

UNITED NATIONS



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TWENTY-THIRD YEAR

**1459<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 10 DECEMBER 1968

NEW YORK

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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.*

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## FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 10 December 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Lij Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia).

### Adoption of the agenda

*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.

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1459/Rev.1)

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/8914).

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the usual practice of the Council, I should like to express to Ambassador Borch of Denmark on behalf of all of us our great appreciation for the courtesy, skill and tact with which he guided the work of the Security Council last month while occupying the post of the President of the Council. The standard he has set will be of great help to me as I follow in his exemplary footsteps.

2. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): Mr. President, allow me to thank you for the over-generous words you addressed to me. Let me also state here and now how much I appreciated the invaluable co-operation extended to me by you and other members of the Council during my Presidency in the month of November.

3. I wish also to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council. Your profound knowledge of the problems with which we are faced, your objectivity and your unfailing courtesy: all those qualities are a guarantee that with you in the Chair the conduct of the affairs of the Security Council will be in the very best of hands, and I wish to assure you of the whole-hearted co-operation of the delegation of Denmark in your endeavours.

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank the representative of Denmark for the very generous remarks he has made with regard to me, and to assure him that the sentiments he has expressed are fully reciprocated on my part.

**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/8914)**

5. The PRESIDENT: Requests have been received from the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to be invited to participate in the Council's discussion this morning. In accordance with the usual practice of the Council, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite those three representatives 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.*

6. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its examination of the question on the agenda, in connexion with which the Secretary-General has submitted a report [S/8914]<sup>1</sup> on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period from 8 June to 2 December 1968.

7. Pursuant to consultations which have been held among the members of the Council, and in accordance with the request of some of those members, a draft resolution has been prepared, which I shall ask the Under-Secretary-General to read out.

8. Mr. KUTAKOV (Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs): The text of the draft resolution is as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"Noting from the report of the Secretary-General of 4 December 1968 (S/8914) 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 15 December 1968,*

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1968.

"Noting, from the observations in the report, the encouraging recent developments 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 and 231 (1966) of 15 December 1966, 238 (1967) of 19 June and 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967, and 247 (1968) of 18 March and 254 (1968) of 18 June 1968, 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 ending 15 June 1969, in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

9. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have asked to speak before the vote. The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

10. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The Council meets again to renew the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus on a note of hopefulness. The Secretary-General's report, a lucid document, portrays with objectivity the prevailing calm and the continuing relaxation of tension in the Island.

11. A policy of good will and conciliation which my Government initiated by unilaterally lifting all restrictions on the movement of persons and goods in and out of the enclaves is, in the words of the report, "scrupulously adhered to" [S/8914, para. 46]. And it is continued with sincerity of purpose. We hope that it will bring a positive response from the other side by a corresponding lifting of the restrictions in the enclaves, so that a mutual and growing trust through communication may create the atmosphere propitious to further rapprochement towards a just solution.

12. As the Secretary-General remarks in his report:

"... There are also many signs that the renewal of contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is spreading from the grass roots to higher levels, tending to bridge the communication gap that has existed since the beginning of 1964 ..." [ibid., para. 38].

13. Referring to the freedom of movement within the Government-controlled areas of the Turkish Cypriots living in the enclaves and their friendly intermingling with their

Greek compatriots without a single incident for nine months now, the report points out that this is "an eloquent demonstration of the fact that the people of Cyprus desire to live in peace and harmony again and are able to do so" [ibid., para. 37].

14. Also in his previous report the Secretary-General noted with gratification "the ease with which ordinary people of both communities were beginning to resume their former amicable relations" [S/8446, para. 149].<sup>2</sup>

15. The spirit of conciliation is a most essential factor for the solution of any problem. That spirit, I am glad to say, is not lacking among the people of Cyprus—Greek and Turkish alike. It can produce its constructive results in genuine co-operation towards a just and lasting solution; for indeed an enduring solution and peace can be achieved only through a sense of trust and a genuine co-operation for the common good in a common and undivided homeland.

16. In such a political climate and in a unitary framework freed from divisive concepts, progress in economic co-operation can flower and will be a most valuable asset to all the people, particularly to the Turkish Cypriots. The report pertinently speaks of the need for: "whole-hearted economic co-operation" which "would result in a better utilization of human and other resources and raise the level of living of the Turkish Cypriots" [S/8914, para. 52]. In that sense the Government Planning Commission is speeding up the process of reconstructing the economy of the Island.

17. Further, referring to the political talks currently taking place in Nicosia, the Secretary-General remarks that they are proceeding "with all earnestness" and he commends "the patience, good will and statesmanship displayed by the two negotiators and their principals" [ibid., para. 87].

18. However, the progress of the negotiations, depending on a gradually growing mutual confidence, requires time. These negotiations cannot be unduly hastened without being impaired. We follow the talks with reserved but positive optimism. It is our hope that they may yield constructive results paving the way to a just and workable solution of the problem. There is an earnest desire in the hearts of all Cypriots that the talks may lead to an honourable and lasting settlement of the problem so that the people of the Island as an integrated whole may go forward together on the road of peace towards the achievement of their common progress and welfare.

19. The solution must be one freely accepted by the people directly concerned, as the people of a fully sovereign and independent country, a Member of the United Nations; and, in order that the solution may be sound and enduring, it must be firmly based on the principles of justice, unity and freedom, as expressed in the Charter and spelled out in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Cyprus.

20. As the report pertinently remarks, when there is the will of the parties concerned to co-operate and compose

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Supplement for January, February and March 1968.

their differences the Organization can be of great assistance. The moral authority of the United Nations on these matters is of tremendous importance. We are indeed grateful for the assistance it has brought and is bringing to the situation in Cyprus and the solution of the problem. We deeply appreciate the good offices of the Secretary-General, whether exercised here or in Cyprus through his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall.

21. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, whose firm and abiding concern for peace, justice and human solidarity under the Charter have been reflected in all his actions. We are profoundly grateful for his patient efforts towards a just solution of the difficult problem of Cyprus. We also wish to place on record our deep appreciation for the important contributions of the members of his staff both here and in Cyprus, and particularly the Under-Secretaries, Mr. Bunche and Mr. Rolz-Bennett. I would make special mention of the consistent and dedicated endeavours of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, whose diplomatic efficiency and tact have greatly contributed to the recent developments and the good results achieved so far in the Island. We should also like to express to General Martola our profound esteem for his efficient command of the United Nations Force, rendering it an example of the effective and beneficial results a United Nations peace-keeping force is able to achieve.

22. In conclusion, our appreciation and grateful thanks go to those countries whose valuable contributions in military contingents and in funds has rendered possible the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus.

23. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Greece, to whom I now give the floor.

24. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Last June [1432nd meeting], we met round this table to deal with the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a period of six months, which is now about to expire. I am sure that we all remember that the last extension was decided upon after a short debate characterized by calm and moderation, and by a spirit of reasoned optimism. There were two reasons for this: the first was that Cyprus was fortunately passing through a period of tranquillity broken by very few incidents; the second was that negotiations had begun between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in an endeavour to arrive at an agreement on the problems which had so long divided the Island.

25. Today, six months later, let us see what headway has since been made and what is the present situation in Cyprus.

26. On these two points, we find much light in the report of the Secretary-General which states:

"I am glad to be able to inform the Council that intercommunal relations in Cyprus have continued to improve during the last six months and this has contributed to creating a favourable atmosphere for the political talks that are now taking place in Nicosia. The Turkish Cypriots living in the enclaves, who had been more or less cut off from contact with their Greek

Cypriot compatriots for more than four years, have now been moving among Greek Cypriots for some nine months without a single significant intercommunal incident—an eloquent demonstration of the fact that the people of Cyprus desire to live in peace and harmony again and are able to do so" [*ibid.*, para. 37].

27. These are encouraging findings, which are a source of satisfaction. They are particularly gratifying to my delegation, since the Greek Government has constantly sought to bring about such a relaxation of tensions which alone, we believe, will enable the parties immediately concerned to engage in fruitful co-operation.

28. As to the talks themselves, the Secretary-General states that they are proceeding in all earnestness and that the parties are engaged in a determined effort to emerge from the deadlock.

29. At the same time, I have no intention of minimizing the difficulties in the way of a solution. To do so would be to flout realities. As I told the Council in June, time, patience and above all perseverance would be needed. This is still true today. The Secretary-General himself reminds us that no break-through on fundamental issues has yet been announced and that the conversations are bound to continue for some time. Nevertheless, the desired goal is so important that, in our view, no patience or perseverance can be too great or sustained too long.

30. The Greek Government has from the outset declared itself in favour of negotiations between the leaders of the two parties. It has encouraged and will continue to encourage this very promising step, in which it has always placed its hopes. We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards ensuring that these talks lead to a practical and constructive result for the future. We therefore share the view that the Security Council can today make a very effective and decisive contribution to the attainment of this goal by extending the mandate of the Force for the period of six months recommended by the Secretary-General.

31. It is, of course, impossible at this point to predict the results of the contacts among the Cypriots. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the chance of success remains. The parties concerned must not allow that chance to elude them or to diminish. The Security Council will enhance it by extending the mandate.

32. I have already said that, on the whole, the situation in Cyprus has recently improved, as the Secretary-General has pointed out. His personal contribution to this improvement is deserving of the highest praise. U Thant has unceasingly devoted his time and efforts to the problem of Cyprus. He has done and is continuing to do everything in his power to bring about a just and peaceful solution. We are profoundly grateful to him. Our thanks also go to his collaborators, Mr. Ralph Bunche and Mr. Rolz-Bennett, whose experience and skill have been repeatedly apparent in this development.

33. Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Special Representative in Cyprus, deserves a special tribute for his valiant efforts. We are deeply impressed by the constancy and tenacity with

which he has upheld the cause of pacification in Cyprus. A similar tribute should be paid to General Martola, the Force Commander, for his tireless labour and devotion to a difficult and onerous task.

34. Before concluding, I should like to say how much my Government appreciates the spirit of solidarity displayed by the countries which maintain contingents in the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus or are making material contributions to the Force. We hope that the voluntary contributions will be continued and even increased and expanded, in view of the substantial deficit referred to in the report. My country intends, as in the past, to contribute generously to the expenses of the Force, in the belief that that body is carrying out a task of inestimable value to the cause of peace. The United Nations, which has had its share of disappointments in recent years, has grounds for pride in the work of the Force.

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

36. Mr. ERALP (Turkey): I have asked to speak merely in order to express thanks. There is not much that can be said here and at this stage which could contribute to the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. The report of the Secretary-General is, as usual, comprehensive and objective. The sense of cautious optimism which it reflects is fully shared by my Government. It would therefore be wise to allow the exploratory intercommunal talks which are now in progress to continue without injecting any external elements. It would also be advisable to continue to maintain on the Island an atmosphere of tranquillity and to do everything possible to avoid incidents. For that reason, we are gratified to note that the Secretary-General has strongly urged that the mandate of UNFICYP be extended for a period of six months. That will give the negotiations a chance to proceed without undue haste and pressure. After all, a few months of grace is not too much to ask when the two communities on the Island are endeavouring to lay the foundations of, we hope, many centuries of living together in peace, security and independence. For the same reason, we have noted with pleasure the intention of the Secretary-General to maintain the present force and effectiveness of the UNFICYP.

37. To the intercommunal talks on the Island my Government has always lent its blessing, its encouragement and when necessary, its help. We shall continue to do so. We believe that at this stage it is best to allow the representatives of the two communities to work out the structure of the State of Cyprus and its political institutions. Once that is achieved we maintain the hope that it may serve as a basis for a definitive understanding among all the parties concerned, so that the Island of Cyprus may cease to be a trouble-spot in the eastern Mediterranean and begin to reap the fruits of progress and prosperity which are in store for it.

38. We have come a long way from the years of strife, bloodshed and impending calamity. We may now be seeing the light at the end of the tunnel. For this we have many personalities and Governments to thank. Principally, we

owe a debt of gratitude to our able Secretary-General and his immediate collaborators, as well as his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and the Commander of the UNFICYP, General Martola, whose untiring efforts have helped the warring factions to return to the path of reason. Nor could all this have been achieved without the unstinting aid of the contributing countries which have brought manpower and financial support. We give them our whole-hearted thanks.

39. Finally, I feel it a duty to express to the Governments directly concerned with the problem our appreciation for the restraint and patience which they have shown in these last few months. It is our earnest wish that we may all proceed with this purposeful endeavour to crown a most successful United Nations effort of peace-keeping with an achievement in peace-making.

40. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should first like to express our gratitude to Mr. Borch, the representative of Denmark, for the competence with which he directed the work of the Security Council as its President for the month of November. We now welcome the President for the month of December 1968, who is a distinguished representative of one of the most ancient countries of Africa, a country which has always stood out as a beacon of independence in the African continent.

41. The Soviet Union's position on the Cyprus question is well known. It has been repeatedly explained in statements of the Soviet Government and in those of its representatives in various bodies, including the Security Council. In connexion with the present renewed discussion of the Cyprus question in the Security Council, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to reaffirm that that position retains its full force and significance.

42. The Soviet Union's position was, and is, based on the view that the question of Cyprus must and can be settled by peaceful means, in the interests of the Cypriot people, including both its constituent national communities, and in the interests of a relaxation of tension in the eastern Mediterranean. The Soviet Union firmly supports the Cypriots' struggle for the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, which is a full Member of the United Nations and pursues in its international relations a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs.

43. The settlement of the domestic problems of the Republic of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves; they must settle their domestic affairs themselves without external intervention. The legitimate rights of the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus must be fully respected by everyone.

44. The Soviet Union categorically opposes any attempts to infringe the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, any plans—and these are not alien to the thinking of certain States—to resolve the Cyprus question behind the back of the Cypriot people, to the detriment of its basic interests and for the benefit of the imperialist designs of certain States members of NATO. We categorically oppose all

attempts to subordinate the fate of the Cypriot people to the furtherance of NATO's military plans in the Mediterranean.

45. The Soviet delegation notes from the Secretary-General's report that negotiations are now proceeding in Cyprus between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities with a view to resolving the problems of their mutual relations. The representative of Cyprus has just spoken of these negotiations in hopeful terms. We wish every success to the participants in the talks between the two communities which make up the people of the Republic of Cyprus. Our position is that these talks are a domestic concern of the Republic of Cyprus.

46. The participants in the talks between the two communities of Cyprus clearly have to surmount considerable difficulties on the way to their designated goal. These difficulties, like the difficulties in the way of a solution of the Cyprus question as a whole, are a consequence of eighty years' domination of Cyprus by foreign colonialists, who sought to suppress the liberation struggle of the Cypriots by the well-tried colonialist method of "divide and conquer".

47. As we know, the General Assembly discussed the Cyprus question at its sessions for a number of years until, finally, the United Kingdom was obliged to agree to the proclamation of an independent Republic of Cyprus on 1 August 1960. However, before proceeding to that step, the United Kingdom imposed on Cyprus one-sided agreements for the retention on the Island of United Kingdom military bases, for the siting of which the Cypriot people was deprived of very fertile land.

48. While the United Kingdom colonialists sought to use intercommunity strife in Cyprus—strife they themselves had instigated—as their main tool for strengthening United Kingdom rule during the period of the Cypriots' struggle for independence, the policy of the leading circles of the NATO bloc is now wholly concerned with aggravating the relations between the Turkish and Greek communities on Cyprus, their aim evidently being to take advantage of the disturbed situation on the Island to turn it into an "unsinkable nuclear rocket carrier" of the North Atlantic military alliance.

49. This is precisely why the Cyprus question has thus far remained constantly on the Security Council's agenda—in the same way, incidentally, as certain other questions, such as that of Southern Rhodesia, which is an unusual legacy bequeathed to the international community by the United Kingdom colonialists when the British Empire collapsed under the blows of the national liberation movements.

50. The United Kingdom representatives in various United Nations organs often refer to the alleged benefits conferred by the United Kingdom on the peoples of its former empire. But in order to see the situation as it really is, one need only take a glance at the agenda of the United Nations organs. It is quite legitimate to say that more than half of all the international conflicts with which the United Nations is called upon to deal were engendered by United Kingdom colonialism during the period of the collapse of

the British Empire. In all such questions, one can now also see the hand of NATO and of those Powers which play a leading part in that military alliance.

51. All countries which genuinely cherish the interests of freedom and security of the peoples must draw the logical conclusions from the lessons taught them by the colonialists' policy. They must make every effort to thwart the plans for settling international problems behind the backs of the peoples, to the advantage of imperialist interests.

52. This is why the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to emphasize once more its deep conviction that, if the independence and integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is to be fully ensured, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory, and the foreign military bases there must be dismantled.

53. The Soviet delegation would also like to point out that, under the Security Council resolution [186] of 4 March 1964, all States Members of the United Nations are required to refrain from any action likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus. This means, in particular, that it is necessary to ensure a peaceful atmosphere in the region of Cyprus, and in the whole Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union, for its part, is doing everything in its power to turn the Mediterranean into a "sea of peace".

54. Today the Security Council has before it the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 8 June to 2 December 1968, which recommends in paragraph 90 that the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus should be extended for a further period of six months.

55. In this connexion we are bound to draw attention to the fact that it is now over four years since the United Nations Force arrived in Cyprus. It cannot be regarded as normal that it should have remained in Cyprus so long. Although the Soviet delegation is not now raising the question of the withdrawal of the United Nations Force from Cyprus, it expresses the hope that its stationing there will be brought to an end in the near future.

56. We should also like to state very clearly and categorically that, should any State try to establish any link between the scale of the United Nations operation in Cyprus and the measures which the Soviet Union is taking as a Black Sea Power, and hence as a Mediterranean Power, to strengthen peace in the Mediterranean region—and certain reports in imperialist propaganda organs recently suggest that certain parties would not be averse to airing such an idea, if it may be so described—if, we repeat, matters were to move in that direction, the Soviet Union would obviously have no alternative but to consider the whole situation in a new light.

57. With regard to the draft resolution submitted for the consideration of the Security Council, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary, first of all, to point out that this proposal confirms Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, as well as the other decisions of the Council on the Cyprus question.

58. And although from the outset the Soviet Union has considered the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus to be unwarranted and still adheres to that view, it will not obstruct the extension of the stationing of that Force in Cyprus for a further period of six months, in view of the fact that such an extension corresponds to the wishes of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and the other interested parties. This is, of course, subject to the unqualified condition that this extension is effected in full accordance with the provisions of the aforementioned Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, so that the present functions of the United Nations Force in Cyprus are maintained as well as the existing mode of financing it, i.e. on a voluntary basis.

59. The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the very generous references he made to my country and to myself.

60. There are no other representatives who wish to speak before the Security Council proceeds to vote on the draft resolution. I therefore now put the draft resolution to the vote. The text was read out a little while ago by the Under-Secretary-General.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.<sup>3</sup>*

61. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who have asked to address the Council after the vote. The first speaker on my list is the representative of the United Kingdom.

62. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): First let me pause, Sir, to pay my respects to you and to extend my congratulations on your Presidency of our Council. In my own Parliament we sometimes hear it said that a member is a good House of Commons man. It is a phrase known from the days of William Pitt to those of Winston Churchill. It is used to pay tribute to a member who is jealous of the rules and traditions and reputation of the House, and devoted to the cause of making the House an effective instrument in the service of democracy. Similarly here at the United Nations we well know that the best ambassadors are those who are not merely carrying out their national instructions but are also constantly concerned to make the United Nations an effective instrument—an instrument in the service of international understanding and international co-operation and international development. So to you, Sir, I can pay no higher compliment than to say that we honour you as a good United Nations man. In that role your fairness and your courtesy and your devotion have earned our respect and our admiration.

63. The same can be said of your predecessor, the Ambassador of Denmark, for he, too, with his dedicated perseverance and his steadiness of judgement has well qualified for the title of a good United Nations man.

64. I need not remind you that the Presidency of this Council is not an enviable eminence. It is a very exposed

position. The President is given few weapons of defence. Perhaps the Ambassador of Denmark will permit me to quote from *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*. These words of Shakespeare might well be remembered by all our Presidents:

"Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;  
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment."  
(*Hamlet*, Act 1, scene III.)

65. With those words of affectionate greeting and respectful guidance I turn to explain the vote I cast just now when the resolution was adopted unanimously.

66. We have very good reason to be grateful to the Secretary-General for his report [*S/8914*] and for his unfailing influence for good. No one, I think, would ever accuse the Secretary-General of being recklessly optimistic when he reports to us on disputes and conflicts. We know that he is never complacent. I sometimes wish that I could imitate and emulate his calm detachment and his unassailable impartiality.

67. In presenting his latest report to us a few days ago he had allowed himself to speak with confidence and hope and, knowing his wise restraint, we cannot disguise our delight that he should be able to report to us with such encouragement. I cannot remember how many times we have met in this Council in recent years to consider the situation in Cyprus. We have often been despondent and always anxious as we have done so. It has been many years since we could say, as the Secretary-General has said to us now, that "the last six months have been good for peace in Cyprus" [*ibid.*, para. 87]. Such words are music in our ears, and so were the wise and salutary and encouraging speeches to which we have listened from the representatives of Cyprus and Greece and Turkey this morning.

68. I only wish I could say the same of the speech to which we have just listened from the representative of the Soviet Union. It seems to me a pity that on this occasion, when we are so much in agreement, he should have felt it necessary to introduce such a discordant note. The fact is, unfortunately, that he feels it is incumbent upon him to be belligerent on the most pacific occasion. He made allegations which I do not think we shall seek to or need to reply to here today. It would be better if the sections of his speech to which I refer were happily forgotten and we could continue to pursue our purpose. Our purpose is to reach the maximum agreement and to encourage the effort which is now being made for a peaceful settlement of the problems of Cyprus which have been before us for so long.

69. I am sure that the Secretary-General would be the first to agree that there are real difficulties still to be overcome and serious dangers to be avoided. But there are solid reasons which can reinforce the hope we now begin to feel.

70. Not least amongst those reasons is the part played by the United Nations Force, which has never flagged or failed in its peace-keeping duties. It was good to read in the Secretary-General's report that:

"The over-all discipline, understanding and bearing of the officers and men of the United Nations Force have

<sup>3</sup> See resolution 261 (1968).



continued to be of a high order, and reflect great credit on the contingent commanders, their staffs and the armed forces of the contributing countries" [*ibid.*, para. 14].

We salute all who serve in the Force under their fine Commander, General Martola. They honourably discharge their duty and set an example of international co-operation in the field which earns the admiration of everyone.

71. Another most valuable asset in the progress to peaceful settlement is the quality of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in the Island, Ambassador Osorio-Tafall. I speak very respectfully of all concerned, and with some experience, when I say that to deal with Cypriot leaders calls for the highest capacities of patient diplomacy—and in that general compliment I include, most certainly, the Ambassador of Cyprus—and I can think of no one more capable of matching their skill than Ambassador Osorio-Tafall, who brings to his mission such steadiness and such confidence and such persistence.

72. At the same time we know very well that whatever assistance comes from outside and whatever help is forthcoming from those who wish Cyprus well, the solution of the problems of the Island must come not from without but from within. Salvation from the animosity of the past must come from the good will and the good sense of the people of Cyprus. I was long enough in Cyprus to know that they have good will and good sense and good humour in good measure.

73. So it is that while we believe that Greece and Turkey and the United Nations and the countries which support the United Nations endeavour can make a contribution to the maintenance of peace, it is the people of the Island themselves who must resolve to escape from the bitterness and bloodshed of the past. They must work out for themselves in mutual trust and respect a way of life for the future which will bring permanent peace and prosperity to an island blessed with so much natural beauty and so much human capacity.

74. That is why we have so much welcomed the reports of the talks which have taken place in Nicosia during the past six months between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash, outstandingly able representatives of their communities. We are anxious to see the momentum of those talks maintained and indeed increased, and we are glad that they are to be resumed early in the new year. All of us wish these leaders well, and all of us realize how much depends on their efforts based, I am sure, on full sincerity of purpose and on equal determination to succeed.

75. I said that all of us so wish, and with reference to what was said to us just now by the representative of the Soviet Union I would repeat that every country, in my belief and to my knowledge, is anxious to encourage and to promote a peaceful settlement in Cyprus—just as I hope and trust that every country wishes to ensure that the Mediterranean should remain a sea of peace.

76. While others are ready to help, my Government is prepared to continue to play a full part in creating conditions in which a peaceful and lasting settlement can be

found, and we recognize that what is needed now is a period of unimpeded stability to allow the communal talks to go forward to success.

77. I am happy therefore to confirm that my Government will support a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force as recommended in the resolution which we have just passed. We are prepared to continue to provide our troop contingent, which is the largest military contingent in the Force, at its present strength for the period of the renewed mandate, and we shall continue to pay for its full cost.

78. In addition, we are ready to make a voluntary financial contribution of £312,500 sterling towards the cost of the Force during the next quarter beginning on 16 December. That will bring our total contribution towards the cost of the Force, since it was first established, to just over \$20 million.

79. The contribution we have made and continue to make gives us confidence to express the hope that others who have not so far made contributions will come forward to assist in this joint United Nations endeavour. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report that the financial situation in regard to the United Nations Force is not improving. In spite of recent reductions in the size of the Force the heavy deficit remains serious. It is a reproach to the United Nations that we the Members fail to give to the Secretary-General the financial means to carry out the task which by our votes—all our votes—we have required him to undertake.

80. Finally, I should say that while we support the recommendation of the Secretary-General for the extension of the mandate of the Force for a further period of six months, we were ourselves inclined to favour a shorter period. We are prepared to accept and support the recommendation for an extension of six months in the hope and on the understanding that every effort will be made to pursue the promising advance already begun with a full sense of urgency.

81. It is because we are so greatly concerned that the momentum of the efforts to find a sound basis for a permanent settlement should not be lost but should be accelerated that we considered that it would be well to set a shorter period than six months. And it is for that reason that in company with some other delegations we think that it would be valuable if the Secretary-General would submit a report in three months' time on the progress achieved. Our view at present is that a report after three months would be more likely to hasten than hinder negotiations. So we trust that the Secretary-General will be good enough to bear that possibility in mind.

82. We believe that conditions now exist which should make it possible to go forward to a lasting settlement, and we pray that these favourable opportunities will not be lost.

83. The PRESIDENT: I am sure my predecessor joins me in expressing to Lord Caradon our very sincere gratitude for the very friendly, very eloquent and very generous words he addressed to us.

84. Mr. BORCH (Denmark): May I at the outset thank the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom for the generous words that they have addressed to me. May I perhaps, with your permission, Mr. President, be allowed, in the light of the United Kingdom representative's remarks about me personally, to tell him that one of my great experiences during my participation in the deliberations of the Council has been the collaboration and co-operation with the British Mission and in particular with its chief, whose energy, imagination and resourcefulness are an always available source of strength to us, but above all whose belief in the United Nations is an example to us all.

85. Turning now to the question of Cyprus I should like to say, in the words of the Secretary-General, that "the last six months have been good for peace in Cyprus". Those are, as I have said, the words employed by the Secretary-General in his report which is now before the Council, and I can think of no better way of summing up the situation than as it is described in that report. In the period covered by the report [S/8914], that is from 8 June to 2 December 1968, there has been no bloodshed, nor has there been one serious incident. On the contrary, the emphasis seems at last to be shifting from military confrontation to negotiation, and the parties are engaged in a determined effort to emerge from the deadlock resulting from the positions adopted in the past.

86. Such a trend was already perceptible when the Council dealt with the question of Cyprus in March and June of this year. Its further course has certainly been most gratifying, particularly against the background of the agonies, the tragedies and the bitterness which have afflicted Cyprus for so long.

87. In the present circumstances the task of the United Nations is to offer the best possible assistance to the parties in order to preserve and develop the existing momentum, and to consolidate and accelerate the progress already achieved. In this respect the good offices of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative in Cyprus, are of the greatest importance and we wish once more to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for their untiring efforts, and to assure them of our full support in their future endeavours.

88. Of the greatest importance also is the continued presence of UNFICYP in Cyprus. It offers an assurance to the parties that an atmosphere conducive to the negotiations now initiated may be allowed to prevail. In this connexion we wish to commend also the Force Commander, General Martola, for the excellent manner in which he is performing his difficult task.

89. From the report of the Secretary-General, as well as from other sources, we realize that even though there has been progress in the intercommunal talks there has as yet been no break-through and that the talks are bound to continue for some time. We trust however that the parties will pursue with determination their earnest efforts towards a solution of the complicated problem of Cyprus, and we therefore accept the strong recommendation by the

Secretary-General that the stationing of UNFICYP in Cyprus be extended for a further period of six months, until 15 June 1969. My delegation consequently voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Security Council.

90. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): Mr. President, before making a brief statement in explanation of vote, may I on behalf of the Canadian delegation express my most sincere satisfaction that you, a most distinguished and outstanding man of the United Nations—as you have so rightly been called—should be presiding over our affairs, and may I also express our indebtedness to your predecessor, the most competent and able Ambassador of Denmark. Shakespeare has already been quoted. It is he who first talked about "gilding the lily". I would not wish to improve on Shakespeare, but I should like to say that there are no two colleagues whose comradeship I have more valued in two years of service than yours, Sir, and your predecessor's.

91. In reading the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Cyprus I think we were all struck by the contrast between the present situation and the one existing just a year ago. The clouds of conflict seem to be receding, to be replaced by a brighter and more hopeful atmosphere in which co-operation and conciliation are, as several speakers have mentioned, beginning to come into play. The Government of Canada warmly welcomes the continuing relaxation of tension and the gradual normalization of life in the Island.

92. We know that the best hopes for an eventual settlement now seem to rest with the intercommunal talks. My delegation hopes that the existing patience, good will and statesmanship being displayed by the two negotiators and their principals will continue and enable the deadlock of the past finally to be overcome.

93. Meanwhile it is the Secretary-General's view, which my delegation fully respects, that the stationing of UNFICYP should be extended for a further period of six months until 15 June 1969; and, of course, we note and respect the views of the three Governments most directly concerned, which have signified their agreement to that recommendation. The recommendation is apparently based primarily on the consideration that the intercommunal talks, while promising, will require further time before tangible results can be realistically expected, and that it is therefore important not to disturb the momentum of these talks earlier than necessary. My delegation appreciates the validity of this approach while still believing that the Security Council has a responsibility to keep itself informed and alert to developments in Cyprus, whether of a positive or of a negative kind, which may have a bearing on the achievement of a settlement. While wishing the intercommunal talks well, with previous experience in the area in mind we realize that there are no grounds for complacency.

94. The Canadian delegation accordingly believes that the submission by the Secretary-General of an interim report would be a useful additional step for him to take, according to his judgement and in the light of the prevailing circumstances, after approximately another three months

have passed. The exact timing of such a report would, of course, depend on the situation in the Island, particularly in respect of the intercommunal talks. But by means of such a report, the members of the Security Council, and indeed all interested Member States, could learn of the progress made and have a clearer idea of the prospects for the future, including the future of UNFICYP. I for one would welcome any comments on this suggestion which the Secretary-General himself may wish to make.

95. Canada, which has been a major participant in UNFICYP from the outset, takes considerable satisfaction from the Secretary-General's observations regarding the continued usefulness and admirable performance of the Force. We welcome the fact that improving conditions in the Island have made possible a reduction in the Force, noting the Secretary-General's assurance that this reduction has not affected "the efficiency of the Force in carrying out its mandate" [*ibid.*, para. 7]. The deficit, however, in UNFICYP's budget continues to be of alarming proportions—a matter which might be taken particular note of by Member States which have so far had no occasion to contribute either men or money to UNFICYP.

96. In conclusion I should like, of course, to extend our warmest thanks to the Secretary-General; to his Under-Secretaries, Mr. Bunche and Mr. Rolz-Bennett; and to Mr. Osorio-Tafall and General Martola for the important work they are doing on behalf of a peaceful settlement in Cyprus. Since Canada is leaving the Security Council at the end of this year and this is likely to be the last occasion on which I shall be in a position to speak on this subject in the Council, I should like also to take the opportunity to pay a most sincere tribute to the officers and men of UNFICYP for the excellent work they have done since the Force was established in March 1964. UNFICYP has indeed in a number of ways been a model peace-keeping operation and we can learn much from its experience in considering the future of United Nations peace-keeping. UNFICYP is an enterprise of which the United Nations has really good reason to be proud as a significant contribution to peace, and Canadians are proud of the officers and men of the Canadian Armed Forces who have taken part and still take part in this Force in Cyprus.

97. The PRESIDENT: Speaking again not only for myself but also for my predecessor, I should like to thank the representative of Canada for the very generous references he has made to both of us.

98. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): I should like to join those of my colleagues who have already, at this meeting, expressed their thanks and congratulations to the representative of Denmark for the manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the Council during his presidency last month. It is said that happy peoples have no history. We are gratified that, despite the clouds that overhung the Council, the representative of Denmark succeeded in maintaining a calm and untroubled atmosphere.

99. It is with great confidence that we have embarked upon the month of office of the present President. Our confidence is born of the high esteem in which we hold the

country which he represents, its civilization, its past and its history. Our personal experience has also acquainted us with the qualities he has brought to all his work in the United Nations and we are sure that, under his presidency, the Council's work will proceed in a propitious, calm and satisfactory atmosphere.

100. The Security Council has just decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for a further six months. The French delegation would like to explain briefly the significance of its vote in favour of the draft resolution.

101. My delegation took note with satisfaction of the Secretary-General's latest report. The encouraging prospects which took shape in Cyprus six months ago have in fact been confirmed during the period that has just elapsed by the absence of any serious incident. The improvement in the relations between the two communities cannot but help to create an atmosphere conducive to the political talks now taking place at Nicosia.

102. On the other hand, despite the results already achieved on the road to a solution, we have to note, with the Secretary-General, that no breakthrough on fundamental issues has yet been announced. That is nevertheless the objective which we must untiringly pursue, no matter how convenient it may be to prolong an arrangement that is essentially provisional.

103. The French delegation did not object to a further limited extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus within the framework of the resolution [186] of 4 March 1964. In our view it would be desirable to prepare to end these periodic extensions of the mandate of the Force or at least to provide for a substantial reduction in its size. The parties concerned must be aware that there is now a pressing need to reach agreement.

104. It was in this spirit that the French delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which has just been unanimously adopted.

105. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I should like to thank the representative of France for his statement and for the very kind words which he addressed to me and also to my predecessor.

106. I understand that the Secretary-General would like to make a statement at this stage, and I now give him the floor.

107. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The representatives of the United Kingdom and Canada have suggested in their statements that the Secretary-General submit an interim report to the Security Council three months from now, should the circumstances of the situation concerning Cyprus warrant such a step. I understand the motivation behind these suggestions, and I just want to assure the members of the Council that I shall submit reports to the Council at any time this may prove necessary or advisable, as I have always done in the past.

108. The PRESIDENT: There are no other names on the list of speakers. Before I adjourn the meeting, I should like

to take the opportunity of speaking as the representative of Ethiopia.

109. Speaking in my capacity as the representative of ETHIOPIA, I should like to express my delegation's gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his unfailing efforts and for the candid report he has placed before us in document S/8914, and through him I should also like to thank the Field Commander of UNFICYP, Lieutenant-General A. E. Martola, and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and indeed all those gallant servants of the United Nations who are engaged in the noble task of maintaining peace in the great Island of Cyprus.

110. The seriousness of the situation in Cyprus during the last fifty-seven months or so, its consequence on the lives of the inhabitants of the Island as a whole, and above all its serious implication for international peace and security cannot be over-emphasized. It is with this view in mind that we attach special significance to the peace effort being made in this regard.

111. We have noted with great interest the Secretary-General's observation that during the period under review

relaxation of tension has continued and that a shift of emphasis from military confrontation to negotiation has become the order of the day. It is equally gratifying to read in the report of the Secretary-General of the absence of conflict and breaches of the cease-fire, as well as of improvements in intercommunal relations and of other positive developments which are essential prerequisites for the creation of an atmosphere in which the important talks that have begun between leading members of the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities can be continued amicably.

112. We should like to join the Secretary-General and the members of the Council in paying a tribute to the two negotiators and their aides for the spirit of statesmanship that they have displayed in this noble undertaking. It is the fervent hope of my Government that these talks will soon produce the fruitful results that the whole community of nations has been praying for, so that in this, as in so many of its vital endeavours for international peace and security, the United Nations effort will be crowned with that success which, after all, is the success of us all.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*