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NOTE

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THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 18 March 1968, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Ousmane Socé DIOP (Senegal).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1398)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488)
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/8446).

Expression of welcome to Mr. Malik, Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before starting on the agenda for this afternoon's meeting, members of the Council will, I am sure, permit me in my capacity as President to extend a warm welcome to Ambassador Malik, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union. We are pleased to have the opportunity to work with him and we offer him our most sincere co-operation.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488)
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/8446)

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In accordance with the previous decisions of the Security Council I propose, with the permission of members, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to take places at the Council table in order to participate without vote in the discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Z. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. O. Eralp (Turkey) and Mr. D. S. Bitsios (Greece) took places at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The Security Council will now proceed to discuss the question on its agenda.

4. Before calling upon the speakers on my list, I should like to draw the attention of members of the Security Council to the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period 9th December 1967 to 8th March 1968 [S/8446].

5. I should also like to announce that as a result of consultations agreement has been reached on the text of a draft resolution. I shall now call on the Under Secretary-General to read out the text in English, after which it will be read out in French.

6. Mr. NESTERENKO (Under Secretary-General, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs): The text of the draft resolution reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 9 March 1968 (S/8446) that in the present circumstances the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is still needed if peace is to be maintained in the island,

"Noting that the Government of Cyprus has agreed that in view of the prevailing conditions in the island it is necessary to continue the Force beyond 26 March 1968,

"Noting, from the observations in the report, the new conditions prevailing in the island,

"1. Reaffirms its resolutions 186 (1964) of 4 March, 187 (1964) of 13 March, 192 (1964) of 20 June, 193 (1964) of 9 August, 194 (1964) of 25 September and 198 (1964) of 18 December 1964, 201 (1965) of 19 March, 206 (1965) of 15 June, 207 (1965) of 10 August and 219 (1965) of 17 December 1965, 220 (1966) of 16 March, 222 (1966) of 16 June, 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967; and the consensus expressed by the President at the 1143rd meeting on 11 August 1964 and at the 1383rd meeting on 24 November 1967;

"2. Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council by availing themselves in a constructive manner of the present auspicious climate and opportunities;

"3. Extends once more the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, established under Security Council resolution 186 (1964), for a further period of three months ending 26 June 1968, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a

final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force.”

7. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before calling upon those members of the Security Council who have asked to speak before the vote, I shall give the floor to the representative of Cyprus.

8. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): May I at the outset address a very warm welcome to the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, Ambassador Malik. And, before proceeding further may I on behalf of my Government pay a whole-hearted tribute to the Secretary-General for his unrelenting and dedicated efforts towards easing the situation in Cyprus and towards a solution of the problem of our Island. We of Cyprus owe him a debt of gratitude for what he has been doing with such devotion to the cause of peace and the principles of the Charter.

9. I also wish to place on record my Government's appreciation of the significant contribution by his assistants in this endeavour, the Under Secretaries-General, Dr. Ralph Bunche, and Mr. José Rolz-Bennett. A special mention is due also to the valuable work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for his contribution in the effort towards a return to normality; and an equal mention is due to the efficient services of the Commander of the Force, General Martola. We fully appreciate the work done in Cyprus by the UNFICYP and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General towards normalization. I would further wish to express my Government's gratitude to those countries which are contributing forces to the UNFICYP, and also to those which are financially supporting the project.

10. The Council, on this occasion, meets for the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus at what seems to be a hopeful juncture in the course of the discussion of the Cyprus problem. We have before us the most encouraging report by the Secretary-General since the beginning of the trouble in Cyprus. It presents a lucid and observant exposition of the situation in The Island. We express our deep appreciation of this report.

11. The three-month period covered in the report is described as “one of the quietest since the disturbances that broke out in 1963” [*Ibid.*, para. 148]. That period of relative calm has made it possible for the Government to extend to the entire Island the pacification measures and the lifting of restrictions already initiated by it in September 1967. Thus all Government restrictions affecting Turkish Cypriots were entirely removed throughout the country as of 7 March.

12. It is now hoped and expected that the Turkish Cypriot leadership will complete the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots by lifting any existing restrictions in their movement out of the enclaves.

13. The report refers to these normalization measures by the Government of Cyprus as deserving “special mention” [*Ibid.*, para. 149] for their beneficial effect in contributing to the relaxation of tension, particularly after they have been extended to the main Turco-Cypriot enclave in

Nicosia. The lifting of all restrictions on the freedom of movement “has unmistakably demonstrated”, the report states, “that Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live in peace and harmony and seem already prepared to accept and support reasonable compromises” [*ibid.*, para. 153].

14. The spirit of conciliation and the yearning for a return to normal conditions has long shown itself among the Cypriot people, both Greek and Turkish, and was particularly stressed by the Secretary-General in his reports of March 1966 [*S/7191*, para. 86] and of June 1966 [*S/7350*, para. 88].

15. The earnest desire for conciliation from both sides has now become more convincingly manifest. In his observations the Secretary-General notes how gratifying it was “to observe the . . . ease with which ordinary people of both communities were beginning to resume their former amicable relations” [*S/8446*, para. 149].

16. I can think of no greater satisfaction than to see amity and peace naturally starting to flower again in the hearts of a people whose mutual relationship had been traditionally one of friendliness and who in recent years had found themselves embroiled, almost unawares, in unwanted hostility and strife suddenly thrust upon them. Nothing can be more moving than the smile of budding reconciliation to replace the frown of sombre days. We hope that this may come to pass in Cyprus. It is this spirit of goodwill among the people of Cyprus that holds out the promise for a constructive move towards mutual understanding and a peaceful solution of the problem, a solution within the tenets of justice and the principles of the Charter. For an enduring solution and peace can be achieved only through a sense of unity and co-operation for the common benefit, in one common and undivided country.

17. My President, Archbishop Makarios, speaking after his re-election by the vote of an overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people, said:

“The experience gained up to now must have convinced all that the problem of Cyprus cannot be solved by the use of force or on the battlefield, but only within the framework of the United Nations and around the conference table. And it can be solved by no other country, but by the people of Cyprus themselves through discussions within the framework of the good offices of the Secretary-General.”

18. I shall now turn to the initiatives which the Secretary-General intends to undertake in an endeavour to harmonize relevant actions of the parties concerned, as outlined in paragraph 155 of the observations.

19. The first is to urge the Turkish Cypriot leadership to respond positively to the Government's pacification measures and abandon the policy of preventing access by the Greek Cypriots to the area under Turkish Cypriot control. To continue such restrictions would, as the report points out, be inconsistent with the claim for complete freedom of movement for Turkish Cypriots—a claim which, by the recent Government measures, has been fully satisfied. We hope, therefore, that such a response will no

longer be withheld, particularly in the present auspicious climate.

20. Second in the Secretary-General's outline comes a call upon both the Government of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to accept proposals for military deconfrontation, thus reducing areas of possible friction and incidents. This is an important step forward on the road to peace. My Government, in a spirit of co-operation towards normalization, has indicated its willingness to consider such proposals favourably. They can well fall within the proposed talks envisaged in the said initiatives.

21. Thirdly, the Secretary-General in sub-paragraphs (iii) and (iv) of the outline of initiatives, declares his determination to continue to exercise his good offices and calls upon the parties to show the spirit of accommodation essential to making progress in the discussions. I can assure the Security Council of the readiness of my Government to co-operate with the Secretary-General towards a solution of the problem within the framework of his good offices, both here and in Cyprus.

22. We are ready to have talks in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. We look for peace and progress in Cyprus, and the first prerequisite is the mutual understanding and the unity of the people concerned—unity of the people in an independent, sovereign and integral country. That is in the vital interest not only of the people of Cyprus themselves, but also more widely. For peace in Cyprus will also make an important contribution to the peace in that disturbed area and in the world at large.

23. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now call on the representative of Turkey.

24. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): For the first time after four tragic years, the Security Council meets today in an atmosphere of comparative optimism, as reflected in the report of the Secretary-General which is now before us. Although much remains to be done by all concerned, my delegation feels that its first duty at this stage is to give full credit to the patient and statesmanlike endeavours of the Secretary-General and his immediate collaborators for steering the course of the dispute away from inflamed passions towards sanity, from recriminations towards reason and from the clash of arms towards peaceful dialogue. We are grateful to the Commander and the personnel of UNFICYP, as well as to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for their diligent and skilful handling of very delicate situations and problems with a view to bringing about peaceful conditions in the island. We also owe a debt of gratitude to those countries which, by contributing to the maintenance of UNFICYP with manpower and financial help, have nobly served the cause of peace in our troubled area.

25. The atmosphere of relative optimism to which I have referred is based, in our view, on the four following elements:

26. The first is the withdrawal from the Island of Greek Royal Army forces and a renewed attempt by my Govern-

ment and that of Greece to repair the damage done to their bilateral relations.

27. The second is an attitude of mind reflected in certain statements of Greek Cypriot leaders which, if genuine, would greatly contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem. In this context I should like to refer again to a statement made by Archbishop Makarios on 29 February, which is mentioned in paragraph 90 of the Secretary-General's report [S/8446] and which Ambassador Rossides has just read out to the Council. Archbishop Makarios declared that: "the experience gained up to now must have convinced all that the problem of Cyprus cannot be solved by the use of force". That is indeed a welcome statement, inasmuch as we have always contended that the root of the problem of Cyprus was an attempt on the part of one of the parties to impose its views on the Turkish community through the use of force. My Government has always been faithful to the view that this question should terminate in a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement, as envisaged in the Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, and not in reliance on positions created by the use of force.

28. Thirdly, there are certain measures recently taken by the Greek Cypriot administration, which have been explained in the Secretary-General's report. There is no doubt that these measures, which mainly consist in the lifting of severe restrictions on the Turkish community, restrictions unilaterally and arbitrarily established by the Greek administration, would be very useful in reducing tensions in the island.

29. The reaction of my Government, as well as that of the Turkish community, to this recent development has been favourable. In a statement which he made in this connexion, Dr. Fazil Küçük, the Vice-President of Cyprus, declared:

"Certain restrictions which had been arbitrarily imposed by the Greek Cypriot Administration and which had made the daily living conditions of members of the Turkish Cypriot Community extremely difficult during the last four years have recently been removed by the same Administration in the same manner as they were imposed.

"It is hoped that this action will help reduce tension in the Island and bring to a fruitful result the good offices proffered by U Thant for the realization of the pacification measures contained in his appeal dated 3 December 1967. But as has been indicated by the Secretary-General himself in his recently published report there has not been any positive development in these pacification measures.

"We wish to believe that these restrictions have been removed as a result of a genuine desire for a settlement of the problem and that this removal is of permanent character. If, in practice, further developments prove this to be the case, we may consider such reciprocal measures as would not prejudice our security requirements."

30. It is therefore obvious that the Turkish community intends to consider favourably in principle the suggestion of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 155 (i) of his

report for greater freedom of movement in Turkish controlled areas. In doing so, it is our understanding that they will act on the conviction that a principle enunciated in another report of the Secretary-General will be scrupulously applied. I refer to paragraph 274 of the Secretary-General's report of 11 March 1965 [S/6228] where he says: "... UNFICYP ... cannot act as an instrument of the Government in helping it to extend its authority by force over the Turkish Cypriot community in the areas now under its control."

31. And yet, it would seem to my delegation that this process of imposing and later lifting restrictions, and perhaps imposing them again, as has been done in the past, at the discretion of one of the parties—this procedure of hot and cold showers—is not the best way of dispelling tensions and bringing about a return to normal conditions. The establishment of genuine peaceful conditions can best be achieved by lasting agreements between the sides. In that respect, we cannot hide our disappointment at the failure, so far, of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General within the framework of the good offices proffered in his appeal of 3 December 1967 [S/8248/Add.6, para. 1] and endorsed and confirmed by the Security Council in its resolution [244] of 22 December 1967. We are, nevertheless, relieved to read in paragraph 155 (iii) of the Secretary-General's report [S/8446] that he intends to continue with the exercise of such good offices in that direction.

32. Lastly, we welcome the initiatives enumerated in paragraph 155 of the present report of the Secretary-General. Any exploratory unofficial contacts between the two communities of the Island will have the encouragement of my Government, on the clear understanding, of course, that the question of Cyprus can only reach an over-all final solution through negotiations and agreement between all the parties to the dispute as recognized and affirmed in the 4 March 1964 resolution of the Security Council in an atmosphere of peace and calm.

33. After long and painful years of strife and suffering we now see, for the first time, a glimmer of hope that goodwill and sanity may prevail. My Government can be relied upon, as always, never to turn down the alternative of negotiation and peaceful settlement. It is our fervent desire that within the next three-month period of UNFICYP the efforts to reach a peaceful and agreed settlement may be successful so that the Security Council and the United Nations may have the satisfaction of having closed an effort at peace-keeping and peace-making which may be an example to all.

34. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): At the moment when the Security Council is discussing whether to extend the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of three months, it is encouraging to read in the Secretary-General's report that the atmosphere is now more propitious than it has ever been for accelerating a return to normalcy and for redoubling efforts to make useful progress, resolutely and in good faith, towards a solution of the Cyprus problem.

35. Greece cannot but be gratified at this, since all our efforts and initiatives have constantly been directed towards the establishment of such an atmosphere. Hence

we have no difficulty in subscribing to the measures proposed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 155 of his report, particularly in regard to the action which he proposed to take under sub-paragraph (v) of that paragraph and which directly concerns my Government. It suffices for me to recall that Greece has always contributed to efforts of all kinds and on all sides to find a solution, or to establish conditions propitious to that search.

36. The memory of the Greek Government's efforts at pacification, conciliation and moderation in recent months is still fresh in our minds. I shall not waste the Council's time by recalling those efforts; I shall merely remind the Council that the preservation of peace in November 1967 was chiefly due to the Greek Government's moderation and sense of responsibility and to its attachment to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

37. By heeding the Secretary-General's appeal and accepting his offer of good offices, Greece has demonstrated its faith and its confidence in the United Nations, its organs and its procedures.

38. On another level too, Greece has tried to bring about a relaxation of the tension. Members of the Security Council are well aware that relations between Greece and Turkey have passed through various phases of tension. In a desire to bring this state of affairs to an end as soon as possible, the Greek Government reached agreement with the Turkish Government to explore the possibilities for the settlement of various questions which, on the bilateral level, were weighing heavily upon relations between the two countries. That process has just begun and is under way at the moment.

39. Having shown every evidence of goodwill and of a desire to work for the solution of the Cyprus problem, Greece cannot but endorse the proposals which the Secretary-General has addressed to the parties most directly concerned.

40. The Secretary-General's report paints a most eloquent picture of the constructive and decisive contribution made by the Government of Cyprus in implementing normalization measures which, if there are no new obstacles, will facilitate a return to a completely normal state of affairs. The only proviso is that everyone in Cyprus will have to act in the same positive and constructive spirit in which those measures have been conceived, given expression and carried into effect; and all parties concerned with the Cyprus problem and its contingencies will have to show moderation, a sense of responsibility and realism, and will have to accept as their principal aim the maintenance of peace in the area and the safeguarding of justice and equity—in short, the very principles of the United Nations Charter.

41. We are convinced that the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus will contribute in a positive and constructive fashion to such a desirable development both of attitude and of practical achievement.

42. I should not like to conclude this brief statement without echoing my Government's appreciation and gratitude for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and

his collaborators and for the services rendered to the cause of peace and security in Cyprus by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the United Nations Force and its commander. Our thanks are also addressed to those countries which, in their dedication to the cause of peace, continue to contribute handsomely to the financing of UNFICYP.

43. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): Mr. President, before commencing my statement permit me to join you in greeting the Permanent Representative of the friendly Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ambassador Yakov A. Malik, who is a new representative in the Security Council, but for whom the Security Council is not new. In fact, he is more familiar with its operations than many of us. We are convinced that his rich experience and his vast knowledge in the field of international problems confronting the United Nations will further enhance the sincere efforts to consolidate the cause of peace and security in the world.

44. Since this is the first occasion that my Government can make its views known on the Cyprus question in general and on the Secretary-General's report in particular before the Security Council, I shall briefly outline the position of Hungary.

45. First, and above all, we consider the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as prerequisites of the Island's internal and international peace. Therefore, we are firmly in favour of strengthening these prerequisites of peace and, consequently, are against any attempt which might be detrimental to them.

46. The presence of foreign military forces and bases on Cyprus, remnants of a by-gone colonial era, are certainly serious obstacles in the way of total and genuine independence and sovereignty. Therefore, this presence must be discontinued: the military bases should be abolished and foreign troops of all kinds should be completely withdrawn.

47. As for the substance of the Cyprus question, as it is an internal affair of the Republic of Cyprus, the solution should be worked out by the people of Cyprus, without any outside interference.

48. The solution must be arrived at through peaceful means, since, as the tragic events of the past several years so clearly demonstrated, the use of force can bring about no solution, but destruction, hatred and fear. A lasting and permanent solution should be based upon democratic principles, taking into account the lawful rights and legitimate interests of the national communities. Any negotiation between the interested parties requires that the political climate of the Island should improve; fear and distrust, based upon past experiences, ought to give way to confidence.

49. In this respect it is very encouraging to note in the report of our Secretary-General his comments regarding the relaxation of tension in Cyprus. We share the Secretary-General's hope that the time may have come "to move purposefully, with determination and good faith, towards a solution of the Cyprus problem". [*Ibid.*, para. 151.]

50. The Hungarian delegation gladly observed the sense of goodwill, co-operation and optimism expressed in the statements of speakers representing the interested parties, who have preceded me. It is for this reason that we welcome the measures of normalization of the Cyprus Government which have contributed a great deal to the favourable developments in the recent three-month period. We hope that this trend will continue and that both communities will find it possible to initiate negotiations on the outstanding issues.

51. We hope that they will arrive at a solution which will satisfy both the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, thus strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the Republic, which should lead to the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel, national and international.

52. We understand, however, that under the present circumstances the Secretary-General, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, found it necessary to recommend the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus for another three-month period.

53. My Government does not object to this recommendation provided that the extension is based entirely upon the provisions of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, including the voluntary financing of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus.

54. For all these reasons my delegation is ready to support the draft resolution.

55. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): I should also like to begin by extending a warm and sincere welcome to Ambassador Yakov Malik, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As he has served before, with great distinction, as his country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Malik is of course no stranger to our Organization. More recently, in his capacity as Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Malik dealt with important international issues. My delegation feels assured that in the days and months ahead the Council will greatly benefit from Mr. Malik's experience, wisdom and probity in the conduct of its work, as well as in the discharge of its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security.

56. We have before us the Secretary-General's report [*S/8446*] which gives us his assessment of the situation in Cyprus and of the accomplishments of the United Nations presence there. We are gratified to note that the Secretary-General has been able to report that the three-month period covered by this report has been one of the quietest since the disturbances that broke out in December 1963, and that the general relaxation of tension has also been reflected in a short reduction of shooting incidents and in a welcome beginning of military disengagement in some places. My delegation is further gratified by the fact that since the meeting of the Council on 22 December 1967 [*1386th meeting*] not only has the threat of a clash in the area—which then appeared imminent—receded, but the conditions there have fast been improving and the process of normalization has been started.

57. It might be of some use if I were at this stage to state the basic position of the Government of India with regard to the question of Cyprus. Before Cyprus became independent, India had consistently advocated that there must be an end to the British colonial rule on the Island. After the independence of Cyprus, we took the position that no action should be taken which might jeopardize the sovereignty, the political independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. In this connexion, I should like to quote from the statement issued by the Government of India on 25 November last year: "The Government has always supported and continues to support the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus".

58. India, along with the other members of the Council, recognizes that there is an acute problem within the Island which concerns the relationship between the majority and minority communities. We firmly believe that, in order to safeguard peace and security not only within the Island but around it, it is necessary that there should be a rapprochement between the majority and the minority communities. In this context, it is gratifying to note, as reported by the Secretary-General, that the normalization measures taken by the Government of Cyprus have already contributed to the relaxation of tension in the island. The Secretary-General has said:

"The relaxation of restrictions has unmistakably demonstrated that Greek and Turkish Cypriot people desire to live in peace and harmony and seem already prepared to accept and support reasonable compromises." [Ibid., para. 153.]

59. It is our conviction that adequate and urgent steps should be taken to sustain and enlarge this process towards normalization so that the people of the Island might rapidly move towards the peaceful solution of the problems facing them. As the Secretary-General has pointed out: "... there has been no better opportunity in Cyprus for meaningful steps towards a settlement than there is now". [Ibid.]

60. It is our view that the parties should seize this opportunity and arrange a lasting settlement of their problems. The Secretary-General has enumerated some steps which he thinks should be taken in the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem. We fully endorse the course of action suggested by him and we earnestly trust that the parties will accept the suggestions made by the Secretary-General.

61. My delegation fully supports the draft resolution before us with the hope that the parties concerned will constructively avail themselves of the present auspicious climate and momentum in order to achieve the objectives of the Security Council.

62. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): I should like to associate myself with my other colleagues in extending a warm welcome to the Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Ambassador Malik. He returns to the United Nations after a lapse of fifteen years, having served as his country's Ambassador to the United Kingdom and as Deputy Foreign Minister, an office which he continues to hold. During his previous tour of duty at the United Nations, Deputy

Foreign Minister Malik had won the universal respect and admiration of all his colleagues. We have no doubt that Ambassador Malik will, like his predecessors, bring to bear the prestige, influence and weight of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and his own wisdom, experience and consummate skill to strengthen international peace and security based on justice and on the high principles of the United Nations Charter.

63. In Cyprus we are relieved and happy to note the refreshing contrast that now prevails in the Island compared to the situation which obtained during the months of November and December 1967. The Secretary-General in his report observes: "The three-month period covered by this report has been one of the quietest since the disturbances that broke out in December 1963..." [S/8446, para. 148]. In the view of our Secretary-General this welcome change may well be due to the fact that both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have now realized the urgent need to compromise their differences following the crisis in November last year. Had that crisis not been averted, Cyprus and a broader area in the Eastern Mediterranean would have been plunged into war.

64. My delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation of the restraint and spirit of conciliation shown by both communities in Cyprus as well as by the Governments of Turkey and Greece. The statements of the representatives of those countries that we have just heard confirmed that the parties concerned are animated by a sincere desire to eschew the use of force and work for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. If the ground has been prepared for such a solution and the atmosphere in the Island is more propitious now than at any other time, it is largely due to the dedication of our Secretary-General to peace and his unrelenting efforts to promote it.

65. I should also like to express the appreciation of my delegation of the role of his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall. The Secretary-General has stated that the measures of normalization that have been taken by the Government of Cyprus to facilitate freedom of movement of persons and of goods have contributed to a relaxation of tension. In his special report, [S/8248/Add.6],¹ the Secretary-General proffered his good offices to the parties concerned for the pacification and the realization of quietness and peace in the Island. All the three Governments concerned welcomed and accepted the offer of good offices as set forth in the penultimate paragraph of the Secretary-General's special report.

66. In his current report on Cyprus the Secretary-General has given an outline of the initiatives which, in his view, should be taken without delay towards a settlement. We note that, amongst other things the Secretary-General would like his Special Representative to initiate talks between leading Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot personalities on the Cyprus problem. We consider his proposal for talks to be both a timely and constructive suggestion. At the same time, my delegation is of the view that our best hopes for a productive outcome appear to lie in the

¹ Ibid., Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967.

willingness of the two sides to address their dialogue to their mutual relationships in the context of the present situation in Cyprus and oriented towards the realization of the aims and objectives of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, namely, a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the basic issues between all the parties in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security.

67. The Secretary-General's report makes it clear that, notwithstanding the encouraging developments that have taken place since last year, the possibility of a reversal of the present trend towards peace and normality and a drift again towards a crisis still remains. While the chances for a recurrence of fighting have receded, the danger is by no means over. There is therefore little room for complacency. As has been rightly emphasized by the Secretary-General, it is imperative that all the parties concerned should make renewed efforts to move purposefully and with determination and good faith towards the solution of the Cyprus problem. This solution must be based on full respect for the legitimate rights and interests of the two communities on the Island and strict observance of the rights and obligations flowing from international treaties and agreements.

68. Before concluding I should like to state that, in the light of the prevalent conditions in the Island as set forth in the report of the Secretary-General, my delegation concurs in the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus be extended for a further period of three months.

69. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Commander of UNFICYP, General Martola, and his officers and men for their devotion to duty and their untiring efforts in the discharge of their onerous responsibilities. The continued maintenance of peace in Cyprus, however troubled and fragile it may be, is in no small measure due to the presence of this force on the Island.

70. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): Mr. President, I should also like to associate myself with your well chosen words of welcome to the Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Malik. I am all the happier to extend this welcome to Mr. Malik because I believe that I am one of the few around this table who were here twenty years ago when he represented his country with such distinction, although I was in a junior capacity at that time.

71. At a time when there are many shadows on the international horizon, the Canadian delegation particularly welcomes the rays of hope conveyed in the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation in Cyprus and on the role of UNFICYP and as reflected in the statements of the representatives of the parties directly concerned in the Council.

72. When I spoke in the Council last June [1362nd meeting], I expressed Canada's concern at the lack of progress towards a settlement of the Cyprus problem. I said

that we would welcome fresh initiatives at the political level which would lead towards a solution. Subsequently, the clouds of war gathered over Cyprus and the future seemed bleak indeed.

73. Against this background, it is encouraging indeed that the Secretary-General's report indicates that fresh initiatives at the political level are in the offing, that tensions have been markedly reduced, that the general atmosphere has improved, and that hope for a solution has been revived.

74. In the circumstances, it seems appropriate that the Council should note the existence of the new conditions and should urge all parties concerned to take advantage of this improved atmosphere to continue moves towards a peaceful settlement. In the hope that the present momentum towards a political settlement can indeed be maintained, I believe it is also appropriate for the Council to extend UNFICYP for a further period so that current opportunities for progress can in every way be explored. It is in the light of the considerations I have just mentioned that Canada will be able to support the draft resolution which was read out to us at the beginning of this meeting.

75. It is clear that UNFICYP continues to have a helpful, steadying influence, the benefits of which must be recognized. At the same time, we may perhaps be allowed to hope that, as the situation improves further, there will be less and less need for the presence of UNFICYP, at least at its current strength. Meanwhile, so long as UNFICYP is required, I would again urge the parties concerned to maintain and improve their co-operation with the Force.

76. My delegation has noted, and indeed shares, the Secretary-General's concern at the financial deficit in UNFICYP's accounts. In the circumstances, I would very much hope that the signs of progress outlined in the Secretary-General's report will encourage a wider group of countries to make voluntary contributions for the support of this important peace-keeping operation which has made such a constructive contribution towards the maintenance of peace.

77. In concluding, I should again like to commend the Secretary-General and his collaborators, both here and in Cyprus, and also the Commander of UNFICYP, for their efforts in the interests of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. And of course I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the characteristically capable and skilful way in which you have handled the current item on our agenda.

78. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): May I first express my heartfelt gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to the representatives for their welcome and for the kind words they have spoken on my account. Many changes have taken place in the world since I was first called upon to represent the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in this Organization.

79. The historical changes which have taken place in the world arena since that time have naturally brought considerable changes in the situation of the United Nations. The Organization has grown considerably and has become

more representative; I am especially glad to see today among the members of the Security Council representatives from African and Asian countries friendly to the Soviet Union, who have recently been enabled to expand their participation in the work of this Council.

80. The number of problems discussed and settled by the Organization has increased during these years. However, the main task of the United Nations, as defined in its Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", remains an urgent and important matter. In carrying out this task the activity of the Security Council is of special significance, since according to the United Nations Charter it bears "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security".

81. When the United Nations was set up, the principle of peaceful coexistence of States, excluding all interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, was proclaimed as a basic principle of the Charter.

82. An ever-increasing number of countries are now taking a realistic approach to the changes which have occurred in the world, realizing as they do that the preservation and strengthening of peace can be based only on strict observation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of States having different social systems. The United Nations plays an important and responsible role by harmonizing, as the Charter emphasizes, the activities of States in the development of friendly relations based on the principle of the equality of rights and self-determination of peoples, and by encouraging international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. The Organization can play this role only on condition that the basis of the laws regulating its activity, the United Nations Charter, is unswervingly and strictly observed. It is precisely such deviations from the Charter and attempts to revise its fundamental principles which have caused the difficulties with which the Organization has in the past more than once been confronted.

83. In implementation of its policy of peace and the peaceful coexistence of States, the Soviet Union has from the very first day of its participation in the United Nations, bound by the obligations it assumed as a Member of the Organization, remained faithful to the spirit and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Soviet Government attaches great importance to United Nations activities as an instrument of peace, and regards the Organization as an important international forum for active political struggle in the interests of peace and the security of peoples against aggression and interference in the internal affairs of States and against colonialism and racism.

84. The head of the Soviet Government, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, speaking at a session of the highest legislative body in our country, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said on the subject of the main lines of Soviet activity in internal and external policy: "We attach great importance to the United Nations, which is called upon to play an important role in maintaining peace and ensuring the security of peoples."

85. The long history of the United Nations provides convincing evidence that the Soviet Union, as a Member of

the Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council has, in pursuance of its policy of peace, firmly and consistently defended the interests of peace and the security of peoples against the aggressive schemes of imperialist forces, and has energetically supported the just cause of the struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence. The Soviet Union will continue to follow this policy and to fight for the unity within the United Nations of all States which are for peace and against aggression, and which seek to increase the role of this Organization and to maintain peace and ensure the liberty and security of peoples.

86. Once again, Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council.

87. Turning to the question of Cyprus, I should like to make the following statement. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of Cyprus is well known. It has more than once been set forth in declarations by the Soviet Government and in the statements of its representatives, including those made in the Security Council. I should like to point out that this position fully retains its force and validity.

88. The Soviet Union has always been guided by the fact that the Cyprus question should be settled by peaceful means in the interests of the Cypriot people and with a view to reducing tension in that important part of the world.

89. The Soviet Union firmly supports the struggle of the Cypriot people for full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, which is a full Member of the United Nations. There is not and cannot be any doubt that the solution of the internal problems of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves.

90. The Cyprus question must be solved without interference from outside. The legal rights of the Greek and Turkish populations of Cyprus must be fully respected by all concerned. The Soviet Union is firmly opposed to attempts to infringe the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and to any intentions of solving the Cyprus question behind the back of its people, against their interests and to the advantage of the imperialists.

91. We are deeply convinced that to ensure the complete independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory and the foreign military bases there must be removed.

92. The Soviet delegation would also like to stress the need for all Member States of the United Nations to refrain from actions which might complicate the Cyprus situation, in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964.

93. Today the Security Council is again examining the Cyprus question in connexion with the report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period 9 December 1967 to 8 March 1968 [S/8446]. That report contains a recommendation that the

presence of United Nations armed forces in Cyprus should be extended for an additional three-month period.

94. In this connexion the Soviet delegation must state that, as is quite obvious, such a protracted presence of United Nations armed forces in Cyprus cannot be regarded as normal. About four years have passed since those forces first went to Cyprus, but their presence has in no way promoted a solution of the Cyprus problem. That fact is recognized in the report submitted to the Council, which notes in particular that in spite of certain improvements in the Cyprus situation "the basic issues remain as yet unresolved" [*Ibid.*, para. 154].

95. As for the draft resolution submitted for consideration to the Security Council, in which it is proposed to prolong the presence of United Nations troops in Cyprus for a supplementary period of three months, we should first like to point out that the draft confirms the Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and other decisions of the Council on the Cyprus question.

96. Although the Soviet Union does not consider, and never has considered, that the further presence of United Nations troops in Cyprus is justified, the Soviet delegation will not oppose the prolongation of their presence for another three months if this accords with the wishes of the Government of Cyprus and the other parties concerned and, of course, on the firm condition that such an extension shall be carried out in full conformity with the provisions of the Security Council resolution to which I have referred, namely that the present functions of the United Nations Force in Cyprus and the existing system of financing—that is on a voluntary basis—will be retained.

97. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that my delegation warmly associates itself with your words of welcome to the new representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is not the first time that Mr. Malik has been in this Organization and this Council. His name and his deeds are well known in United Nations circles. We are sure that his distinguished mind, his authority and his experience will contribute most effectively to our endeavours.

98. The Security Council has met once again to take a decision regarding the retention in Cyprus of the United Nations Force whose mandate is due to expire on 26 March. The French delegation would like briefly to explain its views on the draft resolution that has been read out to us.

99. My delegation has no objection to the short-term extension of the mission as defined in the resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. We do wish to point out, however, as we had occasion to do last December, that the presence of the Force should obviously not be regarded as a substitute for the settlement of the question. To adapt ourselves to the *status quo* and once again to postpone the search for a permanent settlement can only lead to dangerous stagnation.

100. The latest report of the Secretary-General includes some distinctly encouraging aspects. It is gratifying to find

this report confirming that, owing to the circumstances and as a result of various measures which have been carried out in the Island, the three-month period covered by the observations of the Secretary-General has been one of the calmest that Cyprus has seen since the disturbances of 1963. Nonetheless, the report does not disguise the fact that the fundamental questions have not yet been solved and that, in the last analysis, only the parties themselves can initiate the developments necessary to bring about a final settlement.

101. It is certainly along those lines, that is, by starting talks on a broad basis among all the parties concerned, that progress can and must be made towards true peace.

102. It is in this spirit and with this hope that the French delegation, which pays a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives in Cyprus, gives its approval to the retention of the United Nations Force in Cyprus for a further period of three months.

103. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): There are no further names on my list of speakers wishing to address the Security Council before it begins its discussion of the draft resolution. I therefore now propose, with the Council's consent, to ask your opinion on the draft resolution which has been read out to you. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the draft resolution is adopted unanimously.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²

104. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now call upon those speakers who have asked to address the Council after the vote.

105. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): In speaking in explanation of my vote in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Council, I have deliberately chosen to speak after the vote. We all agree that today our task is not to encourage controversy or to deepen dispute. Today we all wish to emphasize the need for agreement and the hopes for conciliation. It is in that spirit that most of the speeches have been made. I shall therefore not comment on them.

106. Before turning to my explanation of vote, I should like to welcome most sincerely the new Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Yakov Malik. I do not need to remind him or the other representatives here that we members of the Security Council live a hard life. Fatigue and frustration are our constant companions. We are not unfamiliar with failure. Our reward is no more than the knowledge that we never abandon the quest for common ground of agreement. We trust that to that continuing joint effort Ambassador Malik will bring the weight of his vast and varied experience.

107. We have often witnessed in this Council the ritual dance of cold-war invective. In the steps of that ritual dance Ambassador Malik has in the past, so we hear, shown himself to be a master. No doubt he will live up to his reputation both for robust rhetoric and for sturdiness in negotiation. We are confident that those qualities will be

² See resolution 247 (1968).

tempered by the courtesy and good humour for which he is also so well known, particularly in my own country.

108. A famous actor has come back to the world stage on which his early fame was won. We warmly welcome him and we congratulate ourselves. We do so in the hope that he will play the part not of the villain but of the hero. And we are encouraged in that hope by the earlier part of his speech this afternoon and by the statement he made on the day of his return, when he said that the cold war brings "neither glory nor honour". How whole-heartedly we agree with him. It will be glory and honour enough if we can end the cold war. I like to think that it is in that role—the role of a deliverer from the cold war—that the very distinguished Ambassador of the Soviet Union will play his finest part.

109. I turn now to the resolution just adopted unanimously by the Security Council.

110. When I was in Cyprus ten years ago, we used to say in jest that anyone who understood the situation in Cyprus had been misinformed. Certainly the beautiful island has produced a situation always complicated and sometimes baffling and often exasperating. No one would be so unwise as to mistake an improvement for a solution. There are still deep-seated suspicions to be removed and old wounds to be healed and many basic problems to be solved.

111. Nevertheless, let us count our blessings. We are deeply thankful that there has been peace in the Island since we last met three months ago. We pay tribute to the restraint and goodwill of all those concerned, which has made that important advance possible.

112. The United Nations Force, under its very distinguished Commander, General Martola, has continued to give a welcome example to the world of the efficiency and effectiveness and the resource and steadiness of an international military peace-keeping force. The importance of that achievement transcends even the value of the contribution to peace in Cyprus. The success of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has good lessons for the world.

113. Ambassador Osorio-Tafall is a representative of the United Nations whose patience and persistence and judgement make us all proud of him, and more than grateful to him.

114. The Secretary-General has presented to us a thorough and hopeful report, and we all eagerly welcome and support this and every initiative directed towards understanding and agreement and peaceful co-operation. We greatly hope it will lead to progress.

115. The Secretary-General's report enables us to look to the future with more hope and confidence than for many anxious years past, and we very much appreciate what he and those who work with him have done.

116. There has, moreover, recently been spectacular practical advance in removal of barriers of restriction and distrust which opens up new expectations of happier relations all round.

117. All those factors are encouraging. They open the door to a settlement. Now we come to the resolution just passed unanimously by the Security Council. My country is ready and anxious to continue to play a full part in the renewed effort towards a final settlement. My Government will maintain its military contingent in the United Nations Force and will continue to meet the full costs of that contingent for the period of three months ahead of us. My Government, moreover pledges itself today to make, in addition, a contribution of \$1 million towards the costs of the Force during that period.

118. We appeal for a new and unprecedented effort by all the parties concerned to go forward to tackle the difficult and dangerous questions still remaining with a new determination to succeed.

119. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): At the outset of this statement, I should like to add my voice to yours, Mr. President, and to those of the other representatives at the Council table in welcoming to our midst the distinguished new representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik. Actually, after the very eloquent statement of welcome and appeal just made by my good friend Lord Caradon, there is very little left to be said. I would make only two very brief remarks.

120. First, I should like to assure Ambassador Malik that in the discharge of our responsibilities as the host country we shall do everything we can to make him feel welcome and at home in New York.

121. Secondly, I would point out *en passant* that, like Lord Caradon, we read with great interest the statement made by Ambassador Malik to the press on his arrival last week, in which he seemed at least implicitly to endorse an end to the cold war. We assure him that, for its part, the United States welcomes any step in this direction and that we shall not be found wanting in contributing to that objective in this body.

122. I turn now to the item on our agenda. The United States has joined with all other members of the Security Council in voting to extend the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for three months. We have cast this affirmative vote with a sense of gratification, encouragement and hope. We are both gratified and encouraged that there has been a definite improvement in the situation in Cyprus since the Council last met to discuss this question. We join in congratulating the distinguished Secretary-General, his able Special Representative in Cyprus and the United Nations Force for the important contribution they have made to this process.

123. The Secretary-General's report [S/8446] has stressed the beneficial effect of the normalization and pacification measures adopted by the Government of Cyprus. The United States welcomes this development. We very much hope that these positive developments and the improved climate to which they have contributed will lead now to further progress towards resolving the problems which have kept true peace from that Island for too long. We trust and urge that all the parties involved will be inspired to make such progress and will demonstrate the spirit of compro-

mise, goodwill and mutual accommodation so necessary to move ahead.

124. We have taken special note of the Secretary-General's support for the concept of talks between representatives of the two Cypriot communities. The United States supports this concept or any other means which will permit the interested parties to find a mutually agreeable procedure for reaching a settlement. We remain ready to co-operate to the best of our ability so that a viable solution to the Cyprus problem may be found.

125. Finally, with regard to the problem of financing the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, which was also raised in the Secretary-General's report, I should like to make two very brief points.

126. First, the United States will continue to give financial support to this extremely important peace-keeping effort.

127. Secondly, we cannot but share the Secretary-General's concern over the continued deficit in the financing of the Force, and his appeal for actions and contributions to overcome that deficit.

128. Despite the welcome and very necessary support given by those who contribute their forces to the United Nations, the simple fact of the matter is that the financial support which we have given and the generous contributions of others—the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, to mention but two—have not proved sufficient to meet the needs. Therefore, we would join the representative of Canada in urging Members of the United Nations, and particularly those in this Council which give their political support to this important peace-keeping operation, to match that support in practical financial terms as well.

129. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): Mr. President, may I begin by associating myself with the warm welcome extended by you and by our other colleagues to Ambassador Malik, the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

130. Now that the resolution on Cyprus has been adopted unanimously, I should like to express briefly the satisfaction and the approval of my delegation about the observations the Secretary-General has made in his report for the period from 9 December 1967 to 8 March 1968 [ibid]. We are satisfied that the Secretary-General has confirmed that the period was one of the quietest since December 1963. Though no tangible progress towards discussion between the parties directly concerned has as yet been made, there is now a momentum towards the restoration of normalcy.

131. We all owe a debt of gratitude to the Secretary-General for the results so far obtained, and we assure him of our support in his future endeavours. UNFICYP has played an important role in keeping the peace in Cyprus and we shall certainly also continue to support that Force by maintaining our military and police contingents at the disposal of the United Nations. We hope, however, at the same time that the parties will now use the momentum created by a number of concurrent favourable cir-

cumstances to make a determined effort towards that solution of the basic problems which, in the last resort, only they themselves are in a position to work out.

132. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): Mr. President, when in your capacity as President of the Security Council and on behalf of its members you welcomed Mr. Malik, the new Permanent Representative to the United Nations and representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Security Council, my delegation felt that you were speaking on its behalf. If I had had anything further to say it would have been to endorse your words.

133. My delegation joined with the other members of this Council in adopting the draft resolution which we now have made by unanimous vote a decision of the Council. The reasons why we did so are self-explanatory in the light of the text of the resolution, but I feel I should make a number of additional comments.

134. First of all, with regard to the political climate at present prevailing on the Island of Cyprus; in his report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General, in referring to the period covered by the report, namely the last three months, said that the period—and I quote the same paragraph as others have already quoted—"has been one of the quietest since the disturbances that broke out in December 1963" [ibid, para. 148].

135. I am concerned here solely with the political climate. The basic problems remain, but the importance of the political climate and conditions at the present time cannot be denied. I sincerely hope they will improve still further with a view to establishing and consolidating normal conditions and peace on the Island as soon as possible, in the interests not only of the free and independent State of Cyprus and other States, but also of the United Nations as a whole and of international peace and security, which otherwise might be affected.

136. The road to a solution of the basic differences is long and bristling with obstacles, but there is no road so long that it cannot be negotiated and no difficulties so great that they cannot be solved by a whole-hearted effort of will on the part of those concerned; it is in that will that we place our highest hopes.

137. Before concluding this brief explanation of my delegation's vote, since this is the first time that my Government and my country have participated in the debates on the Cyprus question, I should like to pay two tributes—the first to the Secretary-General and his representative for their untiring efforts in the Island, and the second to the States which, by supplying troops or by making financial contributions, have made it possible for the forces established by resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, and essentially designed to create peace, to continue their peace-keeping function until the time—which we trust is not far off—when their presence in Cyprus will no longer be needed.

138. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the representative of Cyprus.

139. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, the fact that I am taking the floor in right of reply does not necessarily mean a controversy, nor, I hope, does the fact that I am replying to the representative of Turkey, Ambassador Eralp, mean recrimination. No, on the contrary, I want to clarify certain points which were raised by my colleague, and to reassure the Security Council and the representative of Turkey that the Government of Cyprus always wanted to lift those restrictions, but that it was not possible to do it earlier for the following reasons.

140. It was not possible unilaterally to lift the restrictions at a time when there was tension, military preparations and the building of fortifications in the Island; armed Turkish Cypriot fighters could not be allowed to move freely in those circumstances to transport military material for the construction of additional fortifications.

141. Yet, even in that period, when the UNFICYP had proposed, in October 1964, a bilateral restoration of freedom of movement on all roads throughout the country, and the lifting of restrictions by the Government, and a corresponding lifting of restrictions on the Turkish Cypriot leadership in the enclaves, the Government of Cyprus accepted; the Turkish Cypriot leadership did not accept. So the effort failed.

142. Again, later, in 1966, the President of Cyprus himself proposed a bilateral defortification and the removal of checkpoints, and the establishment of freedom of movement. Again, unfortunately, it was not accepted by the Turkish Cypriot leadership. It was not at the time possible to take these steps unilaterally. But once there was some relaxation of tension and relative calm prevailed, the Government found itself in a better position to proceed unilaterally to lift the restrictions. And so, gradually, step by step, starting in September 1967 and up to and including this month every restriction on the Turkish Cypriots has been lifted, and they now have complete freedom of movement everywhere.

143. We are happy to say that the desire of the Government is to continue in this spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding and trust. We hope that any suspicion and mistrust that may exist will be dispelled so that there can be real progress towards a solution. As was mentioned by some members of the Council, once the fear and suspicion disappear, the road is open for co-operation. I can assure the Council that as far as we are concerned, we are ready to proceed, without fear or suspicion, towards co-operation for a solution of the problem and for peace.

144. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now call upon the representative of Turkey.

145. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I have no intention of prolonging the rights of reply, but I am grateful to Mr. Rossides for having replied to me and put himself and his Government on record for continued good intentions in the establishment of peaceful conditions on the Island.

146. There is one point which I want to bring out. He said that if it had not been possible up to now to take these measures of pacification unilaterally, it was because there were no conditions of peace and quiet reigning on the Island. This is the point I want to bring out. If there were no such conditions of peace and quiet, it was not the fault of the Turkish Cypriot community. Nor is it entirely the fault of the Turkish Cypriot community that up to now it has not been possible for the two communities to get together and work out means of pacification on the Island.

147. Once again, I am grateful that my remarks have provoked the statement from Mr. Rossides and I am sure that it will be comforting to the Council to hear that this is indeed the intention of the Greek Cypriot administration.

148. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, thank you for giving me the floor. I shall be brief. I should like to thank those representatives who have welcomed me and said kind words about me since I made my statement. I should also like to take this opportunity of stating that I listened with particular attention to the statements of the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States who said that they agreed with my comment made in conversation with correspondents, that the "cold war", a concept which, as you know, was originated by an eminent Western politician, has not brought and will not bring either glory or prestige to anyone.

149. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): There are no further speakers on my list wishing to address the Council after the vote; but before the meeting is adjourned I have an announcement to make to members of the Council. I have to inform them that, as a result of consultations, some members of the Council have requested that the meeting scheduled for tomorrow morning at 10:30 a.m. to consider the question of Southern Rhodesia be adjourned until tomorrow afternoon at 4 p.m. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

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