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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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

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2107th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 14 December 1978, at 5 p.m.

President: Mr. Rüdiger VON WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2107)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12946 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 5.10 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/12946 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion. I therefore propose, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to this proposal.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Turkey, in which he requests that Mr. Nail Atalay should be invited to participate in the discussion. I therefore propose, if I hear no objection, to extend an invitation to Mr. Atalay in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus [S/12946 and Add.1] for the

period 1 June to 30 November 1978. In addition, the Council has before it the text of a draft resolution contained in document S/12968, which was drawn up during the course of consultations among the members of the Council.

4. I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

5. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I call.

6. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I wish, in the first place, to thank you and the members of the Council for inviting me to participate once again, on behalf of my Government, in the discussions on the item. I would also take this opportunity to express to you our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the office of President. We feel certain that your high qualifications, your diplomatic skill and your experience will serve the Council well in the conduct of its deliberations.

7. It is also my pleasant duty to express once again, on behalf of my Government, our deep appreciation and feelings of gratitude to the Secretary-General for his tireless and devoted efforts in promoting the objectives of the United Nations and in the cause of peace. He has once again demonstrated his wisdom and his humanity. Our grateful thanks go also to his collaborators, both in New York and in Cyprus. We are indebted to Ambassador Galindo Pohl for the objectivity of his approach, his diplomatic skill and, more particularly, his dedication to the principles of the Charter.

8. I should be remiss if I did not mention General Quinn, who has been devoting so much effort to dealing with this situation. Our thanks are due also to the officers and men working under him in the interests of peace in Cyprus, at a time when the whole cause of peace is in such danger in that part of the Middle East. Our particular gratitude goes to the Governments which make the United Nations operation in Cyprus possible through their contributions in men and money, thus demonstrating a praiseworthy dedication to the concept of peace-keeping through the United Nations.

9. Perhaps on this occasion I might commend Mr. Gleissner for his dedicated services. I understand that

¹ See resolution 443 (1978).

he will be leaving us to become Ambassador to the United Kingdom, and we congratulate him.

10. The Council meets today for the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further six-month period, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, as required by the original Security Council resolution on the establishment of UNFICYP and its functions [resolution 186 (1964)]. The Force is doing very good work, in spite of difficult circumstances. The function of the peace-keeping operation is, *inter alia*, to guard the cease-fire line and the buffer zone, and also to afford protection to the civilian population.

11. The Secretary-General's report indicates that

"UNFICYP continues to use its best efforts to discharge its functions with regard to the security, welfare and well-being of the Greek Cypriots living in the northern part of the island." [S/12946, para. 10.]

Of course, it is also performing in the same sense in the Government-controlled area with regard to the protection of Turkish Cypriots, and I shall come to that later. The report goes on to say:

"UNFICYP access to that area"—the Turkish area, that is, the area occupied by the Turkish army—"remains restricted, but humanitarian work has been carried out on a reasonably satisfactory scale. . . . There has been an increase in the transfer of Greek Cypriots from north to south . . . a total of 150 having moved during the period under review." [Ibid.]

12. I should like to make it clear that what we have here is the fact that UNFICYP has no freedom of movement and that it cannot carry out its duties, as stated in other parts of the report. We have reports that, although there was some amelioration, there has now been increased harassment—robberies, killings and threats to life—which is making life for the remaining Greek Cypriots in the north very difficult. That is why mention is made that there has been an increase in the number of those moving to the south. There are concrete cases—very important cases—showing that, when they report their suffering from robberies, threats, the throwing of stones and general harassment to the Turkish police, the victims who complain are arrested and beaten severely, so that, in the end, there can be no complaint. That is the situation in the north.

13. Now, let us see what the situation is in the south. In the same report it is stated, with regard to Turkish Cypriots in the south, that

"UNFICYP continues to take the responsibility of making periodic visits to some 200 Turkish Cypriots living in the south to assess any assistance they may need and to help maintain some contact with their relatives in the north. To date, these Turkish Cypriots have given UNFICYP to understand that they are satisfied with their living conditions. A check on their dwellings was carried out during the month of September and these were found

to be equal to those of their counterparts in the Greek Cypriot community." [Ibid., para. 38.]

14. That shows the difference in the treatment of UNFICYP by the two sides and in their attitude towards human rights, and, although stated in very moderate terms—because, probably, it could not be otherwise—it is indicative of the situation.

15. I shall not go into further details on that score because it is unnecessary. However, what I should like to emphasize in this respect is that the functions of UNFICYP are of course not part of the Charter; they are practised on a pragmatic basis and fall far short of a United Nations force for peace, which is provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter and intended to give validity and effect to the decisions of the Security Council. UNFICYP is doing what it can, but with a mandate so restricted that it cannot help the situation. Hence we have in Cyprus a recurring situation of the presence of the peace-keeping force, whereas what was needed was a United Nations force to put an end to the aggression and the invasion by implementing the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. And that is a failure not only with regard to Cyprus; it is the main problem of the United Nations. Cyprus happens to be a very obvious example of General Assembly resolutions—like resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was adopted unanimously, with the vote of Turkey and without any abstentions, and endorsed unanimously by the Security Council, and I challenge anyone to cite another resolution on a particular dispute and not on a global issue which was adopted without a single vote against or a single abstention—that have been ignored, by-passed and trodden upon by the invader, who is proud of it and finding full support in this attitude in a manner that is astonishing and that will be an historically important aspect of the function of the United Nations.

16. That has been recurring for over four years now: repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are being ignored. Is this a matter of little concern for the Council? It is astonishing if it is, and I should really like note to be taken that, no matter what the afterthoughts of any member of the Council, the fact remains in clear-cut letters that the resolutions of the Assembly and the Council are ignored.

17. The General Assembly at its last three regular sessions has therefore taken particular care to call on the Security Council to implement its resolutions. In 1976 the Assembly began by expressing the hope that the Council would implement its resolutions by the adoption of practical measures; then, in 1977, it went on from hope to make that a recommendation to the Council; and, in 1978, it not only recommended this implementation but added a time-limit for accomplishing it. Hence world public opinion is increasingly concerned not merely with regard to the situation in Cyprus, but with the implementation of Security Council resolutions, because, without such implementation, the authority and the validity of the United Nations are non-existent.

18. In this respect I wish to quote from the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, in which

he distinctly says that this non-implementation of the resolutions and the lack of international security has tended

“to downgrade the prestige and effectiveness of the Organization and to detract from its primary purpose as the impartial and respected guarantor of international peace and security. The practical result has been that some small States no longer”—and these are his words now after some years of experience in the United Nations and particularly after the case of Cyprus—“turn to the United Nations as the protector of their sovereign rights.”²

That is very pertinent to the present case. The Secretary-General went on to say:

“For this and other reasons, there are now, as always, conflict situations which Governments do not wish to bring before the United Nations” because there is no effectiveness in the Security Council.

“Recent developments in the Horn of Africa and in Zaire are good cases in point. While I do not question the reasons why Governments have not seen fit to bring such problems to the United Nations, I do believe that when problems of such magnitude do not come before the world Organization, and when they cannot be dealt with effectively by the appropriate regional organization, they constitute a potential risk to international peace and security which is of legitimate concern to all Governments.”²

19. I dare say that the question of Cyprus has been pre-eminently the problem that has made the impotence of the Security Council apparent to the world. It is obvious because it is stated here, and these reports by the Secretary-General never appeared before; they have only appeared in the past three years, in 1975 and 1976, then more in 1977 and more in 1978. I am now arguing the cause not of Cyprus but of the United Nations. When the United Nations was established, its main purpose was the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter. This appears in Article 1 of the Charter and in the Preamble. Therefore I say that, from this aspect, Cyprus considers that the resolutions should be enforced.

20. Now I come to another aspect that is rather important with regard to Cyprus. Of course, implementation is not necessarily enforced implementation; there can be voluntary implementation, and particularly there can be implementation through negotiations. Negotiations can lead to the implementation of resolutions, as in the case of an international conference, where the conference deals with a subject and eventually arranges for implementation by agreement. But there must be implementation, and there cannot be a just solution of the problem of Cyprus without regard to the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In this respect, it is important to remember that there is complete agreement on all sides, including Turkey and everybody else, all the members of the Security Council and Members of the United Nations, that the

solution should be such as to preserve the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. In order to ensure this, account must be taken of the United Nations resolutions. There certainly may be negotiations, and we should welcome negotiations, but they cannot ignore the resolutions, they must be within the framework of the resolutions. Those resolutions distinctly refer to the speedy withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces, the cessation of intervention, the return of the refugees and, on the constitutional matters, negotiations between the two communities. Constitutional matters are certainly matters of concern to the people of Cyprus as a whole and appropriately a matter for discussion between the two communities, but negotiations on the question of the foreign occupation of the territory of Cyprus, which cannot be ignored in any solution of the problem, are a matter which involves Turkey, and Turkey should be a party to any such negotiation. Of course, we know that behind the Turkish Cypriots there is Turkey, and that they are acting as the instruments of Ankara, but we want Turkey also to be responsible for the agreements that are reached. We have had the experience of the solemn agreement reached in the presence of the Secretary-General on 2 August 1975 [S/11789, annex]; that agreement reached by the Turkish Cypriots was reneged and negated by the actions of the Turkish Army in expelling the remaining Greek Cypriot population in the north instead of giving it freedom of life, security and all the amenities provided for in the agreement.

21. We see therefore that, although Turkey is behind the Turkish Cypriots, it does not accept the commitments undertaken by them. Therefore in any future negotiations—which I should welcome—it must be understood that whatever is agreed on is guaranteed by Turkey, which will not afterwards say yes or no according to its wishes. Of course, as I have said, the involvement of Turkey should have been as a party to the negotiations, since it bears the responsibility. No one else but Turkey—not Turkish Cypriots—can be made responsible for the invasion of Cyprus and for the occupation of the territory by a foreign Power.

22. These are the fundamental premises on the basis of which the question of Cyprus must be considered, and I should like now to turn briefly to the relevant resolutions. As I have said, pertinent to this case is the original resolution of 4 March 1964. The second resolution is the one that was adopted less than a month ago by the Security Council [resolution 440 (1978)]. Previous to that there was the General Assembly resolution of 9 November 1978 [resolution 33/15]. We then have the present resolution. As I said before, General Assembly resolution 33/15

“*Recommends* that the Security Council should examine the question of the implementation, within a time-frame, of its relevant resolutions and consider and adopt thereafter, if necessary, all appropriate and practical measures under the Charter of the United Nations for ensuring the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus”.

Following that came Security Council resolution 440 (1978) which, after taking note of the relevant General Assembly resolutions concerning Cyprus,

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 1, p. 2.*

"Mindful of the urgency of solving the Cyprus problem without further delay,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 365 (1974) . . . , 367 (1975) . . . and subsequent resolutions, including resolution 410 (1977) . . . ;"

—resolution 365 (1974) endorsed the unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX)—

"2. Calls upon the parties concerned to comply with and co-operate in the implementation of those resolutions within a specific time-frame;

"3. Urges the representatives of the two communities to resume negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on an agreed basis, bearing in mind the aforementioned resolutions".

Consequently any negotiations must bear in mind the aforementioned resolutions and should be within that framework, because, unless they are within that framework, they cannot be negotiations for a just and lasting solution of the problem—but will merely complicate the situation, create further trouble and worsen the whole situation in the island and in the region concerned.

23. I have given the facts in this case, and we express the hope that there will be a possibility, through negotiations, of voluntary implementation of the Security Council resolutions. That is the only way to do justice and to provide a lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus, in the interests of peace in the area and in the world.

24. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Greece, to whom I now give the floor.

25. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you my warmest and most sincere congratulations on your accession to the Presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your high qualifications, your authority and prestige, as well as your vast experience in United Nations affairs constitute the best guarantee that this debate will be concluded successfully. It is particularly gratifying to my delegation that you represent a country, the Federal Republic of Germany, which is linked with my country by traditional ties of close friendship and culture. Moreover, your country assures for the current period the presidency of the European Community of the Nine, to which Greece hopes to be added as a tenth member in the near future. I would also thank you and the members of the Council for having allowed me to participate in this discussion.

26. The Security Council has, on the proposal of the Secretary-General, decided to renew the mandate of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months. The resolution, to which the Government of Cyprus has agreed, has the support of my Government.

27. In view of the fact that the representative of Cyprus, Mr. Rossides, has already made, on behalf of his Government, pertinent observations on the Secretary-General's

report, it is not necessary for me to go over the same ground.

28. None the less, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Greek Government, its deep appreciation to the Member States which are providing contingents to UNFICYP at considerable cost to themselves, as well as to those Governments which are making voluntary contributions for the maintenance of the Force. Further, we express our sincere thanks to the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, and to the officers and men of UNFICYP who are carrying out, with exemplary devotion and efficiency, their difficult responsibilities and humanitarian tasks.

29. I wish also to join in the congratulations just addressed to Mr. Gleissner on the assumption of his new important assignment for his country, Austria.

30. The resolution just adopted once again requests the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices, to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of the resolution by 31 May 1979. In this respect I wish to reiterate that the Greek Government will continue, as in the past, to lend its full support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices and will give him every assistance in his tireless efforts aimed at the resumption of the inter-communal dialogue on an agreed basis by the two parties concerned.

31. As we all know, the Secretary-General has, with the greatest dedication and perseverance, been trying over the past years to promote a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. I would, on this occasion, convey my Government's deep appreciation and sincere thanks to him and to his distinguished collaborators, particularly Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Galindo Pohl.

32. To those thanks I wish to add, since I will be relinquishing my post here very shortly, the expression of my personal gratitude to our esteemed Secretary-General and his distinguished collaborators for the invaluable assistance I received from them in the discharge of my duties as Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations.

33. I would also—and I would be remiss if I did not—express the same feelings of gratitude and thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Council for their understanding and sympathetic attitude whenever my delegation had to participate in the Council's deliberations.

34. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Atalay. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

35. Mr. ATALAY: Mr. President, I would thank you and, through you, all the members of the Council for having given me the opportunity to speak today in order to present to the Council the Turkish Cypriot views on the current state of the Cyprus problem. I would also express

our thanks to you especially. We fully appreciate your efforts and the diplomatic skills which have made possible the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

36. On behalf of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, we express our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.

37. On this occasion, allow me to express our deep appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Galindo Pohl, to the Commander of the Force, Major-General James J. Quinn, and to the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff, as well as to all contributing countries.

38. Last but not least, I would thank the staff of the Secretariat, in particular Mr. Brian Urquhart, Mr. George Sherry, Mr. Gleissner and their assistants for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their difficult responsibilities.

39. I thought that this would merely be a procedural meeting, for the purpose of extending the mandate of UNFICYP. But, unfortunately, my counterpart has again, as usual during his lifetime at the United Nations, dealt with the substance of the issue and proved once more that there was no need for the previous meetings of the Council. Therefore, with your permission, Mr. President, I feel compelled to respond to him in the same manner and tone.

40. First, I would refer to the report of the Secretary-General before us [S/12946].

41. During the period under review, the Greek Cypriot side continued to use the usurped title of "the Government of Cyprus" as a tool for economic, social and political aggression against the Turkish community, including the imprisonment of the captains of the ships which called at the Turkish Cypriot ports. Armed activists for enosis continue to dominate and menace the political atmosphere in the south. The actual and potential danger which they pose to the Turkish Cypriots and to the re-establishment of the legitimate bi-communal Government of Cyprus needs no elaboration. But, unfortunately, there is not even a single reference to these actions in the report.

42. On the other hand, there is a direct reference in paragraph 18 to denying entry to the north "to most privately owned motor vehicles that carry registration plates issued by the Cyprus Government" who wish to go there "for recreational and related purposes".

43. The fact of the matter is that this has no connexion whatsoever with the duties and functions of UNFICYP. There have been some practical restrictions, for security reasons, for controlling the Greek-rented and Greek-owned private vehicles with Greek Cypriot registration plates. The number of these vehicles has increased conspicuously in the north in recent months. Moreover, it was unfortunately discovered that some of these vehicles were being used for the purpose of smuggling. Therefore, the restrictions were applied not to persons at all but to the vehicles. This

implementation in no way restricts entry into the north. On the contrary, it has facilitated matters. If there has indeed been any restriction, this is because the members of UNFICYP were instructed by the Special Representative in Cyprus to refuse to carry, even temporarily, the stickers issued by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

44. I ask Council members: Which is more important, to deny everything—including social, economic and political rights—which is vital for the survival of a community, or indirectly to restrict entry, for temporary security reasons, to those who use Greek-owned motor vehicles for recreational purposes in the north?

45. Paragraph 10 of the report states:

"UNFICYP access to that area [Karpas] remains restricted, but humanitarian work has been carried out on a reasonably satisfactory scale."

If there have been some restrictions on the movements of UNFICYP, they are due to the absence of an agreement regulating such matters with the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. It is hoped that those matters, although very limited in nature, will be regularized as soon as possible.

46. In paragraph 37, after it is rather reluctantly conceded that "there appears to be no restriction on freedom of worship in the north wherever the services of a priest are available", in an effort to balance that, space is allotted to malicious Greek Cypriot propaganda material prepared for the purpose of influencing the report. The truth about the incident presented as the razing of the two churches is the following. Two of the then existing six chapels at Trikomo had to be torn down some eight months ago when they became dangerous owing to the heavy rainfall. The remaining four chapels and two of the churches are still open and are used by the 22 Greek Cypriots in the village. The matter has no connexion whatsoever with freedom of worship. It is rather sad that UNFICYP has thus been used for the propaganda purposes of Greek Cypriots.

47. On the question of missing persons, as representatives will recall, the General Assembly, with a view to resolving the question, adopted resolution 32/128 on 16 December 1977 envisaging the establishment of an investigatory body with the participation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which would be in a position to function impartially, effectively and speedily. At the time of its adoption and on several occasions thereafter, the Turkish Cypriot side, which has been suffering the agony of missing persons since 1963, announced that it supported the provisions of the resolution and was ready and willing to set up immediately the investigatory body with the participation of ICRC, which is the only competent organ having the expertise and the experience in the field.

48. While the framework provided by resolution 32/128, adopted with the consent of the parties directly concerned, remains intact, the new recourse by the Greek Cypriot Administration to the General Assembly seeking a new resolution on the subject, in complete disregard of agreements previously reached and with the exclusion of ICRC from the investigatory body, is a clear demonstration of the

lack of goodwill and a betrayal of the real motives in bringing the question before the United Nations in the first instance. That is an attitude hardly compatible with the current efforts to bring about intercommunal reconciliation and serves no purpose other than anti-Turkish propaganda.

49. For this reason and upon instructions from my President, Mr. Denktas, I regretfully informed the Secretary-General that the draft resolution adopted by the Third Committee on 12 December 1978 would in no way be acceptable to us and that the Turkish Cypriot side would not consider itself bound by its provisions [S/12967, annex]. Nevertheless, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, motivated by humanitarian concerns, continues to be ready to co-operate in the establishment of the investigatory body, as provided for in resolution 32/128.

50. Before I conclude my remarks on this particular issue, I wish to express our deep concern that the Secretary-General has not seen fit to refer to the 1977 resolution—which is still valid—but has brought in a new element. In paragraph 68 of the report, it is stated that the third member of the Committee “could be jointly appointed by the Secretary-General and the President of ICRC”. I am sorry to point out that there has been no prior agreement on that particular issue, as implied in the report, and, unfortunately, that that assertion influenced the debate in the Third Committee two days ago on the issue of missing persons in Cyprus.

51. As recorded in paragraph 67 of the report, absolute peace and tranquillity prevail between the two communities in the island. The relevant passage states:

“During the period under review, peace-keeping in Cyprus continued to function well. The situation along the cease-fire lines has remained quiet, owing in great part to the vigilance of the United Nations Force and to the co-operation of the parties.”

52. I have to point out once again that the Turkish Cypriots, who, as recorded in the Secretary-General's reports, suffered immense hardship from 1963 to July 1974 while defending themselves in all Turkish areas and having to care for nearly 30,000 refugees for 11 years, have felt secure in their own region since July 1974.

53. The points raised and the allegations made by the Greek Cypriot representative in the statement that the Council has just heard are not new. Although all his allegations have been adequately answered in the past, I have to comment on some of the points raised by him.

54. We are blamed again by the Greek Cypriots for prolonging the Cyprus problem and not doing our best to find a just and peaceful solution. We deny that. We sincerely believe that we have done and are doing our best to find a just solution to the problem on a realistic basis. It is our view that it is the negative approach of the Greek side that has caused the situation to drag on.

55. Representatives will appreciate that the resumption of the intercommunal talks needs a calm atmosphere, forbearance and the good intentions of the parties to the

dispute. It is a matter of regret that the Greek Cypriot leadership is doing its utmost in order to destroy all chances of reconciliation. That is in accordance with a preconceived policy.

56. Allow me to point out some of the blatant examples of that policy. On 5 October 1977 a Danish captain, Mr. Svinth, was fined 500 Cyprus pounds, on 27 October 1977 an Egyptian captain, Mr. Ayat, master of the Lebanese vessel *Omar*, was gaoled for one month, and on 4 October 1978 the captain of an Italian vessel, Mr. Antonono, was sentenced to a term of three months' imprisonment or a fine of 400 Cyprus pounds. Why? For calling at the port of Famagusta in the north. Is that justice?

57. Those are consistent and malicious actions by the Greek Cypriot Administration aimed at disrupting the Turkish Cypriot economy, in line with its over-all policy of isolating the Turkish Cypriot community economically and politically through a vicious international economic blockade. I am confident that no Member of the United Nations can accept or condone that.

58. It is most discouraging indeed that, despite efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of the intercommunal talks and to reconcile the differences between the two communities, the Greek Cypriot leaders have chosen to intensify their vicious economic warfare against the Turkish Cypriot community, and at the same time continue to make statements which express hostility towards my community. Such actions against the Turkish Cypriot community are clearly incompatible with the call in all the United Nations resolutions for an end to unilateral actions by either side. It must be obvious to the Greek Cypriot side that its hostile actions cannot possibly increase trust and confidence between the two communities, which must surely be a fundamental prerequisite for a permanent solution.

59. Furthermore, the daily output of anti-Turkish propaganda by the Greek press, radio and television, and the provocative statements by the Greek Cypriot leaders have been climaxed by their public speeches. Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, while speaking to the Greek community over the New York radio during his visit to the city in September 1978, declared quite openly:

“We [the Greeks] shall continue our long-term struggle until the Greek flag is once again hoisted and flying on the bastions of Famagusta, Kyrenia, Morphou and the Karpas.”

60. This statement clearly and certainly does not augur well for Cyprus. It is incompatible with the United Nations resolutions, as well as with the agreement reached between the two communities for the establishment of a bi-national independent federal republic on a partnership basis. Moreover, it definitely leads one to doubt seriously the good faith and sincerity of the Greek leadership. It is indeed ironic that this statement, which is remarkably similar to statements recently made by other Greek Cypriot leaders, including Archbishop Chrisostomos, manifesting intentions of “driving the Turks to the sea”, should have come from the same man who, less than two months ago, put on an

impressive show of pretence, in view of his past record, in the General Assembly to convince that august body of his alleged love of the Turkish Cypriot community.

61. These outbursts of the Greek Cypriot leaders should be a cause of concern to all those who know the origin and background of the Cyprus problem. The Cyprus problem started in its violent form in December 1963, when the Greek Cypriots attacked the Turkish Cypriots in order to Hellenize the bi-communal island of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriot partners of the bi-communal government refused to bow to the Hellenization of bi-communal Cyprus and for 11 years put up a heroic resistance to prevent this. It was because of that resistance that the bi-communal independence of Cyprus was saved. The Greek coup of 15 July 1974 was a new attempt to usurp complete power in Cyprus. The ultimate aim of the coup was also the annihilation of the anti-enosis Turkish Cypriot elements. Had Turkey not come in to save the situation, Mr. Kyprianou and the rest of the Greek leaders would today have been rejoicing over the realization of their centuries-old dream.

62. I should like to comment on the resolution that has just been adopted here. In it there is a reference to the Government of Cyprus, which we do not recognize for reasons which we have explained before the Council. Therefore, the resolution is unacceptable to us as a whole.

63. 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 UNFICYP and is ready, as it has always been, to resume the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General on the basis of the Denktas-Makarios guidelines of 12 February 1977 [S/12323 of 30 April 1977, para. 5].

64. The Turkish Cypriot side believes that the substance and spirit of the United Nations resolutions calls for the settlements of the Cyprus problem through the intercommunal talks, and we firmly stand by the agreements reached at various stages of these talks. These are the population exchange agreement reached at the third round of talks at Vienna on 2 August 1975 [S/11789, annex], which paved the way for a bi-zonal federal settlement of the Cyprus problem, and the four-point framework agreement reached between President Denktas and the late Archbishop Makarios on 12 February 1977 in the presence of the Secretary-General. This framework envisaged the establishment of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, bi-zonal federal republic.

65. I should like to draw the attention of the Council once more to the fact that in view of the present realities in the island the mandate of the United Nations Force in its actual form is no longer realistic and must therefore be changed to conform with the present situation.

66. In concluding my statement I must emphasize once again that, if there is still no final solution in Cyprus today despite the positive atmosphere prevailing in the island for the resumption of the intercommunal talks and the establishment of permanent peace, the responsibility for this does not rest with the Turkish Cypriot side. The

Turkish Cypriot side has fulfilled all its obligations in respect of the resumption of the intercommunal talks by submitting new proposals on both the constitutional and the territorial aspects of the Cyprus problem on 13 April 1978 [S/12723, annex], which were described by the Secretary-General as "concrete, substantial and voluminous". These proposals were rejected by the Greek Cypriot side without any serious consideration and in a very indignant manner. Subsequently, my President, Mr. Denktas, made a statement very recently reiterating the Turkish Cypriot side's belief in

"sustained, intensive, good-faith negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities with a view to reaching a just, lasting and mutually satisfactory settlement" [S/12715 of 23 May 1978, annex].

He also expressed his readiness to meet Mr. Kyprianou personally "anywhere, any time, and to discuss the problem with him even without any agenda" [*ibid.*]. But the only response of Mr. Kyprianou and of the Greek Cypriot leadership to all these calls have been venomous attacks and malicious propaganda against Turkish Cypriots and Turkey.

67. Even under these circumstances it is my ardent hope that the Greek Cypriots will return to the negotiating table soon and will further refrain from forcing the Turkish Cypriot side to resort to extreme measures.

68. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

69. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you warmly upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and to express to you our deep appreciation for the efficient and tactful manner in which you have conducted the consultations in connexion with the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. In paying a tribute to your widely appreciated wisdom, eminent diplomatic skills and experience, I should like also to stress the satisfaction we feel in seeing as President of the Council the representative of a country with which Turkey traditionally enjoys cordial and constructive relations in all fields.

70. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate to the Secretary-General that we highly value his tireless and dedicated efforts to promote the negotiating process within the framework of his mission of good offices.

71. A tribute is also due to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Galindo Pohl, and to Under-Secretary-General Urquhart and his staff for their devoted efforts in the fulfilment of their functions.

72. I should also like to commend the Force Commander, Major-General Quinn, and to renew our gratitude to the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff. Moreover, I wish to reiterate our appreciation to the countries providing troops and contributing financially to UNFICYP.

73. I should like to explain very briefly the position of my Government on the resolution which the Security Council

has just adopted. In the third preambular paragraph there is, as in previous resolutions on the same subject, the irrelevant reference to a "Government of Cyprus". The Council must be familiar with our basic unchanged position in that respect. As a result of the developments that took place after the notorious coup of 15 July 1974, there exist today in Cyprus two distinct administrations. This reality was recognized on 30 July 1974 by the three guaranteeing Powers—namely, Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom—at the first Geneva conference on Cyprus. A reference to the so-called Government of Cyprus—an entity which in our view does not exist either in law or in practice—is all the more misleading since the Denktas-Makarios framework agreement of 12 February 1977 established the basis of an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal Federal Republic and provided for the merging of the two separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot administrations. Consequently, any compliance or co-operation with the peace-keeping effort in Cyprus on our part would be conditional upon the exclusion of the concept of a Government of Cyprus.

74. The resolution contains two operative elements. In paragraph 1, the Council gives UNFICYP a mandate for another period of six months. We concur in that extension, having heard the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Nail Atalay, who informed the Council of his consent in that respect. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Atalay has once again underlined the necessity of reviewing the mandate of the Force as established in 1964 in order to adapt it to the circumstances now prevailing in Cyprus and to the new and reduced dimensions of the problem. In paragraph 2, the Council requests the Secretary-General to continue his mission of good offices in the intercommunal negotiations, as established by paragraph 6 of its resolution 367 (1975). As has already been stated on numerous occasions, the Turkish Government fully supports the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General. In our view, the intercommunal talks within the framework of the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General constitute the only valid exercise in achieving a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem based on the Denktas-Makarios framework agreement of 12 February 1977.

75. And now just a word with reference to the statement—or rather the lecture—by the distinguished and venerable representative of the non-government of Cyprus. I should like to say very briefly that in the course of many years we have exchanged ideas across this table with Ambassador Rossides, and I now hear he is about to go back home. But I regret to say that he could not restrain himself from firing a Parthian shot on his way out. His statement was, of course, full of the usual misrepresentations and misinterpretations. I shall briefly say that General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), to which he referred and to which we agreed, should be taken as a whole and that in our view the mainstay of that resolution is that negotiations should get under way and that all the other aspects of the problem of Cyprus can be taken within the context of those negotiations. That is where we stand and that is where we want to go.

76. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of

the Soviet Union has studied attentively the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Force in Cyprus and agrees with the recommendations contained therein for the extension of the stationing in Cyprus of that Force for a further six-month period. The need for such an extension is dictated by the fact that the situation that has arisen in Cyprus and around it cannot fail to give rise to the most serious concern. There remains the threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Attempts are still being made aimed at the partitioning of Cyprus and the elimination of a single State of Cyprus. As a result of the constant foreign intervention, normal life in the Republic of Cyprus has been disrupted and the historic links that have been forged between the two Cyprus communities have been interrupted. The decisions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly designed to bring about a settlement of the Cyprus crisis have not been complied with.

77. The Security Council recently discussed the Cyprus problem in substance and adopted a resolution expressing itself deeply concerned at the lack of progress in the solution of the Cyprus problem and calling for the implementation of its earlier resolutions on Cyprus.

78. From the very beginning of the outbreak of the crisis in Cyprus the Soviet Union has consistently maintained that the search for ways and means to bring about a settlement should be carried out on the basis of unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment. This presupposes the withdrawal from the island of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign bases.

79. The Soviet Union believes that, in the present circumstances, it is important to make every effort to restore the spirit of mutual trust and co-operation between the two Cypriot communities. The internal affairs of Cyprus should be solved by the Cypriots themselves, taking into account the interests and rights of the Greek and Turkish communities in the island. The Soviet Union opposes any attempts to find ways of settling the Cyprus problem behind the backs of the people of Cyprus in the narrow interests of various countries or military blocs, and we are against the imposing on Cyprus by anyone whatsoever of their own plans and decisions.

80. The Soviet Union is in favour of the immediate implementation in full of United Nations decisions on Cyprus. The settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of those decisions would be promoted, we are convinced, by the convening of a representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations.

81. The delegation of the Soviet Union did not object to the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further six-month period, taking into account in this connexion the fact that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had given its consent to such an extension. It is of course understood that the financing of the Force will continue to be carried out on a voluntary basis.

82. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, you have just presided over the thirty-fourth extension of the UNFICYP mandate. Having myself been in the position of presiding over the Council for the extension of an UNFICYP mandate, I have considerable appreciation of the task you have faced, and I should like to express my admiration for the way in which you have conducted the negotiations leading to the decision we have just taken.

83. I am speaking now because this is probably the last statement Canada will be making in the Council during its current term of office and because, as the representative of a country which over the last 14 years and more has had something like 20,000 Canadians stationed in Cyprus, I feel there is something I should say.

84. We were pleased to read in the Secretary-General's clear and comprehensive report that peace-keeping in Cyprus had continued to function well over the last six months and, more particularly, that the situation along the cease-fire lines had remained quiet.

85. But the fact remains that the United Nations forces in Cyprus have been there far too long. They were established in 1964 to facilitate a return to normal conditions and to alleviate the sufferings caused by intercommunal disturbance. They have been there for over 14 years and in that time I must say that there have been very few positive indications that the two communities are moving towards a peaceful, equitable and lasting solution to their problems.

86. It is interesting that, although the intercommunal negotiations have made no recent progress and that it has not been possible, as we have seen the last day or two, to achieve practical agreement on the modalities for an investigative body for the tracing of and accounting for missing persons of both communities, despite the fact that the establishment of such a committee was agreed to at a high level a year ago, the two communities have been able to reach one agreement after a year of negotiation: on a sewage system at Nicosia.

87. We wonder how long the parties to this dispute can expect the international community to pour money and resources into a situation which they themselves do not seem to be working energetically towards alleviating. I think we are approaching the limit of the patience of the international community in this particular case. I say this because we know that the way is open to the parties to negotiate and reach an agreement. The Secretary-General reports that the parties and he have been given certain specific suggestions which it was hoped would contribute to the prospect of a resumption of the intercommunal negotiating process. My Government has associated itself with those suggestions as a possible basis for a resumption of negotiations on a meaningful and sustained basis, and we urge the parties concerned to seize this opportunity to negotiate in a co-operative atmosphere to reach a solution which will enable Cyprus to enjoy the peace its citizens must surely long for.

88. I should like to express our appreciation to the Force Commander, to the officers and men of UNFICYP and to

the members of the Secretary-General's staff for all the support which they have given to the Force.

89. Before I close, since this is the last occasion on which I expect to be speaking here, I should like to say that the past two years have been a memorable experience for the Canadian delegation. I hope we have made a contribution to the work of the Council. I am sure that I could introduce a motion that would carry the support of at least five delegations, that the membership of the present Council should be extended for another year, but I shall forbear to do that. I should like to say to all my colleagues on the Council that we have enjoyed the spirit of camaraderie and the support of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General and particularly Mr. Gleissner, who is moving on to newer and better things.

90. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Canada for his statement and for the kind words addressed to me. I should like to recall on this occasion that it was he who laid the groundwork for the resolution that we adopted here this evening.

91. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): We have carefully read the report of the Secretary-General. Nigeria has always supported the extension of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, as everywhere else. But I cannot fail on this occasion, as in the past, to reiterate that peace-keeping should not become logistic support for military occupation and intervention. I have said this again and again, in reference to Korea, in reference to Cyprus and in reference to the Middle East, including, recently, Lebanon. This is not to minimize the efforts being made by the Secretary-General but in fact to emphasize that those who have created confusion and problems in Cyprus should begin to yield to the general will of the international community.

92. Also I think that the presence of peace-keeping forces in Cyprus should not give solace to the Turkish aggressors who have decided to land forces in Cyprus and to challenge the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country. I believe that if this becomes the pattern of international relations and if the international community continues—as the representative of Canada has just said, if I understood him clearly, this is the thirty-fourth time—automatically to approve the extension of the Peace-keeping Force without any commensurate advance or improvement of the atmosphere in Cyprus, as in the other areas I have mentioned, then we shall be failing in our duty in the Council to accept our responsibilities and obligations towards international peace and security.

93. I would add that between enosis and the Turkish military occupation of part of Cyprus we have come full circle, and it is a lesson which we would do well to learn from this situation in Cyprus. But let us recall that under the great leadership of the late President Makarios an end was put to the aspirations of the radicals of the Greek community who wanted to integrate Cyprus with Greece. In the same way, he fought hard to protect the Turkish Cypriot community and to ensure that it would no longer be subjected to injustice. But the late President Makarios died without seeing the achievement of his objectives.

94. The unanimous support which the international community continues to give to Cyprus is, I believe, a pointer to what action we would wish to see Turkey take. I do not believe that the presence of Turkish forces in parts of Cyprus will in any way help to solve the problem. Again, we do hope that the Government of Cyprus—and I regret that the representative of Turkey called it a “non-government”—will continue to maintain its restraint, and that there will be a solution to the problem before long.

95. Mr. ROBINSON (United Kingdom): I am not going to follow those who have spoken once again on the broader issues. We had ample substantive debate in the Council as recently as last month, and I see nothing useful to be added to that today.

96. My Government is happy to renew this mandate for a further six months. It hopes to maintain the British contingent at approximately its present strength for the next six months, and we shall continue to meet its full cost, as well as the cost of the logistic support we supply to UNFICYP, for we continue to believe that UNFICYP plays an essential part in maintaining peace in Cyprus. We should like to extend our thanks yet again to the officers and men on the ground for their untiring efforts.

97. We believe that the problems are not inherently insoluble, but that their resolution requires a willingness on each side to make concessions and to acknowledge the needs and aspirations of the other. For this reason, my Government continues to urge the parties to adopt a constructive and flexible approach to the resumption of intercommunal negotiations, which we consider to be the most likely vehicle for arriving at the satisfactory outcome for which we all wish.

98. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Last June, a few hours late, we renewed the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. We stated then that the situation was regrettable and we pointed out the dangers. Today, thanks to the wisdom of the parties and to your ingenuity, Mr. President, we have reached a decision in time and that is a matter for satisfaction.

99. In the report he submitted on 1 December, the Secretary-General stated that the presence of UNFICYP was indispensable, both to maintain calm in Cyprus and to facilitate the search for the peaceful settlement which we all desire. More than ever before, we should take advantage of that decision to seek a negotiated settlement, which will necessarily involve the resumption of intercommunal talks on a basis acceptable to all the parties. The French Government takes this opportunity to voice its confidence once again in the Secretary-General and to pledge him our support at a time when certain positive developments make his mission of good offices more essential than ever before.

100. We are very pleased that no serious incident occurred during the period under consideration and that the cease-fire has been respected. We hope that the freedom of movement of the Force will be improved, particularly as regards its access to the observation posts. Finally, we hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a

settlement of the problem of missing persons will be successful.

101. I wish to extend the thanks of my delegation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Galindo Pohl, and to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Quinn, and the officers, soldiers and civilian personnel. We assure them of our support and appreciation as they pursue their mission, which remains essential in our search for peace.

102. As it is likely that we are meeting here for the last time this year, I wish to associate myself with the comments that have been made and express my delegation's gratitude to all our colleagues whose terms of office are ending. The spirit of co-operation and friendship which they have demonstrated at sometimes difficult moments has made the work of the Council easier. I wish them increasing success in their United Nations activities.

103. Mr. President, I shall certainly have other occasions in future to say how much I appreciate the excellent relations of confidence and friendship I have had with you. I would thank you today for that and pay a tribute through you to your great country, which enjoys close and friendly relations with France.

104. In conclusion, I wish to express my best wishes to Mr. Papoulias in connexion with the important mission that has been entrusted to him. Although we are disappointed at losing such a valuable colleague and good friend, we know that the cause of peace and co-operation will find in him a talented advocate and an ally.

105. The PRESIDENT: As there are no further speakers, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

106. In concluding this debate in the Council I wish to express my appreciation to the parties concerned, which co-operated with the Council and showed their goodwill and spirit of compromise in order to permit the renewal of UNFICYP's mandate and the conclusion of our meeting well before the deadline of midnight tomorrow. I also wish to thank all members of the Council for their helpful attitude on this question which allowed us to adopt the resolution unanimously and with a minimum of debate. Such a spirit of co-operation makes it a pleasure to preside over the meetings of the Council.

107. I am aware that this good spirit is due largely to the tireless efforts of my predecessor, the representative of Gabon, who led complicated and protracted negotiations last month in order to reach agreement on another resolution of the Council on Cyprus. I should especially like to thank him for his success.

108. In concluding this last debate on Cyprus in 1978, I think it most appropriate to say a word of farewell to Ambassador Papoulias, who will soon be taking up his new post at Ankara. He has always been helpful in the many discussions of the Council on Cyprus, and he has good judgement of the art of the feasible. And if we were able, for the most part, to avoid acrimony in those debates, it

was largely due to his good temper. If anybody can help improve relations between Turkey and Greece we are confident that it is our friend Ambassador Papoulias.

109. I do not know whether the Council will meet again during the month of December. Actually, this is a possibility which can never be excluded, but on the other hand there is a fair chance that today's meeting may be the last in the current month. I should like, therefore, to express personally and on behalf of all the members of our delegation our warm thanks for the co-operation and understanding that we have always found during our two-year term.

110. When we remember the sense of partnership and, in fact, friendship which prevails in the Security Council regardless of basic political differences, we certainly withdraw from the Council table with a feeling of considerable regret. We are surely relieved, on the other hand, that we shall not have to bear some of the burdens, such as the late beginning of meetings and that sort of thing, any longer.

111. In assessing the work which has been done during the last two years my delegation may gain some satisfaction at what has been achieved. But I am bound, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, to strike a clear note of disappointment that on one issue—which is not on today's agenda—we have not achieved what we had hoped to by the end of this year. Even though we shall no longer be a member of the Security Council, my Government will maintain an active interest in bringing about freedom and independence under internationally recognized conditions for Namibia.

112. I should now like to resume my functions as PRESIDENT of the Council.

113. On behalf of all members of the Council, I wish to express my own good wishes and those of the Council to those delegations which will be leaving the Council together with my own delegation at the end of the year. I think that everybody around this table will agree when I say that the delegations of Canada, India, Mauritius and Venezuela have, during the last two years, made contributions that will long be remembered to the work of the Council and the aims of the Organization. It is thanks not least to the efforts of their Permanent Representatives and their delegations that the spirit of confrontation which in former years could sometimes be noticed in the Council has largely given way to the spirit of co-operation and consensus which has luckily prevailed during the last two years. The Council has thus been able to work towards the fulfilment of its mandate, although a lot still needs to be done.

114. I wish the remaining members of the Council, as well as those which will join the Council in 1979, courage and wisdom in their work in the future. A well-functioning Security Council is essential for the confidence of world public opinion in the United Nations.

115. On behalf of all the members of the Council, I wish to express our appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. He and his staff have coped brilliantly with the heavy burdens which the Council put on

their shoulders during the current year. I shall mention only the setting up of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and all the advanced planning for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, including Mr. Ahtisaari's mission to Namibia.

116. As this year nears its end, our good wishes go to all those officers and men who, in Cyprus and other strife-ridden areas of the world, are on watch in order to keep the peace.

117. I should also like to add a very special word of thanks to Mr. Heinrich Gleissner, who is leaving us shortly as he has been appointed Ambassador of Austria to one of the permanent members of the Council. I am not quite certain how long the line of Presidents of the Council who relied on his advice really is. One thing is certain: every one of them would have been lost without Heinrich Gleissner's advice and guidance, and we have the highest regard for his dedication to the Council and the Organization. As he is honoured by the decision of his Government, I think that the whole Security Council may also feel honoured by his new appointment.

118. I conclude by wishing all of you around this table and your families a peaceful holiday season and a bright and successful new year.

119. I have three requests for the exercise of the right of reply. The first is from the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

120. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): It is not my intention to disturb this atmosphere of congratulations, good wishes and good words in exercising the right of reply. I merely wish to say that my entire statement was simply a statement of facts. There was no implication whatever against anyone—either person or State. But if facts themselves constitute an accusation—and they are true—of course the other side becomes offended. But that is remarkable since in my statement I did not at all mention the Turkish Cypriots, because, surely, they are not responsible for the facts I stated concerning the situation in Cyprus. The non-withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces, the non-cessation of foreign intervention, the non-return of the refugees to their homes because the occupation army will not allow them, are the responsibility of Turkey.

121. But, instead of the representative of Turkey replying to my statement, it was the Turkish Cypriot who replied. The representative of Turkey simply sits back and whenever he does speak he merely says: "misrepresentations". But, surely, he cannot deny any of the facts, which he has called misrepresentations. What are these so-called misrepresentations? Do they include the statement that there have been many resolutions of the Security Council calling for the speedy withdrawal without further delay of the foreign occupation forces in Cyprus, namely the forces of Turkey?

122. With regard to the way in which the Turkish Cypriot spoke, I should like first of all to say that he did not respect the rules of this body. I did not wish to raise a point of order, so as not to waste time. However, a person who speaks before the Council under rule 39 of the provisional

rules of procedure has absolutely no right to call the Government of a State Member of the Organization—recognized by the entire membership as a State—a “non-government” and to call its representative by something other than his recognized title.

123. That issue has been raised and a legal opinion was given to the effect that one has no right to use other names. I believe that the United States some years ago raised the question that no Member of the United Nations can sling names it chooses at another Member State while speaking officially in the Security Council. But, *a fortiori*, a person who comes here under rule 39 merely to give information, who is not the representative of a State, has no right to speak in such an offensive way of Members. I believe that you, Mr. President, or someone else, such as the Secretary-General, should draw the attention of those who come here to speak under rule 39 that they cannot behave in this way.

124. In any case, Mr. Atalay spoke as an individual. He can give himself whatever titles he likes, such as the representative of the Federated State of Cyprus—which is non-existent because there would first have to be a federation in Cyprus and there is none. It is patently a false representation. And what is this so-called Federated State of Cyprus? It is the area occupied by Turkey as the result of aggression and invasion by Turkey. It has occupied 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus presumably to protect the rights of the Turkish Cypriots, while the Turkish Cypriots form only 18 per cent of the population. And this is an area which has 70 per cent of the island's resources. They now remove those resources, bring populations from Turkey and establish them on the usurped properties of the indigenous Greek Cypriot majority who have been expelled. I call that an international crime: the occupation by force, the expulsion of the indigenous population, the bringing in of massive population from outside to usurp their houses and their land. The original Turkish Cypriot population today in that area is only 18 per cent. The rest has been brought from elsewhere and has no right to the properties or the land there. They call that international crime the “Turkish Federated State of Cyprus”, and it is really surprising that a Member of the United Nations responsible for that crime presents this situation as the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

125. The next question is: can the representative of Turkey speak of the Government of another Member State as a “non-government”? Those are not facts, but what I said in my statement were facts, and if they were offensive it is because they were facts about crime. But he calls names without constituting facts.

126. In any case, what is important is this: the voice of Mr. Atalay is not that of the Turkish Cypriots. We know very well and we have ample evidence that the Turkish Cypriots are not at all satisfied with the situation in the northern part. The former Turkish Vice-President of Cyprus, Mr. Küçük, said publicly that since the occupation this paradise island had become a “hell”. That was his word.

127. So that is the view of the Turkish Cypriots, not the view of the person who comes here as an instrument of the invader, one who does not speak as a Cypriot but, in a case

of aggression and invasion, sides with the aggressor. Therefore I say that what Mr. Atalay has said supports what I have already said. I did not touch upon the Turkish Cypriots, but this supports the fact that the Turkish Cypriots are the instruments of Ankara. This goes to the very root of the problem of negotiations. Negotiations require good faith. I wish they would show good faith and honesty so that we could have real, true negotiations on a solution of the problem, but not with instruments of the aggressor pretending to represent the Turkish Cypriots and acting for them in the negotiations. That is the problem that makes the negotiations difficult. However, we hope that in spite of all these difficulties the problem will be overcome in the sense of having reasonable negotiations on a solution of the problem.

128. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): In the first place I should like to associate myself whole-heartedly with the congratulations addressed to our colleague, Ambassador Papoulias, who is on his way to Ankara, the capital of my country. We are greatly honoured to have such a distinguished diplomat and such an able and charming person coming to our country. I know that he will contribute a great deal to the solution not only of the problems that we have between our countries but also of those that concern our two countries. Once again I congratulate Ambassador Papoulias and wish him well during his tour of duty in my country.

129. Having said that, I should like to return to a rather painful episode that took place today in the Council. The representative of Nigeria gave ample proof that he has no comprehension whatsoever of what this issue is all about—none at all—and he has no intention of trying to understand it. He referred to aggression on the part of Turkey. He referred to occupation. There is no occupation. There is no aggression. Aggression was committed against the Government of Archbishop Makarios by the Greek junta. We are used to these expressions being used by Mr. Rossides and the Greek Cypriot representatives from time to time for propaganda purposes, but for a representative of a great country like Nigeria to become the tool of that propaganda and to forward the aims of that propaganda is truly regrettable. There is no aggression, there is no occupation in Cyprus. The Turkish forces there are peace-keeping forces. It is significant that between 1964 and 1974 there was no peace in Cyprus, in spite of the presence of UNFICYP. Since then there has been peace in Cyprus. So I forcefully reject what he said and resent such words being spoken in the Council chamber.

130. Perhaps it would help the representative of Nigeria to understand why I keep referring to the Greek Cypriot Administration as a “non-government”. The Greek Cypriot Administration claims to have legitimacy because of a document: the Constitution of Cyprus. They have torn it to shreds. They have distorted it. Therefore it does not exist anymore. When Cyprus became a full Member of the United Nations, with the blessing and the sponsorship of the Turkish Republic, there was a Government of Cyprus. Now what is there in Cyprus? Let me read to you the composition of the Government of Cyprus under article 46 of the so-called and now-defunct Constitution of Cyprus:

“The President and the Vice-President of the Republic in order to ensure the executive power shall have a

Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers . . .

“One of the following Ministries that is to say the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence or the Ministry of Finance, shall be entrusted to a Turkish Minister.”

Where are those Turkish Ministers now? What is this Government of Cyprus, this Council of Ministers which is supposed to be composed in accordance with this Constitution? They have been kicked out, under threat to their lives, and this so-called government has usurped power in Cyprus. That is why I refer to it as a “non-government”. We are trying to bring about a legitimate government of Cyprus, through negotiations between the two communities, in a federated State. This was agreed to in the agreement of 12 February 1977 between Archbishop Makarios and President Denktas, and let us go on in that direction.

131. Regrettably, once again Mr. Rossides referred to the Turkish Cypriot community as being the tools of the Turkish Government. This is absolutely untrue. Mr. Rossides has been away from his country for some time and he probably does not know what is going on there. The political situation within the Greek Cypriot community has evolved a great deal. They are tired of the dilatory tactics of their representatives. They are tired of going to international bodies and trying to get resolutions blaming this, condemning that. They want peace in Cyprus. Some of those refugees want to return as soon as possible to their homes, and the behaviour of the leaders of the Greek Cypriot community makes that impossible.

132. It would help perhaps to reflect this tendency within the Greek Cypriot community if I were to quote from the Greek Cypriot press on the occasion of the celebration on 7 November of the October Revolution at Nicosia, when Mr. Andreas Fantis, the Acting Secretary-General of the Greek Cypriot AKEL Party, the largest political party in the Greek part of Cyprus, declared:

“Not even the United Nations can impose a just and lasting solution acceptable to both sides. The duty to work out such a solution through constructive negotiations is incumbent upon the Turkish and Greek communities. If we wish to arrive at a rapid solution, we must emphatically declare that we are ready to start negotiations within the framework agreement reached between Makarios and Denktas. Within that framework we must ask Mr. Waldheim to undertake more effective action within the limits of his powers and duties.”

133. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): I do not want to waste any of the Council's time on polemics. I merely wish to say that members of the Council were probably amused when the representative of Turkey claimed that Nigeria had become a tool of Cyprus. If he had listened carefully, he would know that I said that Nigeria would never support the landing of forces in any country to protect another country's interests and would never support the use of peace-keeping forces as logistic support for such occupation. I am happy that that representative has stated that

Turkey has troops in Cyprus. That is what I was referring to.

134. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In reply to the representative of Turkey, I will put a question to him. Can he deny that Turkey is guilty of invasion of Cyprus? Can he deny that there was napalm bombing of the island at the time of that peace-keeping operation, as he calls it, with hundreds and hundreds of deaths for no reason, an act carried out against open cities? Can he deny that there was the burning, through the use of napalm bombs, of extensive pine forests and great destruction in Cyprus, merely for the sake of destruction? Can he deny that there were violations of human rights that were witnessed by the Red Cross and were also the subject of a report of the European Commission of Human Rights to which *The Sunday Times* referred as a horrendous indictment of Turkey, which stands accused of these crimes and is in danger of being ousted from the Council of Europe? Does he deny that these crimes are so abundantly clear that everyone knows them? Does he deny that the territory which he calls a “Turkish Federated State” with such a peculiarly innocent face is really the territory which was occupied by these actions, unthinkable in our time, of international crime? Does he deny that 200,000—one-third of the whole population of the island—were forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and properties, which were usurped by an alien population transported from Turkey?

135. These crimes were committed by his country and he tries to blame members of the Security Council, as he blamed the representative of Nigeria for realizing these facts and expressing himself, in a very moderate way, in support of the Charter of the United Nations and of peace in the world, and against aggression. Or does he deny that this is aggression? He says they went in to carry out peace-keeping operations to protect the Turkish Cypriots. Is it protecting the Turkish Cypriots to bring in massively, from Turkey, 40,000 or 50,000 Turks from the Anatolian part—uncouth, uncivilized—and dump them among the Turkish Cypriots, who are suffering from their criminal activities? Is this a peaceful operation, or is this an operation to change by force the demography of Cyprus and destroy its people, of Greek and Turkish origin alike, in pursuance of the partitionist and annexationist policy of Turkey? Where is the good faith of a country that behaves in this way in the Security Council itself, which denies every true statement and tries to throw blame on those who defend their rights under the Charter?

136. I will not take up any more time since facts speak for themselves. Everyone who knows the facts—and nobody can ignore them—ought to be able to judge in the same way as did the representative of Nigeria, to whom I offer our gratitude for speaking the truth and for holding up what is right.

137. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker, who also wishes to exercise his right of reply, is the representative of Kuwait, to whom I give the floor.

138. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): My delegation hopes that the resolution just adopted will contribute to the promotion of a just peace in Cyprus.

139. We pay a sincere tribute to you, Mr. President, for your originality, and unflagging efforts. We shall miss you. I particularly shall miss you because we have been exchanging cigarettes for the last 12 months. We have served with you and other members of the Council for a year. We have benefited enormously and significantly from their wisdom, which all of us shall miss. My delegation indeed will miss the wisdom and the advice which we sorely need. But we are hopeful and certain that the incoming members, as well as the present members of the Council, will make up for this sense of loss.

140. My delegation wishes the representative of Greece the best of luck in his new assignment. His new assignment is a challenge indeed, and we are certain that he will successfully face it. It is also an eloquent testimony of his ability.

141. We shall also miss our friend Mr. Gleissner. We wish him the best of luck in London.

142. The problem with Security Council resolutions is that we sometimes think of them as self-implementing resolutions. They are not. Very few of these resolutions are action-oriented, as in the case of resolutions on sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. But generally these resolutions serve as guidelines which require colossal efforts on the part of certain Member States which have a political leverage with parties involved, in order to work for just solutions of problems based on the guidelines embodied in the resolutions of the Council. I should like to emphasize this point and say that we should not treat these resolutions as self-implementing, since it seems that we derive comfort from adopting resolutions without observing the efforts required for implementing them.

143. Finally, Mr. President, we wish you and all members of the Council, and indeed the members of the Secretariat, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

144. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker, again exercising his right of reply, is the representative of Turkey, to whom I give the floor.

145. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I shall be very brief. I cannot blame Mr. Rossides for pouring out the self-generated venom in his heart on this last occasion. He has addressed a number of questions to me: do I deny this or do I deny that? At this late hour my reply will be monosyllabic: yes.

146. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. Atalay wishes to make a further statement. With the concurrence of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

147. Mr. ATALAY: Mr. President, thank you for allowing me to take the floor for a second time. You have heard Mr. Rossides again and again. He added nothing to the wisdom of the members of the Council, nor to the search for a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus. I attribute it to his age and even to his personal ambitions. At a time when he is retiring, I beg him again and again to

work for the betterment of the situation between the communities in Cyprus. As he is retiring soon, we would have expected him to correct his record in the United Nations. He has lost his last chance. Therefore, I will refrain from answering his baseless allegations.

148. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cyprus has asked to exercise his right of reply and I give him the floor.

149. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): It is not enough, in replying to the question "Can you deny this fact?", simply to say "Yes". One should say, "Yes, I deny it because . . .". It is very futile and childish just to say "Yes, I deny everything", without giving any grounds for that denial.

150. Secondly, I do not consider it necessary to reply to what Mr. Atalay has said because, again, the facts are there. If they want amelioration of the situation they surely can obtain it by behaving in a proper way—not as aggressors all the time, every time, every day. Up till now they are expelling people from the north. We received reports today about the sufferings of the remaining Greek Cypriots in the north who have to move away. Those facts are not denied by mere use of words or of names that make no sense. Therefore, I do not think it necessary to make any reply to what has been said here.

151. My career has been spent in standing for what is right. They know very well that there is no venom in me. I am simply standing for what is right—and that is the duty of every member of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

152. The PRESIDENT: The last speaker is the representative of Greece, who wishes to make a concluding statement, and I call on him.

153. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to address my profound gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the representative of France, Mr. Jacques Leprette, to the representative of Turkey, Mr. Eralp, and to the representative of Kuwait, Mr. Bishara. I am very grateful for the very kind words which have been addressed to me. I should like to assure you that I shall do my best to justify the confidence which has just been expressed with regard to my new mission at Ankara.

154. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Greece for his statement, and I am sure that I speak on behalf of all the members of the Council in wishing him well.

155. The Security Council has thus concluded the present phase of its consideration of the item and may have concluded its business for the month of December and also for the year 1978. So let me repeat what I said earlier by wishing all in this room—not only those around the table—and their families a peaceful holiday season and a very successful and bright New Year.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.