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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.

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

2279th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 4 June 1981, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Porfirio MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Niger, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2279)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/14490 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Tribute to the memory of Madame Soong Chingling, Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Jaime Roldós Aguilera, President of the Republic of Ecuador, and Mr. Ziaur Rahman, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

1. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the members of the Security Council, I should like to express at the beginning of this meeting our deep regret at the sad loss of the Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China, who served her country for several generations with singular dedication and unflinching patriotism.
2. The international community also mourns with great regret the tragic death of the President of the Republic of Ecuador, Mr. Jaime Roldós Aguilera, who embodied the democratic will of his people and whose passing is so deeply felt by the countries of Latin America, particularly my own.
3. We also lament the shocking death of the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Ziaur Rahman, who was an enlightened leader of his people and of the less developed countries. It is our hope that his work will be perpetuated in the peaceful institutional development of his country.
4. I venture to request the representative of China and the representatives of Ecuador and Bangladesh to convey to the Governments and peoples of their

respective nations and to the bereaved families of the deceased the deep sense of regret felt by the Council for such sad losses.

On the proposal of the President, the members of the Council observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Madame Soong Chingling, President Roldós and President Rahman.

5. Mr. YANG Hushan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, I should like to thank you sincerely, Mr. President, in the name of the Chinese delegation, for the words of condolence you expressed on behalf of the Security Council on the death of Madame Soong Chingling, the Honorary President of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Madame Soong devoted herself to the cause of liberation of the Chinese nation and people alongside the great revolutionary Mr. Sun Yatsen and was one of the founders of the People's Republic of China. She made outstanding contributions to the Chinese people's cause of revolution and nation building as well as to the development of friendship among peoples of various countries and the defence of world peace. Her death is a great loss to the people of China.

6. The Chinese delegation will transmit the expressions of condolence made at this meeting to the Chinese Government and people and to the family of Madame Soong.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

7. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before proceeding with the business for this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Council, to pay a tribute to Mr. Masahiro Nisibori, representative of Japan, whose efforts as President of the Council we all highly appreciated. The presidency of Mr. Nisibori was a model of efficiency that would be difficult to equal. He resolved all the problems which arose during the month of May without a single dispute. He earned greater personal prestige for himself as a diplomat and for his country as a great, stable and independent nation.

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/14490 and Add.1)

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mavrommatis (Cyprus), Mr. Katapodis (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to recall that in the course of consultations members of the Council agreed that the Council would extend an invitation to Mr. Nall Atalay under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Atalay under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

10. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the appropriate time, I shall request Mr. Atalay to take a place at the Council table in order to make his statement.

11. The Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 December 1980 to 27 May 1981. Members of the Council also have before them the text of a draft resolution contained in document S/14500, which was prepared on the basis of consultations carried out by the President.

12. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution which is before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall 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 (resolution 486 (1981)).

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

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

14. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have noted the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, and I wish to assure the Council that I am taking the necessary steps to give effect to that resolution.

15. As provided in the resolution, the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) will continue for the next six months to discharge its important responsibilities along the cease-fire lines and in the area between the lines, as well as humanitarian functions. I am satisfied that, despite the recent reduction in the strength of the Force by 110 men, UNFICYP remains in a position fully to carry out its task.

16. The resolution also requests me to continue my mission of good offices. From my report of 27 May 1981, the members of the Council are aware that that task is being actively pursued. The intercommunal talks are scheduled to enter a more active phase at the beginning of July, and the parties have given me reason to believe that they are prepared to make a serious effort in the direction of a comprehensive settlement. This will involve the interconnected consideration of the territorial and constitutional aspects. My Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, has spent the past week at Headquarters here in New York for consultations with me and my collaborators about ways and means of extending assistance to the parties during the forthcoming phase of the talks. I myself have maintained direct personal contact at appropriate levels with all concerned with a view to facilitating the negotiations.

17. I also wish to mention the significant step forward that was taken on 22 April, when Mr. Gobbi announced, on my behalf, that agreement had been reached on the terms of reference for setting up the Committee on Missing Persons. I shall shortly appoint Mr. Claude Pilloud, an official selected for that purpose by the International Committee of the Red Cross with the agreement of both sides, as the third member of the Committee. I expect that the Committee will begin its work without delay, and that it will achieve the long overdue solution of this humanitarian problem.

18. In conclusion, I should like once again to express my appreciation to my Special Representative, Mr. Gobbi, to the Force Commander, Major-General Greindl, and to the officers and men of UNFICYP and its civilian staff. I also wish to thank once again the troop-contributing Governments which are carrying the burden of providing the contingents of UNFICYP, as well as the financial contributors, for their support of this important peace-keeping operation.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement. The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

20. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like at the outset, through you and through the representatives of China, Ecuador and Bangladesh,

to convey the heartfelt condolences of the Government and people of Cyprus, as well as the condolences of my delegation, to the Governments, peoples and families of the deceased Honorary Chairman of China, the President of Ecuador and the President of Bangladesh.

21. I should like now, Sir, to address to you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are convinced that your experience and skills, which we have on many an occasion had ample opportunity to witness and admire, are indicative of the leadership which you will provide from the chair of this all-important principal organ. But our pleasure at seeing you preside over the Council is due not only to the respect we have for you personally, but also to the high admiration we have for your great country, a champion of many noble causes in the international field and a leader of the third world, a country with which my own maintains very cordial relations.

22. I would, however, be remiss were I not to address felicitations as well to the retiring President of the Council, Mr. Nisibori, representative of Japan, who so ably handled preliminary matters connected with today's meeting of the Security Council.

23. Furthermore, Mr. President, I should like to extend to you, as well as to all the members of this body, my thanks for affording me the opportunity to address the Council, and also our appreciation for having, by the resolution the Council just adopted, extended, with the consent of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months.

24. Our biannual appearance before the Security Council and the resolution resulting from the Council's meeting, however essential for the preservation in my country of peaceful conditions, which are so necessary for the ongoing dialogue, are at the same time a sad commentary on the ability of the United Nations to apply the principles of the Charter and the peremptory norms of international law and justice to a small and defenceless country in the case of which they have been so flagrantly violated.

25. They are at the same time yet another disheartening signal to the thousands of refugees and displaced persons that they are still to gaze at their ancestral homes, including those in Varosha—which is a priority item under the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 51]—from the wrong side of the demilitarized zone, which is so far away and yet so near.

26. The Security Council has once again voiced its support of the ongoing process of the intercommunal talks, which we all consider to be the best available means in the quest for a solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. Although, as I had occasion to state before the Council last December, the inter-

communal talks "might prove to be a painstaking and protracted process and thus we have had to arm ourselves with a large stock of patience and good will", yet, as I added at that time, "even patience has its limits" [2257th meeting, para. 20].

27. The six months that have since elapsed have indeed proved that statement to be quite correct, but we have almost exhausted the greatest part of that patience and good will in order to live with the lack of any tangible result from that process. For, in a nutshell, it could be said that the talks are still alive, but that they have as yet produced no results whatsoever; even more significant is the fact that nine months after the resumption of the talks there is one important aspect of the problem with reference to which no concrete proposals have been submitted, namely the territorial aspect.

28. We can only express the hope that promises given will be kept, that declarations made will be matched by deeds and, above all, that the necessary political will may be summoned, thus making it possible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion of the intercommunal dialogue as mandated by the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and as provided for by the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 [S/12323, para. 5] and 19 May 1979 which provide the framework for the solution of the problem. For—and let us make no mistake—it is only through the implementation of agreements arrived at so far, and also by taking further positive steps in the right direction, that we can hope for a resolution of the Cyprus problem.

29. The time has come for all to realize that a just solution of the problem, based on United Nations principles and resolutions, on international instruments, especially in the field of human rights, and on existing agreements, will prove to be beneficial to all communities and to all the people of Cyprus. Thus, this is the moment in our history when the supreme interests of our country dictate that we forgive and forget mistakes and injustices made or committed, and concentrate on what should be achieved for the country as a whole and for its future.

30. Let us hope that the positive omens to which the Secretary-General has alluded in his report will be translated into concrete proposals, including proposals on territory, to be submitted early in July and that we shall be able to celebrate the anniversary of the present round of talks with the first positive results, and thus be well on the way to a permanent solution.

31. However, let me make it clear that these proposals to be submitted by the other side should not be a reiteration of old positions in a continued effort to legalize *faits accomplis* and should not undermine the legal order in the Republic, but should be pragmatic and reasonable and contain the necessary elements to permit serious negotiations.

32. On another aspect—perhaps the most tragic aspect of the Cyprus drama—that of the missing persons, we have a development which gives us cause to rejoice. Our consistent efforts in Cyprus and elsewhere have led us to an agreement on the establishment of an investigatory body for tracing and accounting for persons missing as a result of armed conflict in Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot side has appointed its representative to the investigatory body and both sides have also given their consent regarding the representative to be appointed by the Secretary-General. It is our earnest hope that the investigatory body will begin its work immediately and that it will, as the Secretary-General has just said, come to positive conclusions at the earliest possible time, thus alleviating the pain and suffering of all concerned. Let me say that we consider this development to be a good omen—quite apart from its immensely humanitarian aspect. Let us hope that there will soon emerge equally positive developments also in the case of the efforts for the overall solution of the Cyprus problem.

33. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our confidence in the Secretary-General and repeat our heartfelt appreciation and thanks for the devotion, zeal and ability with which he is carrying out his tasks regarding Cyprus. Our thanks also go to his extremely able collaborators both here and in Cyprus, namely, Messrs. Urquhart, Pérez de Cuéllar, Gobbi, Sherry, Picco and Schlittler-Silva, who have also laboured hard and contributed significantly to the efforts towards the solution of the Cyprus problem. Appreciation is also due to the present and past Commanders and to the officers and men of UNFICYP and, equally, to the countries that contribute contingents to UNFICYP and also absorb a large part of its costs. We do also wish to thank the countries that contribute to the special account for UNFICYP.

34. Finally, I should like to address a special word of appreciation and thanks to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who has just relinquished his post as Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs. Let me say that we have greatly admired his personal qualities and the skill, interest and devotion he brought to all the tasks he undertook, and particularly that of Cyprus, either as Special Representative of the Secretary-General or as Under-Secretary-General here in New York. His significant contribution will be remembered by the people and the Government of Cyprus and indeed by all of us, whose confidence he won from the outset.

35. Once again I shall end by expressing the hope that when I appear before the Council in six months' time I may have something on the positive side to report on the talks. We are ready to work hard in that direction: but is the other side really, this time, willing to do likewise or is it again going to make a mockery of the negotiating process? In the mean time, I believe that I am duty-bound to warn against any provocative acts such as the repeated violations of the airspace of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkish jet fighters that

occurred on 1 and 2 June 1981. Such acts are positively of the greatest disservice to the ongoing dialogue.

36. The PRESIDENT (*Interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Greece.

37. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin my statement by expressing to the representatives of the People's Republic of China, of Ecuador and of Bangladesh the deep condolences of my Government on the passing away of the Honorary Chairman of China, the President of Ecuador and the President of Bangladesh.

38. Mr. President, I wish to convey to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the important functions of President of the Security Council for the month of June. In my three years as Ambassador in your beautiful country, I had the opportunity to appreciate your great qualities as an eminent statesman and prominent intellectual. I am sure that under your leadership this supreme body of the United Nations will carry out its important tasks effectively and successfully. I should like also to thank the members of the Council, through you, for allowing me the opportunity of expressing my Government's point of view on the item on the agenda.

39. The Security Council has just extended the mandate of UNFICYP once again. This extension is nothing but an admission of failure on the part of the Organization in its mission of guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of its Members, more particularly the small countries. Every six months the international community, in Cyprus, in Lebanon, in the occupied Arab territories and in other parts of the world, recognizes its inability to enforce respect for the principles of the Charter and to oblige aggressors to withdraw from territories they have occupied by force in violation of the most fundamental rules of international law.

40. In the case of Cyprus, the past two years have been a time of hope but also of disappointment. I say hope because the agreement of 19 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 51] gave the impression that finally the lengthy and fruitless negotiations between the two communities were going to lead to a settlement that would allow the inhabitants of that unfortunate island to live in peace and permit the refugees to go home. I also say disappointment because so far none of this has been achieved. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General and of his colleagues, which deserve the thanks of all Cypriots, and despite the dedication of the peace-keeping force, which gives the victims of aggression a feeling of some security, no real progress has been made in the dialogue. It would not be useful, at this time when the talks are still going on, to try to place the blame for this situation on one or another of the parties. However, it is an incontrovertible fact that, almost seven years after the 1974 invasion, foreign troops are still occupying 40 per cent

of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, while one third of the people continue to live far from their homes.

41. The intercommunal talks have reached a turning-point. It is not possible for them to be extended indefinitely. The party responsible for the present Cypriot tragedy has the duty, the moral obligation and I would even say it is in its political interest to make a serious effort to arrive at a peaceful and equitable settlement of the issue. There is not the slightest doubt that the other party is more than ready to reciprocate such an effort.

42. Recriminations, although they may afford the victims some satisfaction, never help to resolve political problems. Unfortunately, we are living at a time when the notion that might is right is sanctioned. The agenda of the Security Council is an almost infinite list of problems that are insoluble because of the intransigence of those who violate the rights of peoples. The case of Cyprus is a typical example. However, the problem could be resolved if the opposing sides, that is, the two communities, were allowed to seek a satisfactory settlement without the interference of outside elements that in fact are more interested in promoting their own aims than in the welfare of the Cypriots. Perhaps this is the last opportunity to achieve an agreement which would maintain the independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. It would be a great pity if the opportunity were lost through lack of political vision on the part of those very people who brought about the present crisis.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Greece for his gesture in making his statement in my own language and for his kind words addressed to me.

44. The next speaker is Mr. Nail Atalay, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. ATALAY: Mr. President, I thank you and all the members of the Council for having given me the opportunity of addressing the Council today.

46. Allow me also, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, to express our thanks and gratitude to the Secretary-General, to his staff in the Secretariat and in the field—especially to Mr. Urquhart, Mr. Gobbi, Mr. Sherry, Mr. Picco and Mr. Schlittler-Silva—and to those military and civilian personnel who are doing their best to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. Furthermore, I should also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar, who retired from the Secretariat very recently, and Major-General James Quinn, who has completed his tour of duty as the Force Commander. Their excellent performance in discharging a very difficult task will not be forgotten by the Turkish

Cypriot side. We wish them the best of happiness and success in their future endeavours.

47. I take this opportunity also to welcome the new Force Commander, Major-General Guenther Greindl, and to assure him of our fullest co-operation in the difficult task that lies ahead of him.

48. The Security Council has just adopted a resolution on the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP until 15 December 1981. In the third preambular paragraph of the resolution, there is a reference to the "Government of Cyprus". I must immediately point out once again that that reference is both unjust and misleading. The legitimate Government of Cyprus, as set up by the 1960 Treaty,¹ was a bi-communal one. Turkish Cypriots had participated at all levels of the administration and without such participation there could have been no legitimate Government. But, in December 1963, the Greek Cypriot leaders staged a *coup* against this legitimacy and threw the Turkish Cypriots out of the bi-communal Government. What we are now trying to do, through intercommunal talks, is to re-establish a legitimate Government to represent both communities. Therefore, a reference in the text to the Greek Cypriot administration as the so-called Government of Cyprus makes the resolution unacceptable to us from the very outset.

49. Nevertheless, the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Kibris concurs with the decision to extend the mandate of UNFICYP, and it has instructed me to convey its consent. But, as I have already emphasized on numerous occasions during the Council's meetings here, UNFICYP's *modus operandi* must be changed and its present mandate must be revised accordingly.

50. The situation referred to in paragraph 13 of the report of the Secretary-General can be understood in the light of the following: UNFICYP's functions and authority are outlined in its original mandate of 1964 as "to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions" [*resolution 186 (1964)*]. Under that mandate, UNFICYP has no legitimate function to perform in the north of Cyprus and it is considered appropriate that UNFICYP should realign itself in the light of its mandate within the present realities of Cyprus. If that is done, 30 per cent of the personnel of UNFICYP will suffice to control the cease-fire lines and thus adequately fulfil the conditions of its mandate.

51. Seeing scores of UNFICYP members idling around certain unnecessary points in the north must be affecting the morale of its own members, while costing the contributing countries unnecessary expense. In fairness to both the contributing countries and the Turkish Federated State of Kibris, an early review of UNFICYP's role in the north is called for.

52. Furthermore, the resolution just adopted requests the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General in the intercommunal negotiations. My Government welcomes and supports that request whole-heartedly. We shall do our best so that our dedicated Secretary-General's mission will be crowned with success.

53. However, in connection with the resumption of the intercommunal talks last August, the fifth preambular paragraph and paragraph 2 of the resolution do not accurately reflect the actual basis on which talks were resumed. The intercommunal dialogue has resumed and is continuing on the basis of the Secretary-General's opening statement of 9 August 1980 [S/14100, annex], which incorporates the high-level agreement of 12 February 1977 [S/12323, para. 5], the ten-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [S/13369, para. 51] and other important elements. Although we would have wanted to change the wording of those two paragraphs of the text so as to conform to the actual situation, we did not insist for the sake of not creating an impasse at this juncture.

54. Now I should like to mention a very important point which, intentionally or unintentionally, is not taken seriously by certain circles. I refer to the principle of equality.

55. The problem of Cyprus is a dispute between the two national communities, namely the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, which were political equals under the bi-national partnership set-up of 1960, and the intercommunal talks are being held between the representatives of those two communities on an equal footing under the personal auspices of the Secretary-General's representative in Cyprus.

56. We cannot and we shall not give in even an iota on this principle of equality. Therefore, whenever and wherever there has to be a reference to the intercommunal negotiations or to the respective status of each community, the principle of equality must be maintained and their representatives, from the highest level to the lowest level, must be addressed as equals in keeping with this principle.

57. I wanted to make those clarifications, and I am sure that the Council will take note of those facts.

58. Mr. President, you have already noted from paragraph 59 of the report of the Secretary-General that on 22 April 1981, in Cyprus, agreement was reached by the two sides—namely, the Turkish Cypriot side and the Greek Cypriot side—on the terms of reference for the establishment of a committee on missing persons.

59. The representative of the Turkish Federated State of Kibris on the Committee, Mr. Latife Birgen, made the following statement on the subject:

... the Turkish Federated State of Kibris regards the agreement reached on this humanitarian issue

closely affecting both communities as a constructive and positive development.

"The loss of life suffered by the Turkish Cypriot people in the intercommunal fighting which started in December 1963 and the humanitarian problems they were forced to face are known to all. Since then the missing-persons issue has been an agony deeply felt by each Turkish Cypriot. But, despite the cases of their missing persons documented by the reports of the United Nations Secretary-General, the Turkish Cypriot side has never exploited this humanitarian issue for political purposes.

"However, since July 1974 attempts have been made to make political capital out of this question on every occasion at the expense of the Turkish Cypriot community. This exploitation was carried to the point of asking the Turkish Cypriot community to account for the Greek Cypriots missing as a result of the fighting among themselves during the coup of 15 July 1974, the aims of which are too well known. This issue was presented to the world in a biased perspective, totally removed from the realities.

"The Turkish Cypriot side has advocated, from the very beginning, that this issue be settled in a humane fashion to alleviate the suffering of the families of the missing persons of both communities and has supported, with good will, every initiative that was not open to political exploitation.

"Indeed, during the contacts that were started in recent months on the suggestion of the United Nations, the Turkish Cypriot side has maintained the same positive approach and has made constructive contributions for bringing these efforts to an acceptable conclusion. Consequently, it has now been decided to establish a Committee of three members including, besides the representatives of the two communities, an official from the International Committee of the Red Cross, and to carry out its task on the basis of consensus.

"Undoubtedly, the fact that agreement has been reached for the establishment of such a committee constitutes a favourable development for finally resolving a humanitarian problem, as well as for the continuation of the dialogue between the two communities.

"We would like to hope that with the agreement a humanitarian problem will entirely cease to be exploited. Our wish is that humanitarian and objective considerations exclusively should guide the work of the Committee."

60. On this occasion I welcome also the third member of the Committee, Mr. Claude Pilloud, and assure him of my community's co-operation. I am sure that his deep knowledge in this humanitarian field will be very helpful during the deliberations of the Committee.

61. In conclusion, we believe that the only way to guarantee a lasting peace in Cyprus is to create a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation in which each of the communities on the island could manage its own internal affairs without any interference or hindrance from the other side. To that end we have submitted our proposals for discussion at the intercommunal talks, which incorporate the equality of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot partners, because there can be no federation without equality among the units which form it.

62. We, the Turkish Cypriots, are looking forward to a golden age in Cyprus, when both of its communities will live harmoniously side by side, sharing as equal partners the burdens of government. Only through positive steps taken now can the future generations of Turks and Greeks be taught to live as partners in Cyprus, and the intercommunal dialogue is the only channel between the two national communities that can lead to peace.

63. **The PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, upon whom I now call.

64. **Mr. KIRCA** (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to associate the Turkish Government and people with the condolences which the Security Council has, through you, offered to the Governments and peoples concerned on the deaths of the Honorary Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the President of Ecuador and the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

65. Mr. President, the Council is meeting today shortly after your assumption of its presidency for the month of June. I should therefore like to convey to you my warmest congratulations and my best wishes for success in the performance of your task, which is so difficult and delicate. Given the traditional relations of friendship between Mexico and Turkey, you can rest assured of our full co-operation. I am unable to congratulate you in Spanish, and in that respect, and in that respect only, the Ambassador of Greece has scored a point. Permit me, Mr. President, to express our particular satisfaction at your objective and constructive conduct of the habitual consultations on this item of the agenda, which has been so admirable.

66. Before turning to the substance of our discussion I should like also to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to Major-General James Quinn, who, as Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, has rendered such exemplary service. We wish him every success in his future activities. We should also like to welcome the new Commander, Major-General Guenther Greindl. I should like to reiterate our determination to co-operate with him in the performance of his tasks.

67. I think I can count on the Council's indulgence if I take up a little more of its time to pay a particular tribute to Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, who has just left his post with the United Nations. He has been called to high office by the Government of Peru. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar is a man of exceptional qualities, particular charm and a personality strongly marked by a humanitarian and flexible approach. He has rendered extremely distinguished service over many years at different levels of the United Nations in the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem. His contributions and his personal impact on the march of events will always be indelibly engraved in our memories. We are grateful to him, and we wish him every success in the future.

68. Once again, in spite of our obvious desire to the contrary, my country finds itself obliged to speak in the Security Council on the question of Cyprus. At the last meeting of the Council on the subject in December 1980 (2257th meeting), I made it clear that any discussion here on Cyprus would in the current circumstances be not only inappropriate but even actually harmful to the search for a solution by means of the ongoing intercommunal negotiations. Nevertheless, we are here to repeat once again this not very useful exercise. I therefore shall be brief and do my best to avoid polemics, even if the other side becomes heated for obvious reasons, or maybe for not so obvious reasons, as is unfortunately the case today.

69. In the first place, we note with satisfaction the fact that the intercommunal talks are continuing. These negotiations in our view constitute the only valid means for arriving at a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus. It is true that the meetings have been less frequent than planned, by common consent in order to permit the two communities to hold their elections in their respective sectors. Nevertheless, the dialogue between the two communities has been maintained without interruption.

70. It is a particular source of satisfaction to us, too, to note that, following a lengthy process of shuttle diplomacy, a major step forward has been taken towards the solution of a delicate and humanitarian problem, that is, the question of missing persons. Indeed, a committee composed of three members and charged with the task of studying this question has finally been set up, thanks in large measure to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus and their colleagues here and in Nicosia, but also because of the perseverance and determination of the two parties. We hope that the committee will be in a position to resolve this question speedily and effectively. The solution of this sensitive question will undoubtedly help to eliminate a source of constant tension which has poisoned relations between the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus.

71. The agreement on the question of missing persons proves that patience and perseverance do not always go unrewarded and that, provided that the two parties sincerely want to arrive at a reasonable agreement and that they take account of each other's needs and respective legitimate requirements, it is indeed possible to come to agreement and it is possible to make progress when the two communities undertake serious negotiations on an equal footing and without outside interference.

72. We hope that this agreement will be the harbinger of future positive developments in the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem. We should like to hope that, in the period following elections in both sectors and the process of reorganization which may very well result from this in the two communities, the two parties will be in a position to make concrete progress in the intercommunal negotiations. Clearly, progress will depend on the joint efforts of the two sides. Each community must attempt to put forward ideas, based on the principle of equity, with regard to the particular concerns of the other party. In this regard, I should like to point out that it is only the Turkish community which has shown flexibility in certain areas of the negotiations. It is obvious that there will not be any progress if one of the parties alone is expected to make concessions. Progress can be achieved only by mutual concessions: it cannot be won by unrealistic positions and even, in certain cases, positions that go back on previous agreements, and it can certainly not be won on the basis of one-sided accusations or flights of oratory.

73. With regard to the intercommunal talks, we share the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report in document S/14490. He can count on our whole-hearted support in the continuation of his mission of good offices. The Turkish Government has always expressed its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to solve the problem of Cyprus. In the future, we shall give our co-operation to the Secretary-General as we have done in the past.

74. Before expressing our views on the resolution just adopted by the Council, I should like to make a brief comment on the report of the Secretary-General. We have certain difficulties with the wording of this report, although that was not exactly the case with regard to the text of the previous report. We understand that these difficulties may derive from the haste with which this report was prepared; nevertheless, I feel obliged to dwell on a particular point so as to put it on the record of this meeting. The equality of the two national communities in Cyprus—that is, the Turkish Cypriot community and the Greek Cypriot community—is not reflected in the titles used to designate the respective officials on both sides. The officials of the Greek Cypriot community are represented erroneously as representatives of the Government of Cyprus. Undoubtedly, the reference to the "Government of Cyprus" in the report could be misleading,

because that title refers to a State organ which ceased to exist *de jure* and also *de facto* as of the end of December 1963. I do not want to go into details about what has long been explained and maintained by Turkey. I shall confine myself in this regard to referring to my letter to the Secretary-General of 14 April of this year [S/14445]. On the subject of justice and respect for international treaties and constitutional provisions and therefore on that of responsibility for the crisis, there exists sufficient illuminating material and I shall not go over it again. I should simply like to make some remarks on this particular question in the context of the resolution just adopted by the Council.

75. The reference in the third preambular paragraph, like the one made in the report of the Secretary-General, to the "Government of Cyprus" is totally inappropriate. Our position on this is well known to the Council. This position remains valid and unchanged. Since we have once again set forth our views in the document I have just mentioned, I shall confine myself here to bringing to the notice of the members of the Council the fact that consent given by Turkey to the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in Cyprus will be conditioned by our position on the subject of the so-called "Government of Cyprus".

76. Another remark I should like to make on the subject of the resolution just adopted is as follows: the various reservations made and positions adopted by Turkey on the subject of previous United Nations resolutions mentioned in this text continue to be valid and remain unchanged.

77. In the course of consultations, we proposed that reference be made in paragraph 2 of the resolution to the opening statement made by the Secretary-General on 9 August 1980 [S/14100, annex]. We made this request because we felt that the present wording of the resolution is far from reflecting the facts or the developments that have occurred over the past 12 months. At the last meeting of the Council on the subject, I explained that the intercommunal negotiations had been resumed as a result of a statement made by the Secretary-General in August 1980. That statement, which mentions not only the high-level agreements of 1977 [S/12323, para. 5] and 1979 [S/13369, para. 51] but also certain very important elements of substance, provided the appropriate framework for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. We understand if the Council prefers, for purely practical reasons, to maintain the wording of the resolutions unchanged, but I must stress that my Government interprets the text of the present resolution, and in particular the reference to the resumption of intercommunal talks, in the light of the considerations I have just indicated.

78. In its operative part, this resolution renews the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months. Since Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has just informed the Council of the consent of his authorities, we for our part also

accept its renewal. However, due note should be taken of the fact that Mr. Atalay has just stressed the need, as he has done in the past, for revising the mandate of the United Nations Force as drawn up in 1964 in order to adapt it to the current circumstances in Cyprus. We should also note here that certain limited reductions in certain national contingents could be considered in this regard as a step in the right direction.

79. Before concluding my comments I should like to express our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General and also to his colleagues for their ceaseless efforts both in Nicosia and here in New York to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. We should also like to thank the Member States which have contributed to the United Nations Force in Cyprus and, of course, the gallant officers and men of UNFICYP and the civilian personnel stationed in the island.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Cyprus has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I call on him.

81. Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): With the Council's indulgence I should like to reply very briefly to the reference by the representative of Turkey to the Government of Cyprus, and repeat once again that such statements seem to be in blissful ignorance of the provisions of the Charter, the practice of the United Nations, the provisional rules of procedure of the Council and international law in general.

82. As regards the reference to the opening statement by the Secretary-General, I should like simply to refer to my reply to a similar reference on 11 December 1980 [2257th meeting, para. 65] and to numerous explanatory statements made by us on the matter, both here and in Cyprus.

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are no further speakers, and the Security Council has thus completed the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Expression of farewell to Mr. Mikhail Sytenko, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we adjourn, I should like to say a few words of farewell to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Mikhail Sytenko. I am sure that I speak for all Council members in expressing to him our deep appreciation of his many diplomatic talents, his great cordiality and his impeccable courtesy, and also his constant contribution to the Council in every aspect of its work. As he leaves the Secretariat, I assure him that we shall miss him, both in relation to the work of the institution and for himself as a person. He leaves an indelible memory among us. On behalf of the Council, I offer him our

warmest wishes for himself, for his family, for his well-being and for the well-being of his country.

85. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as you wanted this to be a brief meeting I am sure that you will not take it amiss if I leave it until we meet next to express our satisfaction at seeing you conduct the business of the Council this month, and our congratulations to your predecessor for the month of May, Mr. Nisibori. But I do have a few words to say to associate myself with the tribute you have just paid to Mr. Mikhail Sytenko. Words that come from the heart can be brief, and I shall not take up much of the Council's time.

86. Since this meeting may be the last in which Mr. Sytenko, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, will take part, I should like, as the oldest of the Western members of the Council, and on their behalf, to say how much we regret to see him go. For three years, in this highly important sector of the Organization, where the most difficult questions affecting international peace and security are raised and dealt with, Mr. Sytenko has been a remarkable Under-Secretary-General on all counts. Attentive, far-seeing, thoroughly well informed and always mindful of trends of opinion in the Security Council, he has given that body the benefit of his considerable diplomatic experience and has ensured its functioning in a way that has earned our admiration. It is a pleasure and a privilege for me to pay this tribute to Mr. Sytenko and to thank him for the services he has rendered to everyone with unflinching courtesy, a great sense of humour and a warm spirit of co-operation. On behalf of the Western members of the Council I offer him our best wishes for his personal happiness and for the success of the important mission that is to be entrusted to him by the Government of his country.

87. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): Permit me first, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency. We are confident that you will carry out the task entrusted to you with your characteristic skill and the capacity for hard work we associate with you. I should also like to thank Mr. Nisibori of Japan for the way he conducted the work of the Council last month.

88. I am speaking on behalf of the non-aligned members of the Council to pay tribute to Mr. Sytenko for the way he has been handling our work. As you know, he has been an exemplary international civil servant. He has exhibited great intellectual ability which has enabled him to grapple with the complex issues of international relations, dealing with people coming from all corners of the world, with different political systems and cultures. He has shown in his work tenacity, perseverance and the patience needed to deal with varying positions and to discern common ground in those positions, and the subject we have been discussing is a testimony of his ability. Furthermore, he

has shown a commitment to the cause of international peace and security. For those of us in this chamber who stay only for two years and then leave, he has helped us to get to know the rules and procedures of the Council.

89. As he leaves, it is indeed a great loss to the Organization, but we hope that we shall meet him in another capacity where his qualities will again be put to good use. We have profited from his advice and we wish him and his family a safe future.

90. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is a particular pleasure for me to welcome you, Mr. President, the representative of a great country with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations, as President of the Security Council for this month. I would like to congratulate in you the well-known champion of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, with whose diplomatic talents we have had an opportunity to acquaint ourselves since Mexico became a member of the Council. I am convinced that in the course of your presidency you will promote the attainment of good results in the work of the Council.

91. At the same time, permit me to refer to the work of the President of the Security Council for the month of May, the representative of Japan. It is a particular pleasure for me to recall that, during that time, the head of State of the German Democratic Republic went to his country on an official visit.

92. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, I should like to associate myself with the compliments of the President and of my colleagues addressed to Comrade Mikhail Sytenko, who is leaving his post in the Organization. Comrade Sytenko certainly deserves the highest praise. His great diplomatic experience has helped us in our work. We are very grateful to him for his help and we shall always remember the time we spent together here with great satisfaction. I should like to say that we shall always remember his wife also, whose life was cut short so suddenly in New York. We should like to congratulate the country which possesses such extraordinary diplomats as Comrade Sytenko, who is devoted to the principles of co-operation among States in the interests of peace and resolving existing problems. From the bottom of our hearts we in the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wish Comrade Sytenko the very best in the future.

93. Mr. YANG Hushan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I should like warmly to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are sure that under your competent guidance the work of the Council will yield fruitful results. The Chinese delegation would like to pledge to you its full co-operation. We should also like to thank the representative of Japan

for his successful conduct of the work of the Council during last month.

94. I should like to say a few words about Mr. Mikhail Sytenko, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs. During his term he rendered great services to the Security Council in its work and made his personal contribution thereto. Upon his imminent retirement, I should like to express the gratitude of the Chinese delegation for the work he performed.

95. Mr. MIYAKAWA (Japan): On behalf of my delegation, may I first of all join in the expression of congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of June and of confidence in your able leadership in the conduct of this Council's work in the days to come.

96. My delegation also wishes to join in the expression of deep appreciation of and praise for the devoted services and contributions made by Under-Secretary-General Sytenko during his tenure of office. We should like also to wish him good health and every success in the future.

97. Lastly, I should like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, and the other speakers who have addressed kind words to Mr. Nisibori who is, unfortunately, away from New York temporarily. But had he been here, I am sure that he would have responded by saying that whatever little he could do was made possible only by the kind and full co-operation of all the other members of the Council.

98. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to convey to you our cordial congratulations on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Security Council. We are very pleased to be able to welcome to this important post the representative of Mexico, a country with which the Soviet Union has maintained ties of friendship for so many years. In the course of the recent negotiations in Moscow between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, both parties expressed their support for a further expansion and deepening of the traditional ties of friendship between the two countries. We have had many opportunities of acquainting ourselves with your great diplomatic qualities, Mr. President, and we are sure that your action in the performance of the important functions of President will promote effective and fruitful work by the Council.

99. Permit me also to express our gratitude to your predecessor, the President of the Security Council for the month of May, the representative of Japan, Mr. Nisibori, for his work in conducting the proceedings of the Council.

100. In connection with the forthcoming departure to his homeland of our countryman, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mikhail Dmitrievich Sytenko, the Soviet delegation would like to associate itself with those representatives who at today's meeting have expressed to him their feelings of gratitude for his skilful and fruitful work in the Secretariat and for the considerable contribution he has made to ensuring the effectiveness of the work of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs.

101. The great diplomatic experience and valuable official and personal qualities of Mr. Sytenko have undoubtedly furthered the creation of an atmosphere of business-like co-operation in relations between delegations of States members of the Security Council and among the staff members of the department he heads, and this is by no means a small factor in the search for solutions to the controversial and difficult problems which are being considered by the Council.

102. The Soviet delegation wishes our distinguished friend Mikhail Dmitrievich Sytenko great success in his future diplomatic work, which will be aimed at the strengthening of international peace and co-operation, and we wish him good health, happiness and well-being.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Finally, I call upon Mr. Mikhail Sytenko.

104. Mr. SYTENKO (Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs): It is a very rare occasion for the Under-Secretary-General to speak at this table, and I should like to use this oppor-

tunity to thank you sincerely, Mr. President, and through you all the members of the Security Council, particularly those who felt able to say cordial words about me.

105. We all know very well that everything has its beginning and its end, and that is why today I must say goodbye to you because of the end of my service in the United Nations Secretariat which began three years ago. During this period I have tried to make my modest contribution to the cause we all serve, and I have endeavoured to carry out my duties in the manner I thought best.

106. In my brief statement, I should like to express my heartfelt thanks to the Secretary-General for his friendship and for the most fruitful co-operation and help he afforded me in performing my duties.

107. Permit me once again to thank you, Mr. President, and all members of the Security Council, for your kind co-operation and understanding and to wish you all success in achieving the most noble goal of the United Nations, international peace and security for all nations.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Treaty of Guarantee (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475, p. 4); Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, No. 5476, p. 10); and Treaty of Alliance between the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, vol. 397, No. 5712, p. 289).

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