steps in the island, and these have profoundly affected the elements of the problem. We consider, therefore, that the paragraph of the resolution adopted today which reaffirms resolution 3212 (XXIX) can have no operative value in present circumstances.

146. We concur in the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further period of six months. In doing so, we take note of the fact that the Turkish community has been consulted and has given its consent. My Government is pleased to be informed that the discussions on the stationing, functioning and deployment of the Force in the Turkish area which have been under way in accordance with the procès-verbal signed between the Force Commander and President Denktaş last December [S/12093, para. 8] have progressed satisfactorily and that an agreement on those issues is expected to be concluded in the very near future. We sincerely hope that with that agreement the difficulties referred to in the Secretary-General's report will be overcome.

147. I should like also to seize this opportunity to pay a tribute to the personnel of UNFICYP and to all the countries contributing to the Force.

148. Mr. President, before concluding my remarks, I have a last but pleasant duty to perform. I should like to tell you, Mr. President, how much I have appreciated your untiring efforts to reach a consensus and admired your outstanding diplomatic skill, your negotiating style, your efficient and able presidency, and your intellectual resourcefulness.

149. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of China who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

150. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): I will make a brief statement in reply to the statement just made by the Soviet representative. In my earlier brief speech I, as the Chinese representative, merely mentioned the need to maintain vigilance against the super-Power tactics of sowing discord. Yet the Soviet representative, driven by his guilty conscience because of the evil deeds he has done, has made an unsolicited confession to justify Soviet social-imperialism and has made a slanderous attack on China's foreign policy. But the facts are the most eloquent. Are not the deeds of Soviet social-imperialism sufficient to prove that the Soviet Union is a downright imperialist that is engaged in sowing discord and the tactics of "divide and rule"?

151. Since the eruption of the Cyprus crisis in 1974, Soviet social-imperialism has taken it as a golden

opportunity for sowing discord and fanning the flames of trouble by desperate means. Anxious, like an ant on a hot pan, you were active in different quarters, issuing one statement after another to support A against B one day and B against A the next day, in a frenzied attempt to exploit the contradictions and aggravate the situation by adding fuel to the fire. Subsequently, you did your utmost to sabotage the negotiations between the parties concerned. Everyone can see that such mischievous deeds on your part are in no way intended to "support Cyprus" as you professed, but are aimed at meddling in the Cyprus question and squeezing into the Eastern Mediterranean in rivalry with the other super-Power for the establishment of world hegemony in co-ordination with your expansionist activities in other parts of the world. You are a downright hypocrite who says all the nice things but stops at nothing in doing evil. The facts are all there. How can they be covered up?

152. As to Soviet social-imperialism stretching its tentacles for expansion in various parts of the world behind the smokescreen of "détente", it is clear for everyone to see. As to the hot-beds of war and the main threat of a new world war, they emanate mainly from the new Czars in the Kremlin and not from other places.

153. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Soviet Union who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

154. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): My previous remarks regarding the demagogic statement of the representative of the country which claims to be a mono-super-Power contain a complete and comprehensive evaluation of the substance of that statement and of the notorious demagogic formula "the two super-Powers". I have nothing to add to what I have already said. It has all been said. The country which is striving to become a mono-super-Power is stirring up hotbeds of tension in any part of the world in order to bring other countries into conflict with a view to pursuing the main object of its policy—to promote a world war. It was stated officially from the rostrum of the General Assembly that China is dreaming of another world war. The new leader of that mono-super-Power recently stated this officially at the reception in honour of the Prime Minister of Madagascar. The mono-super-Power is cherishing a dream of a new world war. That is the meaning of its representative's demagoguery about the two super-Powers. That is obvious and we are well aware of it.

155. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of China who has asked to be allowed to speak again to exercise his right of reply.

156. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Since Malik can in no way deny the facts which we have enumerated, it is simply not worth while refuting the second statement which he has just made.

157. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Neither do I have any reason to reply to the representative of the mono-super-Power since I already presented a complete and comprehensive evaluation of his demagogic statement in my previous remarks.

*The meeting rose on Wednesday, 16 June, at 2 a.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 391 (1976).

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2406th meeting.

<sup>3</sup> A/AC.182/L.2.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2373rd meeting.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2404th meeting.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 2355th meeting.