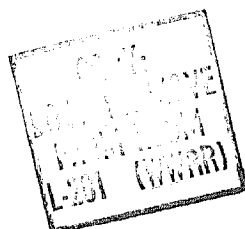


UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

1683rd

MEETING: 12 DECEMBER 1972

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NOTE

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

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

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

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 12 December 1972, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Samar SEN (India).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1683)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/10842).

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10842)

1. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, in letters addressed to the President of the Security Council, have requested to be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion on the question on the agenda. In accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and with the customary practice of the Council I propose, if there is no objection, to invite those representatives to take seats at the Council table and to participate, without vote, in the Council's discussion.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: Before this meeting was scheduled I engaged in consultations with all the members of the Council and with the representatives of the parties concerned with a view to preparing a draft resolution which could be placed before the Council at this time. As a result of those consultations a draft resolution has been circulated

[S/10847] which follows closely the wording of the Council's previous resolutions on this question. As a result of the consultations I held it appears that the members of the Council will find the draft resolution generally acceptable. Accordingly, it is my intention to put it to the vote now, and afterwards to call upon the speakers inscribed on my list, in accordance with the procedure which the Council has often followed on similar occasions.

3. I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/10847.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Belgium, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: China.

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

4. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now hear statements by representatives who wish to speak on this question after the voting.

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

6. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): At the outset, Mr. President, may I be permitted to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. I wish to pay a tribute to you as a representative of a great Asian country of eminent spiritual tradition which, throughout its history, has played a valiant and important role in the development of world civilization and culture and has in our days demonstrated its ability to construct a State in the most difficult circumstances and to follow a policy of non-alignment and constructive support for the United Nations.

7. The Security Council is meeting at a time when the expanded intercommunal talks currently being held in Cyprus have shown hopeful signs of progress. The Council has before it the report of the Secretary-General [S/10842], a comprehensive, enlightening and balanced document which reflects the situation in the island.

¹ See resolution 324 (1972).

8. The active participation in the talks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, has significantly helped towards overcoming difficulties and has made a most helpful and constructive contribution. Similarly, the presence in an advisory capacity of the two constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey, Mr. Dekleris and Mr. Aldikaçti, has been a most valuable asset in the development of the talks.

9. Progress has been achieved in some areas and, although limited, as the report points out, it has nevertheless generated a more encouraging, and in that respect a more positive, spirit so that the unresolved difficulties ahead may be approached with a common purpose and a determined will for their solution.

10. It is hoped that through mutual understanding and the necessary accommodation agreement can be reached on a just and workable constitutional structure in accordance with the accepted constitutional norms, an agreement that could lead to a viable State on the agreed basis of an independent, sovereign and unitary Cyprus. A permanent and lasting solution of the problem might thus be achieved in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions. Therefore it is hoped that any provisions that might tend to create sharp distinctions or divisions among our people in a manner that would be disruptive of the State will be carefully avoided.

11. Whatever the limitations in the present development of the negotiations on Cyprus may be, it is significant that the impasse that had paralysed the talks since June last, as the report states, has been overcome and that both sides have shown a genuine desire to settle their differences through peaceful negotiation.

12. My Government will do all in its power to promote and intensify a spirit of mutual understanding and genuine co-operation that can lead to the successful conclusion of the talks. Every effort should be exerted at the present juncture towards creating such a positive climate in the island as would enhance the prospects for the intercommunal talks. The Secretary-General, in his observations, shows his earnest concern in that respect by calling for military deconfrontation and normalization.

13. The situation in the island, as shown in the report, is generally calm and quiet. The shooting incidents have been reduced to the lowest level ever—six compared to 22 for the comparable period of the previous year—and all the incidents were without any consequences. However, the report refers to dangerous situations requiring a close watch by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)—this is referred to in paragraph 26—by reason of activities or incidents tending to alter the military *status quo* and likely to create tension that might adversely affect the reactivated intercommunal talks. This situation is attributed in the report to a long-continuing armed confrontation. The Secretary-General, in his observations, stresses the essential need for a measure of deconfrontation, at least from the present close proximity. As noted in paragraph 76 of the Secretary-General's observations, the Government "has stated publicly on several occasions its readiness to implement the policy of general reciprocal

deconfrontation." Such deconfrontation has regrettably not materialized as yet owing to lack of a comparable response from the other side. Meanwhile UNFICYP, in an effort to prevent any possible breaches of the military *status quo* and the tension which would result by reason of such confrontation, offers its objective advice to both sides with a view to averting dangers and resolving relevant problems. In paragraph 27 cases are cited—for example Selemani, Shakespeare Avenue, Ayios Andronikos and others—bearing out these fears of the Secretary-General.

14. While the necessity for heeding such advice is stressed in the report, and the Government, as distinct from the Turkish Cypriot leadership, is on record as co-operating in following it, the real emphasis in the report and in the observations lies on the measure of deconfrontation; it is centred on that, particularly having regard to its impact on the atmosphere of the talks, because such continued armed confrontation at close quarters seems at the present time not only unnecessary but also harmful, especially at this stage of the negotiations. Apart from the real dangers from incidents and activities resulting from such confrontation, as stressed in the report, the very existence of such close armed confrontation inevitably works as a psychological factor of mistrust and hostility. As such it prejudices the progress of the talks, for which a climate of mutual understanding and confidence is a necessary element.

15. Furthermore, the report also emphasizes the need for, parallel to deconfrontation, a move towards normalization in intercommunal relations. Freedom of communication, contact and conciliation is a vital element in the creation of better understanding and confidence, the positive influence of which on the progress of the talks is beyond doubt. This is one of the main reasons perhaps why the Secretary-General calls for both deconfrontation and normalization, particularly during the present period of the talks. In this respect it may in all modesty be recalled that the Government has in the past fully complied with earlier appeals by the Secretary-General to both sides for such normalization and freedom of movement by taking the initiative in unilateral withdrawal of all military posts and checkpoints, thus allowing complete freedom of movement for all Turkish Cypriots in all areas under its control throughout the island. This policy was warmly welcomed and appreciated by the Turkish Cypriot population, as mentioned in the relevant report of the Secretary-General [S/8446 of 9 March 1968].

16. It is hoped that the present climate is appropriate for a measure of positive response to the call of the Secretary-General for deconfrontation and normalization. Such development is facilitated by the earnest desire and readiness of the bulk of the Greek and Turkish population for conciliation and normalization in their relations. This has been amply demonstrated on various occasions and repeatedly mentioned in the reports of the Secretary-General, in one of which it is stated that "both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations are increasingly impatient for a return to normal conditions and for a solution of the Cyprus problem" [see S/7191 of 10 March 1966, para. 148]. Again, in a later report, we read that "the yearning and impatience of the ordinary people of Cyprus for a full return to normal conditions" [see S/7350 of 10 June 1966,

para. 178] is obvious. And the present report notes that the people of Cyprus "long for peace and desire a positive outcome of the intercommunal talks" [*see S/10842, para. 80*].

17. There exists, therefore, the most essential element for normalization and a solution of the problem: the will of the people to conciliate, normalize their relations and see their problems solved. A move at the present juncture towards deconfrontation and normalization by both sides in a co-operative response to the call of the Secretary-General would constitute a constructive contribution towards enhancing the prospects of the current intercommunal talks, in which so much hope and expectation is placed.

18. We hope it will be realized that what unites the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus in their common interest and destiny as fellow citizens far transcends what may appear to divide them. The former is an unchanging reality; the latter is a transient artificiality. We hope this realization will come more widely to the people of the world in respect of the common destiny of man in our technological era.

19. Before I conclude, I should like to express my Government's gratitude to the Secretary-General for his genuine concern over the problem of Cyprus and for his sincere and untiring efforts towards a just, workable and lasting solution. I also wish to express our deep appreciation to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, of the positive contribution made by him to the progress of the talks, and of his experience, wisdom and diplomatic skill. Our warmest thanks go also to the Secretary-General's collaborations in the Secretariat and more particularly to the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer, for his most valuable services and untiring efforts on the question of Cyprus. Also, and not least, I wish to convey to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand, our gratitude for the very useful work he is carrying out on the island in close co-operation with my Government. The work of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has already been singled out as perhaps the most successful case of United Nations peace-keeping operations; and this is due to the men who are there and to their Command. We are grateful to the countries whose contribution in military personnel and financial assistance make possible the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

20. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cyprus for the kind words he has addressed to my country and to me personally.

21. I call on the representative of Turkey.

22. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to address the Security Council under the presidency of the representative of India, a country in which I have had the privilege of serving as Ambassador of Turkey. Your well-known qualities as a gifted diplomat render any praise unnecessary. Suffice it for me to say that my delegation considers your presidency a true guarantee of the successful work of the Council in the course of this month.

23. Allow me to express our thanks to you and to the other members of the Council for giving the Turkish delegation the opportunity to express once again its views on the item before the Council.

24. Trusting that my Government's basic views on the question of Cyprus are thoroughly known by members of the Council and encouraged by the present climate of the reactivated intercommunal talks in their new form, I shall be brief and try to limit my remarks as far as possible to the periodic report of the Secretary-General, which provides, as usual, the basis for the deliberations of the Council on the United Nations operation in Cyprus.

25. Several parts of the report, particularly those relating to the continuation of the intercommunal talks and the prevailing quiet in the island, would justify some optimism prevailing in the deliberations of the Council today. Needless to say, I am the last to wish to cast a shadow over this promising climate. However, I cannot avoid drawing attention to chapter III, the very first sentence of which states that "Since the last report there has again been little progress towards a return to normal conditions." [*S/10842, para. 40*].

26. I feel obliged to emphasize this aspect of the report since, as I had occasion to put it at the last meeting of the Council on this issue in June last [*1646th and 1647th meetings*], the Turkish Cypriot community is the major if not the exclusive sufferer from the conditions and problems mentioned therein. No representative, whether of Turkey or any other country, can help feeling depressed to note that after almost a decade the Turkish community still continues to live under daily conditions of extreme hardship and deprivation in its own homeland. Indeed, a mere glance at the opening sentences of each of the paragraphs contained in chapter III clearly shows that the Turkish community is still denied some of the most basic needs, such as water, electricity, public telephone and postal services, and even the right to return to its homes and villages, which its members were forced to evacuate in times of hostilities in the island.

27. We believe that all these difficulties in returning to normal conditions do not necessarily flow from the basic issues in the Cyprus problem.

28. Paragraph 74 of the report also mentions that little progress has been achieved on the problem of deconfrontation, and Ambassador Rossides devoted part of his speech to this point. The representatives are fully aware of the background of the Cyprus question and the unfortunate events which resulted in the Turkish community's being deprived by force of its vested rights and interests emanating from its partnership in the State, enshrined in the Constitution. Keeping in mind this background as well as the present circumstances in the island it is hard to conceive of the realization of a genuine deconfrontation in Cyprus prior to the elimination of its underlying causes and before a climate of mutual confidence between the two communities has thus been created. As the report notes in paragraph 76, the Turkish Cypriot leadership maintains the view that in the present circumstances a general deconfrontation would endanger its community's security and its basic position.

29. Turning to the observations of the Secretary-General on the intercommunal talks, we are happy to concur in his statement that their reactivation in their broadened form has proved to be a useful idea, injecting new life into the intercommunal discussions. As will be remembered by all the members of the Council, these broadened intercommunal talks, based on the equal status of the representatives of the two communities, are exploratory in nature and limited to the internal situation of the independent State of Cyprus and the constitutional matters relevant thereto. This common understanding of all the parties concerned, serving as the basis of the present talks, found clear expression in the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire of 18 May 1972, which was quoted in paragraph 62 of his previous report [S/10664].

30. In view of the foregoing we are unable to concur in the statement in paragraph 71 of the present report to the effect that the interlocutors in the reactivated intercommunal talks will consider all the elements of the Cyprus problem. We sincerely hope, however, that the reactivated intercommunal talks, by their successful completion, will bring about an agreed formula on constitutional matters, thus paving the way to a final and permanent solution of the Cyprus problem. It is with this sincere hope that Turkey has accepted the proposal of the Secretary-General for the reactivation of the talks in their new form, to which it is at present extending its full support.

31. The Turkish Government has time and again expressed its dedication to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The Turkish Government is all the more determined to help promote a just and permanent peaceful solution to the problem of Cyprus, which will fully safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish and Greek communities and the other parties concerned, since Turkey is one of the parties entrusted with moral and contractual obligations towards the two communities of Cyprus. As I stated during the last debate in the Security Council, we hope to see Cyprus change from an island of intercommunal strife into a model of bicomunal society where, as originally conceived and created, the two national communities will live as masters of their homeland, neither one dominating the other, and as equal partners in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of their island.

32. During the years that have passed, based on hard experience as well as on the present realities of the island, the question of Cyprus has become a highly sensitive problem whose complexities are reflected even in the semantics attached to the basic positions of the interested parties. This fact was duly recognized by the Secretary-General, and accordingly elaborated upon in paragraph 79 of his previous report [*ibid.*], in which he drew attention to the existence of serious reservations on certain terminology. I should like to quote the relevant passage:

"The Council will recall that in the last report the Secretary-General expressed the view that, as he had previously indicated, the problem of Cyprus should be solved by arriving, through peaceful means, at a lasting agreement based on 'the concept of an independent, sovereign and unitary State with the adequate participa-

tion of the two communities'. The parties concerned each have reservations on different elements of this formulation. The exclusion of one or other of these elements is as unacceptable to one of the parties concerned as its inclusion is to another. For instance, one party has questioned the reference in this context to the two communities. Another party has strongly questioned the use of the word 'unitary' on the grounds that its precise interpretation has not been agreed upon. Even the use of the word 'independent' has raised certain misgivings. The difficulties over the content of the sentence quoted above are a reflection of the difficulties of reaching a lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem."

33. On the other hand, the basic agreement on the resumption of the intercommunal talks, mentioned in paragraph 62 of the same report in reference to the Secretary-General's aide-mémoire of 18 May 1972, is illustrative of this fact in that it omits what was considered as undefined terminology to which none of the parties could or wanted to subscribe at the outset of the talks. Therefore we consider it most unfortunate that a kind of "prescription" regarding the basis of a future solution has found its way into paragraph 80 of the present report. It is our considered opinion that a more prudent approach, on the basis of the previous report, would have been more realistic, more in accordance with the present situation, certainly less controversial and therefore more constructive and more in keeping with the role of the Secretariat in this matter.

34. In paragraph 81 of the present report the Secretary-General recommends the extension of the mandate of the Force for another period of six months. In the present promising climate, my Government agreed with that recommendation, which was accepted by the Council a short while ago. In this connexion, permit me to express my Government's appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, his assistants both here and in Cyprus, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer; the Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand, and all their staff, as well as the members of the Force, for their dedication and their constructive work. I also wish to extend our appreciation to the countries contributing to the Force as well as to the members of the Security Council, which make possible the continuation of UNFICYP's services.

35. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Turkey for the kind words he addressed to me.

36. I now call on the representative of Greece.

37. Mr. STATHATOS (Greece): Mr. President, may I be permitted to join the previous speakers in expressing to you our congratulations upon your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council and to extend to you our very best wishes.

38. I should like first of all to thank you, as well as the other members of the Council, for giving my delegation the opportunity to participate in today's meeting and present its views on the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/10842.

39. May I, at the outset, assure the Council that, far from viewing its meetings on the renewal of UNFICYP's mandate as a sort of biennial exercise, ritualistically held every June and December, we consider them as the concrete expression of the Council's discharge of its ultimate responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. The peace-keeping operation carried out by UNFICYP has been a successful United Nations enterprise in the sense that it has been able to prevent the recurrence of fighting while, at the same time, it has tried its best, though with limited results, through no fault of the Force, of course, towards normalization of the situation.

40. It goes without saying that the degree of success of UNFICYP's mission depends largely on the co-operation of both communities. We support, therefore, the view expressed in paragraph 26 of the report referring to the desirability of having both sides heed UNFICYP's objective judgements and advice in order to avoid any adverse repercussions on the reactivated talks. Greece is as anxious as any other State represented around this table to see these operations, to which we have already contributed almost \$11 million, successfully and readily concluded.

41. We share the view previously expressed that the blue berets of the Force should not come to be regarded as a permanent part of the landscape in Cyprus. Neither can we take the view that we have to learn to live with this problem. That is why we have always contributed in a constructive and positive way to the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem with which we are all faced.

42. Compared with previous reports, the present one makes less gloomy reading and allows some cautious optimism as a result of the reactivation of the intercommunal talks under the new formula. The participation in the talks of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in the exercise of his good offices in accordance with resolution 244 (1967) of the Security Council, as well as the participation of two constitutional experts—one Turk and one Greek—in an advisory capacity, proved to be beneficial. And this is gratifying for us, who have promptly and unreservedly agreed to the proposed formula.

43. It appears from the report, which provides this body with a fair and objective analysis of the situation in Cyprus, that existing difficulties are being approached in a reasonable and earnest manner and both sides show a genuine desire to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations. This is a satisfactory development and very much in line with the long-standing policy of Greece, whose position on this question has been set forth repeatedly in statements of the Greek Government, testifying to our wish to see both parties in Cyprus reconcile their differences, and thus find a way to live together in peace in an independent, sovereign and unitary State, with the adequate participation of the two communities.

44. May I open a parenthesis here and say that my delegation feels that it would not be advisable to dwell upon constitutional notions within the premises of today's meeting. The setting up of a workable and sound State machinery is being thoroughly explored in the intercommunal talks, which constitute the most propitious, if not

the only way of achieving the desirable goal. My delegation, therefore, earnestly hopes that from today's meeting a message of good will and encouragement would be transmitted from New York to the interlocutors in Cyprus, in order to assist them in concluding fruitfully their delicate and difficult task.

45. As reported in paragraph 74 of the report the situation in the island has remained quiet during the last six months and no major incidents have occurred. We regret, however, that little progress has been achieved in deconfrontation and normalization of conditions.

46. As far as we are concerned, we favour any steps capable of increasing co-operation between the two elements of the population as the best way of building up trust between the inhabitants of the island. Restoration of confidence would greatly assist the two interlocutors in carrying out successfully their task.

47. It has been argued time and again that no substantial progress can be achieved in normalizing the situation and bringing about deconfrontation as long as the intercommunal talks yield no positive and concrete results. But we think that it can be equally argued that as long as the two communities continue to live in the present state of absurd confrontation and apartness, as long as they refuse to unfreeze the present situation, the intercommunal talks will remain deprived of a desirable impetus. We hold the view that there is a close relationship between the everyday conditions of life in the island and the progress or lack of progress in the talks.

48. In this respect we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 76 that:

"As long as armed forces confront each other in close proximity, tension will remain and, with it, the danger that fighting may break out at the slightest provocation from one side or another."

To this we should like to add that even without provocation, and as a result of a mere mishap, confrontation might lead to conflagration.

49. We also agree with the Secretary-General that the increase of military capability augments the danger of escalation. And in this context I wish to stress that the Greek Government is firmly opposed to any illegal imports of arms into the island, no matter where they come from and no matter what their destination might be.

50. In concluding my brief intervention, I would like to perform a pleasant duty and reiterate to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation for his unflagging and dedicated efforts aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution of the problem through constructive negotiations between the parties concerned. Our thanks and appreciation are also extended to the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Guyer, to Mr. Osorio-Tafall for his tireless and patient work on the island, to the Commander of the Force, General Prem Chand, and the officers and men under his command. Finally, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to those countries which, in a

spirit of international solidarity, permit, either in the form of military contingents or in the form of voluntary contributions, the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus to continue.

51. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he addressed to me.

52. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): In voting, as it just has, to extend the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the Council has taken the same action which it has been taking every three or six months for nearly nine years. It is an action which, as others have remarked, has become almost automatic. This time, however, there has been a difference. In the past, action has been taken in a spirit of helplessness, if not of resignation. But today, we have acted with hope and indeed, as the representative of Greece has said, with cautious optimism.

53. The reason for this hope is, of course, the reactivation of the intercommunal talks, to which the Secretary-General has drawn attention in his report which is, as usual, an admirably clear and concise document. My delegation has long held the view that these talks provide the most promising way to approach a solution of the problems of the island. We are deeply appreciative of the efforts of the Secretary-General which led to the resumption of the talks last July. We trust that he will continue to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the presence at the talks of his Special Representative, to whom we also have pleasure in paying a tribute, to exert his influence in favour of a successful outcome to them. The Secretary-General will doubtless continue to emphasize that, if the talks are to succeed, both sides must recognize that compromises are necessary. For, while we pay a tribute to the role of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative and while we believe too that, as the Secretary-General says in his report, the assistance of the two constitutional experts has been constructive and effective, when all is said and done it is for the two direct participants to reach agreement. It is not for us to say what that agreement should be and I am sure in this connexion that the wording of certain paragraphs of the Secretary-General's report does not imply on anyone's part any change in views held as regards the framework in which these talks are taking place. What is clear, however, from the report is that a determined effort will be essential. It is hardly necessary to emphasize to the parties concerned the unforeseeable consequences of a breakdown in the talks. We are encouraged, however, by the fact that the Secretary-General records in his report that both sides have shown a genuine desire to settle their differences and we hope to see real progress made towards a settlement during the period of the renewed mandate. We therefore appeal to all those concerned to continue to show their willingness to make concessions and their determination to make progress. We for our part would deplore any action from any quarter which would have the effect of hindering such progress.

54. Despite the reactivation of the intercommunal talks, we note from the report that the situation in the island continues to be, as he puts it, "essentially unstable". In these circumstances, we agree with the Secretary-General's observations and in particular with his proposal for a further

six-month extension of UNFICYP's mandate. We also note with satisfaction what he says about making recommendations to the Council at once if there is a change in the situation in the course of the period of the renewed mandate.

55. The continuing financial deficit of the UNFICYP operation is of serious concern to my delegation. The limited response to the Secretary-General's appeal to Member States for greater financial support was very disappointing to my Government, which has itself given full financial and material support to UNFICYP since its inception in 1964. What is more, costs have risen. We for our part have now decided, in addition to our previous contribution, to absorb these increases for the period of the renewed mandate in respect both of the extra costs of the British contingent and of the logistic support which we provide to other contingents. This is a clear indication of the importance that my Government attaches to the operation but I must stress that this action does not mean that our acceptance of the financial burden of support for UNFICYP can be taken for granted indefinitely. We welcome the Secretary-General's determination to continue his efforts to seek a solution to the financial problem and, in this connexion, we have no doubt that he will also continue to seek economies in the administration of the Force.

56. At the same time no one can deny that the Force continues to do a magnificent job, and once again my delegation would like to express its appreciation of the work of General Prem Chand and all those who work under him. Although it might be too optimistic to believe that this will be the last time that the Security Council has to meet to renew the Force's mandate, dare we hope that at least the end of this operation is in sight and that there is at last a chance for a genuine and lasting peace in Cyprus?

57. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Once again Belgium has voted in favour of the draft resolution whereby the Security Council has decided to prolong for a further period of six months the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force. The support of my country for this decision should be interpreted as an affirmation of our confidence in the peace-keeping efforts of our Organization in Cyprus.

58. The successive reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus invariably conclude with the same remark and, hence, with the same conclusion, that is to say: the situation is still fundamentally unstable and it will probably remain so until the fundamental problem on the island has been resolved. Hence it is essential to maintain the United Nations Peace-keeping Force for a further limited period. Such indeed is the assessment made by the Secretary-General in paragraphs 80 and 81 of the excellent document he has submitted to us, S/10842.

59. The report for the second half of this year contains positive aspects which I would describe as hopeful, and also, unfortunately, negative aspects, which illustrate disappointments and indeed apprehension.

60. On the credit side of the Cyprus situation we have noted in paragraph 24 that "The military situation has remained quiet during the period under review," and in paragraph 31 that there has been "only one shooting incident confirmed by UNFICYP and considered to be a breach of the ceasefire" and also in paragraph 32 that "there has been a further reduction in the number of breaches of the ceasefire". In other words, the presence of the United Nations Force is a decisive factor in stabilizing the situation and, generally speaking, the decisive factor in the maintenance of public order. However, we cannot hide from ourselves the precarious nature of the situation since the Secretary-General informs us of his own apprehensions when he writes in paragraph 74 that:

"The situation in the island has remained quiet, but despite the efforts of UNFICYP, little progress has been achieved in deconfrontation or normalization of conditions. Indeed, in most cases, UNFICYP could do no more than try to maintain the *status quo* and prevent a worsening of the general situation."

61. Also on the credit side of the United Nations operation in Cyprus, we may mention the good offices of the Secretary-General and in particular of his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, which have made possible the resumption of talks between the two communities, with the participation of constitutional law experts sent by the Greek and Turkish Governments. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the diplomatic qualities and the moderating influence of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, who has succeeded in narrowing the differences between the two parties, when—something which has often occurred—the discussion had reached a deadlock. We should like to include in these complimentary remarks the two Greek and Turkish lawyers, who have done excellent team work.

62. Although real progress has been achieved on questions of principle, several important problems still await solution. We hope that these will soon be tackled in a spirit of compromise and with the wish to achieve solutions satisfactory to both communities. My delegation would like to appeal to the negotiators to see to it that the presidential and vice-presidential elections which are to be held in Cyprus in February do not interrupt the contacts which are also vital for the resumption of conversations, so that they can be concluded before the expiration of the mandate of the Force, which the Council has just prolonged.

63. On the debit side of the situation at present prevailing in Cyprus, we have noted the assessment of the Secretary-General himself, particularly in chapter III of his report, devoted to activities towards a return to normal conditions. Too often our impression is that the two communities are getting farther and farther apart, instead of narrowing their differences. We can only regret the fact that the gulf between the two communities is wider than ever and that the younger generations of Turks and Greeks have absolutely nothing to do with each other, whereas their parents did have friends in the other camp. Therefore we share the view of the Secretary-General when he writes in paragraph 80 of his report that the talks should lead to "a satisfactory, lasting and agreed solution based on the concept of an independent sovereign... State, in whose

life the two communities will participate properly, and in which they will feel they are treated as genuine partners. Nothing could be more dangerous for the future of Cyprus than to establish within the constitutional framework relations between the majority on the one hand and the minority on the other hand.

64. Similarly, we have confidence in the political realism and the spirit of conciliation of the Turkish and Greek Governments, which, I am sure, will do everything in their power to calm passions, where they may be explosive, and promote understanding among all nationals of the island. In this regard, we cannot conceal our apprehensions at the findings of the representatives of the United Nations Force on the subject of the acquisition of military material by the armed forces of the two sides. The Secretary-General was right to draw the attention of the Council in paragraph 76 of his report to the fact that "the increase in military capability on both sides would make any armed clashes all the more destructive". We should like to issue an urgent appeal to all States to refrain from sending weapons or permitting them to be sent to the various armed groups in that zone of conflict.

65. Another subject of concern is that of the financial situation of the Force. In spite of the voluntary contributions made or pledged, in the next few months it will need \$20.5 million to cover its running expenses as well as to cover the deficit. Once again my Government would like to express its regret at the fact that only two permanent members of the Security Council have been making voluntary financial contributions to the special account of the Force, while the Charter, by conferring the status of permanent member upon five Powers, meant by this to confer upon them particular responsibility in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security.

66. Permit me to conclude these brief remarks by repeating once again to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and to General Prem Chand, commander of the Force, and to all the officers, soldiers and civilian personnel who are serving so valiantly the United Nations operations in Cyprus our profound gratitude for the remarkable work they have been doing in Cyprus under the flag of our Organization.

67. Mr. DE PRAT GAY (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since 4 March 1964, the date when the Security Council adopted resolution 186 (1964), it has on 26 occasions—throughout almost nine years—reaffirmed its decision to do everything necessary to remove any possibility of confrontation in the historic Cypriot nation.

68. Today we are considering this matter for the twenty-seventh time. At first sight the extension of this effort without having yet achieved a satisfactory final result is doubtless reason for discouragement, but, if we consider that the possible alternative is armed confrontation, we are bound to give firm support to this United Nations action in Cyprus. I believe that we must always bear this dangerous phase in mind. It justifies every decision to continue along the difficult road to a negotiated peace in the hope that a stable and progressive future for all the inhabitants of the island will be achieved.

69. In this spirit the delegation of Argentina has analysed the interesting report prepared by the Secretary-General which is contained in document S/10842. We have studied it from two different points of view: first, as regards the action undertaken there to arrive at a lasting understanding and, secondly, as regards what has been done by the United Nations Force for the maintenance of peace on Cyprus.

70. We are particularly pleased by the statement made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 24 of his report:

"The military situation has remained quiet during the period under review. Both communities have acted with responsibility and restraint to prevent any minor incidents from becoming more serious."

71. As we understand it, that calm and tranquillity are fundamental for the continuance of the activities designed to reach a return to normal conditions, a matter to which the Secretary-General refers in chapter III of the report. We are concerned that, as is stated in paragraph 40, there has again been little progress towards a return to normal conditions. What is, furthermore, very disquieting is that the report says that "The trend towards the separate development of the two communities has continued, and only minor progress has been made in the normalization of public services."

72. Yet we are pleased to note that both communities have co-operated to a certain degree in regard to the development projects sponsored by the United Nations. We hope that this mutual co-operation will increase substantially. We feel that in this matter our Organization can and should do far-reaching work. Joint development could well be the basis for understanding and integration and thereby the real bulwark of peace. Doubtless this is an essential factor on which the work of the United Nations should be built.

73. We also sincerely congratulate the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, on the results of the good offices they have exercised in the course of this year. We are pleased to note that since the intercommunal talks were resumed in Nicosia on 8 June 1972, with Mr. Waldheim's participation, four series of meetings have been held, with a substantial number of conversations. This is a step forward when compared with the situation as it was on 15 June of this year, which was dealt with at the 1646th and 1647th meetings of this Council.

74. We firmly hope that these talks will continue as scheduled. Thus it will be possible to create a spirit for a common solution in this field. We express our appreciation to Mr. Osorio-Tafall, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for the efforts we know he is making to this end. We encourage him to persevere in this complex task for which he has the determined support of the Security Council.

75. As regards what UNFICYP has done, we completely agree with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 10 of his report. We congratulate Major General Prem Chand, the commanders of the contingents and their

staff officers for the high order of discipline shown by the officers and men of the Force. These soldiers from many countries, by their impeccable conduct, have enhanced the prestige of the United Nations both in Cyprus and throughout the world.

76. We voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/10847 with the conviction that we were thereby doing the utmost to ensure that peace is maintained there. This is in accord with the fundamental objectives of the Charter and with the very essence of the Council's *raison d'être*.

77. In conclusion, the delegation of Argentina urges the parties concerned, in their turn, to comply fully with paragraph 2 of the resolution that was adopted.

78. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): The Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the past six months throws into sharp relief the reason for the slow progress that has been made on this seemingly intractable question which, in our view, is due to the lack of a spirit of accommodation and acceptance of each other's legitimate claims by the peoples of this Mediterranean island. As the report indicates, this attitude can be seen at every level and in every area of life in Cyprus. In complicated situations such as this, time is seldom the great healer. But here, as time goes by without the necessary relaxation of inflexible attitudes, fear, suspicion and mistrust become deeper and the prospect of peace recedes.

79. The Security Council has done, and is doing, a great deal in an effort not only to prevent the situation from deteriorating but also to give an impetus to the search for viable solutions to the Cyprus problem.

80. The Secretary-General is to be highly commended for his part in the reactivation of the intercommunal talks which are being held under United Nations auspices. The addition of constitutional experts made available by the Governments of Greece and Turkey, and the presence of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Special Representative, in the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices, have added new and valuable dimensions to the discussions. The fact alone that, in four rounds of talks, 24 meetings have already been held and that the resumption of more in the near future is planned, means that their usefulness has been recognized by the parties concerned. Certainly, the most hopeful sign of progress in these talks is contained in paragraph 61 of the Secretary-General's report, to the effect that in the intercommunal discussions on the main issues some measure of agreement had been reached.

81. It was precisely for these considerations and because of the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in chapter VII of his report, particularly in paragraph 81, that my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which extends the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for another period of six months for the ninth year.

82. On the occasion of the admission of Cyprus to the United Nations 12 years ago, Ambassador Rossides, who

still represents his country in the United Nations, had this to say:

"In the old days Cyprus was often a meeting-place for wars and conquests among nations from the east and from the west. Now it can be a meeting-place in terms of freedom, harmony and peace".²

83. We hope that the day will soon come when the peoples of this bi-communal republic join hands to live in peace and harmony together as a sovereign and unitary state. While the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus should not remain in that country a day longer than is strictly necessary we feel that, under the present circumstances, the United Nations presence in the island is an essential factor in the preservation of peace in Cyprus.

84. We hope that the Secretary-General's efforts to resolve the financial problems facing the Force will be successful. My own Government, though very limited in financial resources, nevertheless felt duty-bound to pledge a modest amount in voluntary contribution in this regard. In this context, and indeed in all that pertains to the United Nations involvement in Cyprus, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, his collaborators and his staff to bring closer the prospect of a permanent peace in that troubled island.

85. This is probably the last time that I will be addressing the Security Council as one of its members, since my country's term of office ends with the current year. I would therefore like, with the permission of the President and the Council, to seize this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciations and sincere thanks for the co-operation accorded us by all members of the Council, particularly to those delegations with whom we found the closest identification of aims and methods in the continuing efforts for strengthening the effectiveness of the actions of the Council in order to uphold the principles of justice and law and to preserve world peace and security that justifies the act of faith which my Government and people have placed in the United Nations. I wish to express my sincere thanks for the co-operation and support they have extended to my delegation. To my comrades in arms from Guinea and the Sudan, I need only exhort them to continue to stand firm in their valiant defence of peace and justice, not only in Africa but in the world as a whole.

86. I would also like to extend a personal expression of thanks to Ambassadors Lazar Mojsov, representative of Yugoslavia, and Ortiz de Rozas, representative of Argentina, with whom I have had the honour and pleasure of being associated in the group of three established by the Security Council to assist the Secretary-General in his efforts directed to find a solution to the question of Namibia. I have had the greatest admiration for their statesmanship and diplomatic qualities. I thank them not only for their friendly co-operation but also for their understanding of and concern for the manifold problems of the young nations of Africa born of an old continent long subjected to foreign domination.

87. In the course of our term of office we have, I must admit, in many instances been strongly critical of some members of this Council for their approaches to various important problems. Obviously, we did not see eye to eye with them, but in all our discussions we could always rely on a high level of diplomacy and knowledge of the personal worth of our colleagues.

88. May I be permitted also to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the profound appreciation of my delegation for his invaluable efforts in the service of peace and progress. Our thanks go also to Mr. Kutakov, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, and to all members of the Secretariat of the Security Council for the praiseworthy manner in which they have serviced this Council.

89. It is not an easy task for a representative from a small developing country to sit in the most powerful organ of the world organization. Undoubtedly it was a difficult task for us, but we tried to perform it to the limits of our abilities, guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to which we attach the greatest value, and by our revolutionary foreign policy, which is based upon the ideals of peaceful coexistence and friendly relations between peoples and which emanates also from our commitment to the cause of peace and justice as opposed to hatred and oppression.

90. The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic desires to co-operate fully with all peace-loving nations, and strictly adheres to the policy of positive non-alignment. We have therefore during our term of membership in this Council tried to involve ourselves actively and independently in world affairs with a policy that proceeds towards the strengthening of international peace and security, rather than remain passive spectators of international affairs.

91. As a devoted supporter of the principles of the United Nations, I have never been able to agree with the concept that the membership of the United Nations has to be divided between big and small nations, for I am sure that a small nation has a share of wisdom and moral rectitude sufficient to enable it to make the objective contributions to world harmony and progress which the United Nations is entitled to expect. Regrettably, today's political realities are such that ideas about the role of the United Nations in international affairs vary according to one's point of view and selfish interest. In my modest opinion, that is not what was envisaged at San Francisco 27 years ago. The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, was never intended to be primarily a "power club" but an organization of common interests and common goals.

92. I cannot conclude this statement without making special mention of a name well known in this and many other United Nations circles—that of Abdulrahim Abby Farah, my predecessor. I think it is no exaggeration to say that his outstanding qualities as a diplomat, his untiring efforts to achieve freedom and justice for oppressed peoples and his strong sense of the vital nature of the system of international law and government we are striving to uphold have been an inspiration to many of us. In leaving his post as permanent representative of the Somali Democratic

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 866th meeting, para. 146.

Republic to the United Nations he has not left the Organization but is occupying a high post in the Secretariat as Commissioner for Technical Co-operation. His appointment honours my country, and I am sure that in his new responsibilities he will be an invaluable asset to the United Nations. I cannot mark the ending of Somalia's term of office in the Security Council in any better way than by repeating his call to members of this Council at the beginning of this year to rededicate themselves to the Charter, which, as he said, was not someone's pipe dream but had been hammered out as a result of international experience—hammered out, too, in clear recognition of the self-destructive tendencies of our modern world and with an almost prophetic judgement of the great issues which would determine peace and security in this century and beyond.

93. For myself, if I may be permitted to end this statement on a personal note, I must say that my participation in the debates of this Council, although they have sometimes caused me some disillusionment, has helped me greatly to achieve a better understanding of the intricacies and nature of power politics and the craft of multilateral diplomacy at the United Nations.

94. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): A few minutes ago we once again adopted unanimously a decision to extend the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. My delegation once again voted in favour of the draft resolution.

95. At precisely regular intervals, the Security Council has met to consider a report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus and to renew the mandate for UNFICYP, almost as a routine practice; we have just adopted an almost identical resolution for the twenty-second time. It is not without some reluctance and reservation that my delegation has supported this seemingly indefinite perpetuation of UNFICYP. My delegation's support of the recommendation of the Secretary-General, as stated in paragraph 81 of his report *[S/10842]*, stems directly from the most up-to-date and basic assessment of the present situation in Cyprus, which is so lucidly and comprehensively presented in the same report.

96. In spite of some encouraging developments which might prove to be a constructive step towards a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, there persist intercommunal confrontation and tension which do not allow us any optimism. Although the military situation has remained relatively quiet during the past six months, and in fact the same period witnessed the smallest number of shooting incidents since the inception of UNFICYP, there has been no tangible progress in the matter of deconfrontation. The armed forces of the two communities continue to confront each other in close proximity, and there is a danger that fighting may break out on the slightest provocation from one side or another. In particular, the increase in the military capability of both sides, which has been pointed out with a note of serious concern by the Secretary-General in his report, would make any armed clashes all the more dangerous.

97. The Secretary-General rightly summed up the still sensitive situation in the island when he reported:

"During the period under review the situation in the island has remained quiet, but despite the efforts of UNFICYP, little progress has been achieved in deconfrontation or normalization of conditions. Indeed, in most cases, UNFICYP could do no more than try to maintain the *status quo* and prevent a worsening of the general situation." *[ibid., para. 74]*.

98. That assessment of the present situation in Cyprus has convinced us that the continued presence of the United Nations Force is necessary in order to prevent a recurrence of fighting between the two confronting forces and to minimize the number of shooting incidents. Obviously it is because of the presence of the UNFICYP that relative calm has been maintained in Cyprus.

99. In focusing on the military situation I may have drawn too gloomy a picture of the Cyprus problem. However, on the non-military aspects of the problem the Secretary-General's report on developments in the affairs of the island during the period under review allows one to entertain some hope. The most significant development is, of course, the reactivation of the intercommunal talks in their newly broadened form. It is encouraging to note that those talks are progressing steadily and that although a number of important issues are still unresolved they are being approached in a reasonable and earnest manner. Naturally it is too early to forecast any outcome, as the talks are still at the initial stage. My delegation wishes to voice at least the ardent hope that reactivated talks will progress smoothly in a spirit of mutual trust and accommodation and that they will prove fruitful.

100. More than eight years have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. On this occasion of the twenty-second extension of the mandate, the delegation of Japan wishes to record its sincere hope that as a consequence of successful intercommunal talks a drastic reduction in the size of UNFICYP, if not its total withdrawal, as well as a substantial economy, might be achieved in the near future. In that connexion it is timely to recall the note of deep concern in the Secretary-General's report, when he says:

"Time also works in some ways against the United Nations effort in Cyprus. Though the will to help remains, it is inevitable that the countries contributing contingents or providing financial support for the United Nations operation should be increasingly concerned at the delay in finding a solution." *[ibid., para. 73]*.

101. Before concluding this statement my delegation wishes to pay a tribute, first of all, to the Secretary-General, who has shown great statesmanship in taking the initiative for the resumption of the intercommunal talks and has been exercising continuous efforts for their success. We wish also to thank Mr. Roberto Guyer and Mr. Osorio-Tafall who are acting as representatives of the Secretary-General. Our deep appreciation goes also to Major-General Prem Chand, and all the officers and men in blue berets, as well as to the civilian staff, who have been performing their important duties of peace-keeping in Cyprus. We wish also to take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the governments which have patiently shouldered the

burden of providing the contingents for the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

102. Finally, I wish to express my earnest hope that both of the parties directly interested in the intercommunal talks will continue to exhibit a spirit of compromise and accommodation and that the momentum for accelerating the talks will not be lost. It was in that expectation that Japan supported the draft resolution the Council has just adopted. Japan will continue to support the peace-keeping operations in Cyprus by voluntary contributions and other appropriate means.

103. I presume that it is your intention, Mr. President, to give those representatives who will shortly be departing a further opportunity of addressing the Council.

104. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): The Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 27 May to 1 December 1972 [S/10842] provides again, as we have come to expect, an able and balanced review of the intervening six months since our last consideration of the item in June of this year. While unfortunately it was not possible for the Secretary-General to convey to us an unqualified success story of a definitive major breakthrough and while, regrettably, the picture in the report is a mixture of brighter spots and inability to overcome some of the usual barriers, we can recognize that there have been at least two solid gains which, if utilized wisely and resourcefully, might potentially contribute towards reaching a decisive turning point on the road leading to a final settlement. One is the absence of any new major acute crisis or flare-up in or around the island such as used to bedevil the situation so much just before our last debate in June. The other is that the intercommunal talks, which were resumed in Nicosia on 8 June in the effective presence of the Secretary-General, have continued without interruption, in what seems to be a businesslike and well-intentioned atmosphere, and that some progress has even been marked on some important points. The combination of those two positive developments indicates that everybody concerned has been exercising much-needed restraint, for which they should all be commended.

105. We are heartened by the possibilities contained in the progress of the intercommunal talks, as stated in paragraph 61 of the report, namely, that the main issues involved are now being discussed, that the two constitutional experts have presented a number of joint opinions and that a certain measure of agreement has been reached. All the parties directly concerned, as well as the Security Council and the Secretary-General and his representatives, should, each in its own way, extend all possible help to bring the intercommunal talks to a successful completion, which would enable the people of Cyprus—its two communities—to live in equitable and solid unity within a viable State, thus providing an example of the successful overcoming of all difficulties.

106. In noting the gains I have mentioned with satisfaction and hopeful expectations we are not unmindful of the other side of the situation, namely, that there has been practically no progress, as the report tells us, towards normalization and deconfrontation in various fields—

military, economic, public service, transportation, water supply and other important and interconnected spheres—in the life of the island, which is cruelly torn apart, divided and separated by the troubles and strife besetting the two communities.

107. We share the view that, while the prevention of the resumption of fighting and worsening of the situation in and around the island represents a most valuable and necessary achievement, it is very dangerous to let the situation stagnate and fester. And here we are particularly aware of the "danger of escalation" of military measures, as reported in paragraph 75 of the report. Therefore it is necessary to support persistently every measure aimed at promoting normalization and deconfrontation on the island. Since the settlement of outstanding issues through intercommunal talks would constitute a major change in that situation and would break the vicious circle of entrenched distrust, it is absolutely imperative that no one should do anything to jeopardize that.

108. We have already commented on the important and valuable role played in the resumption of the talks and in setting them on the right course again by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, Under-Secretary-General Roberto Guyer and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall. I should like to register here our very high opinion of and gratitude to the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, its commanding officer, Major-General Prem Chand, and all the officers and men of the Force, whose discipline and bearing and dedication to their worth-while task in very complex and difficult circumstances have been and are instrumental in preserving peace and order—the only framework in which a settlement can be reached.

109. We have had ample opportunity in the past to reaffirm the firm and constant support that we have always extended and will continue to accord to the independent, sovereign, free and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, an equal Member of the United Nations, and to its unity and territorial integrity. This sincere and immutable commitment of all those directly involved, all those concerned and indeed the whole international community is a *sine qua non* of any progress in and around Cyprus, the necessary basis for transforming it from a crisis area into an island State of co-operation, peace and harmony, and a factor of security and stability in the whole Mediterranean region and beyond.

110. Equally, under the Charter of the United Nations and fundamental principles of international law and in keeping with all the pertinent Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the Republic of Cyprus, as a sovereign State, is entitled not only to full respect of its territorial integrity but also to the full observance of its inherent right to non-interference in its internal affairs and not to have force or the threat of force used against it in any circumstances. It is the mutual understanding and agreement of all the people of Cyprus, of its two communities, and the desire of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people, to live in fairly shared unity, united in peace and harmony, accepting and supporting reasonable compromises; and it is the right of the people of Cyprus to

decide their own internal affairs, without pressure from outside: this constitutes the only possible ground for the solution of their problems.

111. It is the well-known position of Yugoslavia, expressed throughout the long process of preparations for the European Conference on Security and Co-operation and especially now during the preparatory meetings in Helsinki, that peace and stability are indivisible, geographically and otherwise. That is why we maintain—and our position is meeting with ever-growing recognition—that the peace and security of Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East are interconnected and interdependent in many ways. That is why particular and general deconfrontation in and around Cyprus and its undisturbed and respected existence as an independent State is in the direct interest of us all. It would be most anachronistic to allow the present state of affairs to stagnate and remain unchanged at a time and in a period when some much more thorny and stubborn international problems and confrontations have been tackled with greater success and have even been solved or had their solution made possible.

112. Against that background, an anachronistic inability to come to grips more effectively and more speedily with the remaining problem of Cyprus would only give added weight to the disquieting observation contained in paragraph 73 of the report that:

“Time also works in some ways against the United Nations effort in Cyprus. Though the will to help remains, it is inevitable that the countries contributing contingents or providing financial support for the United Nations operation should be increasingly concerned at the delay in finding a solution.”

113. We note the Secretary-General's conclusion that in view of the considerations submitted in the report he deems it essential that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus be maintained for a further limited period and that the Security Council extend its mandate for another period of six months; and we note that the Government of Cyprus, as well as the Governments of Greece and Turkey, concur in this. We also share that view, convinced as we are that the Force represents one of the most important and successful United Nations efforts in peace-keeping, to be followed soon, we hope, by successful efforts at peace-making as well. That this Council sees it in this way is further evidenced by the fact that, in its recent reply to the Secretary-General on matters of strengthening international security [*S/10822 of 31 October 1972*], the Council mentioned very prominently its preoccupation with both Cyprus and the peace-keeping operations.

114. I cannot end my statement before saying how much my Government values the good and friendly relations with our neighbours and friends, Greece and Turkey, to which we are linked by many historic ties. And it gives me special pleasure to mention here the special relations between our country and the Republic of Cyprus and between the outstanding heads of State of our two countries, close partners in non-alignment and the recent and future meetings of the non-aligned countries.

115. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): The United States delegation approaches the Cyprus issue with a sense of guarded optimism. We cannot yet afford to be as positive as we would like to be, for certainly serious issues are as yet to be resolved. Nonetheless, the possibilities for substantive progress seem brighter than they have earlier in the long course of this frustratingly complex problem.

116. The issues involved can be resolved, this much I think we would all agree on. And peaceful negotiations between the parties concerned, conducted in an atmosphere of developing good will and trust, are the means for resolving them. Recent developments around the globe have served as eloquent testimony to the strength and efficacy of the negotiating process. We are pleased that the parties to the Cyprus dispute have renewed their efforts to seek a settlement by intensified negotiation.

117. The United States delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his excellent and comprehensive report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. We find encouragement in his assessment that: first, the situation has remained quiet during the period under review; then that both communities have acted with responsibility and restraint to prevent minor incidents from becoming more serious; and that there has been a further reduction in the number of breaches of the cease-fire and shooting incidents in areas of potential confrontation.

118. On the other hand, we cannot help but note with some regret that there has been little progress towards a return to normal conditions; that the trend towards separate development of the two communities has continued; that only minor progress has been made in the normalization of public services; that no noticeable change has occurred to further integrate economic activity; and that restrictions on the freedom of movement of civilians still remain a very serious problem.

119. In sum, the United States delegation voices its gratification over the progress achieved in intercommunal talks. We believe it already surpasses anything attained in previous more restricted talks on the matter. We cannot, meanwhile, ignore the serious problems which remain and were underscored in the Secretary-General's report. We trust that these issues will be resolved with the same sense of co-operation and goodwill which so far characterized the talks. We hope that Cyprus will soon join the category of potentially explosive problems which have at long last been fully resolved.

120. I should now like to turn my attention, if I may, to the problem of UNFICYP financing. We are all aware of the absolutely indispensable function performed by UNFICYP in the maintenance of peace on the island. All concerned with the operation have a difficult job to do and have consistently performed with dedication and skill. They have merited our appreciation. What is more, they merit our support.

121. Sufficient support, unfortunately, has not been forthcoming from the Member States of the Organization. The current UNFICYP deficit amounts to \$13,600,000. Taking into consideration present trends in costs and

contributions, UNFICYP will add about \$3 million to its deficit every year. This is not a financial record of which any of us can be proud. Indeed, this is an untenable situation which cannot be permitted to persist. The Secretary-General has made a special effort during the period under review to place UNFICYP on a sound and on a current financial basis. Unless Member States co-operate with these efforts—and members of this Council, along with those States directly involved in the Cyprus question, have, in our view, a particular responsibility—my delegation does not see how UNFICYP can be maintained at its present level.

122. The United States has recently tendered a special contribution of \$8 million, and we urge others to come forward generously in an effort to erase what is an exorbitant deficit. We trust that, as the intercommunal talks proceed successfully, the end of UNFICYP's mandate is within sight. We believe that in the meantime concerted efforts should be continued to make UNFICYP's expenditures balance its anticipated income.

123. I should like to make one last point. The United States is deeply concerned at reports that arms have continued to flow into Cyprus. Whether these weapons and supplies reach organized armed forces in the two communities of the island or fall into the hands of clandestine groups, they cannot fail to increase the instability and the potential for violence on the island. We would hope that States will do their utmost to prevent the introduction of arms supplies and that all States will encourage the negotiating parties to reach their goal of a fair and just settlement. We would hope that the day is imminent when all elements of the proud and culturally rich Cypriot nation will reside peacefully with one another in a sovereign, independent and united Cyprus.

124. Mr. President, I have a rather long-standing commitment that impells me to leave. I would not like to leave without expressing the deep respect and gratitude that our delegation feels for our colleagues who are retiring from the Security Council at the end of the year. I am thinking of Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas—who is not here with us today—and his able delegation; Ambassador Longerstaey of Belgium; Ambassador Vinci of Italy; Ambassador Nakagawa of Japan; Ambassador Nur Elmi of Somalia, and before him, of course, his able predecessor Ambassador Farah. I would simply like to commend them on the fantastic job they have done in representing their countries in this chamber. I wish them well and thank them for the many instances of maximum co-operation with our delegation and with the Council as a whole.

125. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Six months have elapsed since the Security Council authorized the limited extension of the stationing of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. In the words of Council resolution 315 (1972), the extension was approved "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force"

126. My delegation studied the report of the Secretary-General with a view to assessing whether the situation in

Cyprus has evolved in a manner to warrant a withdrawal or a reduction of the Force. In paragraph 24 the Secretary-General stated that from a military standpoint the "situation has remained quiet during the period under review". Otherwise, he thinks that there has been little progress towards a return to normalization. This state of affairs leaves much to be desired. It is promising, however, that the intercommunal talks, initiated by the Secretary-General during his last visit to Cyprus, have since been continued under the good offices of his Special Representative.

127. Although these talks do not seem to have led to concrete results, it is a matter of reasonable satisfaction to my delegation that they are conducted in a cordial manner and that the previous impasse is broken. We share the gratification of the Secretary-General of this modest development in the right direction, but my delegation also shares his concern over the continuation of the instability of the situation in the island, which, through any faulty move from any party, might lead to deterioration in the situation. In such a case, the presence of UNFICYP proves necessary as a peace-keeping operation, but in no way can it be an alternative to a permanent normal condition in the island. My delegation sincerely hopes, therefore, that the parties concerned will exert more efforts and demonstrate sufficient good will and conciliation so that the current intercommunal talks will lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

128. In this respect my delegation would like once more to reiterate its genuine hope that, through peaceful means, Cyprus will ultimately, without any interference from outside, emerge into a sovereign and non-aligned State. Because of its very close relations with the parties concerned, and for the sake of the establishment of international peace and security in such a strategic region as that of Cyprus, my delegation genuinely believes that a non-aligned Cyprus will play a significant role in the region. For the same reasons, my delegation attaches great importance to the extension of the services of the United Nations Force for a further period, in the hope that the intercommunal talks will lead to an improvement in the present unstable situation and eventually to a permanent peaceful settlement in the island. My delegation has therefore voted in favour of the draft resolution which we have adopted.

129. Meanwhile, my delegation joins others in paying tribute to the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Roberto Guyer, to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, and the military and civilian members of UNFICYP for the dedicated manner in which they have been conducting the mission entrusted to them by the Security Council.

130. Before concluding my statement, and in case this is the last meeting for our colleagues whose membership of the Council will end on 31 December, I should like to say a few words.

131. In all sincerity, I and my delegation feel sad at the thought of missing the presence in the Council of my colleagues and friends, Ambassadors Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, Longerstaey of Belgium, Nakagawa of Japan,

Vinci of Italy, Nur Elmi, and before him Farah, of Somalia, and the members of their delegations. It was indeed a pleasure to enjoy their friendship, their humane and friendly characters, their open and sympathetic understanding and co-operation. From the moment I attended the Security Council meetings in Addis Ababa early in the year I have felt indebted to every one of them for making this year in the Council both enjoyable and useful: enjoyable, because they are all good men; useful, because they are all outstanding and experienced diplomats whose counsel has always been enriching and gracefully given and expressed. My association and that of my delegation with their colleagues, both in the Security Council and more closely in committees and consultations, enables me to say that they are all of a type and calibre quite commensurate with that of their heads of delegations. They deserve our tribute and admiration. In wishing all our departing colleagues and members of their delegations well, I wish to assure them, on behalf of the delegation of the Sudan, that we shall always treasure their friendship and continue to consolidate our co-operation with them in the United Nations and its organs.

132. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): In stating our position on many occasions in the last nine years on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, my delegation has at all times recalled the conditions which we believe must underlie the positive decision the Security Council has taken each time upon the recommendation of the Secretary-General. Although, as years pass, this decision seems to have an air of ritual and automatism, renewal of the mandate should be accompanied by adequate assurances regarding the quest for a solution to the problems of the island.

133. The report of the Secretary-General, as well as the statements made earlier by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, make it clearer now than at any time in the past nine years that the evolution of the situation is proving that our concerns have been well-founded. On the one hand, the maintenance of the United Nations Force is necessary because tension remains in the island, even though the situation in the past six months has not been marked by any grave incident. Furthermore, the talks between the two communities have been resumed within the framework of the new "formula" proposed by U Thant on 18 October 1971, and the two parties, according to the report, "have shown a genuine desire to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations" [*see S/10842, paras. 55 and 71*]. Finally, the Secretary-General specifies the restrictions with which he recommends the extension of the mandate of the Force which will mean it will have been in Cyprus for more than nine years. If there is a change in the situation in the course of the next six months, he assures us that he will not fail to make new recommendations to the Council.

134. As regards the general situation in Cyprus, the record does indeed remain as disquieting as in the past. Although there has been a reduction in the number of incidents, there has been no relaxation of tension, but in fact a continuation of the *status quo*. Furthermore, the "combat efficiency" of the military forces on both sides has been

reinforced. The trend towards the separate development of the two communities, which furthermore brings about an imbalance in their economic well-being, continues. Restrictions on the freedom of movement of civilians remain unchanged.

135. Doubtless it is not really necessary to pursue this analysis of a situation which is, regrettably, only too well known to the members of the Council and which seems to justify the maintenance of the United Nations Force in the island. On the other hand, UNFICYP, as is reported, has succeeded in bringing about peaceful solutions to problems which can affect relations between the two communities and has prevented either community from acquiring an advantage vis-à-vis the other which might sow resentment and fear and thereby jeopardize the negotiations which have been started.

136. That function which is today undertaken by the Force seems to us to be essential. It is truly "peace-making" as opposed to "peace-keeping". Therefore it is fundamentally positive, and as we see it in present circumstances, particularly justifies the renewal of the mandate of the Force.

137. As regards intercommunal talks and bearing in mind their quite legitimately confidential character, we note three facts with satisfaction. The first is that they take place; there have been four rounds of talks and they will be continued in the month of January. Further, the enlarged formula proposed by U Thant has proved to be positive. Finally, the solution of very important questions at the level of local administration seems to be on the right course.

138. We are grateful to the Secretary-General, to his assistants in the Secretariat, and to those who are acting on the spot on his behalf—that is to say, in particular his Special Representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand—for their past and present assistance to the parties, whether directly, by their participation in the talks, or indirectly by trying to prevent any external incident from disturbing the course of the talks.

139. We also pay a tribute to the will to conciliation shown by the parties themselves and, as the report says, to the "reasonable and earnest manner" with which they have sought a solution to the problems of the island. These favourable attitudes, confirmed by all the proof we have received, warrant our optimism.

140. We affirmed here six months ago [*1647th meeting*] that solutions could be found if suspicion and intransigence had not prevailed over the spirit of compromise. The role of UNFICYP is to prevent anything which might engender such suspicion and intransigence, and that justifies extending the mandate of the Force in the present circumstances. But it is within the competence of the parties to seek a compromise. They must work together to give Cyprus viable institutions which will guarantee for each community and for the population as a whole security and effective participation in public affairs. We wish them every success in the difficult task which they have undertaken.

141. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In connexion with the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution on the Cyprus question, the Soviet delegation would like to state that the basis of the Soviet Union's position has always been, and still is, that the question must be settled peacefully in the interests of the people of Cyprus and in the interests of the easing of tension in this important part of the world. On the instructions of the Soviet Government, the delegation of the USSR has more than once made statements to this effect at Council meetings. Any settlement of the problem must be based on respect for the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, a State which is a Member of the United Nations and which pursues a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs. We should like to stress yet again that there is not and cannot be any doubt that the solution of the internal problems of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves.

142. As we have more than once stated, the Cyprus question must be solved without outside interference. The lawful rights of all Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, must be respected by all. The Soviet Union has resolutely opposed, and continues to oppose, any attempts to encroach upon the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and any intention of solving the Cyprus question behind the back of the people of Cyprus to the detriment of its vital interests and to the benefit of the self-centered imperialist aims of outside forces.

143. As in the past, we believe that to ensure the independence, integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus all foreign troops must be removed from its territory, as must the foreign military bases currently located in its territory.

144. Cyprus is situated in the immediate vicinity of Europe. It is therefore entirely natural that the state of affairs on the European continent should directly affect the position in Cyprus. One would like to hope that the peaceful winds of the decrease in international tension in Europe will have a favourable effect not only on the continent of Europe but also in areas adjacent to it, including the island of Cyprus.

145. On the positive side, the Soviet delegation notes the information contained in the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Cyprus for the period 27 May to 1 December 1972, concerning the intercommunal talks which have been taking place in Cyprus since 3 July 1972. The delegation of the USSR sincerely desires the success of these talks and their rapid and positive completion in the interests of the Republic of Cyprus as well as those of its people—all of them—and of the strengthening of peace in the area. We also note with satisfaction the positive function served by the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, which have facilitated the reactivation of these talks.

146. The report contains a recommendation which would extend once more the stationing in Cyprus of the troops known as "the United Nations Force" for a further period of six months, in order to maintain normal conditions

which will ensure the continuance of the intercommunal talks.

147. The Soviet delegation has frequently commented, and its viewpoint has been supported by the delegations of a number of other countries, that in the present international circumstances, such a lengthy stationing in Cyprus, extending over eight years, of foreign troops known as "the United Nations Force" can in no way be regarded as normal. Their presence there has been excessively prolonged. It is not difficult to see that an operation of this type cannot serve as a model or standard for the conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations. If such United Nations operations are to extend over such long periods, doubts must necessarily arise as to whether it is desirable to undertake them at all. In this connexion, the delegation of the USSR would like to stress once again that the conduct of this operation in Cyprus cannot and must not be prolonged indefinitely.

148. The sending of United Nations troops, and their stationing in the territory of an independent sovereign State, is an extraordinary short-term measure which should be terminated as soon as possible. However, bearing in mind the position of the interested parties in this question, and above all the attitude of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, the delegation of the USSR did not oppose the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution extending the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus until 15 June 1973.

149. The Soviet delegation assumes, however—and this is a basic and very vital point in the determination of the Soviet Union's attitude towards this kind of resolution—that the extension of the stationing of United Nations troops in Cyprus is to be carried out in full accordance with the provisions of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)] and of subsequent Council decisions on the Cyprus question, namely that the present functions of these troops will be maintained and that the present method of financing them, that is to say on a voluntary basis, will continue.

150. The Soviet delegation would also like to comment on the forthcoming partial change in the membership of the Security Council as a result of the departure of five members and the entry into the Council of the new members elected at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

151. We note with satisfaction the desire which has been apparent among the representatives of all the outgoing members, as well as the other members of the Council, I think I may rightly say throughout the whole of the two-year period, to co-operate and to seek the best mutually acceptable decisions on the major question of the strengthening of peace and international security.

152. For the sake of objectivity and frankness, however, we cannot fail to note that we have not always been able to achieve mutual understanding and agreed positions with some of them on the second major question to which the Council has given a great deal of attention, that of anti-colonialism. In this connexion, we should like to

express the hope that with the new members of the Security Council it will prove possible to reach mutual understanding and to work out effective agreed decisions on this important current international problem, too.

153. The delegation of the USSR would like to express its particular satisfaction at the close co-operation and mutual understanding which we have always had with the representatives of African and Asian countries in the Security Council on anti-colonial questions. We hope that we shall enjoy further close co-operation and mutual understanding with the representatives of these countries both in the Security Council and in the United Nations as a whole, in the achievement of the noble goal which is still before the African continent, that of completely and permanently eradicating the remnants of colonialism from that continent. The Soviet Union's position on this subject was recently confirmed yet again, and clearly expressed, in the Soviet-Chilean communiqué issued on 10 December, which stated:

"The Soviet Union and the Republic of Chile are in favour of the rapid and complete elimination of the remnants of colonialism and the speedy and effective implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The parties resolutely condemn racism and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations."

154. May I, on behalf of the delegation of the USSR, wish the outgoing members of the Security Council, our respected colleagues with whom we have for two years worked on a basis of constant personal contact, mutual respect and close co-operation, great success, health and happiness. We should like in future to continue and strengthen our good personal relations with them and to maintain our working contacts and co-operation on questions falling within the competence of the United Nations.

155. Where the work of the Council is concerned, the Soviet delegation will continue to do everything in its power to ensure that the Council constantly makes its important contribution to the cause of easing international tension and strengthening international peace and security. This will help to strengthen further the effectiveness of the Council and enhance its role as the principal organ of the United Nations which has been entrusted with the task of doing everything possible to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

156. The Soviet delegation is convinced that the new members of the Security Council, together with the other members of the Council, will participate actively in carrying out this important and responsible task. It will welcome their entry into the Council and for its part will do everything it can to develop and maintain close working contacts and co-operation with them, as well as with the other members of the Council.

157. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I should like to explain briefly the position of the Italian delegation in concurring once again in the decision we have just taken to extend for another six-month period the mandate of UNFICYP.

158. I wish to begin by paying a warm tribute to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Osorio-Tafall as well as to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer, and other members of the Secretariat. The unswerving efforts they have deployed in preparing the ground for an acceptable and just solution of the Cyprus problems deserve the unreserved acknowledgment of the Council. We owe a similar tribute to the commander of the United Nations Force, Major-General Prem Chand, and to all the different national contingents. Their performance, which has been of a high order, has won the respect of all and has contributed in a most significant manner to paving the way for the achievement of the ultimate goal of this important peace-keeping operation. We welcome also the altogether constructive statements made today by the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece.

159. The Italian delegation has studied with the utmost interest and attention the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General. It is in fact the second report following his visit to the area, when all practical arrangements were made for the speedy resumption and reactivation of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the proposals put forward in the aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971. Therefore we have been rather encouraged to read in paragraph 71 of the same report that the "most important development during the period under review is undoubtedly the reactivation" of these talks, which have "injected new life" into the discussions, and that "limited progress has" already "been achieved in some areas". In fact, three rounds of talks have already been completed, while the fourth is still in progress.

160. Of course the report of the Secretary-General does not hide the fact that a number of important issues still remain unsettled and that the road to be undertaken is still long and that as yet there are still many bridges to cross. In the view of the Secretary-General, in fact, the danger that fighting may break out on the slightest provocation still exists; the clandestine importation of arms is not yet completely under control; and the imbalance in the economic well-being of the two communities remains almost as noticeable as in the past. In other words, he feels that the situation is still essentially unstable and that it will remain so until the basic problems confronting the island are solved.

161. We cannot but agree with this general assessment. On the other hand, as I have stated on previous occasions, we must bear in mind the complexity of the many issues involved and realize, therefore, that the reactivation of the intercommunal talks represents only a first step—a first but essential step forward—since the intercommunal talks can clarify the atmosphere and create a new and better climate in which it would be easier to take the following more decisive steps towards a final solution, which we hope will come soon. In this connexion, I should add that we feel most encouraged by the fact that both sides have shown a genuine desire to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations, giving proof of good will and better understanding. As the Italian delegation has been advocating for a long time, it is only by approaching the problem in this way that it will be possible to overcome the still existing difficulties—not only for the benefit of the people of

Cyprus but for the benefit of all countries interested in the maintenance of peace and security in such a sensitive area.

162. Notwithstanding those few elements which may give rise to some hope, the Secretary-General deems it essential that UNFICYP be maintained for another period. The Italian delegation fully shares this point of view. The United Nations Force in Cyprus has in fact shown, as I said before, a sense of duty and responsibility of the highest level in fulfilling its difficult tasks; therefore it appears still to be essential to keep UNFICYP in the island for the time being in order to safeguard the relatively improved situation and act as a deterrent against unforeseen events which could only disturb or upset the normal proceedings of these peaceful negotiations, among the parties concerned.

163. However, I wish to stress the increasing expectation of seeing this operation come to an end, a positive end, within a reasonable period of time. UNFICYP is at present in its ninth year of existence, and an indefinite prolongation of its mandate would amount in practice to an undisclosed and unwilling recognition of its inability to achieve alone completely what it was set up for. In fact, in the view of the Italian Government as well as other governments, peace-keeping operations must discharge two main tasks: prevent a situation from deteriorating and bring about, with the main parties concerned, a peaceful solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Therefore, if it is true that a United Nations peace-keeping operation can be justified by an exceptional situation or event, it is also true that an indefinite extension of its task would mean, as I have stated, a recognition of the impossibility of attaining by itself the goal for which it was established. In other words, we consider that peace-keeping will never be a substitute for peace-making. The United Nations in fact plays its role by providing the parties with a good basis for agreement, but of course it cannot take the place of the parties themselves and fulfil their own responsibilities or play their role in the effort to achieve a peaceful and acceptable settlement.

164. Speaking of the general problem of international security, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, in the course of his intervention in the general debate in the General Assembly on 28 September, stated:

"Peace-keeping requires, besides measures to avoid possible conflicts or to settle those that already exist, a global commitment for the gradual removal of the deeper and sometimes old causes of conflict. We must include among these causes all kinds of interference in internal affairs, any limitation of sovereignty or any attempt to limit the freedom of each people".³

It seems to me that these are precisely the two conditions that the Secretary-General stresses in paragraph 80 of his report: that is to say, the willingness of the parties concerned to make mutual concessions and the necessity for the situation in Cyprus to remain quiet while the talks go on.

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2044th meeting, para. 80.

165. In this regard, we are convinced that, as experience has shown in recent years, in spite of the many problems still existing in the island, confrontation is not an alternative to the settlement of the crisis, and peace is not an impossible task for men of good will. I think no responsible statesman in Cyprus can have any doubt about this truth, and I am confident that they will continue to explore all possible avenues and, putting aside sterile polemics, proceed speedily along the path opened by the United Nations. We cannot see where else we can place our main hopes. And if they do materialize during the next months, further concrete progress will be achieved and bring closer the day, we hope soon, of a final peaceful settlement. At that moment we could draw some satisfaction from having concurred and co-operated in the implementation of the first purpose inscribed in Article 1 of the Charter: the maintenance of peace and security through collective measures, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

166. It is in this spirit that we have cast our positive vote on the resolution we have adopted. For our part, we will not fail to continue to make our own voluntary contribution to this United Nations peace-keeping operation, and we hope that other members of the Council, especially those which are in the best position to do so, will contribute in a commensurate measure. There is no better way, in our view, to meet the obligations each Member State has assumed under Article 1 of the Charter and to fulfill the will so often proclaimed, but seldom respected, to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

167. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was with genuine satisfaction that we listened to the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece who, in a moderate and friendly tone, have made positive pronouncements in favour of a peaceful settlement of the problems of Cyprus.

168. The delegation of Panama voted in favour of the draft resolution we have just adopted extending the term of the United Nations Force on Cyprus for six additional months, because we feel that for the time being this is a constructive measure which will avoid a possible violent confrontation between two antagonistic groups.

169. The Secretary-General's report contained in document S/10842 shows interest and a great effort to arrive at a normalization of the situation so as to attain the desired goals, so that all inhabitants on Cyprus, without any distinction, may soon enjoy the basic freedoms to which all peace-loving and tolerant peoples of the world aspire.

170. Lately, the reactivation of the intercommunal talks has been a very positive element in the quest for adequate solutions to the problems of Cyprus. The Republic of Panama at all times has been identified with the aspiration for national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the peoples of Cyprus, and we consider that any limitation of the independence of the island would run counter to all interests and to the principles of the Charter. The stabilization of this situation which has been recorded recently is encouraging, because we consider that Cyprus should be a

united nation where the rights of minorities are recognized and guaranteed.

171. We wish to declare once again that Panama will do whatever is in its power so that Cyprus will find a lasting solution, so that it will soon be a united, sovereign and indivisible country.

172. We consider that the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Roberto Guyer, deserve our gratitude to be placed on record. We also are sincerely grateful to all the other officers and assistants who have participated in this operation.

173. We consider that the stationing of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has been positive, and we were therefore pleased to vote in favour of a further extension of their stationing.

174. Mr. President, since this is perhaps the last meeting under your presidency, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation for the very correct manner in which you have discharged your responsibilities in this high post. You have met your obligations with a great feeling of tolerance and understanding for each of us.

175. We also wish to express our sincere gratitude to the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and Somalia, whose terms of office expire at the end of this month as non-permanent members of the Security Council, for the valuable contribution they have made to this body, as well as the co-operation and the courtesy they have shown my delegation during this year since Panama became a member of the Council. The delegation of Panama retains very warm memories of the outgoing members: Messrs. Longerstaey, Vinci, Nakagawa, Farah, and Nur Elmi.

176. We wish to refer particularly to the other member from Latin America, Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, who with his serious, judicious and profound actions has won the esteem and appreciation of his colleagues. We shall greatly miss the enthusiasm, dynamism, competence, and experience of Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas. His action has been brilliant, and this is recorded in the records of the Security Council and as part of some of the most important meetings held by the Security Council.

177. *The New York Times* today brings us the news that Ambassador George Bush will leave the United Nations to become Chairman of the Republican Party of the United States of America. It seems to us fitting, therefore, to wish him every success in his new functions, which will not be difficult if he makes use of the excellent human qualities made so manifest in the United Nations in trying to find just solutions to the problems of the world and to the problems which exist between our two countries.

178. As is known to all of you, Peru will replace Argentina as a new non-permanent member of the Security Council representing Latin America. On the basis of the traditional and very close ties of friendship which have always existed between Peru and Panama, and because our two Govern-

ments are particularly close, I think I can forecast that next year the representation of Latin America will work in the Council in a spirit of great harmony.

179. In expressing to all the outgoing delegations and to their representatives our gratitude, we also wish them every happiness and success in the New Year, 1973.

180. Mrs. CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Once again my delegation has voted in favour of a draft resolution whereby the Security Council decides to extend for another six-month period the stationing in Cyprus of the United Nations peace-keeping force until 15 June 1973.

181. My delegation is pleased to note that the military situation has remained calm during the period under review. This undeniably indicates the decisive role of the United Nations in this part of the world.

182. In the Secretary-General's report we read that:

"The most important development during the period under review is undoubtedly the reactivation of inter-communal talks.

The assistance given by my Special Representative and the two constitutional experts to the two interlocutors has been constructive and effective and has injected new life into their discussions. Limited progress has been achieved in some areas." [*See S/10842, para. 71.*]

In this connexion my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his praiseworthy efforts towards the maintenance of peace, a tribute we wish to extend to his aides.

183. In chapter III of the report, the Secretary-General draws our attention to the little progress made since the last report towards a return to normal conditions. The water supply in Turkish Cypriot villages remains almost unchanged. My delegation regrets that the United Nations Force has not succeeded in lifting the restrictions on the freedom of movement of civilians and most fervently hopes that Cyprus, a non-aligned country which has made praiseworthy efforts to ensure for its citizens an honourable life in national sovereignty and dignity, may in the near future live in peace and security, and continued calm will make it possible to arrive at a settlement and eliminate the tensions existing between the two communities.

184. Before concluding, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to my colleagues from Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia, who will soon be leaving the Council. We wish to congratulate them on the spirit of friendship and frank co-operation that has characterized our relations with them during our five months on the Council. We wish to congratulate them on their positive contribution to the work of the Council, and we express the hope that the colleagues who are leaving us will maintain the co-operation and friendship that exist between our delegations.

185. In the light of what we have just learned from the representative of Panama and also from *The New York Times*, we also wish to congratulate Ambassador Bush and

to wish him every success in his new functions which he is to perform outside the United Nations. If I am to believe the press report, I hope that friendly contacts between Ambassador Bush—or, as he now is called, Mr. Bush—and the United Nations will continue.

186. The PRESIDENT: If no other member wishes to speak on this problem, and before I call upon members who wish to speak in exercise of right of reply, I should like, with the permission of the Council, to make a statement as representative of INDIA.

187. We have carefully studied the Secretary-General's latest report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, and have listened with great interest to the comments of the principal parties, as also of the members of the Council.

188. During our meeting on this subject in June, we welcomed the reopening of the talks between the parties. We then expressed the hope that the co-operation, understanding and restraint shown by the parties, which had made that development possible, would be further expanded to ensure success for the resumed talks. We are glad to note from the Secretary-General's report that this welcome atmosphere continues to prevail. Several rounds of talks have already taken place, and some more are planned. Understandably, only limited progress has been achieved. While a number of important issues is still to be solved, existing difficulties are being approached in a reasonable and resolute manner. Most important of all, there exists a genuine desire to settle differences through peaceful negotiations. The observations of the Secretary-General on the progress of talks so far are most encouraging. We sincerely hope that the spirit of co-operation among the parties will grow with greater speed. We have always believed that in the specific problem of Cyprus a genuine desire to settle differences through peaceful negotiations and direct contacts between parties concerned for that purpose provide the best means of solving the problems.

189. The Secretary-General, his representatives and all his officers and others working in Cyprus or on the problem of Cyprus deserve our appreciation for their efforts to that end. With the continued co-operation of all the parties we should like to think that those efforts will bring about much more significant progress. At the same time we must keep in mind the difficulties that still remain and the new difficulties that may appear and further complicate our common search for a solution. To guard against any sliding back, we consider it essential that all efforts should be made to reduce if not altogether remove the existing tensions and ensure that nothing is done that may exacerbate the atmosphere both in and around the island. We should like any kind of confrontation to be replaced by a sincere spirit of co-operation and conciliation in order that normalization of conditions in the island can be achieved, thus assisting the efforts of the Secretary-General.

190. In that context, we note that the Government of Cyprus has indicated its readiness to implement the policy of general reciprocal deconfrontation. We share the Secretary-General's conviction that the great majority of the people of Cyprus long for peace and desire a fruitful and satisfactory outcome for the intercommunal talks. Har-

mony and co-operation through peaceful discussion of existing differences are indeed the only way for the people of Cyprus, who have always lived together in their multiracial and multireligious society, like the people of many other countries.

191. We have always supported the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We continue to believe that a just and harmonious resolution of different interests is essential for the preservation of peace and security not only within the island but also in the region as a whole. A successful solution of the problem in Cyprus will have a healthy effect in areas far beyond its shores. The best path for such a solution lies through negotiations between the parties without external pressure or interference.

192. In that spirit and in that conviction my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which we have adopted. In the existing atmosphere of renewed hope but continuing hazards, the Secretary-General has recommended that UNFICYP should be maintained for a further limited period. The Governments concerned have concurred with that recommendation. We join other delegations in hoping that an early and agreed satisfactory conclusion of the current talks will soon make further extensions of UNFICYP unnecessary.

193. Speaking as PRESIDENT, I now call upon the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

194. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): In the first place, I should like to thank all the members of the Security Council who have taken the floor on the subject for their very positive, constructive statements, all showing a concern and an interest in peace in Cyprus, progress towards a solution and the independence, sovereignty and unity of Cyprus. It was implicit in every statement, even if not directly mentioned, that they seek a Cyprus united and not divided. We have seen around the world the effects of division and partition, and no well-wisher of any country would ever think of dividing the country in any sense. Therefore, I express my sincere thanks to all the members of the Council for their constructive statements and their respect for the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, non-intervention, non-use of force against it and the need for the problem to be solved by its people without intervention from outside.

195. Although I am grateful to all members, I should like to make particular mention of the representative of Yugoslavia not only for his more explicit and warmer references to my country and its independence, unity and sovereignty but also for his references to my President, whom he honoured by mentioning him and the President of Yugoslavia, President Tito, as leaders of non-aligned countries. My country is a small and modest country, claiming no leadership at all, but we are grateful for what the representative of Yugoslavia said.

196. I wish also to express particular thanks to the representative of Somalia for his references to my country and to its approach to international problems, and the desire that Cyprus should be a centre of unity and not an

arena of battle. That has been our policy all along; it has been expressed in many ways and in many forums of the United Nations in relation to other problems, independently of that of Cyprus, and we are very grateful to the representative of Somalia for recalling our statement when Cyprus first joined the United Nations.

197. I wish also to thank the representative of Panama for what he said, in very warm terms, about Cyprus; and, no less, to thank the representative of the United States for his specific mention of the sovereign, independent and united Cyprus, which seems to be particularly pertinent in regard to what has taken place in this Council today. The representative of the United States referred also to the need for freedom of movement, a subject raised by the Secretary-General in his report and a matter of very great concern to my Government and to the people of Cyprus; but the majority of the people of Cyprus, the Greek people of the island, are still prevented from using or in any way approaching over 100 roads in the country, including five main communication roads; therefore it is a matter of importance that Cyprus should have freedom of movement if it is to proceed to normalization, to which so many speakers have referred.

198. I wish also to thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his positive statement.

199. I do not wish to mention by name all those who spoke in a constructive way on the question of Cyprus and its problems. There was no discordant note heard from any member of the Council.

200. I am sorry indeed that I cannot say the same for my colleague from Turkey, who rather astonished me by his statement, because I do not believe he really meant it, when he objected to the word "unitary" in paragraph 80 of the Secretary-General's report. He approved of the statement in the previous report, which also spoke about the "independent, sovereign and unitary State with the adequate participation of the two communities" [see S/10664 of 26 May 1972, para. 79]. The balancing of it is "the adequate participation of the two communities", and in both reports the same statement appears. The previous report was before the talks had started, when there was a degree of confusion until the talks began, but from that time until now there have been negotiations for at least six months. During those negotiations progress has been made. To make that progress, the parties must have had more clearly in their minds what they were negotiating for, because if they had been in the same state of confusion as is portrayed in paragraph 80, with each one objecting to something, they would not have proceeded to any negotiations. What other negotiations could have been going on than negotiations on a unitary State?

201. The Turkish side claims that its rights derive from the Zurich and London agreements. It does not claim any other rights than those derived from the Zurich and London agreements; but those agreements are purely and simply on a unitary State, so when the representative of Turkey objects to the use of the words "unitary State", he is objecting to the provisions of the Zurich and London agreements. If the Turkish aim is not division—and I do not

believe it is—then there is no reason for objecting to the word "unitary". If Cyprus is going to solve its problems it must solve them in unity and not in division and strife. Do we want to turn the clock back to the time when there was a division and strife in the island? Are we objecting to the fact that there is more of a consensus in Cyprus now on solving the problem? I do not believe so; therefore I do not attribute any such intention to my friend and colleague from Turkey, for whom I have great respect, from my personal knowledge of him. I am perfectly certain he does not mean this. Probably he was objecting to the fact that there was no mention of there being different reservations made; but why should that come in here, when we have a more positive situation in the course of the talks?

202. The representative of Turkey also referred to the Turkish Cypriots as the victims of the whole situation. I do not know—they may be; but who made them victims? It may be they are the pawns in a policy, therefore they cannot see to their interests in a more effective way. The representative of Turkey referred to the fact that they have not been allowed to return to their homes, from which they were displaced by the Greek forces. There are many things I could cite, but I shall only report the following here.

203. The Government of Cyprus not only invited but encouraged Turkish Cypriots to return to their homes. It built and repaired houses, 350 houses on one occasion, but no Turkish Cypriots were allowed to return to their houses because the policy of the Turkish Cypriot leadership was to discourage them from associating or having any contact with the Greeks. Therefore they were not allowed to return; and the Government stopped repairing the houses because after some time they deteriorated as the Turkish Cypriots did not return. In the only cases—and there were very few, just two or three—in which they did allow the Turkish refugees to return to their houses or villages it was when that would imply a political advantage of some form or another. Therefore it is not the humanitarian aspect that concerns my friend on the other side but rather the political advantage, because they want them to return only to Omorphita and Neapolis, the sites of the line of confrontation, so that they may reinforce their strength and their positions in those areas. It is not for humanitarian reasons. I agree with the representative of Turkey that in those circumstances the Turkish Cypriots are now suffering because of that attitude.

204. With regard to electricity, it is stated in the report that the reason there could not be electricity in certain villages was that the Government officials were not allowed to go to the villages, for the simple reason that they were forbidden by higher orders. It was not the Turkish Cypriot villagers themselves who were forbidding the officials to enter. There are many instances I could cite of their being forbidden to enter. It is stated in the report that they could not establish the electricity requirements, but the Government supplies electricity and water to all its citizens despite the fact that most of the Turkish Cypriots do not pay their electricity and water bills. It should be noted that until 1 December 1969 the Turkish Cypriots owed the Government £591,000 for water consumed, while their debts for electricity consumed until 30 April 1970 totalled £1,665,000. Nevertheless, the Government has never con-

sidered even the possibility of cutting off the electricity and the water supply because of non-payment.

205. So I wish that the situation were as presented by the representative of Turkey, because it would be easy to remedy it at once; the Government is ready to help the Turks and to rehabilitate them in their villages, and they would return if not prevented by their leadership and the problem would not exist at all. At this moment we are ready to have them return to their villages; we are not only willing to see them back, we are inviting them to return, we want them to return, because we want conciliation and normalization. It is those who do not want normalization and who oppose deconfrontation who prevent the return of the villagers to their homes.

206. I do not want to continue; if it were necessary I could cite all the references. But I want to end on the note that I am sure that the representative of Turkey does not want to inject discord into these discussions, that he really wants normalization and deconfrontation in Cyprus; unity among the people, not discord and conflict eternally for any avowed or unavowed political advantage.

207. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey in exercise of the right of reply.

208. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I wish, before starting my very brief statement, to express my thanks to Ambassador Rossides for the kind words of personal friendship he has addressed to me.

209. In response to the appeal he made at the end of his statement and to maintain the positive spirit prevailing in the discussion today, and certainly not wishing to dig up all the arguments and counter-arguments that one could find about any of the aspects of the Cyprus problem if one were to consult the files, old and new, telegrams received even today, I will not enter into any details about why electricity has been supplied to a certain village and why water has not been given to another, what are the local reasons, political reasons or more complicated reasons, or whether sometimes there are no reasons at all for it. I just do not want to go into that, and I shall refrain from polemics.

210. I shall just confine myself to trying to explain why I insisted on questioning the use of the word "unitary", to which the Ambassador has just taken exception. My objective in drawing attention to that fact was just to mark the distinct difference in the approach to this problem in two consecutive reports of the Secretariat. My main objective was to draw attention to the fact that there was a conflict between the two views in the successive reports. When I drew attention to it I intended to say—and I think I said it, although perhaps not in so many words—that we should not mention points which may remain points of controversy, still being discussed or forming the basis of discussion in the intercommunal talks which are being held in Cyprus. I think I fully share the views expressed by my colleague from Greece when he said that we had better not enter here into a discussion of problems which concern the constitutional talks that are being held in Cyprus; and that was one of the main reasons, if not the main reason, why I

did not want those words or any others that could lead to controversy to be taken up here.

211. I must say that this view was amply confirmed by the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the representatives around the table who, in their wisdom, refrained from using in their speeches any of the terms—not only the word "unitary", but any of the terms—which might lead to such controversy.

212. Ambassador Rossides has just said that even by not mentioning those words they had in fact referred to them. One can see how far this could lead us if we were to attach importance here—and I underline the word "here"—importance to words which have their own meanings, but within the framework of the discussions now being held in Cyprus. That was why I wanted to avoid discussion of the problem here.

213. I am not going to enter into a discussion of what the Zurich and London agreements mean and what they do not mean; what a unitary State means and does not mean; what is a federation or what is not a federation. It is not the proper place to do so; the experts and the representatives of the two communities, with the able help of Mr. Osorio-Tafall, have their full share of this problem; they have discussed this at length for months and will continue to do so and, it is hoped, reach an acceptable solution.

214. If there was no controversy—this is the point I tried to make—would there be any discussion now; would we be discussing all this if there were agreement on the meaning of the various expressions? I would prefer, therefore, that this did not take place, including the exercise of the right of reply. I had hoped such exchanges would not take place, but it seems that they were unavoidable this time.

215. One last point about the situation of the Turks, to what it is due, why they are not going to their homes and why they are suffering—suffering which has been accepted by all those who have spoken—and what and who is to be blamed for it. I am not going to be polemical about it; I am going to say only one thing: I should hope that everybody around this table would agree that it is not for their pleasure that these people are not going back to their old homes and to where they belong. I believe that the instinct of conservation is one of the strongest in human beings; and so long as the lack of confidence in the other side remains they will feel that they are safer in their present misery than without the protection that their being together affords them.

216. But having said this, I want to end on a note of optimism. As the report of the Secretary-General indicates, the talks are progressing. I do not want to sound too optimistic, because what I feel more than anything is that pessimism following optimism is even greater pessimism than normal pessimism. That is the only reason why I do not want to sound overoptimistic here. I hope that my colleagues on the other side of the table will agree with me that there are reasons to be optimistic and that, with a show of good will on the part of all concerned, the next time we meet here the optimism will not be cautious optimism. I do not know whether you can say this in English, but everyone speaks of cautious optimism so the next time I hope that it will be an "uncautious" optimism.

217. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus in exercise of the right of reply.

218. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I have only a few words to say: I am glad to hear from the representative of Turkey that he now admits that it is not the Government which prevents them from returning to their houses. He says that the Turks feel that it is not safe for them to return. Therefore the idea is already admitted that it is not the Government which prevents them from returning. Whether it is the Turkish Cypriots themselves who do not want to return or whether they are ordered not to return is another matter, into which I shall not enter. But I should just like to quote one passage from the Secretary-General's report of 8 December 1966:

"the Turkish Cypriot leadership does not favour"—the leadership does not favour—"the return of refugees to their homes and deters them from going back to their villages" [see S/7611, para. 139].

It is not they who are afraid to go back; they are deterred for political reasons. Then, in the report of 11 March 1965, the following is stated:

"the community leadership discourages the Turkish Cypriot population from engaging in personal, commercial or other contacts with their Greek Cypriot compatriots, from applying to government offices in administrative matters, or from resettling in their home villages if they are refugees" [see S/6228, para. 55].

So they are prevented—and we know very well that it is by force—from returning to their villages and to their homes. And this appears in a number of reports. Then the report of 10 June 1965 says the following:

"Turkish Cypriot leaders continue to exercise effective control over the free movement of members of their own community. . . . It is reported that Turkish Cypriots are likely to find themselves in serious difficulty with members of their community if they fail to confine contacts with their Greek Cypriot compatriots to a strict minimum" [see S/6426, para. 115].

This is the policy of separation, of division, of keeping up hostility. That is all.

219. I did not want to mention these things. However, if, gratuitously, we are accused of not allowing them to return, we have to reply. But, I say again, I respect my friend—I say "my friend" because I think that he is my friend—the representative of Turkey, and I know that in his heart he feels with us all in the desire for unity and a solution of the problem of Cyprus.

220. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey in right of reply.

221. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I regret that I have to speak again, but it is because Ambassador Rossides has spoken of his friendship, which I reciprocate fully. I have seen from the records that usually it is Ambassador Rossides who has the last word and I want to change the pattern today and, for once, have the last word.

222. I must make one point very clear. It is not a question of who allows whom to do what. The question is who, considering all the elements of a situation, has the courage to make a certain decision. When a community in a given society has been subjected to some kind of ill treatment, that community is rather reluctant to go back to that previous position unless it has guarantees that the situation which has led to its present position will not recur.

223. Therefore, as I have said over and over again, the moment confidence returns—and we all hope that confidence will return some time—the suffering will certainly diminish and the return to normal, about which all of us around this table are talking, will be achieved. But the main thing is that deep in their hearts these people seem not to be satisfied that the situation allows such a show of confidence. I hope that this will be achieved in the foreseeable future.

224. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cyprus.

225. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I only want to say "thank you" to my friend. I thank him for his statement, but I just want to mention that the suffering was not only by the Turkish Cypriots; it was by both sides. If we are going to weigh who suffered more, I think those who suffered from napalm bombs and their burns suffered more.

226. The PRESIDENT: I take it that we have concluded the discussion on Cyprus and I shall now call on representatives who wish to make statements.

Statements on the occasion of the departure of outgoing members

227. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to associate myself with both the regrets and the good wishes which have already been expressed by several speakers concerning the forthcoming departure from our Council of five of our members: Ambassadors Ortiz de Rozas, Longerstaey, Vinci, Nakagawa and Nur Elmi.

228. Only seven months ago I had the privilege of joining in the Council's deliberations, but this short period of time has sufficed to enable me personally to appreciate the distinguished contribution which our five colleagues have made to the work of this Council. I am also aware of the close links which the five delegations have maintained for two years with the French delegation. It is with very sincere regret, then, that I see their tenure of office in the Council expiring. At the head of their respective Missions, I hope that they will continue to play an important role in our Organization. For my delegation's part, we shall certainly continue to maintain with them the bonds of old friendship which have always linked us and which have been so fortunately strengthened by our proximity and our association in the Council.

229. To Ambassadors Nur Elmi, Nakagawa, Vinci, Longerstaey and Ortiz de Rozas, I extend my most cordial good wishes for the success of their work.

230. Although he has left the Council room, and though I fear I may never see him again as head of the United States Mission, I should like to say a word to Ambassador Bush. It was with great regret that I learned from today's newspaper that he too, for other reasons, is going to leave us soon. I would request Ambassador Bennett to convey to him my congratulations upon the new mark of confidence which has been bestowed upon him by his Government and to tell him of my good wishes for the success of his new task.

231. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): It has been a great privilege and honour for my country, for my delegation and for me personally to have served as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for the past two years. These two years have been memorable and significant for the activities of the Council. To mention just a few examples: we have welcomed the representatives of the People's Republic of China; we have elected a new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and we organized the historical meetings of the Council at Addis Ababa.

232. The term of Japan as a non-permanent member of the Council will expire at the end of this year. Availing myself of this opportunity, I wish to express my sincere thanks to all my colleagues around this table and to the delegations headed by them, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, Mr. Kutakov, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, and the other members of the Secretariat for all the co-operation and good will which they have shown to my delegation and to me personally during the past two years.

233. From January next year the Council will, so to speak, be rejuvenated with a change of five non-permanent members. I am confident that the new Council will continue its important duties with the same devotion and vigour as the present one.

234. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): May I, on behalf of my delegation, join the others in expressing our thoughts about our five members who are leaving the Council at the end of this month. It goes without saying that I and my colleagues from the Yugoslav delegation are very sad at the finality of the prospect of not having our good friends, the representatives of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and Somalia and their associates, with us around this table and in all other activities of our Council. With all five, with their respective countries and Governments, we have excellent and specific relations for reasons very well known here, but in addition to that, what deepens our feelings on this occasion and makes them more poignant is the experience and the joint responsibility we shared in the tasks which we have faced and coped with as members of this Council and the abiding, heartfelt and lasting personal friendships, either continued or initiated here in the Council.

235. In this context I should like to mention particularly our dedicated co-operation in African and other matters with our non-aligned partner, Somalia, our constant work together in the group of three and in the Council with active and resourceful Argentina, the good relations and many consultations with our working neighbour, Italy, our reliance on the wise and always sound insights of Belgium, and our understanding with so internationally aware and

forward-looking Japan. They will be, as we non-permanent members always are, replaced by other able delegations, but their experience and wisdom acquired here and elsewhere will be sought by us to help us in our further work in the Council and in other activities of the United Nations.

236. I hope that Mr. Bush, who, today, was nominated to a high post outside the United Nations—National Chairman of the Republican Party—will still be with us for a while and that we shall have the opportunity of expressing our feelings personally to him at an appropriate time.

237. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): On 31 December next it will be the end of our two-year term of office for which my country was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council, on 1 January 1971. This date will mark the end of the third period of membership of Belgium in the Security Council since the Organization was founded.

238. On this occasion may I thank the speakers who preceded me for the kind words which they were so good as to express to my delegation and also to thank those who, with us, will leave the Security Council at the end of this year. To all those I should like to say how happy we have been to have with them relations which originally were official and became personal and then friendly.

239. In this connexion I should like the permanent representatives of France, Italy and the United Kingdom to know how pleased we were to have worked with them and to have represented with them the European community, whose presence is constantly affirmed at the international level.

240. I hope that all members of the Council will believe, that, in the course of these two years, we have endeavoured to take their views into account. Undoubtedly, we could not always agree with their views, it being a fact that one's conception of international peace and security can only be subjective. At any rate, we believe that we have gone as far as our convictions would allow in arriving at compromise solutions without which the Security Council could not function.

241. It is reassuring to note that beyond the fleeting alliances, coalitions of encounter which are woven and unwoven at the whim of circumstances, members of the Council are united in like responsibility, at once weighty and exalting, since it is no less than the maintenance of international peace and security. One cannot share this exercise of responsibilities without being affected by it. For our part, we take from our participation in the Council a better understanding of the point of view of others and, at the same time, a heightened sensitivity to a situation which might degenerate into threats to the peace and security of the world.

242. It is on this understanding, which is also a promise, that I should like to bid the Council farewell, reaffirming to those who stay and those who depart our esteem and gratitude. They are also assured of the sincerity of our wishes for their personal happiness and that of their peoples.

243. We have just learned that Mr. Bush, representative of the United States, will leave his post at the United Nations to take up new functions. We should like to say that we regret his departure and will keep excellent recollections of him. I hope that the representative of the United States will transmit to Mr. Bush our best wishes for his success.

244. I should like also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and the Secretariat at every level and of every rank, both visible and invisible, who have assisted you, Mr. President, and your predecessors in ensuring the success of the work of the Council.

245. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The British have the reputation of being laconic and given to understatement, but when I associate myself with the remarks which have been made by my colleagues at the departure of our five colleagues I am no less sincere in thanking them for all that they have done and for expressing our deepest appreciation on the part of my delegation for the very considerable work and contribution that they have made to what I think it is fair to say are not inconsiderable achievements over the last two years while they have been on the Council. We are really most appreciative of everything they have done.

246. I should like to take this opportunity to wish the best of luck to Ambassador Bush in his new job and I do hope that sometimes, as he wrestles with the problems of an intractable electorate, he will spare us a thought and perhaps even a tear in sympathy with our labours. We shall miss him.

247. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The fact that this is a time for leave taking, Mr. President, is an additional tribute paid to your skill and is a further tribute to the ones already expressed to you because this presupposes a guarantee that in the remaining 19 days of this year, and therefore your Presidency, no crisis will afflict the world which will render it necessary for the Council to meet again.

248. We lack the laconic form of speech and the understatement of the British so we shall really make an effort to be brief.

249. I have heard it said that delegations elected to the Security Council feel, during the first days of membership, as if they are on a honeymoon, and that in the first days following their departure from the Council they feel as if they are in the first stages of a divorce. I do not know whether this is true because personally I have no experience in the latter comparison. But I do have experience in the first kind of comparison, the honeymoon, and therefore I am able to assure you that for us and for me particularly this has been a continuing honeymoon in the two years we have spent here.

250. The Council is charged with the discussion of the most important issues relating to international peace and security. The last two years have abundantly proved that in the atmosphere which has prevailed above and beyond the divergencies which may have existed, beyond the divergent positions among the members of the Council, there is a

common denominator which is most encouraging and that is a great feeling of friendship based on mutual respect and reciprocal understanding. It is this very positive context that has been so helpful to all the members of my delegation and myself personally and which has made it such a great pleasure to contribute to the work of this body. We were moved at all times by a single wish to act with independence of judgement in the quest for solutions to the problems which were raised here.

251. As has been pointed out by several speakers, five members among us will be leaving the Council on 31 December when our term of office expires. To the delegations of Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia which have been with us during this two-year period, as well as to the delegations which will remain on the Council either as permanent members—I do not know whether to envy them or not—as non-permanent members, we wish to express to them our most heartfelt gratitude for their unfailing co-operation with us which has enabled us to discharge our responsibilities in a manner which I believe is rather favourable for the interests of world peace.

252. May I now pause so that our feelings toward the sister delegation of Panama will be clearly registered. With that delegation we have this year shared the responsibility of representing Latin America. At all times we have benefited from the equanimity of judgement and the interest and intelligence of our sister delegation. I am most grateful for the very warm and generous expressions addressed to me by Ambassador Boyd which I attribute to the traditional and close friendship between our two countries. For us to be able to co-operate with the permanent representative of Panama and with Ambassador Ríos has been one of the most beneficial results of our membership in the Council. We hope that 1973 will continue to be a most auspicious year for Panama.

253. As regards the Secretary-General more than once I have shown him our gratitude because of the privilege of his friendship and the confidence he has shown in us. We should now like to extend these feelings to the entire staff of the Secretariat whose co-operation has been so valuable in helping us to discharge our responsibilities.

254. Likewise, I am most grateful to all the delegations which have been so courteous as to express their appreciation for the presence of Argentina during this period.

255. In these tributes we should like to include Australia, Austria, Indonesia, Kenya and Peru who will take over this difficult responsibility of membership in the Security Council in 1973. May I, in most friendly terms, say how pleased we are that the delegation of Peru will replace that of Argentina. On one occasion its permanent representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, said that the relations between Peru and Argentina are so close that at times they may even be immodest. This is an accurate and judicious description of our relationship and it is therefore with particular satisfaction that we know that Peru will take over our place.

256. To Ambassador Bush who is absent at this moment, we should like to express our sincere regret on seeing him leave his United Nations post. At the same time, we express

to him our warmest congratulations on the lofty function he has been called upon to fill. We are convinced that his United Nations experience will be of major importance in making our problems and our concerns understood in the Government administration and in the Republican Party.

257. Someone raised the question of who has the last word. I think that you will have the last word, Mr. President, when you adjourn the meeting and I sincerely hope that this will be the last time during your term of office as President. If this is the case, we again wish to express our gratitude for the very intelligent and tactful manner in which you have guided our debates.

258. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I have asked for the floor, first of all, to thank all my colleagues around this table who have been so generous in conveying their appreciation to my delegation and to me personally as we come close to the end of our tenure of office in the Security Council.

259. Two years represent a short span of time in the life of an ambassador and a much shorter one in the life of a country or a world organization. Assuming, as others have said, that this will be the last meeting at which I shall have the honour of addressing the Council—and we wholeheartedly join in the wish expressed by Mr. Ortiz de Rozas that it will be the last meeting—I should like to say a few words about our participation in the work of the Council during 1971 and 1972.

260. This has been a period of intensive work and the taking of historic decisions, as has been mentioned by Mr. Nakagawa of Japan. We have covered several areas of the world and more particularly focussed our attention on certain outstanding African issues. The Council held altogether 180 meetings, if I am not mistaken, an average of seven or eight meetings a month, in two years and even held a special session away from Headquarters. In all these activities, in these debates and the consultations for the preparation of our decisions, as well as in the consultations concerning the role of the Council in the field of peace-keeping operations, the Italian delegation has always been inspired by three main purposes: first, the need to meet the legitimate expectations of the countries that have placed matters before the Council on well-founded grounds; secondly, to look into each case on the basis of its merits and to promote those actions that, in our view, were politically sound and had in the present circumstances the best chances of being carried out; and, thirdly, whenever confronted with a choice between an immediate, direct interest and the principles of the Charter, to opt for the United Nations. In other words, our policies in the Council have constantly been inspired by a keen sense of the effective capabilities of our Organization and a strong and unswerving dedication to the Charter. Our firm belief has been and will remain that whoever acts coherently on the basis of principles will be rewarded, since in the long run it is the principles reflecting a common interest superior to individual national interests which will come out right.

261. On the eve of the expiration of our term of office, I can only hope that, having acted consistently with those purposes, the future will say that our contribution has perhaps been useful and has produced some good results, at

least in purely intellectual terms. Anyhow we have had the satisfaction that, thanks to the friendship shown to us by all the members of the Council and thanks to their constructive endeavours, we have been able to take part in a number of important decisions that can, we hope, pave the way to the settlement of certain remaining international disputes.

262. Our grateful thanks go to all the members of the Council, but I hope I will be excused if I mention especially the countries that are leaving the Council at the same time as my country: Argentina, Belgium, Japan and Somalia. I shall always cherish my association with such distinguished and highly esteemed colleagues as Ambassadors Ortiz de Rozas, Longestaey, Nakagawa, Farah and Nur Elmi. Our gratitude goes also to the Secretary-General, to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs and, as our Belgian colleague has said, to all the members of the staff, visible or invisible, who have given such valuable co-operation in our work during our term of office.

263. Before concluding I also wish to join other colleagues in expressing our regrets at seeing Ambassador Bush leave our midst, at the same time as we congratulate him on taking a high and responsible political position. We are sure that, with the qualities he has shown during his term of office, he will be even more successful and promote and advance the objectives of his political party.

264. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): I have already expressed my delegation's appreciation and thanks for the co-operation that all the members of the Council have accorded to my delegation when I spoke earlier this afternoon. I have asked for the floor now only to express—and I cannot find appropriate words to do so—my delegation's appreciation and most sincere thanks for the kind words addressed to me and to my delegation, as well as to my predecessor and friend, Mr. Farah, by the members of the Council. I wish to assure them that, though we leave the Council, the Somali Democratic Republic will continue its commitment unreservedly to make its modest contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to find solutions to the many and complex problems of today's world. We shall also continue with sincerity to entertain the most cordial relations of co-operation with our colleagues and with their delegations.

265. Finally, if the news published by *The New York Times* in today's issue is correct—and I have a feeling it is, since the delegation of the United States did not raise any point of order—I wish to congratulate Ambassador Bush, whose statesmanship we have all greatly admired, on his appointment to head the Republican Party and to wish him further success in his new and important political responsibilities. I should like to request Mr. Bennett to be kind enough to convey this to Mr. Bush.

266. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): I know that the head of my delegation, Ambassador Bush, would want me to express appreciation for the many kind and gracious remarks that have been made about his person around this table. It is true that he awaits confirmation of the appointment to his new post, and that will not take place until next month. While I know the stimulation he

feels over having been called on by the President of the United States to undertake new duties, I am also fully aware of the very genuine regret he feels on leaving this Organization and on leaving the many friends he has made here—friendships which he cherishes and which I know he means to play his part in making enduring and abiding. It is a great loss to our own delegation to have him leave, but I shall faithfully convey the good wishes that have been expressed here, and I am sure that he will on an appropriate occasion make his own farewells.

267. The PRESIDENT: If there are no other speakers, I should like to ask the Council's indulgence for four or five minutes to say a few words to the members who will be leaving us at the end of the month. In making this statement, I also shall assume that we shall not be meeting between now and midnight on 31 December.

268. I should first of all like to take this opportunity as President of the Council of expressing appreciation to all members of those delegations that will be leaving the Security Council at this end of this month. I am sure that all the Presidents of the Council during the last two years have enjoyed their co-operation and understanding as much as I have. I am sure that members will agree that the contributions during these last two years of the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia have been of great value and that we will retain pleasant memories of co-operation with these delegations.

269. As a representative of INDIA, I should like to recall the co-operation and courtesy I have received from the representatives of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia, all countries with which India has friendly relations and many ties of co-operation in various fields. These relations have always had a happy reflection in contacts between our respective delegations and in personal associations which I have been privileged to have. It has been for me a great pleasure to work again with Ambassador Longerstaey of Belgium, an old friend from the days of an earlier assignment. I have come to know and appreciate the skill of Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina in finding acceptable formulas, both here and

when I had the pleasure of visiting his country recently. With Ambassador Vinci of Italy it has been my good fortune to have close and frequent personal contacts. Ambassador Nakagawa of Japan, a fellow Asian, has always shown me the greatest courtesy and kindness. I shall remember Ambassadors Farah and Nur Elmi of Somalia not only for our friendly relations, but for their great and significant contribution to the solution of the many problems and for the hospitality we received in their capital in the course of the Council's meeting in Addis Ababa. To all these distinguished Ambassadors I should like to express our appreciation for the effective manner in which they, together with their colleagues in the delegations, have represented their countries in the Council during the last two years.

270. Finally, and regrettably for us, Ambassador Bush will shortly be leaving us. If we do not have another opportunity to address him personally in the Council, I will request Ambassador Bennett to convey to Ambassador Bush our warmest congratulations and sincerest good wishes on his new appointment which marks the high degree of confidence in which he is held in the political circles of this country. We shall miss Ambassador Bush as much as the others who will be leaving the Council next year.

271. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, in connexion with your last remark that this is our last meeting this year, and this month under your presidency, I should like to associate myself with the good wishes and remarks which we have heard here in the statements of representatives of States Members of the United Nations in the Security Council, addressed to our colleague, the representative of the United States of America in the United Nations and the Council, Ambassador Bush. I will follow the British tradition and be brief, limiting myself to one sentence: one can differ with a man on very important questions and have fundamental differences with him, but one cannot fail to respect a good man.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.