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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.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 1 August 1974, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Yakov A. MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1789)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
 - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Before we proceed to discuss the substance of the item on the provisional agenda for today's meeting, I should like to address a few words of recognition and gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who presided over the Security Council last month. To him fell the complex and very important and responsible task of guiding the Council's efforts to solve the problems connected with the situation which has arisen in Cyprus as a result of the military coup. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar devoted much effort to the

search for ways to solve this problem, constantly consulting with the members of the Council.

2. The delegation of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the representative of Peru made a major contribution to the adoption of its resolution 353 (1974), which lays the foundation for a political settlement in Cyprus. The Soviet delegation greatly appreciates his efforts to promote the search for effective ways and means of implementing that resolution.

3. We pay a tribute to the diplomatic mastery, tact and skill with which Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the representative of a non-aligned country, Peru, guided the work of the Council. Permit me to express the hope that the co-operation of the representative of Peru with the Council will be just as effective and fruitful in the future as it was during his presidency of the Council in July.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
- (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348);
- (d) Letter dated 28 July 1974 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11389);
- (e) Letter dated 30 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11398)

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In accordance with the decisions taken by the Security Council at previous meetings [1779th-1781st meetings], I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece,

Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the question of the situation in Cyprus.

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

5. The PRESIDENT (translation from Russian): In view of the limited number of seats at the Council table, I propose to invite the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Job (Yugoslavia), Mr. Dacu (Romania), Mr. Jaipal (India), and Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

6. The PRESIDENT (translation from Russian): Prior to the convening of today's meeting, agreement was reached in consultations with members of the Council on the draft resolution which has been circulated as document S/11402. In accordance with the existing understanding, I intend to put that draft resolution to the vote now and then to call on those who wish to explain their vote or to take part in the discussion. There being no objection, I put to the vote the draft resolution.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.¹ One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

7. The PRESIDENT (translation from Russian): Now the Council will hear those representatives who have expressed the wish to speak after the vote.

8. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (translation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation did not take part in the voting on the draft resolution contained in document S/11402. In our explanation of vote before the voting at yesterday's meeting [1788th meeting], the Chinese delegation already made clear our

principled position on the draft resolution. I shall not repeat it here.

9. But I deem it necessary to point out that the Cyprus question is, in the first place, an issue left over from imperialist rule. The Cyprus question has remained unsettled over a long period mainly because of the intervention by imperialist forces, particularly the fierce contention in recent years between the two super-Powers over Cyprus, an important strategic point in the eastern Mediterranean. As is known to all, Europe has continually been the focus of contention between the two super-Powers, while the eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus are at the southern flank of Europe. The two super-Powers stop at nothing in expanding their respective spheres of influence. The doings of one super-Power are all too evident. The other super-Power, that is the Soviet Union, has also given the most revealing performances on the question of Cyprus in these days. People can see ever more clearly: harbouring sinister motives from the very beginning, it tried to win over Mr. A against Mr. B one day and turned to win over Mr. B against Mr. A the next day. It is fanning up flames and sowing discord everywhere. While pretentiously chanting support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, it actually aims at contention with the other super-Power for control over the eastern Mediterranean region. It is doing its utmost to take advantage of the various complicated factors and contradictions arising from the situation in Cyprus to fish in troubled waters and take a hand in the matter so as to further squeeze in its force. The draft resolution tabled by the Soviet Union [S/11391] is still before us. In that draft particular mention is made of the dispatch of a so-called "United Nations special mission" to Cyprus and thereupon, the Soviet Union, in self-recommendation, has hastily indicated to many delegations that it is ready to join in the above-mentioned so-called "United Nations special mission". Does this not fully reveal its true intention? Has it not laid bare all at once the hypocrisy of the high-sounding words repeatedly uttered by the Soviet Union these days? Does it not give food for deep thought if one looks at the various tricks it played in and out of the Security Council over the Cyprus question in connexion with the record of its infamous expansion in the South Asian sub-continent and the Middle East? The two super-Powers vied with each other in sending their observers to the tripartite talks in Geneva. Is this not a manifestation of their fierce contention? The facts have taught us: wherever there is contention between the two super-Powers, there will be no tranquillity and the issue there will be further complicated. Therefore, on the Cyprus question, we must firmly uphold the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and resolutely oppose all schemes of all outside forces, particularly the two super-Powers.

10. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on assuming the burdensome job

¹ See resolution 355 (1974).

you have assumed today, and, because I believe in economy in all fields, and since we have started a new month, I shall begin by demonstrating my desire for economy by uttering only a few words.

11. The resolution we have just adopted is substantially the same as the draft resolution we voted for yesterday [S/11400]. We all know the circumstances under which we failed to adopt the draft resolution yesterday. Before voting yesterday, my delegation explained its vote and indicated very clearly the areas in which we had serious reservations, and for the record I should like to say that every word I uttered yesterday regarding our reservations then, applies to the resolution we have just adopted.

12. Mr. NJINÉ (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I take pleasure in addressing to you the warm congratulations of the delegation of Cameroon upon your accession and return to the high post of President of the Security Council for the current month. My country enjoys excellent relations with yours, relations which are reflected in those between our two missions to the United Nations. In the discharge of your functions as President of the Council, be assured that you can count on the full co-operation of the delegation of Cameroon.

13. Before proceeding further, I should also like to extend my delegation's cordial congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar for the very distinguished manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of July.

14. Resolution 353 (1974), in the preparation of which my delegation took an active part, calls, among other things, for a cease-fire that will make possible the saving of human lives in Cyprus. It also calls upon all States to respect the independence sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island. My delegation once again is ready to co-operate with all those who, in this forum as elsewhere, are aiming at measures that will facilitate the full implementation of this resolution.

15. As I had occasion to say yesterday, the draft resolution in question—which unfortunately did not receive the affirmative vote of all the members of the Council—contains exactly the same provisions as those in resolution 353 (1974) concerning respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island. This is the reason why we supported it fully. We ask for only one thing: that all the parties concerned fully implement the provisions of the text we have just adopted.

16. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your valuable

experience in this Council is a happy augury that as President you will conduct its work with great success.

17. We should also like to take this opportunity to place on record our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru, who guided the Council's work last month with so much skill and wisdom.

18. Having said that, my delegation would like to explain its vote. It is gratified at the result of the voting inasmuch as the Council has thus reaffirmed its commitment to the peace-making mission it undertook with regard to the problem of Cyprus through the adoption of resolution 353 (1974). Subsequent action, in particular that now entrusted to the Secretary-General, will be based on the new resolution just adopted by the Council, and my delegation has therefore been most pleased to vote for that resolution.

19. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Mr. President, I salute you as you return refreshed and relaxed from the Soviet Union in time to assume the presidency of the Security Council. I express the hope that, with your broad experience, we can all join together this month to help promote peace.

20. I wish to pay a particular tribute to the skill and wisdom with which Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar guided our deliberations during the past rather difficult month. The Council has seen many distinguished presidents, but I am sure that the gentle wisdom and the performance of the representative of Peru will rank among the very highest.

21. I am glad that we have done today what we should have done yesterday. As Mr. Bennett told the Council last night, the United States delegation believes it entirely appropriate to urge the Secretary-General to take immediately any steps necessary to fulfil the recommendation in paragraph 5 of resolution 186 (1964), which reads as follows:

“that the function of the Force should be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions”.

22. In the adoption of the two previous resolutions which the Council has considered in the last few days [353 (1974) and 354 (1974)], some important first steps had already been taken to normalize conditions in Cyprus. By approving today's resolution, we can speed up the full implementation of resolution 353 (1974).

23. The Council has now acted to maintain and to encourage the momentum toward peace that has been generated. We are confident that all parties involved in the complex Cyprus situation will do their utmost to keep the peace and to maintain the cease-fire,

without which prospects for negotiations toward a just and durable settlement would remain dim.

24. As we have done throughout these debates, we urge all members of this Council to support the efforts of the parties and to place no barriers of doctrine or procedure in their way. Our individual and collective support for the resolutions of the Security Council and for the Geneva Declaration [*see S/11398*]*—a road-map for peace—will be a most important contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security in the area.*

25. Like the majority of the Council, my delegation was disappointed and concerned when it proved impossible yesterday to take prompt action of the kind needed to help make the cease-fire effective and thus to enhance the prospects for peace. We are concerned that delay offered opportunity for further violence. Today we have acted, and I believe we can congratulate ourselves that the Council has again acted as it should in a moment of crisis.

26. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): First, Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you warmly on the fact that you are presiding over the Security Council at this time when the Council has the responsible task of considering the events taking place in Cyprus. At the same time, we should like to thank Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru, who before you took office did a great deal to ensure that the Council actively participated in the solution of this important and urgent problem.

27. Already more than two weeks have passed since the functioning of the lawful, constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus headed by Archbishop Makarios was paralysed by the revolt of Greek officers, the barefaced military aggression of the Greek military junta then in power. The situation in Cyprus has been growing daily more and more complex, and the subsequent events have created a serious threat to peace and security in that area.

28. It goes without saying that the responsibility for this is borne by certain circles in NATO by those forces that do not find the independence of Cyprus and its policy as a non-aligned State to their liking.

29. At the same time, we should like particularly to emphasize the fact that the threat to the independence and State sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, far from having been removed in recent days, is becoming increasingly dangerous for the fate of that country. No less acute and dangerous is the situation in respect of the territorial integrity of Cyprus.

30. All this naturally required and continues to require urgent and effective action by the Security Council.

31. We know that on 20 July the Council adopted resolution 353 (1974), which meets the need for a political settlement on the island and defines the basis for it. But this goal requires the implementation of all parts of the resolution and, above all, of its key provisions. The contents of that resolution are well known to the members of the Council and there is obviously no need to read it again. Nevertheless, we should like to emphasize our particular concern at the fact that no effect has been given to the key operative paragraphs of that resolution, those which, in particular, call for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, an immediate end to foreign military intervention, a cease-fire, and the "withdrawal without delay"*—in the words of the resolution—from the Republic of Cyprus of the foreign military personnel on the island, including those whose withdrawal was requested by President Makarios in his letter of 2 July 1974.*

32. One cannot fail to note that military intervention is continuing on the island and that nothing has been done to restore the lawful constitutional Government of Cyprus headed by Archbishop Makarios.

33. Can it be right, gentlemen, that the provisions of this resolution are not being implemented? Can we take this calmly; can we remain indifferent to it?

34. In this connexion, it must be emphasized that the Security Council has a heavy responsibility.

35. As we have already said, the basis for a political settlement in Cyprus must be Security Council resolution 353 (1974), but this entails the task of implementing all the provisions of the resolution in full. We are deeply convinced that it was precisely in order to achieve that purpose that draft resolution S/11391 was introduced by the delegation of the Soviet Union on 29 July. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the acceptance by the Council of the ideas set forth in that draft resolution would be the best way out of the existing situation.

36. At the same time, as our delegation has repeatedly stated, we are ready to act in a constructive spirit, taking into account the views of other countries. In this we base ourselves, of course, on the premise that the actions of the Council must be in keeping with the interests of the Cypriot people, of both communities, and serve the purpose of defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

37. Some delegations, as was seen in the earlier debates, place great hope for a settlement of the Cyprus problem in the agreement recently reached at Geneva between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, the agreement known as the Declaration of those three countries [*ibid.*]. Moreover, assertions have been made to the effect that this Declaration is virtually the

key to the implementation of the provisions of resolution 353 (1974). To be fair, it must be said that in the Declaration there are indeed references to this resolution, the Republic of Cyprus is and there is a general statement which refers to support for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. On the other hand, it must be noted that, however carefully one looks, it is hard to find in the document the word "sovereignty", for example, or any mention of the sovereignty of Cyprus. What is this—an accident or an oversight? Yet resolution 353 (1974) mentions this important point. In the interests of fairness, again, we should like to say that the draft resolution adopted by the Council also refers, in its preamble, to the fact that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We hope that this will be so in practice, but meanwhile the draft resolution which has been adopted does not change what has been set forth in the Declaration.

38. In our opinion, the agreement reached at Geneva by the representatives of the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece does not meet the basic requirements envisaged in resolution 353 (1974). In point of fact, reference to the withdrawal of forces as called for in that resolution, and of which we have been speaking, is replaced in the Declaration by formulations which actually show that the NATO forces will continue their occupation of the country. Indeed, what other meaning can there be to a paragraph which, with many, many reservations, speaks not even of withdrawal, but merely of the reduction in the indeterminate future of the number of armed forces and the amounts of armaments, munitions and other war material in the Republic of Cyprus? Yet the presence of those forces is the prime cause of incalculable suffering for the Cypriot people, for both communities on the island.

39. In speaking about the Declaration, about its substance and whether it corresponds to the provisions of resolution 353 (1974), we also cannot overlook the fact that the continuation of the occupation of the island by the interventionist forces is accompanied by the intention to carve up the territory of the island by establishing various zones, areas and enclaves and by providing for patrols and the performance of police functions by the forces there (I am referring to the United Nations forces) in such a way as fully to justify fears that this will lead to the *de facto* partitioning of the island, to the violation of its territorial integrity. Of course, the island will continue to exist in the Mediterranean in the geographical sense, on maps, but it will literally be like the labyrinth at Knossos, of whose complexity we are well aware from the ancient mythology of the Mediterranean countries. As we know, it was very difficult to find the way out of that labyrinth. We fear that implementation of the proposed measures may create a similar labyrinth in Cyprus.

40. Resolution 353 (1974) speaks quite specifically of the restoration of the lawful constitutional Government. Unfortunately, the interpretation of this point in the Declaration is such as to give rise to serious misgivings about the future solution of this question. All this explains why our delegation, bearing in mind the substance of the matter under discussion, abstained in the voting on draft resolution S/11402.

41. At the same time, we should like to state yet again that we are deeply convinced of the urgent need for further measures to settle the Cyprus problem. Moreover, when speaking of the importance of a settlement of the situation in Cyprus on the basis of the implementation of the resolution adopted earlier by the Security Council, we cannot overlook the international significance of such a settlement, the significance of the strengthening of peace and security in the explosive region that is the eastern Mediterranean.

42. We are deeply convinced that all those who support the interests of the Cypriot people in fact rather than merely in words must act decisively and take practical measures to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and must call for the restoration of the lawful constitutional Government in Cyprus. We are deeply convinced that all Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, must be given the right to decide their own fate without any outside interference and to settle for themselves the questions relating to the future of their homeland.

43. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I begin by referring to the presidency of the representative of Peru, our friend and colleague Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. I think that none of us who has served on the Council in the last month can have failed to be impressed by the skill, wisdom and distinction with which he guided our affairs. I thank him personally and on behalf of my delegation for his co-operation and help during the last month. It seemed that July was going to be an easy month for the Council, but his difficulties as President seemed to increase as the end of his term approached. The early part of July, as I said, seemed to be peaceful, but as the closing days of his term drew near, one found that the Council was faced with some difficult problems.

44. Mr. President, you have assumed the presidency today, and we are confident that you will bring to it the same qualities of impartiality and humour with which you approach your heavy responsibilities as the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union. You are a man of great experience in the ways of the United Nations; and, certainly, speaking for myself, I look forward to this coming month with a great deal of interest and anticipation.

45. On the resolution itself I have not a great deal to say. I think most of the argument took place yesterday, and we are extremely grateful that the Council has now found it possible to adopt the resolution which we were considering for some hours in the course of yesterday. The procedural and the instructional difficulties have been overcome, and I thank you for that, Mr. President. We for our part recognize the efforts that you have made in this respect.

46. We believe very firmly that the cease-fire in Cyprus has to be maintained. We believe very firmly that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is an extremely important factor in the maintenance of that cease-fire. It means that something practical on the ground will happen as a result of the Declaration which emerged from the Geneva conference, and for this we are extremely grateful.

47. Perhaps I may deal with one point raised by the representative of the Byelorussian SSR. He seems to approach the Geneva Declaration with a degree of suspicion which is unwarranted, if I may say so. He looks at paragraph 5 and he sees there the phrase: "Deeply conscious of their responsibilities as regards the maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, the three Foreign Ministers agreed that negotiations" and so on. He seems to see something suspicious in the fact that the word "sovereignty" is not mentioned in that paragraph. I might draw his attention to the fact that those words are taken directly and literally from the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.² In the preamble to that Treaty one finds these words:

"The Republic of Cyprus of the one part, and Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland of the other part, 'I. Considering that the recognition and maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus..."

Thus, what has happened in regard to the foregoing phrase in paragraph 5 of the Declaration is very simple: it is that it has been taken directly from the Treaty, and that accounts for its insertion in the Declaration.

48. A week or so ago, Mr. President, your Deputy Representative, Mr. Safronchuk, when he was representing your country in the Security Council debate, did us the honour of quoting *The Times* of London. Naturally, in an endeavour to reciprocate the goodwill that that created, we have been looking at the Soviet press. I was a little surprised to hear the representative of the Byelorussian SSR criticize the Declaration in the way he did, for *Izvestia*—if

you will allow me to quote it—today says of the Declaration:

"The Declaration signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey is regarded as a first step on the way towards settling the Cyprus problem, and this is the assessment given to it by the world press as well as official representatives in London, Athens and Ankara."

49. I will not weary the Security Council by reiterating the speech I made yesterday. Anyone who reads it will find that time and time again I emphasized and quoted the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, as emphasizing that we regarded the Declaration, to use the words of *Izvestia*, "as a first step on the way towards settling the Cyprus problem". It is good that on an issue of such gravity facing the world one finds distinguished commentators in the Soviet Union and representatives of the British Government together.

50. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, let me first of all extend to you on behalf of my delegation congratulations and good wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of August. Today, if my statistics do not fail me, it will be the tenth time in your long and distinguished career in the United Nations that you have occupied the chair of President of the Security Council. I think this is a rare achievement indeed in the history of the United Nations and reflects your wisdom and experience, which have grown over the long years you have spent in the Organization—over a period of 26 years. Welcoming the Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union to the presidency of the Council provides a welcome occasion for my delegation to recall the happy relations existing between our two countries, which have found recent expression in the visit of the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Mr. Bruno Kreisky, to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of Premier Alexei Kosygin.

51. Before entering into the subject of our discussion, I wish to record whole-heartedly our deep appreciation for the outstanding services of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru has rendered to the Council in a period which was not only one of the busiest but without doubt one of the most difficult in recent months. Important decisions were taken by the Council under his presidency, and we can rightly say that his dedication and experience contributed in no small measure to the mastering by the Council of the difficult situations we have faced in the past few days and weeks. And it was his patient work of preparation which made adoption of the resolution today possible.

52. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to my delegation that, by virtue of co-operation, understanding and goodwill on all sides, it was possible to adopt the

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

present resolution of the Security Council, thus providing the Secretary-General with the indispensable basis to continue the performance of tasks the United Nations has to fulfil in the Republic of Cyprus.

53. My delegation voted without hesitation in favour of the draft resolution, in the belief that it meets appropriately and satisfactorily the urgent requirements of the hour. My delegation has repeatedly stated its conviction that the United Nations, together with all parties concerned, must play an important and, in the present situation, perhaps even decisive role in securing a cease-fire and eventually in helping to return the island to constitutional order and finally in bringing about lasting peace.

54. The starting-point and the basis for the role of the United Nations is to be found in resolution 186 (1964). I believe that there are few resolutions in the history of the Council which have been reaffirmed so many times. Resolution 186 (1964) has been reaffirmed no less than 27 times over a period of a whole decade, which testifies to the fact that the thoughts and provisions contained therein are still valid today. In the light of the new situation that has arisen in Cyprus, we have created a new basis for action: resolution 353 (1974), which was adopted by the Council 10 days ago and was recalled in the present resolution. That resolution points, in a concise and most comprehensive way, to the road that all of us—the parties, the Council and the international community—have to take to bring about a lasting, just and peaceful solution in order to restore peace and constitutional order in Cyprus and to enable that State fully to exercise its independence and sovereignty and to enjoy its territorial integrity.

55. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that all parts of resolution 353 (1974) find rapid and progressive implementation, especially those parts which enable Cyprus to exercise its sovereign rights. The first fundamental and most urgent step, however, continues to be to secure full implementation and meticulous observance of the cease-fire and, furthermore, to end all hostilities and all acts of violence. This particular task, to which the Geneva conference, called for by Security Council resolution 353 (1974), has given primary attention, has now to be fulfilled, and the United Nations is called upon to play a central role in this process. However, this, as has been pointed out, can be only a first step. Relieved as we may be that the conditions for this step now seem to be fulfilled, we hope that further steps will follow promptly, and one of these steps to which we attach particular importance is the progressive reduction and eventual withdrawal of foreign military forces on the island, which weigh heavily in the balance.

56. As I have said, the most important element to bring about this goal will, and must be, the continued

and reinforced presence of the United Nations on the island. Apart from the humanitarian aspects, to which my delegation has pointed repeatedly, we attribute special importance to the political dimensions of that presence, as it reflects the determination of the international community to fulfil its obligations to Cyprus, the obligations entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations and by Security Council decisions.

57. It is in that spirit that my delegation wishes to offer congratulations to the Secretary-General, his associates, the Force Commander and all the men in the field on the most effective manner in which they have so far carried out their obligations under most trying circumstances.

58. We are also prepared to provide further support to the Secretary-General to demonstrate the genuine strength which is inherent in the Organization whenever it carries out missions for peace and international security.

59. During the past weeks my delegation has been aware of the larger dimensions of the crisis facing us. Many times the threat of war confronted us in an immediate way. We have been gratified to see the many constructive efforts that have been exerted. We have been gratified to see the efforts made to exercise restraint and patience in most difficult circumstances. We hope that these efforts will continue, and we are fully prepared to offer all our support in the accomplishment of the future tasks.

60. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation is gratified that the Security Council has adopted by a very large majority the text which was submitted in document S/11402 and which, if I understand correctly, will now become resolution 355 (1974). There is no need for me to explain why my delegation voted in favour of that text. Yesterday and before that, I expressed my views at some length on the Cyprus question, on the circumstances in the island and on this text itself.

61. Mr. President, I have asked to speak today because, above all, I wish to fulfil the duty of paying a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the remarkable way in which he guided the Council's debates in July. I should like to emphasize the patience, fairness, political intelligence and exceptional talent for conciliation that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar demonstrated in discharging his onerous tasks. Once again he displayed his outstanding abilities as a consummate diplomat.

62. But I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to welcome you back after your vacation. You have come back to us in as brilliant a form as ever to preside over the Council for the tenth time—as the

representative of Austria has just noted—with all the authority that everyone recognizes you possess. I extend to you my sincerest wishes, which are very much in harmony with the close relations existing between our two Governments.

63. I should like to express the hope that during this month of your presidency we shall see re-established some of that climate of *détente* and holiday spirit so fitting at this time of the year, a climate that will be a sign, if circumstances permit, that peace has returned to the troubled regions with which we have had to concern ourselves for three weeks.

64. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): I should like to join in welcoming you back among us, Mr. President, obviously fit and ready for action as, last evening, you indicated to us you were. I wish to join also in welcoming you back to the presidential chair of this Council for the tenth time, as our Austrian colleague has reminded us. As I think I said in comparable circumstances last year, this must be a record of achievement and, if I may say so, a durability that will be hard to surpass.

65. Let me also pay a very warm tribute to your predecessor, our colleague Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the skill, patience and courtesy with which he conducted the business of this Council in some quite difficult periods throughout the month of July. I think that we all owe him a debt of gratitude for the help he has given the Council and all of us individually.

66. At our last meeting, when we were addressing ourselves to a draft resolution formulated in very much the same terms as the one we have adopted today, I explained the reasons why my delegation was proposing to vote in favour of that text, and I do not need to repeat those reasons here today. I would wish at this time only to express my delegation's satisfaction that the Security Council, with the adoption of the resolution today, has agreed to take what I believe to be our most urgent responsibility: to request the Secretary-General to take the necessary action to enable UNFICYP to perform the functions which the Secretary-General outlined in his statement to us at the Council meeting yesterday evening and which are clearly going to be imperative if the cease-fire in Cyprus is to be truly effective.

67. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): I certainly have not asked to speak to explain the vote that we cast yesterday and that we have already sufficiently explained. All I wish to do, Mr. President, is to extend to you my delegation's congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council. I am sure that, thanks to your great experience, the Council's work this month will be brought to a successful conclusion.

68. I should like also to pay a particularly well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, whose patience, tact and sense of responsibility enabled us to achieve positive results during a month fraught with very grave events.

69. Having said that, I have nothing much to add to the statement that my delegation made yesterday. I would only say that, in our opinion, the appropriate action envisaged in the text of the draft resolution we have just adopted must be based on resolution 353 (1974). I should add that that action must in no way prejudice the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus.

70. Mr. PÉREZ DE CUÉLLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council, though I regret not having left you an inheritance that was completely settled. I should like to offer you my cordial collaboration, which, moreover, is consistent with the friendship existing between our two countries. I should like to express my confidence that, given your extraordinary ability and patience, you will conduct our work with the greatest wisdom.

71. Allow my delegation to thank you, Mr. President, in the first place for your very generous words of appreciation for our discharge of the presidency during the month of July.

72. Since similar words have come from various delegations, I should like them to mean that we have fulfilled the function of being an impartial co-ordinator, as is appropriate to the presidency.

73. Yesterday my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11400. It did so bearing in mind the very well known dictum, "Politics is the art of the possible." Countries like mine which are small in the material sense see the more powerful demonstrating the truth of that dictum day after day. I should therefore like to repeat what I said yesterday, in connexion with the draft resolution. We voted in favour of the new draft resolution out of a sense of realism and out of the conviction that there is a need immediately to give the Secretary-General what he requires in order to meet the situation.

74. Allow me, though belatedly, to consider perhaps superfluous a request for information from the Secretary-General, in the light of the admirable care he always takes to keep members of the Council informed, impartially, on all questions of interest, and most particularly on those relating to the situation in Cyprus.

75. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The list of members of the Security Council who wish to speak is now exhausted. Accordingly, I intend

to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

76. First of all, I should like to thank those representatives who have addressed kind words and good wishes to me in connexion with my assumption of the office of President of the Security Council.

77. I should like to make the following statement in explanation of my vote on the resolution just adopted by the Council.

78. The Soviet delegation is seriously concerned at the situation with which the Council has been faced in solving the question of the situation in Cyprus. It must be recognized that, as the result of the actions of certain circles, the Council has not only been unable as yet to put into effect all the provisions of its resolution 353 (1974), which was adopted 11 days ago, but has found itself confronted with a situation requiring the adoption of more decisive and urgent measures to ensure the immediate implementation of that resolution.

79. As was emphasized repeatedly in the statements by the Soviet Government, the situation currently emerging in and around Cyprus is becoming ever more serious and dangerous for the fate of the Republic of Cyprus. The USSR delegation has already given warning of this at the earlier meetings of the Council through its calls for the immediate adoption of effective practical measures to implement resolution 353 (1974). In order to hasten the solution of this question, the Soviet Union took the initiative and submitted a draft resolution to the Council [S/11391] calling for measures designed to ensure the implementation of resolution 353 (1974), which, as we have already noted, defines the basis for a political settlement in Cyprus. The Soviet delegation observes with regret that even on this draft resolution it has not yet been possible to take a specific decision.

80. The question of whether a sovereign State—a Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Cyprus—is or is not to be independent remains on the agenda in all its urgency. Those who have tried to put an end to the existence of an independent Cyprus through direct military intervention are now, following the failure of that aggressive action and the removal of their protégé, Sampson, trying to achieve the same goals by behind-the-scenes manoeuvring. The independence of a State and the territorial integrity of Cyprus have become the subject of cynical bargaining for the sake of strengthening NATO's military and strategic positions in the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, this was revealingly confirmed in an article published in yesterday's edition of *The New York Times* written by that newspaper's usually well-informed correspondent, Mr. Sulzberger.

81. It is now perfectly clear—and this was mentioned in the Soviet Government's statement of 28 July—that the aim is that of "presenting the world with the *fait accompli* of the partition of the country or, at least, of the creation of the conditions for such a partition. In this connexion, they do not hesitate arbitrarily to determine the future of the Cypriot people behind its back and to the detriment of its fundamental and vital interests" [S/11390].

82. As a result of the continuous sabotaging of the implementation of resolution 353 (1974), foreign military intervention continues in the territory of the independent State of Cyprus and there is open and flagrant interference in its internal affairs. The lawful constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus headed by President Makarios has not yet been restored. Nor have all the institutions of that Government been restored, nor are they functioning. It is perfectly obvious that, as a result of the failure to implement the resolution in question in Cyprus, there continues to exist in the eastern Mediterranean an explosive and tense situation constituting a direct threat to international peace and security. It is not hard to imagine to what tragic consequences all this could lead for the people of Cyprus, who are already being subjected to violence and terror, given the present inflamed state of passions.

83. The Council can no longer tolerate the situation with which we are now confronted in Cyprus. The encroachments on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus must be brought to an end, and as rapidly as possible. Cyprus must be restored to the position as a sovereign State which it enjoyed before the aggression by the Greek military clique. It is essential urgently to put an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and to withdraw all foreign forces from the island. The Council must help to guarantee the inalienable right of Cypriot people—both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots—to settle their own problems and the fate of their common homeland, the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, in conditions of peace and tranquility. The means of achieving this objective is the immediate and full implementation of resolution 353 (1974) in all its provisions.

84. The Council cannot and must not remain indifferent to this situation in the Eastern Mediterranean which is so dangerous for the fate of the world. It must bear in mind the heavy responsibility incumbent upon it under the Charter and take urgent and effective measures aimed at restoring the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of this non-aligned State Member of the United Nations. Behind the scenes in the Council some are asserting that the term and the concept of non-alignment have no existence in law. However, anyone who is in the least familiar with the history of the last decade is well aware of the outstanding role the

non-alignment movement is playing in international affairs, in the struggle to reduce international tension and ensure peace. It is also well known that the Republic of Cyprus is an active participant in this movement and that President Makarios is one of the most highly respected of the leaders of the non-aligned countries.

85. The Security Council is duty bound, under the Charter, to repel aggression, defend the lawful rights of the people of Cyprus, and guarantee peace and security in this area of the Eastern Mediterranean.

86. The resolution we have adopted contains a request to the Secretary-General to take appropriate action in the light of his statement and as a matter of urgency—as was orally agreed among the members of the Council—to present a detailed report to the Council. Naturally, it is expected that when that report is submitted by the Secretary-General it will be carefully considered by the Council.

87. The Secretary-General having referred in his report to the tripartite Declaration on Cyprus by the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey dated 30 July [see S/11398] the USSR delegation considers it necessary to make the following statement.

88. We cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that the Geneva negotiations which resulted in this Declaration were held within a narrow, one might say a closed, circle, without the participation of the representatives of the lawful Government of the Republic of Cyprus, i.e., for all practical purposes within the NATO bloc. One asks oneself whether the participants were not seeking thereby to reduce the role of the United Nations and to exclude the Security Council from the practical business of reaching a settlement.

89. It is appropriate to recall that voices were repeatedly raised in the Council in appeals not to take any action which, as the speakers asserted, could be detrimental to those negotiations. The Soviet delegation has repeatedly warned that if the Council followed such a course it would in essence be divesting itself of responsibility for ensuring peace and security in Cyprus and actually acquiescing in the arbitrary determination of the future of the Cypriot people behind its back and to the detriment of its fundamental and vital interests. It is for this reason that the Soviet delegation has been stressing that time does not stand still and that the Council must take all possible measures to implement resolution 353 (1974).

90. A preliminary study of the Geneva Declaration confirms that the Soviet position is correct. Although the Declaration does, indeed, contain general assurances of support for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, the majority of its specific provisions do not meet the basic requirements

contained in resolution 353 (1974). The only paragraph which is in accordance with this resolution is the provision reaffirming the agreement on a cease-fire. In this connexion, the USSR delegation would like to express its confidence that the provision in question will be fully implemented.

91. The majority of the other provisions of the Declaration not only fail to meet the basic requirements of resolution 353 (1974), but are in fact designed to delay a political settlement and to prolong the occupation of Cyprus by foreign forces. This is confirmed by the provisions for what is termed the delimitation of the areas occupied by those forces and the establishment between them of so-called "security zones" patrolled by United Nations forces and for the indefinite postponement of a solution of the question of the restoration of lawful and constitutional Government in Cyprus. It is not hard to see that all these provisions of the Declaration are at variance with the key provisions of resolution 353 (1974), which call for an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus and the withdrawal without delay from its territory of foreign military personnel.

92. A number of the provisions of the Declaration are couched in such nebulous and contradictory language that it is hard to form any idea at all of what they mean. At yesterday's meeting of the Council, even some representatives of the countries participating in the Geneva negotiations were obliged to recognize the fact that the Declaration does not satisfy the requirements of resolution 353 (1974).

93. The serious situation which has arisen in Cyprus must serve as an incentive for the mobilization of the efforts of the Security Council and the United Nations to ensure the implementation of resolution 353 (1974) through their own powers and resources, as required by the Charter. The Security Council and the United Nations as a whole can help Cyprus by pressing for the immediate withdrawal of all the foreign forces and military personnel in Cyprus and by contributing in every way possible to the restoration of the constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus headed by President Makarios and of all the institutions of that Government. More energetic and more effective use must be made of the capabilities of the United Nations.

94. In view of the circumstances I have just mentioned, the USSR delegation, acting in accordance with the instructions it had received, found it impossible to support the draft resolution adopted by the Council and abstained in the voting on it.

95. Now I must say a few words concerning the statement just made by the representative of China. That statement was the routine insinuation against the Soviet Union. We are used to it. His purpose was to cover up his own negativism towards the

question of Cyprus now being discussed by the Council with the usual dose of anti-Soviet slander and thus to divert attention from those who bear the real guilt for the infringement of the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus, to cover up the aggression against the Republic of Cyprus and the occupation of its territory by foreign forces. The delegation of the USSR does not feel it necessary to react to this anti-Soviet slander and ignores it.

96. Speaking as PRESIDENT. I should like to inform you that the Secretary-General has asked me to give him the floor after the statements by members of the Council so that he may inform it on a matter which he feels he must bring to its attention.

97. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: As soon as the Council adopted resolution 355 (1974) this afternoon, I immediately instructed my Special Representative and the Commander of UNFICYP to proceed with the implementation of the task of UNFICYP, which I mentioned in my statement to the Council yesterday.

98. During the meeting last night, I informed the Council of the request which had been received by the Commander of UNFICYP from the commander of the Turkish forces in Cyprus for the withdrawal of UNFICYP from the area under Turkish military control. Since last night I have had contacts with the Turkish Government, and there have been further discussions in Cyprus between the Commander of UNFICYP and the Turkish military command.

99. I am glad to inform the Council that I have just received word from my Special Representative in Cyprus that agreement has been reached on the maintenance of UNFICYP presence in the area of Cyprus under Turkish control. I consider this a positive development.

100. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the Secretary-General for that information. I now call on the representative of Greece.

101. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): I wish to express the appreciation of my Government to the Security Council for the speed with which it adopted the resolution on the UNFICYP operation in Cyprus. I earnestly hope that the resolution will contribute to saving human lives in both camps.

102. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General once more for all his efforts. He faced in these last few days an extremely difficult situation, and we all admired the way he coped with it. My Government expresses its full confidence in him and I wish him well in his difficult task ahead.

103. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Cyprus.

104. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, may I depart from absolute correctness in offering you

my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We have been here so long now—for at least 10 meetings or so—that we feel almost a part of the Council, and we take the liberty of congratulating you on your assuming of your functions.

105. We take this opportunity also to thank the representative of Peru, the former President, for having devoted so many dedicated efforts to the question of Cyprus.

106. And on this occasion I should like, too, to reiterate my thanks and deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his exceptional efforts to cope with a very difficult situation. What he has now announced is again a result of his great endeavours in this respect.

107. I am happy at the adoption of this resolution, which we think is a constructive one in that it brings the United Nations effectively on the scene in Cyprus. As I said of the text yesterday, it is constructive and, as far as we are concerned, we are in support of it and we look forward to its implementation.

108. There is an aspect to this resolution which should be brought to the notice of the Council. It was thought that the Geneva conference would bring a more effective implementation of resolution 353 (1974) by a specific agreement and the signature thereof. But although, by agreement, the time for the cease-fire was 30 July, yet on 31 July and today, 1 August, there has been intensive fighting in Cyprus as the result of the actions of the Turkish troops who again violated the cease-fire in an effort to acquire more territory.

109. Thus, at 1045 hours on 31 July, a Turkish infantry unit was moving upon the village of Karavas to occupy it, and at 1100 hours on the same day the village of Lapithos was attacked by sea and land. The villages of Ayios Ermolaos and Skylloura were also attacked. It appears that this fighting went on yesterday, and I understand that today the Turkish forces occupied Lapithos and Karavas.

110. I am wondering how it is that the cease-fire called for by the Security Council was not respected; and I have been wondering also why the subject of discussion for five days in Geneva should have been the effort to get Turkey to agree to comply with its obligation under the Council resolution. And political conditions were demanded for complying with the cease-fire.

111. The only positive aspect of the Declaration—the cease-fire—was negated the following day by the action of the Turkish forces in Cyprus. This utter disregard of agreements and repeated aggression resulting from a policy of appeasement is reminiscent of similar events in history with ominous repercussions

which humanity has not forgotten. One never thought that they could be repeated today.

112. The practical purpose of my statement here is to make sure that, at least, when UNFICYP goes to delimit the temporary security zone it will take, if not the line of the cease-fire, at least the line as of 30 July, 2200 hours Geneva time, 2300 hours Cyprus time.

113. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

114. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to voice my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's debates. Our confidence in your qualities as statesman and diplomat representing a country with which Turkey has the very best of relations augurs well for the success of our Council's proceedings in the month of August. May I nevertheless be permitted to express the hope that my delegation will be called upon to follow only from afar, from the very back of this chamber, the proceedings of this Council and to applaud its success on questions other than that of Cyprus.

115. I should also like to underscore the great admiration my delegation feels for the truly masterly performance of your predecessor, the representative of Peru, in his conduct of the Council's proceedings during a month that was particularly difficult, above all for my own country. I hope I never again have to be present at meetings such as those that took place this past month. But if we had to go through these difficult days, my delegation could not have wished to do so under a more enlightened, diligent, patient and dedicated presidency than that of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar.

116. As for the resolution that the Council has just adopted, I can only express the hope that it will bring peace and a just solution to the problem closer and that—to take up a mythological reference that was made earlier today—it will help us to find Ariadne's thread and get us out of the labyrinth.

117. I would not wish to conclude without expressing to the Secretary-General the gratitude of my Government and my delegation for his tireless efforts in behalf of peace and assuring him that he has all our confidence.

118. I had no intention of exercising my right of reply today and, in spite of everything, I shall refrain from doing so.

119. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I invite the representative of India to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

120. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation in its earlier statements emphasized that our principal and

immediate concern was the restoration and maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as well as its non-aligned status, because, in our opinion, its non-alignment is an essential aspect of its independence.

121. Resolution 353 (1974) provided a basis for bringing about quickly a situation resulting in the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus. In that resolution the Council also requested three Member States—Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom—to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace in the area.

122. It is not necessary to go into the reasons why those three Member States were chosen for that role; but the fact is that they were entrusted with a particular task, and they have in fact partially performed it. The results of their negotiations are before us in document S/11398, which contains the communiqué and the statement made by the Foreign Ministers of the three negotiating States.

123. It is evident that the three Foreign Ministers laboured long and hard and operated under tremendous pressures. My delegation appreciates the efforts made by them. Now, we have examined the Declaration very carefully, and we find that it has some positive features in it, particularly some of the peace-keeping measures that have been proposed for immediate implementation.

124. The Council might have specified those measures that are devoid of any objection and then authorized the Secretary-General to implement them with the help of UNFICYP. Instead of that, the Secretary-General has now been requested to take appropriate action in the light of his own statement. This places indeed a very heavy responsibility on the Secretary-General. We have every confidence that his actions will be appropriate and strictly in conformity with the objectives of resolution 353 (1974).

125. The Secretary-General had referred in his statement to the tasks envisaged for UNFICYP in the Geneva Declaration and in particular to the determination of security zones. In our opinion, this is a very important operation, for it could have far-reaching consequences of an unpredictable political nature. If the determination of security zones is only a technical operation, it could be done just as well, and quite competently too, by UNFICYP with the co-operation of the opposing forces.

126. We have one other point to make, and that concerns the mixed villages in the Turkish-occupied areas. Such villages might also be protected by UNFICYP. In saying this, we are merely suggesting equality of treatment and also echoing the hope which I think was expressed by the representative of Greece.

127. Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Geneva Declaration are in the nature of general statements of intention

and of ways and means of proceeding further in the direction of implementing resolution 353 (1974). In regard to these two paragraphs, we share the reservations expressed by other non-aligned States, especially Indonesia and Kenya. In our opinion, the Council should now give urgent consideration to the question of arranging the withdrawal of all unauthorized foreign military personnel in Cyprus.

128. As regards the question of the return of constitutionality to Cyprus, we feel that it would be best for the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, to determine their own destiny themselves in an atmosphere that is free of foreign influence and with the mediatory assistance of the United Nations if and when it is necessary.

129. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I now invite the representative of Yugoslavia to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

130. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): In addressing the Council again on the item on its agenda, we should like to recall here what was stated yesterday by the representative of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Rossides when he said:

"The rest is for the members to consider, because, really, this concerns not only Cyprus, but the United Nations as a whole, international peace and security, the small countries particularly, and the non-aligned countries, of which Cyprus is one." [1788th meeting, para. 86.]

131. The Council has just adopted resolution 355 (1974) concerning the crisis caused by continuing foreign intervention in the affairs of the independent, sovereign and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, an equal and sovereign Member of the United Nations. This resolution, to the extent to which it goes, especially in the aspect of the cease-fire, is certainly a positive step. However, we have to express our urgent insistence that today's action of the Council must be only a part of the full implementation of the basic resolution, resolution 353 (1974), in all its parts. Therefore we have to repeat how gravely concerned all of us who see in the protection of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of non-aligned Cyprus the protection of the basic principles of the Charter, and consequently of the fate of all of us, are to see to it that, whenever the fate of a country is decided, its full and equal participation must be ensured.

132. We point out and note that a number of members of the Council, especially non-aligned countries—and we were impressed by the eloquent statements of

some of them, especially of Kenya—have serious reservations over some of the basic elements contained in the Geneva Declaration. We share those reservations.

133. The Yugoslav delegation circulated on 25 July the text of the exposé of the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Miloš Minić, to the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I should like to quote some passages from that:

[*The speaker then read out the ninth paragraph of the exposé contained in document S/11380.*]

134. In short, nothing must be done or permitted to be done that would not be in the interest of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and its legitimate Government. It is for that reason that the cease-fire must now prevail and be immediately and fully respected. To quote another passage from the exposé [*eighth paragraph*]:

"Now that a cease-fire is in force on Cyprus, the most urgent task is the implementation in its entirety of the Security Council resolution. We feel that it is essential that in such a way the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order on Cyprus be secured..."

135. It is now for the Security Council, for the United Nations, for the whole international community, in which the non-aligned nations play such a dynamic and concerned role in defending the basic principles of the Charter, to watch very closely the further steps for the restoration of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, to which we are all committed and which the resolution adopted today again reaffirms. Whatever has been achieved here and elsewhere in that direction must be followed up and developed in such a way that it will restore the confidence and faith of all nations that the United Nations can and will effectively protect any country, however small, for that is the basis for the security of us all.

136. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the representatives of India and Yugoslavia for their statements. Their statements as the representatives of countries playing a leading role in the non-alignment movement are clear confirmation of the important role which the non-aligned countries are playing in contemporary international affairs and in the noble efforts of all the advocates of peace to consolidate peace and the security of peoples.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

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