

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTIETH YEAR

OCT 2 - 1966

1830th MEETING: 13 JUNE 1975

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1830)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus: Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11717)	1

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.

1830th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 13 June 1975 at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Abdul Karim AL-SHAIKHLY (Iraq).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1830)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11717)

The meeting was called to order at 6.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/11717)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have received a letter bearing today's date from the representative of Cyprus, who requests that Cyprus be invited to participate in the debate. The letter also states that the delegation will be headed by Mr. Glafcos Clerides. This request for participation is based on relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council. In conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite the representative of Cyprus to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Clerides (Cyprus) took a place at the Security Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I have also received letters dated 12 and 13 June from the representatives of Turkey and Greece respectively, requesting that they be invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter. In conformity with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite the representatives

of Turkey and Greece to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

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

3. The PRESIDENT: At this stage, I wish also to recall that during our informal consultations yesterday members of the Council agreed that the Council should extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Vedat Çelik. I shall take it, if I hear no objection, that the Council agrees and I shall, at the appropriate time, invite him to come to the Council table to make a statement.

It was so decided.

4. I should like to draw particular attention to the report by the Secretary-General [S/11717] which is listed on the agenda for this meeting.

5. Members of the Council have also received the text of a draft resolution [S/11725] that was prepared in the course of prior consultations among all the members of the Council. In the course of consultations held this afternoon before the opening of this meeting, members of the Council agreed on a new formulation of the last paragraph of the draft resolution. I shall read out the new text of operative paragraph 6, which appears in document S/11725/Rev.1:

"Requests the Secretary-General to continue the mission of good offices entrusted to him by paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975), to keep the Council informed of the progress made and to submit an interim report by 15 September 1975 and a definitive report not later than 15 December 1975."

6. Although the revised text of the draft resolution has not yet been circulated in all languages, it is my hope that members of the Council will be prepared to proceed to a vote on the basis of the text that I have just read out.

7. The Council agreed also in the course of the consultations that the draft resolution should be voted upon before statements were made. I intend therefore first of all to call for a vote on the draft resolution.

8. I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/11725/Rev.1.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

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

9. The PRESIDENT: Now that the Security Council has concluded its voting procedure, I shall call first on the Secretary-General, who has expressed the wish to make a statement.

10. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have carefully noted the terms of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. In particular I have noted paragraph 6, in which the Council requests me to continue the mission of good offices entrusted to me by paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975).

11. I wish to assure the Council that I shall continue to do my best to achieve progress in this very complex and difficult mission. However, I do not wish to conceal from the Council my concern at the absence of progress on the substance of the problem. In spite of all our efforts at Vienna, the basic differences of approach which I have described in my report persist.

12. I very much hope that all concerned will make the maximum effort to find an agreed basis for progress in the weeks and months to come. I know that this is in line with the views of the members of the Council, and I shall do my best to give all possible assistance to this end.

13. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have inscribed their names on the list to speak following the vote. I shall now call on them.

14. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation's stand on the question of Cyprus has been consistent and clear. In accordance with this principled stand, we voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). Therefore, we are in favour of that portion of the draft resolution which reaffirms the aforementioned resolutions and calls for the continued implementation of resolution 367 (1975). However, as the draft resolution mainly concerns the question of United Nations forces, on which the Chinese delegation has always held its well-known position of principle, we did not participate in the voting on it.

15. We are pleased to note that over the recent period the parties concerned with the Cyprus question have already started their talks and achieved initial progress. We sincerely hope that the two Cypriot communities and the parties concerned will continue to do away with super-Power meddling and intervention, take the over-all interests to heart, conduct peaceful and patient negotiations on an equal footing and in a

spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and strive for an early and reasonable settlement of the Cyprus question.

16. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): We have today unmistakably affirmed the conviction of the Council that those concerned must commit themselves to rapid progress towards a negotiated settlement on Cyprus. Our responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, together with the prolonged suffering of all the Cypriot people, make this an urgent requirement.

17. The United States welcomes the recent agreement of the parties concerned to resume the Vienna discussions on 24 July. We thank the Secretary-General for the great skill and patience he has shown in helping to advance these talks and in preserving their momentum. His objective, thoughtful report, which is before us, emphasizes not only the hopeful start which has been made but also the patient efforts, good faith and mutual understanding which are still required to achieve a settlement. The continued skilful assistance of the Secretary-General will be essential to the success of this process.

18. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), whose mandate we have just extended, has continued to make an outstanding contribution to the safety and welfare of all the people of Cyprus. In so doing, it has also significantly assisted the negotiating process. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, the Commander of the United Nations Force and his staff and men have continued to demonstrate the professional ability and sensitive understanding the world has come to expect of them. We earnestly hope that all parties will make every effort to assist and to safeguard the men of the Force as they carry out their demanding tasks.

19. My Government fully supports the action the Security Council has just taken. The President of the United States and the Secretary of State have in recent days directly urged the parties to recognize the paramount importance of reaching a settlement through free negotiations among themselves and to make effective use of the assistance to them which the Council has provided in the personal auspices of the Secretary-General. We join the Council and the world community in emphasizing that progress must be made towards permanent peace in Cyprus, and it must be made now.

20. Mr. SAITO (Japan): My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction over the adoption of the draft resolution with the agreement of the parties concerned. Since the situation on the island is unstable and precarious, what the Council has decided today is required by the circumstances.

21. We agree with the Secretary-General's view that the continued presence of UNFICYP is essential not

only to maintain the cease-fire in the island but to facilitate the search for a peaceful settlement.

22. But we wish to emphasize our belief that this extension of the mandate of the Force should not be used by any of the parties to drag out the negotiations indefinitely; the urgent need for a just and lasting settlement impels me to appeal to the parties to take conciliatory positions and to give maximum co-operation to the Secretary-General in his efforts. In the meantime, of course, the Council can congratulate itself upon the admirable success of the Secretary-General and his staff in administering UNFICYP. Working in close co-operation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Co-ordinator of United Nations humanitarian assistance on the island, and the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNFICYP, in addition to its cease-fire responsibilities, has proved of the greatest value in relieving the hardships of the people of Cyprus. We wish once again to pay a tribute to the officers and men of the Force and to the Governments that have contributed contingents.

23. My delegation has taken note with great concern that, in the words of the Secretary-General's report, the deadlock "over the fundamental basis of a settlement" still persists in spite of the two rounds of talks at Vienna between representatives of the two communities. We are somewhat encouraged, however, by the decision to hold a third round of talks between representatives of the two communities, again in the presence of the Secretary-General, between 24 and 27 July, in fulfilment of Security Council resolution 367 (1975).

24. In the view of my delegation, this provides evidence of the desire of both communities to seek a settlement through the negotiating process. This inspires us to hope that the good will of both communities will make itself felt during the continuing talks and will yet overcome the deadlock reported by the Secretary-General.

25. All of us appreciate the importance of the reciprocal gestures from all the parties which the Secretary-General hopes will now be forthcoming. I would only remind the Council that one side or the other has to be the first to make such a gesture, and I hope that a friendly contest will develop between now and the end of July to determine which side will be the first to do so.

26. In other words, let us all hope that the Secretary-General will have the full co-operation of all parties as he presses his efforts to maintain and if possible accelerate the negotiating process. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the determination with which he is meeting his great responsibility. I appeal to all the parties to co-operate with these efforts and not to jeopardize the negotiating process.

27. Today's extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, although indispensable, is only a part of that process. A maximum effort is now necessary to follow this up and achieve the results we all hope for.

28. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Of the two questions before the Council, questions that while linked are nevertheless distinct, the first, namely, the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Force on Cyprus, does not in the present circumstances seem to call for lengthy comments.

29. In the first place, the usefulness of the presence of the Force is challenged by no one. The Government of Cyprus and all the parties concerned are in favour of maintaining the Force in the island where, with much devotion and competence, it discharges the many tasks that the requirements of a situation that remains as alarming as ever have led us to confer on it. In order to complete its mission, the Force needs not only the agreement of all concerned but also their assistance. In this connexion my delegation renews the appeal we launched last December that no restrictions be placed on UNFICYP, particularly as regards freedom of movement in the exercise of its functions. It is necessary and in accordance with the very spirit of its mission that it be able to act under similar conditions in the north and in the south of the island so as to guarantee the same protection to the two communities. However, such is not always the case, as the report of the Secretary-General indicates.

30. Furthermore, as in the past, we have, with the unanimity of those voting, renewed the mandate of the Force, which is sufficient to emphasize the support it enjoys in the Council. Because the vote in favour of the resolution was unanimous, no reservation that any of the parties represented here might make—for reasons of principle that none of us all accepts, incidentally—can relieve them of the duty of co-operating with the Force.

31. Finally, I should like to pay a tribute to the Force, to its Commander, General Prem Chand, and to the contingents it comprises. They all deserve nothing but our praise and our gratitude for the manner in which, in difficult circumstances, they are carrying out the mission we have entrusted to them. I may add that the Force has been exposed to danger, and as the Secretary-General's report indicates, there have been 24 incidents involving shooting at United Nations troops. Such acts are inadmissible, particularly when they are committed by organized military forces, as is the case. It is the duty of those responsible for the units involved to ensure that there is no recurrence of such incidents in future. This is what we expect of them. I also wish to express to the Government of Canada our feelings of deep regret on the death on active duty of a Canadian officer of the civilian police of the Force.

32. I come now to the other part of the debate, which results from resolution 367 (1975). Like the Secretary-General, we are forced to note that the situation of confrontation resulting from the events of last summer remains unchanged; despite our reiterated appeals, the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which the Council endorsed in its resolution 365 (1974) and on the basis of which a settlement has to be reached, have not been implemented, nor are they about to be. This is a sombre picture, indeed, particularly when one thinks of the human misery which this entails, the scattered populations that for many months have been reduced to the sad condition of being refugees in their own country, and if one also considers their impoverished and paralysed economy.

33. Despite this unhappy picture, we can hope nevertheless, thanks to the determination of the Secretary-General and to his high sense of the responsibilities conferred on him, that a genuine dialogue, which is a necessary condition for settlement, will be established between the parties. There have already been two rounds of talks. We believe that although most of the aspects of the Cypriot problem have been brought up, there has not been, strictly speaking, a substantive consideration of the proposals advanced by both sides, and this has resulted in the parties' marking time, as has been reported by the Secretary-General. Nevertheless, it has been decided to continue those talks at the end of next month, which is obviously a positive commitment. We hope that in the meantime the parties will have proceeded to a study of the questions brought up at previous meetings and that they will be in a position to get to the heart of the matter—in other words, that they will jointly seek points of convergence in their respective positions and, from there, proceed to build an acceptable settlement.

34. It is a difficult exercise because of the understandable sensitivities in the present situation in the island, the heritage of a recent past, and declarations and decisions improvised to meet the circumstances that seem to mortgage the future or, at least, prejudice the very purpose of the debate. This exercise can succeed only if the parties wish it to and are willing to make the inevitable compromises. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, with a merit and patience to which we pay a tribute, are endeavouring to bring about and maintain that dialogue, but the final result does not depend on them. Thus, we once again appeal to the parties to undertake the comprehensive negotiations called for by the Council in its resolution 367 (1975), in accordance with the terms used in that text and in a spirit of mutual understanding and restraint, and to avoid any action that might jeopardize those negotiations. Without real progress the Cypriot people will never know the peace to which it aspires, nor will the two communities attain that harmonious coexistence which remains our main concern.

35. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My delegation is grateful for the clear, concise and comprehensive

report that the Secretary-General has given us on the activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus during the period from 6 December 1974 to 9 June 1975, and for his report in the same document on the meetings he held with the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities at Vienna from 28 April to 3 May and from 5 to 7 June, in pursuance of his new mission of good offices.

36. In his report, the Secretary-General observes that the situation of confrontation resulting from the events of July and August 1974 has persisted, and that in the present conditions he considers the continued presence of UNFICYP to be essential, not only to maintain the cease-fire in the island but to facilitate the search for a peaceful settlement.

37. My delegation shares the view that there is a real need for UNFICYP to continue to perform the tasks that it is currently undertaking, and we agree with the Secretary-General that the mandate of the Force should be extended for a further six months. The United Kingdom therefore voted in favour of the resolution that we have just adopted.

38. As the Secretary-General's report makes clear, the United Kingdom has provided the largest single contingent in the Force, and has also maintained logistic support for the entire Force. Moreover, in the light of the agreement reached in principle on the reopening of Nicosia International Airport, and at the request of the Secretary-General, the Government of the United Kingdom recently provided an assessment team to draw up preliminary plans for the repair of the airport. Following completion of that survey, the United Kingdom has made available the services of an airfield repair detachment, which began the repair work on 3 June.

39. It will, I think, be clear from what I have said that the Government of the United Kingdom has fully met its commitments to UNFICYP. I am glad to be able to say that we intend to maintain a contingent for the coming mandate period. We shall continue to play our part in this theatre of international peace-keeping in the belief that in present circumstances this remains essential to the maintenance of peace in the island.

40. At the same time, we have noted the statement in the Secretary-General's report that he will make a reduction in the strength of UNFICYP as soon as it is possible to do so without impairing the effectiveness of the Force or its capacity to perform the duties entrusted to it by the Security Council. We welcome this statement, and would urge the Secretary-General to keep the size of the Force under continuous review in the light of the situation on the ground. We hope that a more far-reaching reduction than was achieved during the period under review can soon be effected.

41. We have also noted the section of the report which comments on the financial situation of the

Force. The Secretary-General describes this as critical, and we for our part are seriously concerned at the growing financial burden carried by the contributing countries. My Government informed the Secretariat that its contribution to logistic support for the Force in the year ending June 1975 must be limited to £1.9 million. This in itself represents an increase of more than half a million pounds sterling in our contribution to logistic support by comparison with the situation prior to enlargement last summer. We understand that the cost of logistic support is now running at a lower level than it was after the events of July and August last year. We welcome this, but the United Kingdom Government will be obliged to apply the most stringent control of expenditure on logistic support for the Force during the forthcoming year.

42. Like the Secretary-General, my delegation is disturbed by the increase in the number of cases of shooting at UNFICYP troops during the period under review. The United Nations Force is present in Cyprus because the parties have signified their concurrence in its deployment in the interests of preventing a recurrence of fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and the restoration of law and order. The parties, therefore, have a clear obligation to do their utmost to facilitate the task of UNFICYP and to co-operate with the terms of successive resolutions, including the one we have just adopted, which appeal to the parties to extend their full co-operation to UNFICYP in the performance of its duties. It seems to my delegation that the 24 cases of shooting at UNFICYP troops represent a serious lapse in the fulfilment of these obligations. In the interests both of the personal safety of the men of UNFICYP and of the successful execution of the Force's functions, this really must cease.

43. May I, too, express our condolences and our regrets to the Government and people of Canada at the loss of one of their officers in Cyprus during the period under review.

44. Turning now to the intercommunal talks, my delegation whole-heartedly supported Security Council resolution 367 (1975) because we believed that talks between the two communities under the Secretary-General's personal auspices offered the best chance of a peaceful solution to the problems of Cyprus. My delegation does not regard this confidence as misplaced, and we take this opportunity to put on record our continued warm support for the principle of intercommunal attempts to find a solution. Moreover, the skilful part which the Secretary-General himself has played in the talks deserves high praise; we hope that he will continue to play this crucial role in the search for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem.

45. But unfortunately, as the Secretary-General's report makes only too clear, only limited progress has been made so far and it has not yet been possible

to achieve agreement on basic issues. My delegation has said before in the Council chamber that time is not on the side of the people of Cyprus. We therefore condemn any action or statement by either side which is liable to place obstacles in the way of progress, and we cannot but deplore the inclinations of some to substitute for genuine negotiations the reiteration of past grievances. The two sides have a heavy responsibility, for the legacy of disagreement, if they disagree, will be an embittered, impoverished and divided people for whom the opportunity to live together in one harmonious nation will have been lost forever.

46. My delegation was, however, pleased to note the friendly atmosphere at the meeting between the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers at Rome and subsequently, at the meeting at Brussels between Prime Ministers Karamanlis and Demirel. According to reports we have received, both sides regarded the summit meeting at Brussels as encouraging. We particularly welcomed the affirmation in their joint communiqué that the two Prime Ministers decided that the problems between their two countries must be solved peacefully and, with regard to the Cyprus problem, that they supported the intercommunal negotiations at Vienna. We hope that Greece and Turkey will do all they can to encourage the intercommunal negotiations so that they may soon move forward on to matters of real substance. In this connexion we are pleased to see that a further round of talks is to be held at Vienna between 24 and 27 July. The Government of the United Kingdom, for its part, remains willing to assist in any way possible in this search for a negotiated settlement. But we can only reiterate our belief that the best hope for agreement still lies in direct discussions between the two communities, and that the function of the Security Council is to do all it can to encourage them.

47. Mr. PLAJA (Italy): The Italian delegation had very much hoped that it would have been possible to re-examine the question of Cyprus in the Security Council and the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP in the light of consistent progress along the lines indicated in resolution 367 (1975) that reaffirmed, *inter alia*, the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Council resolution 365 (1974).

48. The Secretary-General's report, which we have read very carefully, informs us in paragraph 65 that "while some limited progress has been made [in the negotiations between the two communities] in Vienna, it has not yet been possible to achieve agreement on the basic issues" and in paragraph 66 that "the deadlock over the fundamental basis of a settlement persists". Needless to say, the Italian delegation is deeply worried about this situation. Indeed, I share the Secretary-General's opinion that the situation in Cyprus remains potentially dangerous and this is a source of special concern to Italy, which is particularly

interested in the restoration of stability to the area both because of its geographical position and because of its friendly relations with all the countries involved. Moreover, all of us are certainly preoccupied and saddened at the continuing plight of the displaced persons, whose difficulties and sufferings have been confirmed in the Secretary-General's report.

49. As I had occasion to mention during my statements in the debate last February and March [1816th, 1819th and 1820th meetings], Italy is firmly convinced that the responsibility for seeking reconciliation—which alone can lead to the lasting solution that will bring back tranquillity and prosperity to the people of the island—lies with the parties directly concerned and, in particular, with the leaders of the two communities. Negotiations should be conducted in an atmosphere of freedom, good faith and a spirit of compromise; and all the States should steadily work to encourage the parties to proceed along this line.

50. Since, as I have stated, my Government firmly places its hopes in the results of the negotiations, it continues, as in the past, to believe that all parties should refrain from any action which could prejudice the progress of such negotiations.

51. The Italian delegation therefore believes that the Council's present task is to continue to encourage and stimulate the negotiations and to call again urgently for progress towards the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

52. In this respect, I wish to express my Government's deepest appreciation and praise for the action taken by the Secretary-General. We know the difficulties with which he was faced in tackling the mandate entrusted to him by the Council. Thanks to his well-known eminent qualities, he has been able to find a most satisfactory way of serving as an active presence and guide in the Vienna negotiations, as we all wished, in the interest of both furthering the results of the negotiations and enhancing the prestige of the Organization.

53. The Italian delegation wishes to appeal to all the parties. It expresses the hope that they will do their utmost to reach the compromises necessary for the achievement of a peaceful, negotiated settlement by adopting flexible positions, and that they will bear in mind the extent of the responsibilities that the actual situation imposes on each of them in order to break the deadlock and work out the compromise we all hope for.

54. By the resolution we have just adopted we have extended, as proposed by the Secretary-General, the mandate of UNFICYP. I should like, therefore, to conclude this statement by once again paying a well-deserved tribute to that Force. As is clear from the Secretary-General's report, the Force has acted with

commendable efficacy to preserve the cease-fire, to help to maintain law and order on the island and, on the humanitarian level, to relieve the suffering of the population. My delegation hopes that its role will be increasingly appreciated and that it will be encouraged in its practical activity by all the parties as a decisive contribution towards the improvement of the atmosphere that is needed to achieve the peaceful settlement we all seek.

55. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): The resolution just adopted by the Security Council concerns two separate but closely interrelated issues, namely, the prolongation of the mandate for UNFICYP and the ongoing efforts under United Nations auspices to find a solution to the serious political problems in Cyprus.

56. It is apparent from the Secretary-General's report that the present situation in Cyprus is precarious. The situation is described as unstable and potentially dangerous. To my delegation it is obvious that there exists a serious risk that the tension in Cyprus could lead to renewed violence and bloodshed. UNFICYP is deployed in areas where the risks of confrontation between the Greek and Turkish sides are greatest. A withdrawal of UNFICYP would have the most detrimental effect on the situation which is even now so tense and unstable. The Council's decision to prolong the mandate of UNFICYP is thus a necessary and logical one in the prevailing situation.

57. It is a great pleasure for me to convey to the Force Commander and to the men and officers of UNFICYP my Government's deep appreciation for their outstanding services in their difficult task.

58. We have studied the important and informative report of the Secretary-General with much interest. These are at this stage two specific points on which I would like to comment.

59. One problem is freedom of movement for UNFICYP personnel. UNFICYP is entrusted with great responsibilities by the international community in the interest of the parties concerned. But to be able to carry out its task according to our expectations and the needs of the situation, the Force must be allowed full freedom of movement all over the troubled area. I regret to say that reports from UNFICYP indicate that the Force does not enjoy adequate freedom of movement in the northern part of Cyprus. We strongly urge the party concerned to abandon its restrictive attitude and to co-operate fully with UNFICYP.

60. The other problem that I cannot avoid mentioning is the precarious financial situation of UNFICYP. It is my Government's hope that Member States will recognize the seriousness of the problem and be prepared to contribute to its solution.

61. Through the Secretary-General's report, the Security Council has been informed of the develop-

ment of the political contacts between the two communities in Cyprus. Although, to our regret, concrete results have so far not been achieved, we think that the very fact that it has been possible to get the talks started and to create a working procedure is an achievement in itself. We must commend the parties for their efforts. We are of the view that any action which could disturb the process of negotiations must be avoided at this stage. In due time the moment will come when a more thorough evaluation of the political situation in Cyprus and of possible further action on the part of the United Nations will have to be made. At this stage, the role of the Council is to encourage the parties to come to peaceful negotiations and achieve positive results.

62. My Government wants to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General, who, with great diplomatic skill, has carried out the task with which the Council has entrusted him in its resolution 367 (1975). To him personally and to his immediate staff, we express our appreciation for what has so far been achieved in the creation of a process towards a stable and peaceful solution. They have the fullest confidence of my Government.

63. Mr. Ahmed OULD SID' AHMED (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Having voted a few moments ago in favour of the draft resolution, the Mauritanian delegation wanted, once again, to express the position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania with regard to the situation prevailing in Cyprus. This position has always been and remains that of a non-aligned country devoted to scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. That is why my delegation is gratified at the progress achieved in the negotiations under way between the representatives of the parties concerned, and we would urge them to redouble their efforts, in close co-operation with the Secretary-General, so as to avoid any action which might be contrary to the spirit of negotiation, and to promote the climate of confidence that is so necessary for the success of these talks.

64. Finally, my delegation would like to congratulate the Secretary-General on the praiseworthy efforts that he tirelessly deploys on the mission of good offices entrusted to him.

65. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Bearing in mind the particularly grave and alarming situation which prevails in Cyprus, where active antagonism and tension persist among the two communities on the island—as witness a total of more than 3,000 shooting incidents mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General—my delegation cast a positive vote in favour of the resolution for a new six-month extension of the mandate of UNFICYP.

66. For my delegation, the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force in the interest of pre-

serving peace and security on the island is still very necessary—we wish to emphasize that. But the extension of the mandate of the Force, which is at present a necessity, cannot become a virtue; that is why we plead with the two parties to do everything in their power so that the negotiation process started at Vienna may show more significant progress as to substance within the framework of resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975).

67. Indeed this resolution, which essentially places the solution of the question of Cyprus within the United Nations framework, calls for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment policy of the Republic of Cyprus. It calls also for the speedy withdrawal from Cyprus of foreign armed forces and all foreign military elements and personnel. It considers, too, that all the refugees should return to their homes and calls upon the parties to take urgent measures to that end.

68. We note with regret that since that resolution was adopted and up to the period covered by the Secretary-General's report no substantial progress has been made specifically along those lines and that, within the framework of the discussions under way at Geneva, the parties continue to come up against questions of constitutional and structural priority in the island.

69. We regret also that on the scene certain restrictions are imposed on the Force which do not allow it to carry out the task assigned to it in Security Council resolution 186 (1964). These obstacles are likely greatly to affect its action and effectiveness and to make an already tense situation explosive.

70. In the light of that state of affairs, my delegation urgently appeals to the representatives of the two communities to work towards getting round their irreconcilable differences, and to refrain from taking any measures likely to result in the failure of the aims sought by the Council. Finally, we appeal to them resolutely to place their discussions within the framework of the well-understood interest of Cyprus—that is, without prejudice to its sovereignty, without prejudice to its independence and territorial integrity, and without prejudice to its policy of non-alignment. In that regard the agreement reached to reopen shortly the international airport of Nicosia seems to us to be encouraging.

71. We are convinced that, with the parties' manifestation of a determination to succeed and with the almost inevitable obligation to coexist, co-operate and succeed that history, geography and the international community has placed on them, all the difficulties which still seem to lie in the path of the negotiation towards a solution mutually acceptable to the parties will be overcome.

72. In conclusion, I should like to express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his clear and precise report, his realistic and impartial assessment of the situation and the efforts that he, along with his distinguished assistants, is making towards the maintenance of international peace and security. I express gratitude too to all the Governments which are supplying contingents to the Force and by so doing are assisting the United Nations to carry out its difficult tasks.

73. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has met today to consider the question of extending UNFICYP. It is quite natural that the need has arisen for the Council to focus on another question, in addition to the one to which I have just referred. That additional question relates to the extent to which earlier Council resolutions on Cyprus—resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975)—have been and are being complied with. As is well known, resolution 365 (1974) supported and approved resolution 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly, in which the Assembly urged the parties concerned to comply with the resolution as soon as possible.

74. For almost a year now, the Republic of Cyprus and its people have been living in extremely difficult and completely abnormal conditions, conditions that are inadmissible in our day. Outside interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus is continuing despite the Security Council's decisions calling for the immediate cessation of foreign armed intervention against the Republic of Cyprus and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel from the territory of Cyprus. The people of Cyprus have been suffering tremendous privation and severe hardship. Almost a third of the people of the country have been compelled to leave their homes and have been eking out a miserable existence as refugees.

75. There is a threat to the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned State, an equal Member of the United Nations, and to its territorial integrity. As the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 65 of the report submitted at today's meeting of the Security Council: "The present situation in Cyprus is unstable and potentially dangerous and will remain so unless and until an agreed settlement of the basic problems can be reached." It emerges clearly from paragraph 66 of the same report that during the first two rounds of intercommunal talks, held at Vienna with the active and positive participation of the Secretary-General, the deadlock over the fundamental basis of a settlement persists.

76. The delegation of the Soviet Union listened attentively to the statement made by the Secretary-General at this meeting of the Council on the course of the intercommunal talks. We should like to pay a tribute to him for the efforts he has made to overcome

and break this deadlock. We fully share his concern at the absence of progress.

77. The delegation of the USSR cannot fail to express serious concern at the continuing tension and abnormal situation in Cyprus. We consider it necessary to reconfirm the Soviet Union's position of principle on this matter.

78. The USSR firmly and consistently favours the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and opposes any attempts to partition the island. Effective measures should be taken to protect the Republic of Cyprus from outside intervention and to ensure the withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops, giving the Cypriots themselves the possibility of settling their internal affairs.

79. The Soviet Union has consistently favoured the idea of having the Cyprus problem considered not somewhere behind the scenes within the narrow circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], but in a broad international forum within the framework of the United Nations with the participation of a wide circle of countries. The recent course of events has once again confirmed the correctness of this approach of the Soviet Union. The necessary objective conditions exist for a just and peaceful settlement of the international aspects of the Cyprus conflict.

80. Finally, the Soviet Union believes it is necessary immediately to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

81. In view of the fact that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had agreed to it, the Soviet delegation did not object to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further six-month period, always with provision that the voluntary basis of the financing of the Force would be maintained.

82. In conclusion, the delegation of the USSR considers it necessary to stress that the further extension of the mandate of UNFICYP does nothing to resolve the essential tragedy of the Cyprus problem. The Security Council, with the active participation of its members belonging to the group of non-aligned countries, should make use of all the capabilities it has under the Charter to bring about a speedy, just settlement of the Cyprus conflict in the interests of the whole Cypriot people and for the purpose of maintaining the Republic of Cyprus as a sovereign, independent State with its territorial integrity intact. That would be in keeping with the interests of the Republic of Cyprus as one of the States which has taken an active part in the work of the group of non-aligned countries; it would also be in keeping with the interests of both communities of the State, the Greek

and the Turkish, and with the interests of strengthening peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean.

83. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): The resolution we have just adopted has two aspects. First, it extends the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months, and, secondly, it deals with the substantive issue of the Cyprus problem in the light of the Secretary-General's report.

84. My delegation has voted for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP in the hope that the extension will offer a further opportunity to find a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. The extension of the Force's mandate, however, should not be viewed as a substitute for peace. It is our sincere hope, therefore, that the time provided by the renewal of the mandate will be put to good use by all the parties concerned in the search for a just and durable peace on the island of Cyprus.

85. In paragraphs 67 and 68 of his report, the Secretary-General has expressed the view that the negotiating process should be maintained and, if possible, accelerated. My delegation solemnly appeals to all the parties to extend their full co-operation to the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices, so that peace can be achieved in Cyprus on the basis of the island's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and its policy of non-alignment. The success or failure of the negotiations depends squarely on the degree of co-operation and understanding the two communities can show each other as well as the co-operation all the parties concerned can extend to the Secretary-General.

86. Finally, my delegation believes that peace and justice, which we all desire to see prevail in Cyprus, rests in the strict implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 367 (1975). We urge all the parties concerned to implement these resolutions scrupulously and speedily.

87. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): At the time of the adoption of resolution 3212 (XXIX), the international community held out considerable hope that the resolution that had been so carefully and labouriously prepared by non-aligned countries and that sought judiciously to reflect the essential concerns of the interested parties without sacrificing basic principles would go a long way towards assisting in the process of achieving a settlement of the Cyprus problem. It will also be recalled that resolution 3212 (XXIX) was accepted by Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, who committed themselves to work towards its implementation.

88. The key elements in that resolution included a call to all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, a demand for the speedy withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the Republic of

Cyprus, a call for the continuation of the negotiations between the two communities, the wish that all the refugees might return to their homes in safety and that all parties concerned would undertake urgent measures towards that end.

89. The Security Council, which had endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) in its own resolution 365 (1975), was obliged to take up the Cyprus question again in February and March of this year [*1813th to 1820th meetings*] in the aftermath of the unilateral declaration by the Turkish Cypriot community of 13 February 1975 [*S/11624, annex II*]. At that time the Council found that no progress had been made towards the implementation of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and called for the urgent and effective implementation of all its parts. At the same time, being conscious of the need to give a new impetus to the intercommunal talks, which were at a stalemate, the Council, after expressing its regret about the unilateral declaration of 13 February, requested the Secretary-General to undertake a new mission of good offices and to place himself personally at the disposal of the two communities. The Secretary-General was further asked to report on the progress of the talks as well as the implementation of resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975).

90. The Secretary-General has now provided the Council with a full and comprehensive report of the situation in the island, for which my delegation wishes to commend him. His report indicates that, on the island, tension between the two communities remains high, while at Vienna not much progress on the substantive issues has been made.

91. The delegation of Guyana notes with regret that the call of the Security Council for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel from the Republic of Cyprus has been ignored. It is also a matter of deep regret to my delegation that the call of the General Assembly for urgent measures to be taken to allow the refugees to return to their homes in safety has remained unheeded. In these respects, my Government believes that Turkey bears a heavy measure of responsibility.

92. The only positive element which can be discerned from the situation—and it is an important one—is the fact that under the Secretary-General's auspices the talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktas have taken place, that they have taken place up to now in an atmosphere characterized by the Secretary-General as being one of goodwill and great frankness, and that they will be resumed at Vienna between 24 and 27 July. The successful conclusion of the negotiating process between the two communities is a most important element in the search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus. The chances for the success of those talks would, however, be immeasurably improved if progress were made towards implementing other aspects of General Assembly resolu-

tion 3212 (XXIX). My delegation looks forward to seeing those with particular responsibility in this regard taking steps at an early date, thereby confirming their commitment to these processes.

93. Throughout the last few months, the presence of UNFICYP has been an indispensable element in maintaining the relative quiet on the island and in helping to create conditions which could make progress towards peace possible. We commend the Secretary-General and the officers and men of UNFICYP for the difficult and dangerous task they are performing in Cyprus—a task that would be facilitated by greater co-operation from the parties involved. We share the Secretary-General's concern for the safety of the Force, and echo his call for greater co-operation with the troops.

94. The resolution which the Council has just adopted, extending once again the mandate of UNFICYP, recognizes the continuing need for the presence of the Force in Cyprus. In addition, however, the Council has also confirmed that in its best judgement the provisions of Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Council resolution 367 (1975) continue to provide the necessary framework for a solution to the Cyprus question, and in this regard has once again called for their urgent and effective implementation. Most specifically, the fact that it is essential to continue the negotiations between the two communities has been recognized and has been encouraged.

95. Guyana has been only too pleased to give its full support to this recognition, and in particular to the call for the implementation of the provisions of resolution 3212 (XXIX). We urge all the parties concerned to co-operate fully and whole-heartedly with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices, and with UNFICYP, and to recognize that, unless a solution is found quickly, the tension in the island may produce another tragic and bloody confrontation. We hope that by the time the Secretary-General reports to us again in December he will be able to indicate marked progress towards implementation of the relevant resolutions. Should he be unable to do so, however, the Council—and indeed the General Assembly, which will be in session at that time—would be required to take a new, hard look at the situation, and perhaps to participate more directly in the search for peace in Cyprus.

96. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The purpose of this meeting today was to consider a further extension of the mandate of UNFICYP. The report of the Secretary-General has been of fundamental assistance in helping us to ascertain the facts.

97. The affirmative vote of my delegation on the draft resolution just adopted is in keeping with our belief that UNFICYP must continue to discharge the mandate entrusted to it by the Council.

98. On the basis of the recommendations in the report of the Secretary-General, everything indicates that the most reasonable course is to maintain the Force in the performance of its delicate task until such time as negotiations between the two parties in Cyprus produce sufficient progress to render unnecessary its presence in Cyprus.

99. My delegation endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General, who, in paragraph 69 of his report, states:

“In the present conditions, I consider the continued presence of UNFICYP to be essential not only to maintain the cease-fire in the island but to facilitate the search for a peaceful settlement.”

100. My delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, who, apart from questions that may be termed routine, in his brilliant report gives us a most enlightening picture of the present situation in Cyprus, and a detailed account both of the events that have occurred during the period of the UNFICYP mandate that has just expired and of the very delicate negotiations which the Council entrusted to him to undertake between the conflicting parties. In this connexion, it is encouraging that, thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General, the parties have been able to hold two series of meetings at Vienna, although the most controversial issues dividing them have not yet been taken up.

101. Despite the emphasis placed by the Secretary-General himself on his good offices, there has been no significant progress between the parties; however it is to be hoped that in accordance with the wishes shared, I am sure, by the entire international community, the quest for a negotiated settlement will go on.

102. Moreover, my delegation shares the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report regarding the personal safety of the soldiers of UNFICYP. The fact that on several occasions there has been shooting at UNFICYP soldiers deserves our censure, since we all know the noble purposes pursued by the Force, and the sacrifice made by the Governments that have contributed contingents. Therefore, under no circumstances can there be any justification for endangering, by quarrels among the conflicting bands, the lives of the men who under the banner of the United Nations are playing a decisive role in the pacification of the island and carrying out humanitarian tasks.

103. In conclusion, my delegation, in accordance with the terms of the noble mission entrusted to the Secretary-General in resolution 367 (1975) of the Council, wishes to urge the parties directly concerned in the difficult problem that overwhelms Cyprus to continue their dialogue in the hope that they can progress towards the desired goal of a just and lasting

peace and establish the new institutional order to which Cyprus has a right as an independent and sovereign nation.

104. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted in favour of extending the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months, since the Government of the Republic of Cyprus had agreed to it. At the same time we did so on the understanding that the former voluntary basis for the financing of that Force would be maintained.

105. However, the question of extending the mandate of UNFICYP is only a part, and by no means a decisive part, of the whole problem that is being considered by the Security Council today. At the same time, the Council is considering the important question of achieving progress towards the implementation of resolution 365 (1974), in which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and of resolution 367 (1975). These resolutions contain important provisions aimed at a settlement of the Cyprus problem. A considerable portion of the report of the Secretary-General was devoted to this very question and contains both valuable information and important conclusions.

106. Our delegation would like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about progress in the intercommunal talks for a settlement of the Cyprus problem. But unfortunately we cannot but note, as does the Secretary-General himself in paragraphs 65 and 66 of his report, that the situation in Cyprus remains "unstable and potentially dangerous" and that for the time being the talks have not yielded results because "the deadlock over the fundamental basis of a settlement persists".

107. The continuing outside intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus, despite the resolutions adopted by the Council calling for non-intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of that country, is the fundamental reason for the tragedy which has lasted for almost a year now in Cyprus. Our delegation has consistently favoured the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus as an active participant in the non-aligned movement, and we support the lawful Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

108. We believe that the Cyprus problem should be considered not within narrow NATO circles, but in a broad international forum within the framework of the United Nations. In the view of our delegation, the prevailing situation in Cyprus requires that new efforts be exerted aimed at a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus problem. We cannot fail to stress in this connexion the importance of the provisions contained in the resolution just adopted, which calls

for the immediate and effective implementation of resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975).

109. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that it is necessary immediately to implement the resolutions both of the Security Council and of the General Assembly with regard to a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

110. The PRESIDENT: As there is no other member of the Council wishing to speak at this stage, I should like to make a brief statement in my capacity as the representative of IRAQ.

111. My delegation wishes to express its thanks to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, and their staff for the comprehensive report.

112. My delegation sincerely hopes at this stage that all the parties concerned will co-operate with UNFICYP and that the representatives of the Greek and the Turkish communities will continue to co-operate with the Secretary-General and with his Special Representative in order to maintain the process of negotiations and to achieve some tangible progress which would facilitate the speedy implementation of the resolutions mentioned in the resolution which was adopted by the Council today.

113. We are convinced that the continuation of the negotiations and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, especially General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) in all its parts, are in the best interests of the two communities in the island, because therein lies the only hope of maintaining the peace, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

114. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I call on the next speaker, the representative of Greece.

115. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am pleased to extend our warm congratulations to you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your authority, your well-known competence and your great experience in the question on our agenda is a guarantee that our debate will be successful. I also wish to thank you and all the members of the Council for having allowed me to speak.

116. In the resolution just adopted, the Security Council has agreed, on the proposal of the Secretary-General to a renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. That resolution, in regard to which the Government of Cyprus and the parties concerned have given their assent, has the approval of my Government. I therefore wish to express, on behalf of the Hellenic Government, our profound appreciation to the Member States that have placed their contingents at the service of the United

Nations and to the Governments that are making voluntary contributions for the maintenance of the Force. We also express our gratitude to the representative of the Secretary-General on Cyprus, to the Commander of the Force, General Prem Chand, and to his assistants, who carry out the peaceful and humanitarian nature of their task, discharging it under difficult conditions and, unfortunately, not without personal danger.

117. We share the hope that in maintaining the force on Cyprus we shall succeed not only in compelling respect for the cease-fire, but also in promoting a rapid and peaceful settlement.

118. Before considering the report of the Secretary-General, we once again are bound to note that the situation on the island continues, as in the past, to be a sad one. Forty per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, which the General Assembly in its resolution 3212 (XXIX) and the Security Council in its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) recognize as a non-aligned country, is still under the military occupation of a foreign Power; one third of the Greek Cypriot population, that is to say, 182,000 persons, are refugees in their own country; it must be further recalled that the Greek Cypriot population, which constitutes 80 per cent of the total population of the island, has been deprived by force of 70 per cent of its economic resources, 80 per cent of its mining potential and 90 per cent of the tourist facilities of the island.

119. That is the picture of the tragic fate of the refugees and of the rest of the Greek Cypriot population, a fate which is in obvious contradiction with the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the most elementary concepts of humanity.

120. I do not wish to take up the Council's time with a lengthy analysis of the causes and the series of events which have led to the present dramatic situation. I shall limit myself to giving a brief account of events since the month of July 1974.

121. We know that it was armed intervention by Turkey that unleashed the present crisis, an intervention that had as a pretext the shameful *coup d'état* perpetrated by the military dictatorship against the legitimate President of the Republic of Cyprus and in regard to which Turkey invoked and applied article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee,² in violation of the Charter, which prohibits the use of force. We must note that the Turkish Cypriot population did not suffer from that *coup d'état* at all. But, whatever the pretext for that intervention which, according to the Treaty, should in any case have had as its sole purpose the restoration of the former régime, that pretext ceased to exist once the military dictatorship had fallen and Greece had returned to democracy, and also once the usurpers of power in Cyprus had been overthrown and constitutional order had been restored.

122. Consequently, the second military operation by Turkey against the island on 14 August 1974 is still less justified. It was that operation that led to failure of the efforts then being made at Geneva to arrive at a peaceful settlement, since the Turkish Government presented an ultimatum to be complied with within such a short time that the outcome was assumed in advance. That second Turkish military operation aggravated the hardships of the island by causing enormous destruction, the dislocation of the economy and immense human suffering of which we are all aware.

123. It should suffice for me to say that the crisis thus provoked and the threat against peace led the Security Council to adopt a series of resolutions which you, as the authors, know better than anyone else, and also led the General Assembly to adopt resolution 3212 (XXIX). All those resolutions categorically call for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and call on States to refrain from any action or intervention against the island with intent either to divide it or to unite it with another State. They also urgently call for the speedy withdrawal from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military forces and the return of all refugees, in safety, to their homes. Furthermore, the resolutions I have mentioned invite the two communities concerned to start negotiations on a footing of equality and in complete freedom so as to arrive at a mutually acceptable political settlement.

124. Later developments did not accord with the hopes aroused by those resolutions. This is not surprising, since it is difficult to conceive of free negotiations on a footing of equality when one of the parties finds itself faced with a massive military force from another country. Furthermore, nothing was done about the urgent problem of the refugees; on the contrary, the British Government allowed itself to be persuaded, according to its own statements, by the urgent requests of the Government of Turkey invoking humanitarian reasons, and allowed the departure from British military bases of approximately 10,000 Turkish Cypriots, who were later transferred to the northern part of the island and installed on the despoiled properties of the Greek Cypriot refugees. The Turkish Government, which requested and succeeded in having humanitarian criteria applied in respect of the Turkish Cypriots, did not apply them to the Greek Cypriots, who simply wished to return to their homes. For them, only "political" criteria are applicable!

125. What is even worse, while the negotiations between the two communities continued in accordance with paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), on 13 February there was a unilateral proclamation of the so-called Turkish Federated State by the Turkish Cypriot community a fait accompli which, as was to be expected, brought about a breakdown in negotiations and an aggravation of the

crisis. The Security Council urgently considered the question during the month of March and adopted resolution 367 (1975), in which it regretted the unilateral decision taken by the Turkish Cypriot community and called on the Secretary-General to convene the two parties to resume, intensify and achieve progress in negotiations, under his guidance, with the purpose of seeking a just and lasting settlement on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

126. With regard to the conduct of those negotiations—now known as the “Vienna negotiations” and which are the subject of some sections of the Secretary-General’s report—I shall only make a brief comment. I should like, nevertheless, to bring to the attention of the Security Council something that all its members already know full well, namely, that the Government of Greece has, since the beginning of the crisis, shown the greatest restraint and goodwill and a spirit of conciliation in its desire to see the problem solved peacefully, has rendered every assistance and will continue to do so to aid the Secretary-General in his mission. To him we extend our warmest gratitude and express our great esteem for his assiduous efforts, as well as to those of his assistants, in seeking a solution.

127. I also believe that the Council will agree with me as I say that the representative of the Greek Cypriot community, Mr. Clerides, went to the Vienna negotiations with the best will. But, regrettably, it must be pointed out that Mr. Clerides was not able, either at the initial phase of the negotiations or in the second phase, to obtain any serious proposals from the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community regarding the primary problem of the refugees or the means of reaching a solution for the political and economic deadlock created by the occupation of 40 per cent of the island by the Turkish army. All hopes of concrete proposals to settle the question of the refugees and the geographical aspects of a future political solution that had been raised in the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the first phase were left unfulfilled. During the second phase, all Mr. Denktas did was to express certain reflections on the constitutional aspect, the discussion of which did not bring about any real progress. Furthermore, we must add that the negotiations were not facilitated—to say the least—by a new fait accompli. I am referring to the so-called referendum which was organized on 8 June of this year in the occupation zone, in violation of Security Council resolution 367 (1975), and which is therefore null and void, the more so since the question of the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus can only be resolved by negotiations.

128. It might be useful to supplement the information before the Council by informing members that the result of the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey on 31 May at Brussels, which contributed to an improvement in the relations between the two

countries, was not felt at Vienna, as I have just said. We wonder, furthermore, how the organization of this “referendum” could be regarded as compatible with the determination proclaimed at Brussels to solve the problem peacefully and through negotiations.

129. I come now to the Secretary-General’s report. I do not think it necessary to make any lengthy comments on certain parts of the report—for example, the indication that the United Nations Force has complete freedom of movement in the southern part of the island, in contrast to the restrictions on the Force’s movements in the northern part, or the reference to the excellent co-operation of the Force with the Government of Cyprus, in contrast to the situation in the zone of occupation. Moreover, the members of the Council have certainly noted the paragraph of the Secretary-General’s report which points out that the Turkish Cypriots in the south receive food and financial aid from the Government of Cyprus, which applies the same criteria to the Turkish Cypriots as to the Greek Cypriots.

130. With regard to section VII of the Secretary-General’s report, which contains his observations, I would indicate that we fully share his opinion that the present situation in Cyprus is unstable and potentially dangerous and will remain so until an agreed settlement of the basic problems has been reached. We agree also with the Secretary-General that a settlement cannot be achieved by force, but only through free negotiations among the parties concerned and in the first instance between the representatives of the two communities of Cyprus. We agree too that it is urgent that the deadlock be broken.

131. Nevertheless, I regard it as indispensable to draw the Council’s attention to the next phase of the negotiations, which is scheduled to begin on 24 July at Vienna and which I am sure the Council, like us, wishes to see fully succeed. I must also draw attention to the need for those negotiations to be conducted in good faith and to be meaningful. The difference of views on the question of priorities should not be allowed to take the negotiations off the indicated path. Indeed, the choice of priorities cannot be left to one of the parties, to be used as a delaying tactic or as an arbitrary way of laying down prerequisites hindering real progress and designed to create irreversible situations. The Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, which the Council has just confirmed today, foresaw that possibility and therefore established the priorities—that is, the speedy withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus and the return of all the refugees, safe and sound, to their homes and their property.

132. I believe that everyone will agree that what is at stake here is the application of the basic principles of the United Nations and the international community, and that under no pretext can those principles be

violated. A just solution can be found only through serious and sincere negotiations, in conformity with the basic principles of the Charter, and the implementation of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Cyprus, which more than ever have an urgent character. For it is only in that way that the danger created by the prolongation of the present state of affairs can be eliminated.

133. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council will recall that at the beginning of this meeting it was decided, in accordance with the understanding reached in the course of our prior consultations, to extend an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Vedat Çelik. I therefore invite him, in accordance with the Council's decision, to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

134. Mr. ÇELİK: I have asked to speak in order to make a brief statement regarding the resolution just adopted by the Council and to express the views of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus on the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP for another six months, until 15 December 1975.

135. The fifth paragraph of the preamble to the resolution just adopted makes a reference to the so-called Government of Cyprus. That reference immediately makes the resolution unacceptable to us. The members of the Council are well aware of our position vis-à-vis the so-called Government of Cyprus. There are two national communities on the island; there are two distinct administrations; but there is no Government representing both sides. Therefore, since that reference has been made in the resolution to this non-existing entity, we cannot accept the resolution as a whole.

136. Nevertheless, since Mr. Denktaş, the President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has been consulted on the matter by the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, and has given his consent to the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, we shall continue to co-operate with the Force and help to make its operation a success.

137. I take this opportunity to express the thanks and appreciation of my side to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and invaluable contribution to the search for a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem. Our thanks go also to his Special Representative in Cyprus, to the Commander, officers and men of UNFICYP and to the Secretariat for their contributions.

138. We are convinced that the continuing inter-communal talks are the best, in fact, the only way to solve the Cyprus problem. We shall continue our efforts in search of a peaceful settlement and shall contribute in every way possible to an early settlement.

139. I shall not make any statement tonight regarding the political situation on the island. I may have to ask to be allowed to speak again, should there be a debate later on.

140. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

141. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, as a guest of the Security Council, permit me to express my satisfaction at being present here today for the first time under your able guidance. The fact that the Chair is occupied by a representative of Iraq, a country with which mine entertains the best of relations, and your wisdom are for us a guarantee of success for this series of meetings.

142. We have examined the report of the Secretary-General in detail. Although we may not agree with every element in the report, we concur with most of the points mentioned in his observations, and we are grateful to him and his dedicated staff for their untiring efforts.

143. I have a few comments to make at this stage of the debate concerning the draft resolution the Council has just adopted. I would first like to express, if I may, my surprise at the last-minute changes it was found necessary to introduce into the text, especially on a point on which I thought agreement had been reached among the members of the Council in another sense. I was informed that as a result of an oversight on the part of the Secretariat this agreement was not properly reflected in the published draft. It is always regrettable to have to take into consideration the possibility of such material errors, especially when they may conveniently be used to alter a given situation at the last moment. But, having said that, I of course have absolutely no objection to the new wording, it having been long understood that the Secretary-General could, can and certainly will, whenever he feels it necessary, present a report to the Security Council.

144. The resolution that has just been adopted contains not one, as is usual, but two operative elements. First, it gives UNFICYP a mandate to carry out its duties for a further period of six months, to which my Government agreed on the understanding that the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was consulted and gave its consent. We believe that, under the prevailing circumstances, the presence of UNFICYP retains its usefulness. Secondly, the resolution refers to the good offices of the Secretary-General and the talks between the representatives of the two communities of Cyprus and requests their continuance. Fully aware that the only sensible way of solving the problems concerning Cyprus lies in negotiations, we welcome this reference.

145. I would have been very happy to conclude my remarks on the resolution at this point, but the

unfortunate reference in the fifth preambular paragraph to a "Government of Cyprus" compels me to refer briefly to my Government's by now well-known position regarding the so-called Government of Cyprus.

146. We have in the past, as we will in the future, continued to dissociate ourselves from any document, any text containing any reference to it in any form. We shall do so until the true representative character of the Cyprus Government—which, incidentally, it held for a very short time in its history—is restored. Therefore we cannot accept this resolution *in toto*, but we shall of course in good faith implement its provisions concerning UNFICYP and the intercommunal talks.

147. With regard to this last point, I should like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that, in the view of my delegation, no representative in these chambers should take it upon himself to express what he considers to be the feeling of other members regarding the reservations that some of the interested parties, including my Government, may have on the text just adopted.

148. Significant developments have taken place, in the view of my Government, since the Security Council last met to consider the question of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks envisaged in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are under way at Vienna under the auspices of the Secretary-General. In fact, their second phase was completed only recently and the third round, which is to take place in late July, is under preparation, I believe. I do not think detailed comment on the talks is appropriate at this stage, nor do I think I should be the first to make such comment. But it is a fact that serious and very frank talks are taking place under the guidance of the Secretary-General.

149. One suggestion, which also appears in the press statement issued after the last series of talks is, at least for us, very significant. I am referring to the suggestion made by Mr. Denktas to Mr. Clerides to form a transitional government in which both communities would be represented. This, if accepted and properly implemented, could, we hope, be a milestone in the history of the Cyprus conflict. It may at the same time eliminate the abnormal situation in which one community alone speaks for the State of Cyprus, as we have witnessed and will no doubt be witnessing in the course of this debate, while the other partner community must go to great lengths to make itself heard.

150. Another important development is the reactivation of high-level contacts between Turkey and Greece, the two countries most directly concerned, after the communities in the island, with Cyprus. We hope that improvement in the relations between the two mother countries, as they are sometimes called, will influence

positively the efforts that are being undertaken to solve the problem of Cyprus.

151. We know there is no easy answer to the question of Cyprus. If there were, we would not have been meeting here for the past 10, 11 or 12 years. But however difficult the answer is, it can only emerge around the negotiating table. The greatest danger to any negotiating process is the adoption of what I would call "by-tactics" by one of the parties. By this I mean a situation in which the negotiations go on but one of the parties goes ahead and makes use of every opportunity, international or otherwise, to discredit, slander and downgrade or even suppress the other party. Unfortunately, from time to time we have been faced with such situations and sometimes their frequency has been seriously augmented.

152. I could name at least a dozen such attempts where the existing or self-appointed international forum was utilized for such tactics. I will refrain from doing so, but I wonder if the members of the Council are aware, for instance, of Archbishop Makarios' message, to an international conference, calling for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, in which it was suggested that the Republic of Cyprus could only be a unitary State. That statement was made not two years ago but on 10 May 1975, when the Archbishop's chief negotiator was discussing a federal system for Cyprus with his Turkish counterpart. I will not dwell on this subject; if need be I can come back to it later. But I find it significant.

153. Now, some momentary achievements may give certain quarters a sense of support and confidence, but in the long run it is precisely those who adopt such tactics who are bound to suffer most. I am not making any accusations; I am merely trying to put on record clearly and, I hope, soberly what the Turkish side understands by negotiations. I just wish to convey to those who are interested in a settlement in Cyprus that my Government does not consider serious negotiations and slanderous propaganda as compatible.

154. I took a few notes while my colleague from Greece was speaking and would like now to read them. This will not constitute a reply to everything he has said. I should like first to draw his attention to the fact that it is a bit too easy to lay all the blame for what has happened on the last days of a Government which can now very easily be disposed of as the "hateful dictatorship", without taking into consideration that the suffering of the Turks in the island goes back not only to the seven long years of that dictatorship—now branded by the Greeks—but to more than a decade after the creation of the Republic—and even before the creation of that Republic. Therefore, we believe that no solution of the problem of Cyprus can ever be achieved if the beginning of the history of the crisis is put at July 1974. If evil has to be extirpated from the body politic of Cyprus, we should all be

careful how we pass our judgement as to what or who that evil is.

155. Our bitter experience shows us that that evil is rooted in the belief that Cyprus was, is and shall remain Greek—so much so that my colleague from Greece considers, for instance, that foreign occupation is the Turkish occupation—in an island where Turkish troops were and are welcomed as saviours by the Turks of Cyprus. Yet no mention is made of the permanent occupation, on the basis of that mistaken belief that Cyprus is Greek, by Greek troops under various régimes and practically up to the present day.

156. Therefore, we do believe that if we have to have serious negotiations in Cyprus, the root of the evil should be well defined, and the period to which we want to return also has to be well defined, because, as far as I can see it, a return to the *status quo ante* in Cyprus for the Turks would be like all the “*antes*” that I remember in Cyprus, which have all been very detrimental to the Turks. Hence a new status has to be found; a new status has to be devised and I think—I hope I am correct—that this is the aim being pursued by both Mr. Denktas and Mr. Clerides.

157. There was also a reference to the situation of the Turks in the south of Cyprus, as opposed to the situation of the Greeks in the north of Cyprus. I should just like to say that it is probably because of the paternal care of the Greek Cypriot authorities that the Turks in the south emigrate by the thousands, abandoning everything but their hope to find a decent life as first-class citizens among their own people in the north.

158. I should not like to make a longer statement at this late hour. I understand that one of the interested parties intends to make further statements on the issue; therefore, with your permission, Mr. President, and with the permission and tolerance of the members of the Council, I reserve my right, if and when necessary, to present my country's views on the basis of the comments made around this table, or to be made around this table at a future meeting of the Council.

159. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Greece, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

160. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Certainly I have no wish to engage in polemics with the representative of Turkey, but he himself posed the question as to what *status quo ante* we should go back to. I think the Turkish Government has already given its reply. At least, I have before me here the verbatim record of the 1780th meeting held here on 19 July 1974. I suppose this is the official position—at least it was in those days before the invasion of Cyprus. Mr. Olcay stated as follows:

“As is well known, Turkey has special responsibilities under international agreements. These apply to the constitutional structure and the international status of Cyprus. It is, in our view, the duty of the world community to restore the *status quo ante*.”
[1780th meeting, para. 55.]

161. I suppose that in those days, it was the agreements to which we are referring, namely, the agreements of London and Zurich and the Treaty of Guarantee.² I do not know of any other international agreements that were in force on that date. I find in that statement a quotation which is very precise.

162. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

163. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I just wish to reply to the statement made by the representative of Greece. When he quoted my having mentioned the return to the *status quo ante*, need I remind him that the *status quo ante* at that time implied a continuous series of negotiations which had lasted then for more than five years, if I'm not mistaken, in order to find a form of coexistence for the two communities in Cyprus. Therefore, it was certainly not a desire to return to the kind of constitution which had been violated several times, though certainly not by us nor by the Turkish Cypriots. Our desire to return to the *status quo ante* at that time meant exactly what it said—to a situation where the President would not be the notorious megalomaniac—I think I can use that term because nobody has challenged it, neither the Greek Cypriots nor the Greeks nor anyone else—the megalomaniac who for a short time occupied the seat of the President. That was all that it meant at the time. I still stick by that statement, and I am ready to repeat it today.

164. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece.

165. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): I am sorry to have to indulge in this kind of dialogue. As I am new here at the Security Council I certainly do not want to draw upon me your wrath, Mr. President, or the wrath of Mr. Olcay. However, I must point out that this statement was not made on a day that was without significance, nor was it just referring to some kind of constitutional difficulties in Cyprus. The statement was made on 19 July 1974, on the night that Turkey invaded Cyprus. It was made, I submit, in order to allay the fears of the Security Council with respect to the purposes of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, because there was a very clear promise here to the effect, “Do not worry; what we are trying to do in Cyprus is simply to return to the *status quo ante*”. Once the operation was successful, then of course the *status quo ante* was scrapped. They are trying now to find other pretexts. The date 19 July 1974 appears in the verbatim record of the 1780th meeting of the Security Council. That is the date, those were the words and

that was the night that the Turkish ships were sailing for Cyprus. Therefore, it is not as simple as it is made out to be. I do not have to explain this any further; otherwise I might be accused of considering members as not understanding something which is very simple.

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

167. Mr. CLERIDES (Cyprus): It has been a rather long debate and I am sure the patience of most representatives here is exhausted. I had indicated my intention to speak on 16 June and I was very kindly informed that I could do so. However, it is necessary for me to intervene at this stage because tonight, in this chamber, we have witnessed an attempt to create a new fait accompli.

168. The main subject of my statement was the fact that while negotiations were going on and while everybody in the Council has called upon all of us, and particularly on the two negotiators, to show goodwill and a real endeavour to solve the Cyprus problem, a series of permanent faits accomplis has been created by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side which, if allowed to continue, will not only make it impossible to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, but in fact may make it impossible to continue the process of negotiation, on which so much value has been placed.

169. What is the fait accompli we have witnessed today? Under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, my compatriot, Mr. Çelik, was called upon to speak. Rule 39 is very clear and precise. It states:

“The Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence.”

170. While negotiations were going on, a fait accompli was created unilaterally by the Turkish side's declaration of a separate federated State in Cyprus. This led to the interruption of those negotiations and the Security Council, very properly, in its last resolution called upon all the parties concerned to desist from any action that might create faits accomplis.

171. During the second state of negotiations at Geneva, and while it was known to the Turkish side that the negotiations had been fixed and that they would last from a certain date to a certain date, the Turkish side attempted to create another fait accompli by holding a referendum.

172. Today, in this chamber, my compatriot Mr. Çelik, taking advantage of one of the provisional rules of procedure which gave him permission to speak before the Council, as an individual, has attempted to consummate the two previous faits

accomplis by representing himself as the representative of the separate Turkish Federated State, while at the same time attempting to show that there is no legal Government in Cyprus. I wonder if this should have been allowed to take place in this chamber? I think a point of order should have been raised, and think that Mr. Çelik's attempt is deplorable in that he abused the privilege given to him to express his ideas here as an individual. But that is not the main reason why I have asked to be allowed to speak.

173. We have been discussing here the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, and it has been agreed that that mandate should be extended because the presence of the Force in Cyprus is essential. We have been discussing the progress—or non-progress, which is nearer to reality—of the talks that have become known as the “Vienna talks”. We have been discussing details of the report of the Secretary-General. Very few voices have been heard reminding us that today almost one year has elapsed since the Turkish forces invaded Cyprus. Very few voices have been heard stressing the fact that 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic is still under foreign occupation. Very few voices have been heard saying that 200,000 Greek Cypriots are suffering as refugees. No voice has been heard saying that there are 2,700 missing persons or that the situation in Cyprus is really deplorable.

174. We have before us resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, calling for the return of the refugees to their homes under conditions of safety; we have not had a single statement by the representative of Turkey that there is any intention of complying with those resolutions; we have not had a single statement by Mr. Çelik that there is any intention of complying with those resolutions. On the contrary, there is evidence that there is no intention at all to comply with those resolutions. And, in the meantime, there is abundant evidence that by a series of calculated acts an attempt is being made to create a new situation in Cyprus in which Cyprus would be colonized by Turks from the mainland.

175. It is not only the referendum that has created a fait accompli. In the meantime we have a large-scale emigration from Turkey to Cyprus; we have populations being established in areas formerly inhabited by Greek Cypriots; we now have a new example of the Greek sector of Famagusta being systematically colonized by people from abroad—all this during a period when negotiations are supposed to be taking place to solve the Cyprus problem. We have an unbearable situation in so far as the Greeks in the north are concerned. We have no freedom of movement for UNFICYP in the north. And, what is worse, we have a deterioration of the situation in that the Secretary-General's report reminds us that further stringent measures have been taken by the Turkish forces in Cyprus with regard to Greek farmers, and that they now are unable to cultivate their lands

whereas before they could do so under escort by UNFICYP. The signs of a deteriorating situation are all there.

176. The intention of not negotiating can be clearly demonstrated by referring to the fact that during the first talks at Vienna, which had been fixed some time before they took place, Mr. Denktaş came and stated that he was not ready to explain his side's position, and that he came there merely to hear Mr. Clerides' views. Suggestions were made with regard to the implementation of the Security Council resolution concerning the return of refugees to their homes. But although Mr. Denktaş undertook to study these suggestions and give his reply by June when we were to meet again, he returned not unprepared, but prepared to state that he would allow only as many Greek refugees to go north behind the Turkish lines as the Greek side would allow Turkish Cypriots to go north. In other words, instead of implementation of the General Assembly resolution concerning the return of the refugees, he came to make a proposal, and that was for an exchange of population.

177. It is very important to draw the Council's attention to the fact that had it not been for the great skill, persistence and ability of the Secretary-General, the negotiations at Vienna would not have taken place or they would have been interrupted on the first day because of the continual creation of faits accomplis by Turkey. But the great skill of the Secretary-General, his persistence and his devotion to seeking a peaceful solution for the problem of Cyprus will not suffice to sustain the negotiating process unless Turkey clearly understands that we cannot negotiate and at the same time accept faits accomplis to establish the solution that we want.

178. It is important to inform the Council that even since my arrival here new faits accomplis have been prepared by Turkey. It has now been established beyond doubt that a new communications system is being worked out and will shortly be put into use whereby the Turkish sector will be communicating with the outside world, through Turkey, both by telephone and in every other way. This is again a violation, in my opinion, of what has been agreed: to desist from unilateral acts and to continue negotiating in good faith. And, what is more, only yesterday Mr. Denktaş made a new declaration: that the Turkish forces would not leave Cyprus; that they would be thinned out when a solution of the Cyprus problem was found. That, again, is a statement contrary to the letter and the spirit of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It shows that there is really no intention to comply with those resolutions.

179. In view of all that, we must re-examine the whole situation in Cyprus. I shall be addressing the Council on these issues on 16 June, in some detail.

180. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey.

181. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I apologize to members of the Council for speaking again. I shall take only a few minutes, but I feel obliged to make a few points on the last two statements. I shall not speak again this evening.

182. In reply to the representative of Greece, I should like to say, for future reference, that it has never been and could never have been the purpose of Turkey's action to restore to his archiepiscopal see, combined with the presidential palace, a man long regarded by us as a usurper of legitimacy in Cyprus.

183. In reply to Mr. Clerides I would make the following points. The main fait accompli in Cyprus is, I submit, the very presence in this chamber of Mr. Clerides as representative of Cyprus as a whole, against the wishes—no longer hidden from anyone—of the Turkish Cypriot community. The main fait accompli that preceded the one to which I have just drawn attention was the occupation of power in defiance of the only existing Constitution, that of 1960, by the Greek Cypriots, under the leadership of the Ethnarch.

184. If one is to talk of abuse of power, I believe that only a moment ago Mr. Clerides very ably provided us with another example. Is he the representative of one of the communities, negotiating the status of his country, or is he the representative of that country as a whole? Personally I am amazed at—but not surprised by—Mr. Clerides' strange gift of ubiquity.

185. I have not attended the Vienna talks. I am therefore not in a position to divulge any secrets about them. The representative of the Turkish side who has attended the Vienna talks is present, and, when the time comes, he will be able to answer Mr. Clerides with regard to the various developments he mentioned as having occurred in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

186. I would again say that I do not regard myself as being in a position to answer the allegations made by Mr. Clerides. I repeat that the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is represented here. I am sure, Mr. President, that you will be kind enough to call on Mr. Çelik when he asks to be able to speak. I suppose that that will have to be after Mr. Clerides has made his statement, because what he has done today is merely to give an *aperçu* of what he will say to us at the next meeting—and, of course, all this is in a spirit of understanding and goodwill vis-à-vis the future negotiations to take place, we hope, at Vienna. As I have said, I am sure that Mr. Çelik will be given an opportunity to answer Mr. Clerides at the Council's next meeting.

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

188. Mr. CLERIDES (Cyprus): I shall be very brief; I wish to answer only one remark made by the repre-

representative of Turkey, concerning my ability to act in various capacities.

189. Certainly I am, and have been for many years, the representative of the Greek Cypriot community in the talks. I have also been the President of the House of Representatives during the same years, and I have been addressed as such by the Turkish side. I have also been the Acting President of the Republic of Cyprus on several occasions.

190. If that worries the representative of Turkey, let me enumerate the various capacities in which Mr. Denktas represents himself. He attends the talks as the representative of the Turkish community. He is referred to as the Vice-President of the Republic,

and he accepts that title, as may be seen in many reports. And now he appears as the president of a federated State. So the representative of Turkey should not be so upset about the various capacities I have.

191. The Turkish representative's remarks about good faith and negotiating in a good spirit should not be addressed to me. I have not created a single fait accompli.

The meeting rose at 9.10 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 370 (1975).

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 282, p. 3.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم - استعلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经销处均有发售。请向书店函购或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Находите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
