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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 NINETY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 15 August 1974, at 2.30 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/1793/Rev.1)

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);
- (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 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11444);
- (f) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11445)

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

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 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11444);
- (f) Letter dated 13 August 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11445)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Security Council at its 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.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania, India and Mauritius are also invited to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they are called upon to make a statement.

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

3. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Before proceeding to the substance of the question, it is with great regret that I wish to inform the

members of the Council that, since the resumption of military operations in Cyprus, losses have also been sustained by the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Yesterday, according to the Secretary-General's report on developments in Cyprus [S/11353/Add.25], three members of the Austrian contingent of UNFICYP were killed and a number of members of the Finnish, British and Canadian contingents were wounded.

4. Allow me on behalf of all the members of the Council to express deep concern at the losses sustained by UNFICYP, and to assure the representative of Austria that his colleagues in the Council share his grief over the tragic loss of his three compatriots. I request the representative of Austria to transmit our condolences to the Government of Austria and to the bereaved families.

5. In paragraph 4 of resolution 357 (1974), which was adopted early yesterday morning, the Council decided to remain seized of the situation and on instant call to meet as necessary to consider what more effective measures may be required if the cease-fire is not respected.

6. Unfortunately, reports received from Cyprus on the situation afford no grounds for tranquillity or optimism. For that reason, the convening of this meeting of the Council, which was requested by Mr. Rossides, representative of Cyprus, to consider the latest situation in Cyprus, appears to be fully justified.

7. Two draft resolutions have been submitted to the Council for its consideration. The first is in document S/11448 and the second, sponsored by Australia, Austria, France and Peru, is in document S/11449. During the consultations held this afternoon among the members of the Council, a mutual understanding or general agreement was reached that we should begin by voting on the first draft—I shall refer to the second separately—and, after the vote, the members of the Council and the representatives of those States not members of the Council that have been invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the situation in Cyprus will be given the opportunity to speak on the substance of the problem under discussion.

8. In view of the request by the Secretary-General, to be given the opportunity to make a statement before the vote, I propose, with the agreement of the members of the Council, to call on the Secretary-General. We shall then proceed to vote. Are there any objections? I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

9. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have kept the Council informed through regular reports on the developments of the situation in Cyprus, especially in the past 48 hours. I deeply deplore the resumption

of fighting in Cyprus and the breakdown of the negotiations for a peaceful settlement. It is clear from the information that continues to come in from Cyprus that violent fighting continues and that the demand in Council resolution 357 (1974)—that the parties to the present fighting cease all firing and military action forthwith—has so far gone unheeded.

10. I need hardly say that in this situation it has been impossible for UNFICYP to continue with the tasks which devolved upon it as a result of resolution 353 (1974), although, as I have reported to the Council, the implementation of these tasks had begun at the time when the present round of heavy fighting broke out.

11. As will be clear from my reports to the Council, UNFICYP has continued to do its utmost where possible to assist the population, to arrange local cease-fires and to de-escalate the fighting, to prevent the recurrence of intercommunal strife and to protect the civilian population who are in danger from such strife. As I have told the Council before, the successful discharge of the UNFICYP mandate depends upon the full co-operation of all the parties concerned. This especially applies to the implementation of the cease-fire called for by the Council. It is obvious that under its present mandate and at its present strength UNFICYP could not interpose itself between two armies engaged in full-scale hostilities.

12. In the tragic situation which has prevailed in Cyprus in the last 48 hours, all the personnel of the Force have made the maximum effort to limit the consequences of the hostilities and to be of whatever assistance they could to the civilian population.

13. I have informed the Council in previous statements of the situation concerning the continued presence of UNFICYP in the Turkish area of control. As members of the Council will observe from my recent reports, there have been further developments in this connexion and UNFICYP has in some cases been compelled to cease its functions in the Turkish area of control. I wish to express to the Council once again my view that UNFICYP should carry on its tasks in all areas of Cyprus, and that it cannot fulfil its role if it is excluded from one or other area. This is especially true of humanitarian activities, which, as I have reported to the Council, have been very largely delegated to UNFICYP by the International Committee of the Red Cross for practical reasons. I shall continue to make all possible efforts to ensure that UNFICYP is present in all areas of Cyprus.

14. It is with the deepest concern and regret that I have learned of the casualties suffered by UNFICYP in the past 48 hours. The President of the Council referred to those casualties just a few moments ago. I know that the members of the Council share my concern. I and the Force Commander have strongly

protested the incidents which have led to these casualties and have asked all of the parties to take urgent measures to prevent any recurrence of such incidents and to make adequate arrangements to ensure the safety and security of all UNFICYP personnel in the discharge of their duties.

15. In this connexion, I have received a message from the Prime Minister of Turkey expressing the profound regrets of his Government and its assurances that the Turkish forces will exercise the utmost attention and care for the full security of UNFICYP troops in Cyprus.

16. I wish to express to the Governments whose contingents in Cyprus have suffered casualties my heartfelt sympathy and condolences. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to my Special Representative in Cyprus, to the Force Commander and to all the personnel of UNFICYP—military, police and civilian—for their steadfast and courageous conduct during the current fighting.

17. Before concluding, I feel obliged in this critical situation to make a comment on two questions of principle.

18. The first relates to United Nations peace-keeping operations in general and to UNFICYP in particular. The essential basis for these operations is their acceptance by the parties concerned and the assumption that the parties will co-operate with them in carrying out their duties under the mandate decided upon by the Security Council. If that acceptance and co-operation are in practice withheld, a United Nations peace-keeping operation cannot function effectively, since it is in no sense an enforcement operation under Chapter VII of the Charter. On the other hand, if the parties co-operate, experience has shown that peace-keeping operations can be very effective not only in avoiding conflict but also in averting wider threats to international peace and security.

19. I therefore appeal to the parties concerned to renew in a clear and unequivocal manner their commitment to the unimpeded functioning of UNFICYP in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

20. The second question relates to the position and credibility of the United Nations itself and the respect of its Members for the decisions of its main organs, especially the Security Council. In the present case the Council, with no dissenting voice, has called three times for a cease-fire in Cyprus. As we all know, to this moment heavy fighting in Cyprus continues. This situation, which clearly represents a threat to international peace and security, calls in question the very essence of the Charter and the *raison d'être* of the Organization. I believe it is vital that the Council, which has the primary responsibility for the mainte-

nance of international peace and security, should give the most immediate and searching attention to the implications of this situation both for the immediate problem of Cyprus and for the future effectiveness of the United Nations.

21. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I thank the Secretary-General for his useful and very comprehensive statement and for the information that he has supplied to the members of the Council.

22. Before we proceed to vote on the first draft resolution, I wish to make a few announcements.

23. First, I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Algeria containing a request that his delegation be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the item.

24. In accordance with established practice and with the provisional rules of procedure, I propose to invite the representative of Algeria to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the item on the situation in Cyprus.

25. There being no objection, I invite the representative of Algeria to take the place reserved for him in the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he is called upon to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Taleb-Bendiab (Algeria) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

26. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The second announcement is this: the representative of Austria has requested that, before the Council proceeds to the vote on the second draft resolution, he should be allowed to speak in order to make certain additional clarifications. If there is no objection, I shall call upon him after we have voted on the first draft resolution.

27. I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/11448.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

28. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): In accordance with our understanding, I now call upon the representative of Austria.

29. Mr. WOLTE (Austria): Mr. President, may I first and foremost thank you for your words of condolence at the death of three soldiers of the Austrian contingent serving with the United Nations Forces in Cyprus.

¹ See resolution 358 (1974).

I shall not fail to transmit this expression of sympathy to the Austrian Government and to the families of the dead.

30. May I also express my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General for his warm expression of sympathy, which I shall also forward to Vienna.

31. In view of most important and urgent information which has just been conveyed to me by my Government, may I request, under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, a suspension of this meeting for one hour. I would be grateful if during this suspension we could enter into consultations on the subject of the communication from my Government, which I shall put before the members of the Council.

32. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): We have heard the request made by the representative of Austria. If there is no objection from the members of the Council, I shall suspend the meeting for one hour. We shall therefore resume the meeting punctually at 6.40 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 5.40 p.m. and resumed at 11.25 p.m.

33. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that the draft resolution submitted earlier by Australia, Austria, France and Peru [S/11449] has now been revised. Furthermore, an additional delegation—the United Republic of Cameroon—has been included in the list of sponsors. The revised text, which has been circulated as document S/11449/Rev.1, contains a new operative paragraph—paragraph 3—which, so I understand, has now been formulated in a manner acceptable to the members of the Council.

34. I shall now put to the vote the revised draft resolution in document S/11449/Rev.1.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none.²

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

35. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

36. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In the recent Security Council discussions on the situation in Cyprus, the Chinese delegation has made clear its principled position on a number of occasions. Based on this position, we voted in favour of resolutions 353 (1974), 354 (1974) and

357 (1974). For the same reason, before the recess we voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/11448.

37. We are deeply concerned about the development of the situation in Cyprus. We express our profound sympathy for the sufferings of the two communities of Cypriot people. The Chinese delegation has always held different views on the question of the dispatch of United Nations forces. That was why the Chinese delegation did not participate in the voting on resolution 355 (1974). Since the draft resolution contained in document S/11449/Rev.1 deals entirely with the question of the United Nations Force, the Chinese delegation, based on its principled position on this question, decided not to participate in the voting on that draft either.

38. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Let me first of all express the gratitude of my delegation to the members of the Council for taking rapid action on the draft resolution that has just been adopted, which was submitted jointly by the delegations of Australia, Austria, France, Peru and the United Republic of Cameroon. There is no doubt in our mind that the recent turn of events in Cyprus has made a clear and unequivocal statement by the Council on the role of UNFICYP and the safety of its members an urgent necessity.

39. In the early hours of yesterday morning the Council was convened in an emergency meeting to deal with the rapidly deteriorating situation in Cyprus. The speedy and unanimous adoption of resolution 357 (1974) represented at that stage an urgent and indeed indispensable response to a new and highly disturbing development. Yet instead of improving since the adoption of the resolution, the situation has in fact become even more explosive. To put it bluntly, the appeal of the Council has gone unheeded. For this reason, the Council this afternoon adopted another resolution, again reaffirming its will.

40. My Government and people were and are deeply disturbed by this tragic sequence of events. When the Council met on 1 August and adopted resolution 355 (1974) giving the Secretary-General the necessary mandate to continue carrying out the heavy responsibilities entrusted to UNFICYP, all of us were relieved to know that the first round of talks had been concluded with some measure of success and that on 30 July the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom were able to sign a Declaration [*see S/11398*] which, we felt at the time, provided the platform for a subsequent process of negotiation and reconciliation.

41. In a number of interventions before the Council my delegation has put forward its understanding of the necessary steps leading to a peaceful settlement. Without being repetitive, I should like to say once again that among those we understood and we

² See resolution 359 (1974).

understand to be the strictest observance of the cease-fire, an end to all fighting, hostilities and acts of violence, implementation of resolution 353 (1974) in all its parts and a reaffirmation of the central role of the United Nations in all efforts to protect and maintain the independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of a fellow Member State, the Republic of Cyprus.

42. Certainly it would have been unrealistic to expect quick solutions from the renewed negotiations in Geneva. Yet there was at least a hope that determined efforts on all sides would be made to reach a reasonable compromise. While the talks in Geneva were going on the cease-fire on the island was at least generally observed, despite continuous attempts to expand areas of control and influence by one side to the conflict. The latest break-down of the Geneva talks would in itself have been a matter of deep preoccupation and concern. However, the fact that a few hours after the break-down of the negotiations an almost immediate resumption of large-scale military action took place confirmed the most pessimistic forecasts. Instead of being permitted to fulfil their peace-keeping role, members of UNFICYP were again subjected to direct military attacks. We were particularly shocked by the news of numerous casualties which UNFICYP suffered as a result of action by Turkish armed forces. It is a matter of deep regret, Mr. President—and we are profoundly grateful for your sympathy—that now three members of the Austrian contingent have met their deaths in the service of peace in Cyprus. The three soldiers, Lieutenant Johann Izay, Sergeant Paul Decombe, and Corporal August Isak, were victims of a deliberate attack by Turkish armed forces, the full facts of which have been presented in the latest reports of the Secretary-General. These reports indicate a deliberate attack by a Turkish fighter aircraft on a vehicle clearly marked with the United Nations emblem.

43. My Government has supported resolution 353 (1974) from the outset, as did all other delegations, and has made every effort to support the implementation of that resolution. It was in this spirit that my Government, responding to the appeal of the Secretary-General, reinforced its peace-keeping contingent in Cyprus. My Government has thus shown its deep desire to contribute with all the means at its disposal to a peaceful settlement of this most dangerous crisis. The Council will understand, therefore, the sense of shock and grief that has overcome my country at this tragic incident. It is heightened by the repeatedly expressed conviction of my country that all military action in Cyprus should cease, that all military action and all acts of violence, regardless of the circumstances in which they occur, should be discontinued.

44. As a consequence of this new act of violence, my Government has protested in the strongest possible terms against this violation of international law and

this irresponsible act of Turkish armed forces. We profoundly deplore the fact that a State Member of the United Nations has directed its arms against United Nations forces in Cyprus and that, besides the numerous casualties suffered by the contingents in the numerous woundings of soldiers, this has now resulted also in the deaths of United Nations soldiers. We would express the profound hope that the Government of Turkey will take all necessary measures to ensure that the safety of United Nations personnel stationed on the island will be strictly guaranteed in the future. The Turkish Government has expressed its condolences concerning these tragic incidents, and my Government appreciates this expression of the sentiments of the Government of Turkey.

45. It will be understood, however, that further action was needed in order to avoid any repetition of such acts of violence against members of UNFICYP. What appears to be of the utmost importance now—and I have stressed this already—is that all measures be taken forthwith to ensure that a recurrence of such events will be prevented once and for all.

46. It may be useful to recall at this stage a few basic facts. Under the mandate given to the Force by the Security Council in resolution 186 (1964), UNFICYP has been charged with a task which is essentially in the interests of peace and security, in the interests of the safety and protection of the people of Cyprus, of members of both communities. In the performance of this task the United Nations forces are impartial. Their only object is the preservation of peace. Each and every report of the Secretary-General brings out the determined efforts of all the members of the Force to live up to this task under the most trying circumstances. The people of Cyprus, who have suffered so greatly and, I am afraid, continue to suffer in the continuing military operation, deserve our full sympathy and support and all our efforts to limit the suffering to the greatest extent possible. The mandate of UNFICYP has been clearly established, as I have said, by resolution 186 (1964), subsequently by resolutions 353 (1974) and 355 (1974), and again by the resolution just adopted. If the Security Council holds, as I think it does, that UNFICYP has an essential role to play in the implementation of the cease-fire and all related tasks and in the fulfilment of humanitarian functions for the civilian population, then it is incumbent on it to see to it that the Force is being given the opportunity to carry out its functions in safety. Otherwise the question may arise whether peace-keeping missions of the United Nations can be continued in a situation in which military attacks are putting the very essence of such missions in jeopardy.

47. Consequently, we feel that the Secretary-General should urgently communicate with the three parties concerned to renew in a clear and unequivocal manner their commitment to the unimpeded function of UNFICYP in a most urgent and important way.

48. I hope that the sacrifice that has now been made by three young Austrian soldiers and so many of their fellow members of UNFICYP on Cyprus has not been in vain. They have given their lives for peace, as so many others have given their health, their well-being and some of the best years of their lives.

49. In speaking in memory of these members of UNFICYP, be they of Austrian or any other nationality, I hope that the Council will be strengthened in its determination to help UNFICYP and peace-keeping forces of the United Nations everywhere to perform their tasks for peace.

50. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): I give the floor to the representative of Cyprus.

51. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I should like first to refer to the United Nations Force in Cyprus and to express my deep condolences on the loss of the lives of some of its members. This is very regrettable, especially because the United Nations Force in Cyprus has functioned for the last ten years without any of its members having lost their lives or even been wounded. The co-operation of the Government and people of Cyprus with UNFICYP has been really exemplary, and, indeed, the operation in Cyprus was thought to be successful. These regrettable losses have happened only since the lamentable invasion of Cyprus.

52. I should now like to say a few words with regard to the mandate of the Force. The role of the Force is set forth in its mandate, which is contained in Security Council resolution 186 (1964). That mandate, it should be pointed out, clearly implies the use of the Force in situations arising not only from internal but also from international events, and the threat or use of force in international relations comes within that mandate. In that respect I would refer to the preamble of the resolution. The first preambular paragraph states:

"Noting that the present situation with regard to Cyprus is likely to threaten international peace and security and may further deteriorate" and so on. Then, in the third preambular paragraph, the resolution speaks directly of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter; indeed it quotes that paragraph.

The words "international relations" therein mean relations between one State and another State. Immediately after that, in paragraph 1, the resolution

"Calls upon all Member States, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of ... [use of force] likely to worsen the situation in ... Cyprus".

Further, after asking the Government of Cyprus—which, in the words of the resolution, "has the

responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order"—to take any measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed, the resolution, in its paragraph 5,

"Recommends that the function of the Force should be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security"—not merely internal 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."

53. Of course, at the time of the adoption of this resolution, there were internal matters, between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, but I must also remind the Council that the Council had become seized of the matter because of—and the resolution of 4 March 1964 was consequent upon—the threat of invasion of Cyprus by Turkey on 27 December 1963. That was the beginning of the involvement of the United Nations and the Security Council in Cyprus, and ever since then whenever the Council has met to renew the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus the item has been inscribed on the agenda in exactly the same way as at that first meeting on 27 December 1963 [1085th meeting], which concerned a matter between Turkey and Cyprus. Therefore, to be brief, the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus includes its duties of deployment and interposition in the threatening situation between the forces of Turkey and the forces of Cyprus at the present juncture.

54. I now turn to the main item before us, on which the Security Council has this evening adopted a resolution.

55. Having violated three cease-fire resolutions of the Council, resolutions it has accepted, and another cease-fire agreement solemnly signed by it in Geneva, and after having insisted on negotiations being conducted at gunpoint in Geneva in a manner reminiscent of Hitler's tactics, Turkey is now proceeding through the violation of those resolutions and of its pledges to occupy more and more territory of Cyprus through blood and iron. It is using the overwhelming weaponry in its possession as a member of the NATO alliance in an aggressive attack contrary to the purposes of that alliance against a small non-aligned country. With its 30,000 to 40,000 troops in the island, and its more than 300 modern tanks, as against the small force of the National Guard, which has only nine tanks—and they are of the old type—Turkey, unchallenged in its command of the air space over and the sea surrounding Cyprus, is constantly pounding the island with overwhelming force, by bombings, by shellings, by continuous firing against the open cities, indulging in an indiscriminate orgy of killing and destruction.

56. I should like here to quote some parts of the statement issued by the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, yesterday in London:

"The Turkish aggression against Cyprus is unprecedented in recent history. Turkey, having torpedoed the Geneva conference which it attended, not for the purpose of negotiating but for the purpose of dictating... terms, has unleashed in the early hours of today an all-out attack and has already occupied a substantial part of the territory of Cyprus. The Security Council this morning adopted a resolution demanding once again a cease-fire. But Turkey refuses to respect this new call of the Council as it did with the previous ones. From a position of military supremacy the Turks continue with their brutal attacks, causing great loss of life, human suffering, and destruction. What the Turks failed to achieve at the Geneva conference by blackmail and gunboat diplomacy they are now attempting to get by brutal force.

"What is at present going on in Cyprus is a real tragedy. Turkish planes are attacking in a most barbarous way, killing defenceless civilian population, while Turkish troops are trying to occupy more and more territory of the island.

"Cyprus is now at the mercy of the Turkish troops. The events in Turkey prove that small countries cannot rely on those Powers which profess to be peacemakers and guardians of international peace. I am disappointed by the attitude of the great Powers who are watching the dramatic developments in Cyprus and remain inactive. This is the time for those great Powers, collectively or individually, and for peace-loving countries to intervene and come to the rescue of Cyprus and save it from the barbarous Turks' aggression. I appeal to all to do their utmost as a matter of grave urgency to put an end to this aggression. No one can remain indifferent or inactive at this hour when so much is at stake in relation to peace. This is a time not for words but for urgent action.

"If the conquest of Cyprus territory is allowed to be tolerated as a fait accompli, this will destroy the very concept upon which the United Nations is based and it will be an ominous precedent for the independence and security of other small countries."

57. Cyprus, after an unbroken history of 3,000 years as an integral unit, is now facing a premeditated armed attack aimed at tearing it asunder in a sinister war of aggression. For over two weeks now the world has witnessed the strangulation of Cyprus and the trampling of its independence and territorial integrity. The concern and indignation manifested by world public opinion has found expression in the international press, but the body that is responsible under the Charter of the United Nations for action—the Security

Council—has remained impressively passive and ineffectual in its resolutions. Its blatant ineffectiveness has apparently been caused by considerations of short-term interest in conflict with the gravity of the situation and the interest of the international community in peace; for if the United Nations does not meaningfully act to stop effectively and immediately the aggression and its effects, it will have failed as never before in the main purpose of its existence. It will set a dangerous precedent—that of tolerating passively, for two weeks on end, a naked aggression by a strong Power against a small country in full view of a numbed United Nations.

58. This is not said merely by way of prodding the Security Council to necessary action to save Cyprus. It is equally our concern, as a Member of the United Nations, where the international community and the United Nations is heading if this ever-worsening trend continues. Our concern in strengthening the United Nations under the Charter as an effective instrument of peace and freedom in the world is not new. It has been consistently demonstrated in all our interventions in the United Nations over a period of 14 years now.

59. At this stage Cyprus and its problem is in a way transcended by the major problem of the effective functioning of the Security Council involved in this issue. The United Nations and its meaningfulness in vital matters of international security and peace stands on trial. The treatment of Cyprus on this item is a sign of the times and an ominous signal of breakdown in the existing international order and security, now sadly falling apart.

60. Independently of how important Cyprus is or is not, the ripples from this treatment cannot but have far-reaching repercussions. The tragic sequence of events these days in their unfolding brings irresistibly to mind more and more every day the events that preceded the Second World War. What actually happens in Cyprus these days is now definitely a repetition of those events, but a graver one because of the existence today of the United Nations and its Charter, which did not exist then. Obviously, the lessons of that war that brought into being the United Nations are, in the present generation, unlearned or forgotten. The great Spanish author and philosopher Santayana said, "Those who do not learn from the mistakes of the past are condemned by history to repeat them". Their repetition in the nuclear age, however, is far more devastating in its consequences and in its effects for peace and the survival of mankind.

61. Another aspect that has to be mentioned is that the present case abundantly demonstrates that the Security Council, in functioning in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter, cannot function effectively unless Chapter VII, which was intended to be applied, becomes operative. It is true that since the establishment of the United Nations Chapter VII has hardly

ever, if at all, been used. But it cannot be conceived that the Council should issue resolution after resolution for 15 days, that each resolution should be ignored and violated, and that the aggressor should continue his aggression, each time with greater tenacity, with greater force, almost encouraged by each violation and, as if conquering the world by those violations, boisterously celebrate them. Is this a situation in which the world can be thought to be headed in the right direction? Can that be said of a Security Council that is not concerned about the application of its resolutions, that it is quite content with a perfunctory repetition of them, irrespective of what happens? "Requests" becomes "Calls", "Calls" becomes "Demands", and "Demands" becomes "Insists"; but the resolution remains in each case inoperative, in a manner that should be of deep concern to the whole membership of the United Nations, but of concern more importantly and more directly to the members of the Security Council, whose resolutions are so flouted while a small country is being strangled with loss of life and destruction every day while resolutions come perfunctorily and remain the same.

62. Now, therefore, this example is unique. There is no parallel in the United Nations of exactly such a situation. In all other cases of war there was comparable force from one side and the other. The fighting in the air was with military aeroplanes from both sides, wherever you looked, whether in the Middle East or in Viet-Nam, or in any other part of the world. But here we have such murderous aggression tolerated in such a way and for so long, with satisfaction taken in the passing of resolutions timidly, just to overcome the annoyance of a Security Council meeting—which would have been much better avoided, they feel. That is the situation, no matter how one would like to cover it up or smooth it out. This is the stark reality, and the concern of the Secretary-General has been definitely shown in his statement, which I should like to quote and to comment upon.

63. The Secretary-General, in commenting on the situation, says that it

"relates to the ... credibility of the United Nations itself and the respect of its Members for the decisions of its main organs, especially the Security Council. In the present case the Council, with no dissenting voice, has called three times for a cease-fire in Cyprus. As we all know, to this moment heavy fighting in Cyprus continues. This situation, which clearly represents a threat to international peace and security, calls in question the very essence of the Charter and the raison d'être of the Organization." [*Supra, para 20.*]

It is exactly what we feel and what I have just said.

"I believe"—the Secretary-General continues—"that it is vital that the Council, which has the

primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should give the most immediate and searching attention to the implications of this situation, both for the immediate problem of Cyprus and for the future effectiveness of the United Nations." [*Ibid.*]

64. It is the present case that in its unfolding has revealed and spotlighted the weaknesses of the Security Council in its functions. Never before have they been so shown up. Never before has the conduct of the international community been so crude in its implications. In all cases, at the last moment, before the failure of the United Nations something happened and the United Nations was saved. But in this case the United Nations has not been saved so far. It has not been saved with its four ineffective resolutions without any other effort. It therefore is necessary that the United Nations turn its attention to a reappraisal of the functioning of the Council, to a reappraisal of the absolute discarding of Chapter VII of the Charter in the functioning of the Council. If the Council could really function without Chapter VII, the founding fathers of the United Nations would not have taken the trouble to put it there.

65. We know the crippling reasons. There are no justifications for not having the Security Council functioning properly. Always by some makeshift arrangements some things were done—patching up. But this patching up has not worked in this case, and therefore let us see that this case begins a new era in the United Nations with a proper functioning of the Security Council, because we are moving in world that is more and more dangerous, in a nuclear age and in a space age. With a United Nations so crippled, so lame, a Security Council that was no Security Council at all, no one would have any faith in it after this case. No small country would have any faith for its own security in the United Nations. It would be a prey at the mercy of any aggressor.

66. And therefore if this problem of Cyprus, as a result of the untold scourge of war, suffering and destruction in Cyprus, brings a reappraisal and a correction of the Security Council, all the suffering of Cyprus will not have been in vain. And therefore, I say again, the problem now transcends Cyprus; it is the problem of the United Nations, and particularly of this Security Council, intended for the maintenance of international peace and security, which has been completely forgotten all these 15 days as a duty or as a responsibility, or as necessitating effective action.

67. Perhaps no single one is to blame: but all are to blame for having a Security Council—inherently ineffective and lame by the very fact of the Charter—which is incomplete in its functioning.

68. I do not want to take the time of the members of this Council any longer. There may be other matters

more interesting, more important for them than the peace and security of Cyprus.

69. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): It is with a sense of deep appreciation to those who seek to keep the peace on behalf of the United Nations that we have voted tonight for this resolution which was sponsored by five member countries. It is also with a sense of grief, however, because of the tragic news that three Austrian members of UNFICYP have been killed while carrying out their duties on Cyprus. Our Government extends its profound condolences to the Austrian Government and to the families of these brave men who have sacrificed their lives for the peace which is the goal of us all.

70. We further note with a feeling of deepest sorrow that an additional number of UNFICYP troops have been wounded in the fighting—27 by the latest count of the Secretariat. These men are international heroes. They deserve not only our gratitude but our support so that their work can be facilitated, not hampered, as they carry out their tasks far from home, like other United Nations peacekeepers in the Middle East and in other areas.

71. We, the representatives of our Governments, who sit here in the safety of this chamber, must remember them because, regardless of nationality, they are our sons. We must make sure that they and their successors patrolling distant battlefields have the capacity and the mandate to carry out their dangerous assignments without their being required to give up their lives.

72. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I do not think this is a time for very lengthy speeches. It is perhaps a time to review the events of the last 24 hours and to look forward from this point on. I spoke at some length following the unanimous adoption of resolution 357 (1974) at, I think, 6 a.m. the day before yesterday, and I therefore do not wish to detain the Council long tonight. But there are one or two points that I should like to make, to try and clarify my Government's position.

73. We deplore and we condemn the flagrant and the continuing breaches of the cease-fire which have occurred in Cyprus since the early hours of yesterday, and those who instigated those breaches bear a very heavy responsibility indeed—let there be no mistake about that. We are not here just discussing an academic issue. We are discussing a situation in which people—innocent people—are being killed. It is clear that the cost in human life and the cost in human suffering is heavy. Whatever the wrongs or the rights of the past may be—and I would not deny that there have been many wrongs—such action cannot, in the view of my delegation, be justified.

74. As I made clear when I spoke last in this chamber, there can be no justification whatsoever

for it when the diplomatic processes have not even been exhausted. May I reiterate, if it needs reiteration, that my Government remains ready to resume negotiations at very short notice. May I appeal again, if further appeal is likely to have any greater effect, to the Government of Turkey to respect the cease-fire demanded by resolution 357 (1974). May I appeal again to that Government to indicate its willingness to resume negotiations.

75. The British Foreign Secretary said when he left Geneva that there could be no military solution to the problems of Cyprus. He said:

“These will only be solved by the two communities themselves and, if I may put it in two sentences: Today the Republic of Cyprus is the prisoner of the Turkish army. Tomorrow the Turkish army will find that it will become the prisoner of the Republic of Cyprus.”

76. A settlement can come only by agreement between the parties, and no one Government will be able to achieve it by military means. Eventually people will have to go back to the conference table. They should go back now. We have waited long enough for these negotiations to restart.

77. My delegation applauds the efforts being made by UNFICYP and by the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to help the people suffering in Cyprus. We appeal to all parties to co-operate with those two agencies.

78. It is essential, surely, that the attacks that have been mounted on heavily populated areas should cease. In that connexion we understand that a cease-fire as far as Nicosia is concerned has been arranged. I hope that it will hold. I hope that it will be respected by both sides. For the consequences of indiscriminate fighting in such an area must surely be appalling.

79. May I join too with the other members of the Council who have expressed their sympathy to the Austrian delegation over the tragic deaths of three members of the Austrian contingent of UNFICYP. Yesterday three members of the British contingent were injured. I am informed that they were in an armoured car troop, in white-painted vehicles, with United Nations insignia very prominently displayed; nevertheless they were attacked by Turkish aircraft. They were in an open position and there were no National Guard, and no military target was in the vicinity. I am informed also that there have been two other casualties amongst the British contingent. Perhaps we have been more fortunate than some other national contingents. We have certainly not suffered as grievously as the Austrian contingent. Nor has the British contingent been as hard hit as the Finnish national contingent, and my delegation would like to extend its sympathy also to Finland and to Canada for the casualties suffered by their contingents.

80. Attacks on UNFICYP, let alone ones which would appear on the evidence we have seen to be deliberate attacks, are—and the Security Council must declare them to be—totally unacceptable. We are pleased indeed that the Turkish Government has given orders that there should be no repetition of such incidents.

81. May I deal with just one further point, since it has been raised from time to time both in this chamber and in the press. I refer to the accusation that somehow or other the United Kingdom has ceased to be impartial in this dispute and is showing partiality in favour of one side as against the other.

82. When Mr. Callaghan left Geneva he gave a press conference. In the course of it he said this:

“We must keep this in perspective, because the Turks have got a case. Despite what has been done by Turkey today, there is no doubt that the Turkish Cypriots have suffered as a result of the failure to observe the Constitution of Cyprus.”

83. We find ourselves today in the uncomfortable but probably correct position of being accused by both sides of partiality. In Cyprus we hear that the United Kingdom was supposed to be guilty of complicity in the initial Turkish invasion. In Turkey we are accused of, among other things, rigging the Geneva conference so that Turkey had to walk out of it. Even the Dardanelles campaign of 1915 is being brought into the Turkish press. This means that we are almost certainly right, because everybody attacks the referee. All I would say to both Turkey and Greece in this particular dispute is that the services of the British Government are at their disposal now as they have been throughout this dispute, in accordance with the provisions of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, so that, as we hope, negotiations may be restarted.

84. This is a difficult and a sombre occasion for all of us, I think, and for no one can it be more difficult than for the representative of Cyprus. May I express a personal note of sympathy to him. He has in the last four weeks seen his country invaded. He has seen his country torn to pieces by troops not of his own country. I think that those of us who have seen him in the last month must express our personal admiration to him for the way in which he has borne the heavy responsibilities which have been placed upon him.

85. Having said that, I would say only one final word to him. I hope that he recognizes, as well as the rest of us, that the only way to settle this dispute is by negotiation and that the only way to get negotiation is to be prepared to make concessions, and that concessions have to be made politically on both sides of this dispute if we are at the end to emerge with what I think all of us round this table at least want to see: a Cyprus which remains independent, which

remains an independent Member of the United Nations and which, if it so wishes, remains non-aligned.

86. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): Since no other member of the Council wishes to speak, I shall now make a statement as the representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

87. Distinguished members of the Security Council, the Council has once again had to meet in order to consider the very complex and tense situation that has arisen in Cyprus as a result of the continuing and expanding foreign military intervention against a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. Only yesterday, the Council unanimously adopted resolution 357 (1974), in which it reaffirmed its resolution 353 (1974) and all the other resolutions on the subject, in all their provisions, and called for the immediate implementation of those provisions, which constitute the basis for a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus crisis.

88. In that resolution the Council demanded that the parties to the fighting cease all firing and military action forthwith. We must note with regret that that resolution, too, like the three preceding resolutions on Cyprus, is not being implemented, but is being grossly violated. Alarming news is reaching us from Cyprus. The military operations on the island have not only not ceased, but are, on the contrary, expanding and taking on a more dangerous character. Peaceful inhabitants of the Republic of Cyprus are losing their lives, innocent people are being killed, and increased suffering is being inflicted on the Cypriot people, who have fallen victim to the secret plans and designs of certain NATO circles which, in order to strengthen their military and strategic positions in the eastern Mediterranean, are intent on sacrificing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and on dismembering the island.

89. The United Nations troops are also suffering casualties. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation expresses its sincere condolences to the Government of Austria and to the bereaved families over the death of three soldiers of the Austrian contingent of UNFICYP. We also offer our sympathy to the Governments of Finland, the United Kingdom and Canada, whose soldiers have been wounded.

90. The events of the last few days and hours confirm very convincingly the correctness of the evaluation made in the statement by the Soviet Government that what is at stake is the fate of Cyprus as an independent sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations and an active member of the non-aligned movement. Even to those inexperienced in political matters, it is clear that, in full view of us all, unlawful acts that have been condemned and proscribed by numerous decisions of the United Nations are being

committed against international peace, security and justice and that there is foreign intervention and an attempt forcibly to dismember an independent sovereign State.

91. In these circumstances, no State that cherishes peace and security on the basis of the noble principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law can remain aloof from this tragedy of the Cypriot people.

92. The Soviet delegation wishes to stress once again that the Security Council must place full responsibility for this violence, committed in full view of the United Nations and the whole world against an independent State, upon certain NATO circles which, behind the backs of the Cypriot people, are deciding their destiny and that of the statehood and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They are also flouting the principles and rules of the Charter.

93. The Geneva Declaration, which was adopted without the participation of the representatives of Cyprus, was designed to delay a political settlement that would be in the interests of the Cypriot people. It was designed to ensure a continuation of the occupation of Cyprus by NATO troops—a situation which in fact creates conditions that reinforce the division of the island. Those NATO circles are doing their utmost to reduce an important decision of the Security Council on Cyprus to a mere scrap of paper.

94. In these circumstances, the time has come for the Security Council, in implementation of its resolution 357 (1974), to consider the question of adopting more effective measures to ensure the implementation of its decisions on Cyprus, first and foremost its basic resolution, namely, resolution 353 (1974), which requested the withdrawal of troops. That is what the Council undertook to do in resolution 357 (1974), in which it decided to remain seized of the situation and on instant call to meet as necessary to consider what more effective measures may be required if the cease-fire is not respected.

95. The Soviet Union is in favour of protecting the independence of the Cypriot State, which wishes to pursue a policy of non-alignment; it is in favour of maintaining the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and opposes the partition or annexation of the island on any pretext. The Soviet Government insists on the immediate cessation of foreign military intervention in Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island and the restoration of the constitutional Government of the Republic of Cyprus and of all the institutions of that Government.

96. The most important condition for the normalization of the situation in Cyprus and for the restoration of the lawful Government is the removal of the

rebels from power in the island. That would also promote the immediate cessation of military intervention in Cyprus and the withdrawal from the island of all foreign military personnel and foreign troops.

97. As far as the internal State structure of the Republic of Cyprus is concerned, the question should be settled by the Cypriots themselves. The strict observance by all of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of another State would be a real guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign Member State of the United Nations. It is important to protect the Republic of Cyprus from outside interference and to create conditions under which the Cypriot people—both Greek and Turkish Cypriots—would be able to settle their own internal problems in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. The Soviet delegation has frequently stressed that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus is the key question and the basic condition for ensuring a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus crisis. The withdrawal of troops would create the necessary pre-conditions for the solution of the internal political problems of Cyprus by the Cypriot people themselves, without any forcible interference from outside. The Soviet Union continues to take the view that the fate of the Cypriot people must be determined by the Cypriot people themselves, without any kind of foreign interference or pressure.

98. It is the duty of the Council to ensure those very conditions for the people of Cyprus, for the solution of their internal problem. The Council cannot and must not be indifferent to the situation in the eastern Mediterranean, which represents such a threat to peace. It has a grave responsibility under the Charter and has an obligation to take effective and urgent measures to preserve the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. In accordance with the Charter, the Council must put an end to foreign military intervention, protect the lawful rights of the people of Cyprus and ensure peace and security in that important region.

99. The Soviet delegation wishes to state quite openly that developments in and around Cyprus in recent days have not convinced us that the resumption of the Geneva talks within the narrow, closed circle of NATO can ensure a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus crisis in accordance with the noble purposes and principles of the Charter. The attempts made at the Geneva talks to settle this problem within the narrow circle of States members of NATO without taking account of the will of the Cypriot people and to the detriment of their basic and vital interests, have met with failure. The so-called guarantee system—based on the Zurich and London agreements—which was imposed on Cyprus in 1959 and which the Soviet Union has never supported, has ceased to be viable and has failed. The proposal by the USSR to replace this bankrupt guarantee

system by a more effective and reliable system of international guarantees that would strictly ensure the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus was rejected by those who continue to cling to old, obsolete theories.

100. It is the deep conviction of the Soviet delegation that only decisive action by the Security Council and the United Nations can avert the dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus and ensure its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Soviet delegation remains firmly convinced that the Council should, as a matter of urgency, send a special mission to Cyprus composed of members of the Council to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultations with the members of the Council and the Secretary-General, in order to ascertain on the spot the progress made in implementing the Council's decisions, and to submit a report to the Council. The sending of such a mission is particularly important now when events in Cyprus have taken a new, dangerous turn. The purpose of sending a special mission of the Security Council to Cyprus should be to enhance the role of the United Nations and its principal organ for the maintenance of peace and international security, to restore peace and ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. The mission could carry out a detailed study of the situation on the spot and submit to the Council its recommendations concerning measures to ensure the implementation of resolution 353 (1974) and the restoration of peace, constitutional order and the lawful government of the Republic of Cyprus headed by President Makarios.

101. Such a measure—the sending of such a mission—has now become urgent, in view of the failure of the Geneva talks and the continuing foreign military intervention against the Republic of Cyprus. The mission would be able to collect and submit to the Council detailed factual material concerning the situation in Cyprus, together with its conclusions, observations and proposals. The Soviet delegation has become firmly convinced that the Council does not yet have at its disposal objective and complete information about the real situation in Cyprus. In that connexion, I should like to mention the reports by the Secretariat on the situation in Cyprus, particularly those issued during the Secretary-General's absence from New York. They do not contain a full picture of the true situation in Cyprus and they show a tendency to embellish the situation. There has been no assessment of the general political and military situation on the island. The introductory paragraphs of the reports, to the effect that the situation on the island as a whole remains calm, do not correspond to the facts set forth in those reports concerning military operations, violations of the cease-fire and acts of violence. The Council needs a full report on the situation in Cyprus with an analysis of the changes in the situation since the adoption of

resolution 353 (1974). The full report should also deal fully with the key issue in the Cyprus crisis, namely, the withdrawal of foreign troops. All these deficiencies should be eliminated in the full report, which should also contain detailed information on the activities of UNFICYP.

102. I should like to stress once again that full and reliable information on the situation in Cyprus must be made available to the Council now, at this critical time, so that the Council, in full knowledge of the facts, may take effective measures to settle the Cyprus crisis and ensure the immediate implementation of the key provisions of resolution 353 (1974).

103. For that very reason, we consider it absolutely essential that a special mission of the Council be sent urgently to Cyprus, so that it may submit a full and thorough report on the situation on the spot and thus assist the Council in discharging its international duty to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

104. We do not understand who could be disturbed by such a mission. Those who sincerely support an independent, sovereign Cyprus would not only not be disturbed or harmed by such a mission, but would be assisted.

105. We should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the detailed information on the situation in Cyprus and on the activities and tasks of the United Nations troops on the island which he gave to the Council in his statement earlier in this meeting. This information will be useful to the Council in its constant, practical direction of the activities of the United Nations troops in Cyprus. It would be extremely useful if the Secretary-General reported to the Council periodically on a regular basis with regard to the activities of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. This Force, despite its composition, should not be used to implement NATO plans aimed at depriving the Republic of Cyprus of its independence and partitioning the country to the detriment of the interests of the Cypriot people. The activities of the United Nations troops should be directed towards ensuring a cease-fire, the immediate cessation of foreign military intervention and the immediate withdrawal from the Republic of Cyprus of the foreign military personnel stationed there.

106. With regard to the resolutions adopted by the Council at this meeting, I should like to state the following: the Soviet delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11448. However, we must point out that we would have preferred the adoption of a more strongly worded resolution on this question, as we stated when resolution 357 (1974) was adopted.

107. As the Soviet delegation has frequently emphasized, the Council must take effective measures for the immediate implementation of the basic

resolution, resolution 353 (1974), in all its provisions. We therefore consider the resolution adopted at this meeting to be merely a further step in that direction, since it insists on the full implementation of previous Council resolutions, including resolution 353 (1974). In that sense, we consider this resolution to be useful and necessary, in view of the urgency of the matter, although in substance the wording is insufficiently strong.

108. As to draft resolution S/11449/Rev.1 submitted by Austria and four other delegations, the Soviet delegation voted in favour of it, since we understood and took into account the humanitarian reasons why it had been submitted urgently, and agreed on the need to adopt such a resolution. At the same time, the Soviet delegation would like to point out, in connexion with the reference in that resolution to resolution 355 (1974), that it abstained in the vote on that resolution and at that time gave an appropriate explanation of its vote. That explanation still remains valid at the present time. We consider it necessary to point this out and to reaffirm the position of the USSR delegation with regard to resolution 355 (1974).

109. The Soviet delegation stresses once again that time does not wait. Decisive and effective action by the Security Council is essential in order to restore peace in Cyprus and put an end to foreign military intervention against that sovereign State. The Soviet delegation is ready to co-operate constructively with all the other members of the Council to that end.

110. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it is, unfortunately, an indication of how unrealistic and irrelevant is the attitude of the Soviet Union on this matter that in the course of your speech—lasting, I think, some 25 minutes—not once did you see fit to mention the word “Turkey”, not once did you see fit to mention the present advance of the Turkish army in Cyprus, not once did you see fit to mention the proposals that were put forward by the Government of Turkey and by the Government of Greece in Geneva. Once again, not for the first time, you have treated us to a diatribe against NATO. If I may say so, with respect, the Soviet Union seems to be obsessed by NATO.

111. Originally we were told that NATO circles were on the side of the Greeks because they had engineered the expulsion of Makarios. Now we are told that NATO circles are on the side of the Turks. Is it one NATO circle we are complaining about, or is it perhaps two? Or, indeed, are there more? Everywhere there seems to be the hand of NATO in something, if one is to take at face value what the representative of the Soviet Union insists upon telling us so often.

112. May I remind you, Mr. President, that when the coup started in Cyprus Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, was flown out of that island by

an aircraft belonging to a NATO country from a base which was used by a NATO Power to the capital of a country which is a member of NATO. Indeed, the Archbishop expressed his deep gratitude at that fact in this very chamber as well as in London.

113. It is a very strange sort of plot, if I may say so, in which the principal plotters, far from taking steps to get rid of the person they are plotting against, if the Soviet attitude is correct, seem, indeed, to have taken all necessary measures in order to extract him from a position of danger.

114. When it comes to the Geneva conference, I do not think anyone who reads what happened in Geneva fairly and with a degree of objectivity, which unfortunately we have not heard this evening, could conclude anything other than that the British position on Cyprus was that we wished to produce a settlement that was basically acceptable to all, including the representatives of the Cypriot people, both of whom were present at that conference.

115. A wise man in England once said that to a bishop nothing was pure, and that to a general nothing was safe. I think we can add a third to that: to the Soviet Union nothing a Western country does can conceivably be innocent, however altruistic and however sensible and however moderate it may be.

116. It is perhaps time that in relation to Cyprus the Soviet Union stopped turning its gaze on NATO and started looking at the realities of the situation, at what is happening on the ground; and, indeed, instead of trying to hinder a settlement, it might be better if the Soviet Union devoted its great energies to trying to achieve one.

117. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The reaction of the United Kingdom representative merely confirms the correctness of the position stated by the Soviet delegation.

118. I call upon the representative of Greece.

119. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): I deeply regret the loss of three young Austrian soldiers of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, who were killed by the Turkish army. I offer the deepest sympathy of my Government and of myself to the representative of Austria, to his Government, and to the Secretary-General.

120. At this stage and at this moment, I should like to refer only to the first resolution unanimously adopted earlier this evening, contained in document S/11448. Allow me to say that I find it completely inadequate in the present circumstances.

121. The Security Council is faced with a very serious problem. A State Member of the United Nations has had one third of its territory forcibly

occupied by another State Member, and that has happened in a span of two weeks, during which all the Council's resolutions have been continuously and flagrantly violated by Turkey.

122. If, after all that, all the Council can do is recall its previous resolutions and insist upon their implementation, that is not flattering to the Council. Nor, I should like to say, is it consistent with its previous actions.

123. As all members of the Council will remember, on the night of the breakdown of the Geneva conference and the resumption of hostilities by Turkey, the Council adopted resolution 357 (1974), paragraph 4 of which states that the Council

"Decides to remain seized of the situation and on instant call to meet as necessary to consider what more effective measures may be required if the cease-fire is not respected".

Since then, one third of the island has been occupied by the Turkish army, and the only thing we probably still do not know is how many are dead and wounded. In the Council's own words, "more effective measures" should be taken in such an event. That is certainly not what has happened this evening.

124. As for the word "cease-fire", which is again used in this resolution—and I do not remember how many times it has been repeated in the various resolutions and around this table—I am sorry to say it is hardly needed any longer. It was needed yesterday and during the days prior to yesterday. Today it is too late.

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

126. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I can understand the degree of emotion attached to the problems referred to in the resolution just adopted by the Council, which I should like to call the Austrian resolution. Therefore, on behalf of my delegation and Government, I shall simply once again express to the Austrian delegation our very deep feelings of regret at the deplorable incident in which three courageous members of the Austrian contingent have been killed and tell it how much sadness that incident has caused in my country. It was expressed much more eloquently than I am capable of in the message addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Ecevit, Prime Minister of my country, which I shall read in the original language.

"I am grieved to learn today that three UNFICYP soldiers lost their lives, and several others were injured, during the military campaign in Cyprus. The Turkish Government has been acting with utmost sensitivity to avoid any possibility of such an event happening since the very beginning of

our military campaign in the island and had ordered all the military authorities to exercise the greatest possible care in taking necessary measures to this end. In fact, certain of our requests regarding the UNFICYP movements arose from this sensitivity. Despite all this, the occurrence of these incidents only indicates how difficult it may become to control and thereby to prevent this kind of incident during a military campaign.

"I hasten to convey to you my sincere feelings of sorrow at these unfortunate losses of brave men who were there for the purpose of peace, and would be extremely grateful to you if you would kindly use your good offices to express our profound condolences to their aggrieved families."³

127. With regard to the operative paragraphs of the resolution adopted in connexion with this incident, I have this to say. My Government has given its strongest assurances that the Turkish forces have been once again ordered to exercise the utmost attention and care for the full safety and security of the UNFICYP troops. However, members of the Council are aware that the tasks and status of UNFICYP in the future will naturally be decided with the consent of the parties concerned.

128. With regard to the basic issue of Cyprus that is the object of this meeting of the Council and has been the object of its recent meetings, I have this to say. All members, past and present, of this Council who have followed the deliberations concerning the Cyprus problem are aware of the fact that over the years the Turkish point of view has always been that the ideal solution for the island would be a constitutional arrangement that would provide for the equal participation of the two communities in the destinies of Cyprus. I remember having said time and time again that neither of the two communities should dominate the other. Turkey has always believed and continues to believe that international disputes can and must be solved through negotiation. Everyone must also be aware of the restraint and patience exercised by Turkey for the past 11 years. It was only when the independence of the island and the very life of the Turkish Cypriot community, already rendered hardly tolerable for a decade, were directly threatened that Turkey, upon the failure of consultations among the guarantor Powers, had to intervene. Turkey is still convinced, however, of the necessity of an agreed settlement through negotiations among all interested parties.

129. I therefore would find it easy to respond to certain appeals but most difficult to agree with the tone in which they were made, not being used to being pressured. The Turkish delegation finds lessons on human behaviour, especially regarding the use of armed forces, less welcome from the representatives

³ Quoted in English by the speaker.

of certain countries—considering their colonial records—than from the representatives of other countries. Suffice it for me to say that the role of judge does not become those who have been for so long, and perhaps could even today still easily be, considered as parties. Nevertheless, despite the fact that I consider that my country has no lessons in behaviour to learn from anyone in this Council, and certainly least of all from the representative of the United Kingdom, and despite the fact that I do not know what are the British political interests that this appeal is ultimately aimed at serving, I will respond to the appeal of the representative of the United Kingdom in all candour.

130. If a constitutional arrangement is accepted under which, in the independent State of Cyprus, the Turkish community would maintain its own autonomous administration in one part of the island and the Greek community its own in another, Turkey is willing to begin negotiations as soon as possible to determine immediately the detailed arrangements for such a constitutional order.

131. This will be my last intervention at this meeting.

132. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take the place reserved for him at the Council table.

133. Mr. TALEB-BENDIAB (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries, meeting on 15 August has charged me, as the current Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries at the United Nations, with making a statement in connexion with the situation prevailing in Cyprus. Allow me, Mr. President, to thank you and the members of the Council for having permitted me to inform you of the opinion of the non-aligned Group on this question.

134. Everyone is aware of the grave situation in Cyprus. That situation has deteriorated, a fact that most gravely concerns the Group of Non-Aligned Countries.

135. Since the beginning of the crisis, the non-aligned States have expressed their apprehensions and fears about the threat to international peace and security that has resulted from the aggression of which the Republic of Cyprus, a founding member of the non-aligned movement, has been a victim. In a message dated 20 July 1974, President Houari Boumediène, acting in his capacity of Chairman of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, stated, among other things, in connexion with the situation in Cyprus:

“The aggression of which the Republic of Cyprus has been the victim constitutes a flagrant and deliberate attack upon the independence, the

sovereignty and the territorial integrity and security of the Cypriot people, a people which up to that time had remained within the framework of a constitutional régime guaranteed by international agreements engaging the direct responsibility of three Powers. That balance which up to that time had been expressed in the option for non-alignment, made of the policy of Cyprus an element of stability within the country and security within that region of the Mediterranean. Obviously, the jeopardy in which these fundamental facts have been placed imperils the balance between the communities and sets in motion a process of deterioration in the Mediterranean that could lead not only to a civil war with unforeseeable consequences, but to a grave international crisis as well.”

136. This situation has been of constant concern to the entire international community, and the Security Council has spared no effort in its attempts to put an end to the tragedy afflicting the Cypriot people.

137. On 6 August, in the face of the threat of further deterioration in the situation, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries once again met and at a plenary meeting adopted a declaration [S/11424]. In that declaration, the representatives of the non-aligned countries,

“Stressing their increasing and urgent concern over the deepening crisis caused by the continuing foreign military and other interventions in Cyprus, which threatens its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as its non-alignment, ... demand the immediate and full implementation of the objectives of Security Council resolution 353 (1974).

“... ”

“They assert the inalienable right of the people and legitimate Government of the Republic of Cyprus to full and free participation in all decisions leading to return to normalcy and to maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.”

138. In the face of the extremely serious development and evolution of the situation in Cyprus, the Group of Non-Aligned Countries has deemed it necessary and appropriate to speak today in the Security Council so that the Council may adopt immediate and effective measures to ensure that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus may be fully respected.

139. We express the hope that the Council, as the principal body of the United Nations entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, will assume its responsibilities in this situation that threatens peace in the world.

140. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): I should just like, briefly, to take this opportunity to say how profoundly grateful my delegation is for the many tokens of sympathy it has received from other delegations in the face of the grievous loss suffered by the Austrian contingent of UNFICYP through a deliberate armed attack against soldiers on peace-keeping duty. In expressing these thanks we wish to associate ourselves with all those who have expressed sympathy to the delegations of other Member States which have suffered losses and casualties, in particular Finland, Canada and the United Kingdom.

141. To the representative of Turkey I should like to say that the Austrian people nourishes no hostility towards the people of Turkey. It was for this reason that such a deep sense of shock and grief befell the Austrian people at the news of the wanton killing of Austrian members of UNFICYP. This sense of shock and grief was first expressed by the most authoritative voice of my country shortly after receiving the terrible news, the voice of Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

142. It would be inappropriate in the face of death not to speak firmly, clearly and without the protective

ambiguities which diplomatic usage allows. We hope and believe that this firmness and clarity will help to redress the situation, and help the Government concerned, without possible misunderstandings, to take such measures as not only will allow for respect for the United Nations peace-keeping missions in the region but will restore the mutual trust and friendship which in the past have always characterized relations between Austria and Turkey.

143. The word "heroism" has been pronounced here, and indeed service for peace demands a heroism that is much greater than the so-called heroism of war. It is heroism that for the most part goes unrewarded. It is heroism that for the most part demands only heavy sacrifice.

144. There is very little that we can do tonight to console three bereaved families in their grief. We hope, however, that the expressions of sympathy they have received tonight from so many delegations and from so many members of the Council will show them that in this hour of distress they will not be alone and forgotten.

The meeting rose on Friday, 16 August, at 1.30 a.m.

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