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## NOTE

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## 1980th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 15 December 1976, at 10.30 a.m.

*President: Mr. Ion DATCU (Romania).*

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1980)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:  
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12253 and Add.1)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in Cyprus:

**Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/12253 and Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken yesterday by the Council at its 1979th meeting, I shall, with the consent of the Council, invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Christophides (Cyprus), Mr. Türkmen (Turkey) and Mr. Papoulias (Greece) took places at the Security Council table.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Council will now hear the statements of the remainder of the representatives who wished to speak after the adoption by the Council yesterday of resolution 401 (1976).

3. Mr. ABE (Japan) (*interpretation from French*): It is a very pleasant duty for me to take this opportunity to bid a very warm welcome on behalf of my delegation to the new Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations. As everyone knows, the Council has always had the privilege in its work of

receiving great contributions from France as a permanent member. Therefore we are happy to have the representative of France among us here. We are confident that Mr. Leprette, with his great distinction as a French diplomat and rich experience in the affairs of the United Nations, will play an important and effective role—as effective, indeed, as his predecessor's—and will discharge well his heavy responsibilities as representative of that great country. My delegation would like to offer him the best possible wishes for his success.

*[The speaker continued in English.]*

4. My delegation voted in favour of resolution 401 (1976), which the Security Council adopted yesterday afternoon [1979th meeting], renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months. We did so because we consider that the presence of UNFICYP is still necessary.

5. My delegation notes the view of the Secretary-General as expressed in paragraph 77 of his report to the Council which we have before us that

“The withdrawal of United Nations troops from the island in the present circumstances would certainly heighten tension between the two communities, endanger the cease-fire and further reduce the prospects of achieving a just and lasting peace in Cyprus.”

Although the Secretary-General did not have to report any serious incidents in the past six months, he expressed concern over attempts by one side or the other to increase or strengthen their positions on the cease-fire lines and in paragraph 70 he urged both to increase their liaison and co-operation with the Force in order to avoid “unwarranted shooting and other incidents and a heightening of tension in the area”

6. In view of such a situation, we attach particular importance to paragraph 3 of the resolution which:

“Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint to refrain from any unilateral or other action likely to affect adversely the prospects of negotiations for a just and peaceful solution and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council.”

That paragraph is a salutary reminder that the extension of the mandate of the Force for another six months is not an end in itself. The extra time we have gained by the extension must be used for meaningful negotiations between the two communities and should not be employed by any of the parties to drag out the negotiations.

7. The good offices of the Secretary-General still offer a valid framework for the negotiations. It is regrettable, therefore, that, although the Secretary-General has continued to exert his best efforts in search of a negotiated solution through the good offices mission entrusted to him by the Council, it has not been possible to reconvene the intercommunal talks with reasonable assurance that the resumed discussions would be meaningful and productive.

8. The General-Assembly stated in his report that the positions of representatives of the two communities have remained far apart. Undoubtedly, the consequences of the unsuccessful efforts to resume the intercommunal negotiations will only lead to more suffering for all the people of Cyprus. Therefore, my delegation fully subscribes to the Secretary-General's appeal to the parties concerned to make a determined effort in order to make it possible to resume the negotiating process at an early date. If, indeed, the search for a just and lasting settlement is allowed to bog down in a prolonged impasse, as it has already done, the basic issues which are themselves of great complexity will become more and more intractable and the situation increasingly dangerous.

9. My delegation feels that the present state of affairs is truly deplorable; it cannot be perpetuated. We wish in particular to draw the attention of the parties concerned to the fact that the usefulness of those negotiations depends upon the willingness of the parties concerned to show the necessary flexibility, taking into account not only their own interests but also the legitimate aspirations and requirements of the opposing side. My delegation wishes to urge all the parties concerned once again to take conciliatory positions and to make the Secretary-General's efforts successful.

10. Before concluding, I should like to express the thanks of my delegation to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and to his staff for their untiring efforts made so far to the cause of peace. We wish to express our thanks to the officers and men of the Force and to its civilian staff for the exemplary way in which they have fulfilled tasks under trying circumstances. Our particular thanks go to Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, Commander of the Force, who hands over his command at the end of the current mandate. During his seven years as Commander, General Prem Chand has met the highest standards of international service. We should like to extend to him our deep gratitude and best wishes.

11. We wish at the same time to extend a warm welcome to the new Commander of the Force, Major-General James Joseph Quinn of Ireland. Like his distinguished predecessor, General Quinn is a veteran of United Nations peace-keeping operations. We are glad that he is returning with increased responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order in Cyprus.

12. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, although the Council has met in closed session under your presidency already this month, I have not previously had the occasion to congratulate you publicly on your assumption of the office of President. Members of the Council have not had the opportunity to work with you in that capacity before, but none of us can have any qualms on that account. Having worked with you as fellow members of the Council during the past year and having seen the talents displayed by you and your delegation during that period, we are fully confident that the Council's business this month will be conducted with efficiency and skill. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Illueca, who held the presidency during November. Under him the Council met to consider questions concerning almost every corner of the world. Yet he dealt with each of them with equal competence, good humour and dispatch.

13. Turning now to today's agenda, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for another comprehensive yet lucid report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the six-month period ending today. I do not hesitate to repeat a view which my delegation has expressed on similar occasions in the past, namely, that in our judgement the United Nations presence in Cyprus has been an important factor for maintaining calm and stability in difficult circumstances during the period reviewed in the report. The fact that there have been no serious intercommunal incidents owes a great deal to the activities of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, the Commander of UNFICYP, and to their civilian and military staff.

14. When I spoke in the debate on Cyprus in the General Assembly last month, I said that our regular tribute to those men was not perfunctory nor a mere courtesy. As I said then, we believe that whatever progress has been possible on the political side has been made in large measure because the Secretary-General has been represented in Cyprus by men with skill and tenacity of purpose such as Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. Whatever security has been achieved on the ground exists because, on the military side, General Prem Chand and the resolute men of the UNFICYP contingents have time and again ensured that incidents that might have led to outbreaks of fighting have not been allowed to get out of hand.

15. On this occasion, we have the melancholy duty of bidding farewell to General Prem Chand, who is

retiring after seven years' service as Commander of UNFICYP. More than six years ago, when the UNFICYP mandate was in the process of being renewed in June 1970, the United Kingdom representative said that General Prem Chand, in the comparatively short time that he had been in Cyprus, had won widespread admiration and esteem. Six years later that judgement has been reinforced many times over by his conduct in frequently difficult and dangerous situations. We share with the Secretary-General the view that General Prem Chand has served the United Nations with great distinction, dedication and courage, and that for his outstanding contributions to United Nations peace keeping, the Organization owes him a great debt of gratitude.

16. In his report the Secretary-General states that he is convinced that the continued presence of UNFICYP is essential and that the withdrawal of United Nations troops from the island would heighten tension between the two communities, endanger the cease-fire and further reduce the prospects of achieving a just and lasting peace in Cyprus. It gives my delegation no satisfaction to say that, regrettably, we share the view of the Secretary-General. For that reason the United Kingdom voted for the resolution which we adopted yesterday.

17. I am glad to be able to say that the United Kingdom hopes to maintain the British contingent at its present strength for the coming mandate period. We shall continue to meet in full the cost of our contingent, which is the largest contingent in the Force. We shall also continue to meet a large part of the cost of the logistic support of the Force. In the financial year 1975/1976, this amounted to £1.7 million.

18. As one of the two Council members which are also troop contributors to UNFICYP, I am bound to draw attention to the Secretary-General's remarks about the financial situation of the Force, both in his report and in his statement to us yesterday. The Secretary-General describes that situation as increasingly critical. He points out that, because of the deficit in the UNFICYP account, certain contributing Governments now wish to lessen their commitments, and that some contingents have already been reduced below the level recommended by the Force Commander. He again warns that, if no remedial measures are taken, UNFICYP may well find itself unable to continue to function.

19. In the recent General Assembly debate on the Cyprus question, a very considerable number of delegations expressed concern about the situation in Cyprus. They were right to do so. But it is easy enough to express concern and then give the Secretary-General a mandate to sort things out. If we give him that mandate, we have a common obligation to give him also the means to carry it out. The responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests on all of us. Those who profess

to be concerned for the fate of Cyprus should articulate that concern by contributing to the maintenance of peace and security there. It is a reproach to the United Nations that we the Members fail to give the Secretary-General the financial means to carry out the task which, by our votes, we have required him to undertake.

20. This is not an occasion on which it is appropriate to discuss the wider aspects of the Cyprus problem. But the Secretary-General's report rightly contains a section concerning the mission of good offices entrusted to him by resolution 367 (1975). In his observations he points out that it has not been possible to reconvene the intercommunal talks with reasonable assurance that discussions would be meaningful, because the positions of the representatives of the two communities have remained far apart. He goes on to stress the importance and urgency of that situation, because if the impasse is allowed to be prolonged, the basic issues will become more and more intractable, and the situation increasingly dangerous.

21. As they made clear in the recent General Assembly debate, the nine members of the European Communities are much concerned about the Cyprus problem. They believe that the way out of the impasse to which the Secretary-General referred is by means of a resumption of the intercommunal talks, to which the representatives of the parties to the dispute expressed their continuing commitment in their statements yesterday. My Government, therefore, welcomes the assurance given by the Secretary-General when he addressed us yesterday [*ibid.*], that he intends to resume contacts with the negotiators with a view to re-opening intercommunal talks in the new year.

22. In my own delegation's statement in the General Assembly, we said that the United Kingdom Government views with deep disappointment the apparent inability of the two negotiators to surmount the procedural difficulties which inevitably appear to outside observers as a cause for unnecessary delay in adopting a new approach to their problems of substance. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate that view.

23. I have already drawn attention to the increasing impatience of the troop contributors, which feel that they have for too long borne a disproportionate share of the burden of maintaining peace in Cyprus. They have been willing to bear that burden for 12 years because they believe that, by the prevention of a recurrence of violence, a respite from bloodshed and an opportunity for peace-making has been afforded.

24. But, in the apparent absence of any willingness to negotiate, and with the growing impasse to which the Secretary-General has referred, the question arises in the minds of some—and has indeed been

expressed in the debate in the Assembly—whether UNFICYP's presence has provided an excuse for rigidity and inflexibility, rather than a framework for negotiation. The view has been expressed that, if the Force were withdrawn, the parties, having been left face to face, would have no alternative but to deal with each other and achieve a *modus vivendi*.

25. This is a view which my delegation totally rejects. We believe, as I have already said, that as the Secretary-General's report makes clear, UNFICYP is instrumental in maintaining peace in Cyprus. If the Force were withdrawn, we believe that the incidents which the men of UNFICYP are able to control could instead result in serious bloodshed. But the parties to the dispute should ponder the fact that the possibility of withdrawing the Force has been openly voiced in the General Assembly. Before they test the patience of the international community too far, the representatives of the two communities must embark upon a process of reconciliation if Cyprus is not to risk being once again a site of bloodshed.

26. Time is not on their side. The Cyprus story is a story of missed opportunity in which, at every stage, the chance for a peaceful solution has been passed up in favour of narrowly conceived short-term advantages which do not ultimately serve the interests of either community. But such opportunities will not go on presenting themselves indefinitely. At every wrong turn the way back towards reconciliation and reconstruction becomes more difficult. The leaders of the two communities must recognize this if Cyprus, an island endowed with so many natural advantages, is not to be permanently disabled by human wrong-headedness.

27. Before ending my statement, I should like to express my delegation's great pleasure at the re-election of Mr. Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General of the United Nations. My Prime Minister has already sent a message to Mr. Waldheim congratulating him personally, and I can do no better than to repeat Mr. Callaghan's expression of the United Kingdom Government's admiration for the very considerable achievements of the Secretary-General's first five years of office and to promise him the United Kingdom's full support in the critical time ahead. It seems to me particularly appropriate that this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Waldheim occurs in the course of a debate which has underlined the importance of the Secretary-General in the activities of the United Nations.

28. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome Mr. Jacques Leprette, the new representative of France. Mr. Leprette's reputation as a wise and experienced diplomat has preceded him. I look forward to working closely with him, not only in the Security Council but in all aspects of the activities of the United Nations.

29. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): I would like, in the name of the United States delegation, to take this formal occasion to express and reiterate our most warm greetings of welcome to Mr. Leprette. The United States takes deep pleasure in welcoming to the Security Council and to the United Nations this distinguished representative of our very first ally. The United States has benefited from Mr. Leprette's service on behalf of the Government of France in Washington, and we look forward with pleasure to developing further our relations here in New York City. The light cast by the appointment of Mr. Leprette sheds its radiance not only on the United Nations but on the host country as well. We wish him every success as he undertakes his new responsibilities.

30. The Council's renewal yesterday of the mandate of UNFICYP underscores what we believe is a commonly shared concern for maintaining the stability indispensable to a negotiated settlement and lasting peace in Cyprus. The Council's vote represents as well an expression of continued confidence in UNFICYP's performance of its important task. I wish to reaffirm the continuing strong moral and material support of the United States for UNFICYP. The nations which have contributed troops to UNFICYP merit special congratulations, having demonstrated by concrete action their commitment to avoiding a resumption of armed conflict and human suffering on that strife-torn island.

31. We wish to thank also the many nations that have contributed the financial or other material assistance which has enabled UNFICYP to continue its vital mission. We would urge other nations which have not yet done so—in particular permanent members of the Council—to demonstrate their concern for the preservation of peace in the Eastern Mediterranean by lending their material support to UNFICYP. We believe all nations materially able to do so should willingly share in meeting their obligation under the Charter to contribute to the maintenance of international peace.

32. The renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP is practical testimony to responsible international action. However, the continuing need for a peace-keeping force in Cyprus all too obviously points up the tragic reality that true peace and stability have proved unattainable there for more than a decade. Therefore, while commending UNFICYP and expressing admiration for the exemplary conduct of its officers and men, we also wish to voice our hope that the parties to the Cyprus dispute will make renewed efforts to negotiate a lasting settlement that will remove the necessity for the continued presence of United Nations soldiers on the island.

33. I should not like to conclude my remarks without paying a special tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar,

the Under-Secretaries-General, Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Guyer, and their excellent staffs for their untiring efforts towards making peace-keeping a success in Cyprus. UNFICYP is confronted by unique and delicate problems which have been ably acted on by a talented leadership. This leadership has been personified *par excellence* by Lieutenant-General Prem Chand who, to our collective regret, has recently submitted his resignation as Commander of UNFICYP. His performance in diplomacy, military operations and human relations reflects the highest ideals of international service. We wish him continuing success in the years ahead.

34. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, speaking for the first time in the Security Council, I should first of all like to say how very much I appreciate your kind words of welcome and what an honour it is for me to participate in the Council's work. The significance of this honour and the obligations flowing therefrom are all the greater because this mission has been entrusted to me by the former representative of France to the Security Council. I know what an impact Mr. de Guiringaud made, both in his personal relations and in his official capacity, we know, too, the part he played, under often difficult conditions, in the proper conduct of the Council's debates, and the contribution he made to their successful conclusion both as representative of France and, on four occasions, as Council President.

35. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he has called upon me to testify to France's devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to its determination to contribute fully to the functioning of the organs created by the Charter. I am aware of the special responsibilities of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security and, consequently, of the duties of the delegations of which it is composed. In my concern to justify the confidence placed in me by the French authorities, I can assure you that I shall spare no effort to assist the Council in acquitting itself of the tasks assigned to it under the Charter.

36. Before turning to the subject of our discussion I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, Mr. President, most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Council and on the particularly adroit manner in which you have already guided its work. All our colleagues have been able to appreciate your qualities as a diplomat and negotiator. You have had many opportunities during these months in the Council and elsewhere, often as the architect of texts before us, to manifest your great talent. I am sure your talent, which has already been proved in the course of the present debate, will be needed in the weeks to come. I should like to add that, through you, it is a privilege for me to pay tribute to the nation of Romania which you represent here with so much distinction and with which my country has long-standing bonds of friendship.

37. I wish also to thank the President for the month of November, Mr. Illueca. We are all aware that it was by reason of his skill, good nature, perseverance and sense of duty that the Council was able to prepare its labours for the month of December so satisfactorily, and successfully to conclude those for the month of November.

38. Finally, I wish to greet every member of the Council and to thank them all for their very courteous and friendly words of welcome to me and of esteem for my country, of which I am most appreciative. I can assure my colleagues of my complete co-operation.

39. In the course of my statement I shall come back to the role of the Secretary-General in the matter before us. However, I now wish to reiterate the congratulations which the Government of France addressed to Mr. Waldheim on the occasion of his re-election. His personal contribution to efforts to settle the Cyprus question is but one example among many of the tireless devotion he brings to the cause of peace and the realization of the loftiest principles of the Organization.

40. I turn now to the subject of our meeting: the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. The decision we have taken is within a category of measures that are doubtless necessary but that show that we are really marking time in seeking a lasting peaceful solution. As on several previous occasions, my delegation cannot but agree with the opinion of the Secretary-General that the Force's presence continues to be essential.

41. A few weeks after the debate in the General Assembly on Cyprus, I do not think it necessary to set out in detail my Government's position on the general aspects of the problem. While there has been no progress towards a solution, the principles that should guide the quest for a settlement remain the same. As was pointed out by Mr. de Guiringaud in his statement on 29 September last before the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> and as the representative of the Netherlands reiterated on 11 November on behalf of the members of the European Community,<sup>2</sup> any agreement must be acceptable to all Cypriots and preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

42. Until the resumption of negotiations—the only means to bring back peace—the usefulness of the Force can be challenged by no one, even though its presence only tends to preserve the *status quo*. The facts speak for themselves. In the course of the last six months, the Force has recorded a daily average of approximately two shooting incidents. On three occasions, shots have been fired in the direction of UNFICYP troops by members of Turkish forces. There is no need to emphasize the risks of a situation in which opposing forces would come face to face. We also observe that there have been persistent violations

of the cease-fire resulting from the movement forward of positions or from the construction of new defensive positions.

43. What can we do but renew our appeals for observance of the cease-fire and the cease-fire line established on 16 August 1974? The maintenance of the *status quo* seems to us to be paramount in the search for a peaceful solution. In particular, neither party should seek to call in question the arrangements and practices at present in effect under the control of the Force in the zone between the cease-fire lines.

44. There is another series of difficulties which, although less directly related to the cease-fire, are no less alarming. These are the obstacles encountered by the Force in discharging its humanitarian functions in the zone under Turkish-Cypriot control. According to the Secretary-General's report, the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots in the north have not improved and their exodus to the south has accelerated. The Secretary-General notes that UNFICYP access to Greek-Cypriot habitations and its freedom of movement in the area remain restricted; he further specifies that the procedure jointly agreed to for the review of requests of Greek Cypriots for transfer to the south has not functioned effectively. The report also indicates that, contrary to the Vienna communiqué of 2 August 1975 [see S/11789, annex], the freedom of movement of the Greek Cypriots living in the northern zone is not guaranteed.

45. These indications cannot be ignored, nor can their importance be underestimated. The only way to shed light on the situation and to preserve what can be saved is to allow UNFICYP to fulfil its mission without obstacles. This depends, in the first place, on the will of the parties concerned; hence, we very much hope that the text established in accordance with the procès-verbal of 12 December 1975, concerning the stationing and functioning of the Force in the north, will rapidly be put into final form and enter into force.

46. The presence of the Force, as I have said, is not an end in itself; it is intended to create or maintain a situation that will permit a resumption of negotiations. In this connexion, we can but regret the absence of agreement manifested in the consultations held in New York in September last regarding the resumption of intercommunal talks, and that despite the Secretary-General's efforts to pave the way once again. In the resolution which we have just adopted, we have appealed to the parties to act with restraint, to refrain from any unilateral action likely to hinder the prospects of the success of the negotiations and to continue their efforts in a concerted manner so as to achieve the objectives laid down by the Security Council. We hope that they will have realized that the only real progress towards a just and lasting peace can come from negotiations without ulterior motives on the substance of the problem, negotiations that

are not allowed to get bogged down in prior procedural questions.

47. We are certain that the Secretary-General will be determined, with the patience and the good will which he has unsparingly demonstrated so far, once more to seek to overcome the obstacles barring a resumption of the intercommunal talks. He may be assured, as in the past, of our complete support, which also goes to all those assisting him in that noble task.

48. In this connexion, I should like to pay tribute to the activity in the field of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. I also commend the devotion and the sense of duty continually displayed, at times at the risk of their lives, by the contingents of UNFICYP, under the direction of Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, whose departure we must unfortunately deplore. Let them rest assured that the decision of our Council to renew the mandate of UNFICYP, while it is motivated by our concern to preserve every chance for resumed negotiations, must in their regard be interpreted as a tribute of deep appreciation and recognition for the work of peace which they are accomplishing on behalf of the United Nations.

49. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): I have the honour, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, to join other colleagues in extending a very warm welcome to Mr. Leprette of France as his great country's representative to the United Nations. We look forward to continuing to work in close co-operation with the delegation of France under his leadership, which we are certain, will be of the same high order as that of his able and distinguished predecessor.

50. The Prime Minister and the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, as well as Mr. Iqbal Akhund, have already conveyed our heartfelt felicitations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim on his re-election as Secretary-General. May I once again convey our congratulations to him. We are certain that, under his patient, diligent and wise guidance, the Organization will be able not only to contribute to peace-keeping and peace-making efforts in various parts of the world but also to move forward to the early realization of a new and more just economic world order, which has quite rightly become one of the basic goals of the Organization.

51. We are glad that the mandate of UNFICYP has been extended by the Security Council, with the adoption, without dissent, of a resolution prepared by you, Mr. President, with the agreement and co-operation of the parties concerned. I join other colleagues, who have already spoken, in a well-deserved tribute to you for the patient efforts which you have undertaken and which resulted in this satisfactory outcome. It bears testimony to the desire and determination of the two communities of Cyprus to keep peace on



the island, thus paving the way for the achievement of a just and lasting peace.

52. My delegation would like to pay tribute also to the Commander, the officers and the men of the Force for the diligence and sense of duty with which they have been performing the arduous tasks assigned to them.

53. We note that an effective working relationship and clear channels of communication exist between the Force and the two sides. It is a source of satisfaction that none of the shooting incidents, which are not unusual in such conditions, has been of a serious nature. However, it is our hope that such incidents will cease altogether.

54. The Force deserves special thanks for discharging the humanitarian task assigned to it. It is providing security to farmers, shepherds and other plain folk of both communities to pursue their peaceful occupations in the buffer zone. While the situation is not normal, as indeed it cannot be in the circumstances, the Secretary-General's report is not without encouraging elements. Thus, the fact that the Turkish Cypriot authorities have decided to grant the Greek Cypriots in the north increased freedom of movement and travel as well as to provide improved facilities for their education and health should not be overlooked or minimized. In this context, we should like also to express our delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the devotion and patience with which he has been discharging his difficult task.

55. The delegation of Pakistan continues to attach importance to the search for an early solution of the conflict in Cyprus. We believe also that a settlement, in order to be lasting and just, should fully ensure to the two communities in the island the exercise of their fundamental rights and enable them to live peacefully side by side with each other.

56. The Secretary-General, in his report of 30 October [S/12222], notes that the difficulties in the way of resuming meaningful negotiations have yet to be overcome and that the differences between the parties, both as to substance and as to procedure, have in practice shown little sign of narrowing. We share the belief he has expressed in the report before us that the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, as called for by the Security Council, lies in negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities.

57. The encouraging developments which have taken place in the region recently lead us to hope that the parties concerned will respond positively to the appeal of the Secretary-General to show the necessary flexibility in order to make it possible to resume the negotiating process at an early date. We fully support the Secretary-General's resolve to exert his best

efforts to bring about a resumption of meaningful negotiations and to assist the parties in making the urgently required progress towards a settlement of the Cyprus problem. We wish him success in his efforts to do all he can, within his competence and authority, to help achieve such a settlement and, as a first step, to bring about as soon as possible the resumption of intercommunal talks under his auspices.

58. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): At the outset, I should like to join my colleagues in welcoming Mr. Jacques Leprette of France to the Security Council. We are confident that he will, in the high and noble traditions of his delegation, make a constructive contribution to the work of the Council. We wish him a successful term of office at the United Nations and pledge to him our full co-operation.

59. The establishment of UNFICYP 12 years ago was occasioned by specific circumstances which ascribed to the operation of that Force the function of containing a potentially dangerous situation in the relations between the two communities in Cyprus. That the Council is in 1976 still concerned with the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP is disturbing, in that it reflects a tendency towards a transformation of UNFICYP from an *ad hoc* creation to an almost permanent fixture aiding the maintenance of the *status quo*.

60. The unfortunate, indeed tragic, events which took place in Cyprus in 1974 have occasioned much travail to the people of Cyprus and have added a new dimension to the functioning of UNFICYP.

61. It is against that background, sketchily described, that the Secretary-General's report and the Council's current meetings should be seen.

62. On the substantive aspects of the Cyprus question, Guyana's position is clear. We have often reiterated the view that the peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem lies in the prompt and effective implementation of the provisions of Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Council in its resolution 365 (1974). Resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly two years ago, remains the only valid framework for an equitable and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problems. While that resolution remains the viable basis for international action, both the Assembly and the Council have subsequently adopted a number of resolutions, including one by the General Assembly on 12 November this year [resolution 31/12], which prescribe in clear terms the demands of the international community for effective action. It is our failure to insist on the implementation of our resolutions that keeps the question of Cyprus on the international agenda.

63. Earlier I observed that the necessity for the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP is disturbing.

My delegation is reinforced in that view by its careful reading of the Secretary-General's report for the last six-month period, ending on 6 December 1976. We note, for example, that the freedom of movement of UNFICYP continues to be restricted, that attempts have been made to change the military *status quo* by movements forward of the cease-fire line, that the situation of the Greek Cypriots in the north is a matter of special concern, and that the developments in regard to that situation have, as stated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 72 of the report, "further heightened tension".

64. We further observe that previous agreements reached during the intercommunal talks, in particular the Vienna agreement of 1975 [see S/11789, *annex*], have not been fully implemented. There is thus an urgent need for forward movement on all fronts if the much-desired peace is to be achieved in Cyprus.

65. To deal with one aspect only, the intercommunal talks, my delegation hopes that in the weeks ahead all parties concerned will, by their actions, positively contribute to the creation of a new climate, a climate which would be favourable for negotiations. What is needed above all is the forsaking of bitterness rooted in past experiences and its replacement by a mutual respect, accompanied by a genuine and sincere spirit of accommodation and compromise. In this respect, my delegation hopes that all the parties will fully co-operate with UNFICYP, with a view not only to reducing tension in the area but also to facilitating its performance with maximum efficiency the tasks entrusted to it by the Council.

66. My delegation has given considerable thought to proposing that the Council should send a fact-finding mission to Cyprus. We have refrained from doing so in the hope that the six-month period of extension of the mandate of UNFICYP will be used wisely and productively and that developments in the months ahead will render unnecessary such an exercise. Should our optimism be found to be misplaced, however, I would urge that the Council, when next considering this question, should reactivate that idea.

67. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to extend sincere thanks to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, who has recently relinquished his post of Force Commander, for their dedication and service to the cause of Cyprus. We also sincerely thank those Member States whose contributions of men and material have made this operation possible. It is our sincere hope that in renewing the mandate of UNFICYP, the Council is truly preparing the way for a lasting peace in Cyprus.

68. Finally, the Foreign Minister of my country, Comrade Fred Wills, has already conveyed the congratulations of the Government and people of Guyana to the Secretary-General on his re-election. On this

occasion I should like to congratulate the Secretary-General on behalf of my delegation, since in our view his re-election is a fine tribute by the Organization to his dedication and his sustained effort in the search for peace and justice.

69. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is extremely satisfied at the responsible and dignified way in which you have conducted our proceedings. As an example I would mention the skill with which you so successfully conducted the proceedings connected with the re-election of the Secretary-General. Your country, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and my own, the People's Republic of Benin, are linked by profound friendship and fraternity in the spirit of genuine internationalism, the objectives of which are common to us both. The recent visit of our great comrade-in-arms, President Kérékou, to his friend Comrade Ceausescu contributed more positively to strengthening this co-operation, to which Benin attaches such great importance.

70. I should like to take this opportunity to bid a warm welcome to the new representative of France here in the Council, Mr. Leprette, a distinguished diplomat very familiar with the problems of the Organization. My delegation is convinced that relations between his great and beautiful country, France, and the great and valiant French people and the people and Government of Benin will be ever further strengthened on a basis of equality and mutual advantage.

71. The position of my Government on the question of Cyprus is well known and entirely unambiguous. In various forums of the United Nations our delegation has given its views on this important problem, which threatens peace and security in the region. In the final analysis, the problem of Cyprus is but a reflection of the attempts of the imperialist Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to take control of the strategic interests of the island and thus to continue to perpetuate their aggression against the countries of the region.

72. As the Secretary-General states in his report of 9 December which we are considering, UNFICYP, which has been in Cyprus since 1964, is very much handicapped by restrictions imposed on its freedom of movement in the northern part of the country occupied by Turkish occupation forces. Thus, the Force does not receive all the co-operation it needs in order successfully to accomplish its task, although it has carried out certain missions designed to promote respect for the cease-fire.

73. In my delegation's view, the existence of the Force should make it possible to bring about a certain normalization of the situation in the area, but what we have in fact seen is a dangerous deterioration in the situation resulting from the actions of imperialism, which stops at nothing to force the non-aligned

Government of Cyprus to renounce its policy of non-alignment.

74. From 1964 to the present, the expenditures incurred for the maintenance of the Force have been very high, while the results, in terms of settlement of the crisis, have been very scanty. It has therefore become clear to my delegation that the automatic renewing of the mandate of the Force without a substantive discussion accompanied by appropriate measures may be a chronic error to which the Organization is succumbing. For all those reasons, my delegation, as in June 1976, did not participate in the adoption of the resolution renewing the mandate of the Force.

75. My delegation feels that those who are truly responsible for the crisis in Cyprus, namely the imperialist Powers and the members of NATO, must accept full responsibility for all the expenditures involved in the operation of a Force the effectiveness of which, to say the very least, is doubtful.

76. We think that the Cypriot people are one and indivisible and should properly understand the situation imposed upon them, and react accordingly.

77. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like most cordially to associate myself with the words of welcome addressed by yourself and members of the Council to our new colleague, the representative of France, Mr. Jacques Leprette. I am certain that he will bring to the Council and to the other organs of the United Nations the valuable contribution of his personal talent and his lengthy experience of the work of this world Organization. I rejoice in advance at being able to co-operate with so eminent a colleague who has already distinguished himself in various United Nations forums, in the interests of peace and in the interests of the Community of Nine, to which we belong, and of this great Organization.

*[The speaker continued in English].*

78. The report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus gives us a clear picture of the present situation in Cyprus, a picture of that beautiful island where we see under a calm sky, apparently free from stormy clouds, a landscape unfortunately showing here and there, especially in the north, some disquieting features. We could not feel less reassured, especially at a time when the Italian delegation had much hoped that it would have been possible to re-examine in the Security Council the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP in the light of tangible progress along the lines set down by this very body on so many occasions.

79. Therefore, it is with regret that we take note of the observations made by the Secretary-General in his report. I have in mind, in the first instance, paragraph 69, where he states:

"Despite the passage of time, the main problems resulting from the events of 1974 have remained unresolved and, on the basic political issues, the two Cypriot communities are still deeply divided."

80. We do understand from the report of the Secretary-General that the situation on the ground, during the period under review, has somehow been quieter than at previous times, as far as shooting incidents are concerned. However, the report states that tension has persisted and that violations of the cease-fire have occurred mainly by movements forward in the buffer area between the two armies or by construction of new military positions. Further on, we note that the report indicates that humanitarian and normalization functions by UNFICYP in the area under Turkish control have been limited, mainly because the freedom of movement of the Force in the northern part of Cyprus continues to be restricted.

81. We have learnt with distress that even the mine problem continues to pose real dangers: despite requests made to both sides, comprehensive minefield records have still not been made available to UNFICYP.

82. Having read through the whole report, we cannot fail to note with gratitude that the Secretary-General has continued personally, or through his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, his tireless efforts to carry out the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council. However, here again he feels duty bound to inform us in paragraph 61 of his report that "While both sides have indicated that they favour a resumption of the negotiating process, their conflicting positions... remain unaltered".

83. In short, this commendable factual report shows altogether a distressing state of affairs. What, of course, is most distressing is to see so many people, namely all those who still find themselves displaced as a result of the events of 1974, living in conditions of misery and disillusionment. At the same time, we cannot refrain from expressing our serious concern on the general political plane, since the crisis in Cyprus remains a source of international tension in an area of great importance for many countries, including, among others, my own country. Italy is indeed especially interested in the restoration of stability in the area both because of its geographical position and because of its friendly relations with all the countries directly involved.

84. My delegation has stated several times, in the Security Council and in other bodies of the Organization, that Italy is firmly convinced that the responsibility for seeking reconciliation lies with the parties directly concerned and, in particular, with the leaders of the two communities. In this connexion, I wish to refer to the views which were made abundantly clear in the statement I made on 14 June last at the 1926th meeting. They are on record and open to any

delegation for scrutiny. I do not need, therefore, to repeat them. I simply wish to add at this stage that my Government, together with its eight European partners, places its hopes on the quick resumption of intercommunal negotiations and continues to believe that all parties should refrain from any action which might prejudice the progress of such negotiations. My Government continues to hope, as well, that the parties will do their utmost to reach a compromise by adopting flexible positions and that they will indeed bear in mind the extent of their responsibilities towards their own country and the international community as a whole. We feel that the situation is very serious and that it is high time to reverse its present trend, by starting a new round of negotiations conducted in a frank and sincere spirit, with the will—the good will, as Mr. Çelik stated yesterday [1979th meeting]—to do business on matters of substance. Ultimately, the statesmanship of the leaders of the two communities will be ascertained according to their capacity to reach out for the well-being of the Cypriots and for peace in Cyprus and in the Mediterranean.

85. From what we heard yesterday in the statements made by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, by our colleagues of Greece and Turkey and by Mr. Çelik speaking for the Turkish Cypriot community, any outside observer might be led to believe that apparently there are not enough grounds for such a prospect. My delegation takes a different view. We certainly do not underestimate lamented past and recent wrongdoings, conflicting assessments and points of view and the reasons backing them. However, having followed very closely the developments of the Cyprus crisis during these 12 years, we feel somehow encouraged, perhaps more by the tone than by the content of what we have heard, to place a little more confidence than before in the professed good intentions and commitments of the main parties concerned to undertake serious and meaningful negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General. I hope we shall be proved right.

86. It is on the basis of these considerations that the Italian delegation whole-heartedly associates itself with the appeal by the Secretary-General to the parties concerned to make a determined effort towards the resumption of the negotiating process at an early date.

87. We also share his concern for the feeble response given by Member States to his repeated appeals for voluntary contributions in order to cover the large outstanding financial deficit. Even symbolic contributions would help, since, in our opinion, they could signify the attachment of all Members of the world Organization to the principle of collective security, put into practice by the remarkable and significant activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force.

88. Mr. President, the text of the draft resolution introduced by you and adopted by the Council reflects to a great extent the feelings and the hopes I have just

voiced. My delegation, therefore, promptly supported and voted in favour of the draft resolution from now on to be known as Security Council resolution 401 (1976).

89. Before concluding, I should like to express my Government's deepest appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General. We are all aware of the difficulties involved in the fulfilment of his mission with regard to Cyprus. We owe him a great debt for the unshaken faith he has displayed. I am sure we shall feel more and more indebted to him in the near future, from the very beginning of his second term of office, to which we look forward with great expectations. My Prime Minister had the unique opportunity of congratulating Mr. Waldheim personally, as he met him shortly after his re-election. I wish to associate myself whole-heartedly with those congratulations and those contained in the message addressed on the same day to the Secretary-General by the Foreign Minister of Italy.

90. I also wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to UNFICYP and to its officers and men for the untiring and successful effort it has carried on in Cyprus. I should like to express, as well, our gratitude to all the contributing Governments for their generosity. Finally, I want to express the warmest tribute to the outgoing Commander of the Force, Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, who has performed his duties brilliantly in the seven years he has spent in the service of the Organization in Cyprus, as he did in a former United Nations peace-keeping operation.

91. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to express my whole-hearted thanks for the kind words of Mr. Murray of the United Kingdom and Mr. Leprette of France addressed to me in connexion with my exercise of the functions of President during November.

92. Before referring to the position of my country on the resolution we adopted yesterday on the situation in Cyprus, I should like to place it on record that the delegation of Panama is particularly pleased to associate itself with the friendly words of welcome addressed by the members of the Council to the new representative of France, Mr. Leprette. Panama, like the other Latin American nations, has benefited from the spiritual legacy that France has bequeathed to the world in its culture and its legal and political institutions. Thus, in cordially greeting Mr. Leprette, I not only greet him but pay tribute to the nobility of his country, which he represents with such distinction. Therefore I am most pleased to offer Mr. Leprette the friendly co-operation of the delegation of Panama, both officially and personally, certain as I am that the Council will benefit from his ingenuity, moderation and rectitude, as well as his great erudition and, to use a famous French expression, "*sa finesse d'esprit*".

93. During the debate we have reviewed the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. My delegation has listened with the greatest interest to the statements made in the Council. Accordingly, I shall not insist on dealing in detail with the contents of the report. My delegation wishes to confine itself to expressing its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his efforts and to expressing its appreciation for this thorough and full report which reveals the gravity of the situation in Cyprus.

94. Likewise, my delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and to the Under-Secretaries-General Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Guyer, who have devoted their time and skill to the problem. We also express our appreciation to Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, who until now has commanded the Force, as well as to Major-General James Joseph Quinn, who has been designated by the Secretary-General as Commander of the Force in replacement of General Prem Chand. We wish General Quinn every success in his duties and request him to transmit to the officers and men of the Force our delegation's gratitude; in so doing, we feel that we are interpreting the feeling of all the peoples of our region.

95. Very briefly, I should like to refer to a situation which seems to me to be somewhat confusing, because what we require from the Council is vigorous and decisive action to put an end to this painful situation in Cyprus.

96. Yesterday confusion grew as we listened to Mr. Vedat Çelik [*ibid.*], who said here in the Council that resolution 31/12, adopted by the General Assembly on 12 November 1976, was not acceptable to the interests which he purports to represent. Among the reasons given for not accepting that resolution, we heard that it was regarded as inappropriate and unrealistic. Further, the Assembly was accused of trying to influence or prejudge the deliberations in the Security Council. Such expressions, I repeat, create confusion because Mr. Çelik had begun his statement by expressing, on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community, his gratitude to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and tireless efforts in seeking a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. Now we wonder, does the Secretary-General act as the representative of the United Nations in accordance with General Assembly resolutions or not? Does he act in accordance with Security Council resolutions or not?

97. So there is confusion when Mr. Çelik says that he does not accept a General Assembly resolution while at the same time he praises the Secretary-General's action. I am bringing this to the attention of members of the Council because, in so far as the situation continues to deteriorate, United Nations institutions are affected also.

98. What does the General Assembly resolution say? The resolution expresses the profound concern of the overwhelming majority of the international community over the prolongation of the Cyprus crisis, which endangers international peace and security. Furthermore, the resolution reiterates the General Assembly's full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. I wonder, does any one here disagree with these precepts which are the key to the problem? The problem will be resolved as soon as there is complete respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

99. The General Assembly resolution demands the urgent implementation of resolutions 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November 1974 and 3395 (XXX) of 20 November 1975. We also have Security Council resolutions that must be observed. Now, I wonder: does any one disagree that United Nations mechanisms should be put into effect to ensure that the resolutions adopted by the United Nations are implemented?

100. The President of the Security Council, thanks to his dedication, perseverance, ability and humanity, succeeded yesterday in securing the adoption of resolution 401 (1976). We wish to express our special appreciation to the President. However, from a political point of view, his success in securing the adoption of that resolution was eminently political in character. From a human and moral point of view, the resolution adopted here yesterday does not introduce anything new. That situation is, of course, understandable and we therefore agree that the Council, under the wise guidance of the President, should have acted prudently, in keeping with the circumstances. We all know that the United Nations Secretariat, which is the pillar of the Organization, was in a period of transition. The Secretary-General had just been re-elected, and, of course, prudence counselled that he should be given an opportunity to plan action, since he is responsible for exercising his good offices in the search for a solution.

101. There is also, on the international scene, a lull in the efforts to solve most crucial problems affecting Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and my own country. What is the reason for this lull? It is that one of the permanent members of the Council, one of the major Powers of our times, the United States, is itself in a period of transition. Moreover, some permanent members of the Council will shortly be appointing new representatives, who, of course, will then be spokesmen for a new political will.

102. The Council's action is fully justified, but it is a cautious holding action which must be of very short duration. Its cut-off date has been fixed as 30 April 1977, in paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted yesterday. Why does my delegation maintain that that is a suitable period for reaching a solution, or at least to coming close to a solution? Because the Secretary-General is requested in that paragraph of the resolution:

"to continue the mission of good offices entrusted to him by paragraph 6 of resolution 367 (1975), to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made and to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution by 30 April 1977."

103. We are very pleased that the Secretary-General has been re-elected by unanimous recommendation of the Council and by acclamation in the General Assembly. The Secretary-General has reaped what he has sown: a seed of dignity, of self-sacrifice, of devotion and of respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, which guarantees to States, large and small, like Cyprus and Panama, their integrity, sovereignty and independence. Strengthened now, the Secretary-General presents himself before mankind with the acclamation of all the nations of the world and has a right to the full co-operation of the Council and of the parties to the conflict so that a solution may be reached.

104. To say, for example, that a General Assembly resolution is not accepted means that the good offices of the Secretary-General are not accepted; hence my confusion, which we might claim has been clarified in the course of the discussion. We trust and are optimistic that through his good offices, within a brief and limited time, with the co-operation of the parties, with the respect due UNFICYP to allow it freedom of movement and the free exercise of its functions and with the support of the Council and of the entire international community, the Secretary-General will bring the parties to a harmonious negotiated solution respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

105. But it is not the Secretary-General alone who is committed, but also the Council. And, in the opinion of my country, this organ must meet before the expiration of this further mandate of UNFICYP so as to comply with the request contained in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 31/12, which states that the Assembly:

*"Expresses the hope that the Security Council will consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974."*

Thus the Security Council is charged in this expression of the will of the Assembly with the consideration of appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974).

106. I shall conclude by reiterating to you, Mr. President, my appreciation for the wise, appropriate and effective manner in which you have resolved the immediate political problem of the renewal of the UNFICYP mandate. At the same time, we address ourselves to the members of the Council that will be presiding during the months of January, February and March, when there will be an opportunity for this

matter to be dealt with, so that they will provide an occasion for the Secretary-General to lend his further good offices, which, we trust, will bring about positive results.

107. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): At the outset, may I, on behalf of my delegation, extend a hand of welcome and co-operation to Mr. Jacques Leprette, the representative of France, on his assumption of office at the United Nations. We are confident that, being a seasoned and experienced diplomat, he will make a useful, constructive and valuable contribution to the work of the Council and to the other bodies of the United Nations.

108. My delegation has supported the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP and voted for the draft resolution contained in document S/12256, on the understanding that such an action will facilitate the maintenance of peace in Cyprus. We hope that UNFICYP will make it possible to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the problem. But in keeping with my country's position concerning peace-keeping operations, I wish to reiterate our stand to the effect that UNFICYP is only a step towards complete restoration of peace in the area. A peace-keeping operation should never be regarded as a permanent institution, but only as a temporary measure—a *modus vivendi*. Therefore, we cannot accept the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP as an indefinite, recurring exercise.

109. At the same time, we wish to express our concern at the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), remains unimplemented. This disregard of the United Nations only adds to the agony of the Cypriots. Implementation of United Nations resolutions by the Council is the real means of resolving the problem of Cyprus. Negotiations are, of course, useful; they are very, very important; but they would be even more important if they were addressed to constitutional and domestic matters.

110. In this regard, we wish to underscore the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report concerning the restriction of UNFICYP to certain areas of its mandate. We sincerely hope, therefore, that UNFICYP will not be hindered in its efforts to carry out its functions, including those of a humanitarian nature.

111. My Government continues to be distressed by the presence of foreign troops in Cyprus. To us, this is a violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that State and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that no solution can be imposed by force on the people of Cyprus. Left to themselves, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots can reach a solution acceptable to both communities; and such a solution can be achieved

through talks, not by might. As the Secretary-General has rightly noted in paragraph 76 of his report:

"I continue to believe that the best hope of achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem as called for by the Security Council, is through negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities."

We wish to endorse that pertinent observation, as indeed we have in our resolutions, the last being resolution 391 (1976).

112. All efforts at achieving peace in Cyprus would be more difficult but for one important factor: the restraint and patience of the Government and people of Cyprus. We pay tribute to their magnanimity in their times of trial.

113. In this connexion, we wish to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus for the sustained efforts made in the mission of good offices. We urge the Secretary-General to continue his efforts so that a satisfactory end can be achieved. We also wish to express our appreciation to the officers and men of UNFICYP for their dedication and selfless work in a noble cause.

114. Lastly, we wish to thank the Governments which have contributed troops and funds for the expenses of the Force. The maintenance of UNFICYP would not have been possible were it not for the voluntary and generous contributions of those Governments. We urge them to continue their contributions and, where possible, to increase them.

115. As the Secretary-General noted both in his report and in his statement yesterday [*ibid.*], the financial situation of UNFICYP is critical. It is therefore very urgent that action should be taken to improve the Force's financial position. That is the only way we can ensure the continued functioning of the Force. We trust that the contributing Governments will continue to show generosity in order to minimize the anguish and suffering of the people of Cyprus, as was clearly stated by the Foreign Minister of that country [*ibid.*].

116. Finally, may I take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his re-election to his high and trying post. We pay tribute with immense satisfaction to his outstanding performance, endeavours and achievements attained during his previous tenure of office. With his unflinching courage, he has shown that he is a man of values, responsibility, sense of duty, dedication, devotion and dignity. Above all, he has shown that he is a man with a sense of impartiality, which he has shown to all nations and States, large and small alike. His impartiality is really the hinge of all his other qualities. His parish has not been Austria; it has been the whole world. He has kept in mind the wise saying that,

when a man assumes public trust, he should consider himself as public property.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): With the permission of the members of the Council, I wish now to make a statement as representative of ROMANIA.

118. My country has always laid stress on the need for a political settlement of the situation in Cyprus by negotiations between the two communities, under the aegis and with the active contribution of the United Nations. We believe that it is necessary for the solution of the problem of Cyprus to be in keeping with the rights and legitimate aspirations of the two communities and that such a solution should be based on United Nations resolutions which have laid down the precepts of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. My country has always been in favour of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and the cessation of all foreign interference in that country's affairs.

119. In spite of the little progress achieved this year, we remain convinced that it is possible to achieve an equitable settlement of the problem in Cyprus which would ensure the coexistence of the two communities within a single independent State. Until we achieve such a settlement, we believe, as indeed the Council has repeatedly confirmed, that it is of the utmost importance for all the interested parties to demonstrate restraint, to refrain from any unilateral action or any other action likely to exacerbate the situation and to delay further a settlement of the conflict. Also, the parties concerned must respect the letter and spirit of agreements already achieved in the course of intercommunal negotiations. Obviously, the search for a peaceful settlement of the situation in Cyprus requires the maintenance of calm in the island. As the Secretary-General stated in his report, the presence of UNFICYP is essential in order to achieve those results. That is why my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which the Council has just adopted, particularly because the Government of the Republic of Cyprus gave its consent to a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Force.

120. We should like to stress the appeal which the Council has just made to all the parties concerned to lend their whole-hearted co-operation so as to enable the Force in Cyprus to discharge effectively all the functions entrusted to it by the Council, including the maintenance of the *status quo* in the neutral zone between the forward military lines.

121. Now the representatives of the two communities must resume their negotiations in order to arrive at a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. To that end, the Secretary-General whose efforts made hitherto, and indeed those also of his Special



Representative Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, are very highly appreciated by us all, should continue the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council. It would appear necessary for the Secretary-General, in agreement with the parties concerned, to take the necessary measures for the resumption of negotiations, by drawing up a timetable and indicating the stages of this process, so that all the substantive aspects of the problem can be discussed and that an overall solution of the Cyprus problem can be found as soon as possible.

122. The confidence which the parties to the conflict, the members of the Council and the Members of the United Nations as a whole have once again expressed in the role and mission of the Secretary-General assures us that we are right to believe that his actions will lead to positive results. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat to him our warmest congratulations upon his re-election to this post of such lofty and heavy responsibilities. We wish him every success in the service of the United Nations; we wish to offer him our gratitude for his work and our confidence for the years to come.

123. For its part, Romania is ready to do its best, along with other interested States, to promote negotiations between the two communities in order to find solutions to their common problems on the basis of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

124. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I call on the Secretary-General who has asked to be allowed to speak.

125. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: May I express my warm appreciation and deep gratitude to all those who have said such kind words about my reappointment as Secretary-General.

126. In the past five years, one of the most rewarding and gratifying aspects of my work has been the close and warm co-operation with the members of the Security Council. I look forward to continuing this co-operation in the years to come.

127. We all know that the Council will be facing a series of heavy responsibilities in the coming years. I hope that by our combined efforts we shall succeed in discharging those responsibilities. For my part I wish to assure the members of the Council that I shall continue to do my utmost to be of assistance to the Council in the performance of its vital task in relation to international peace and security.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to be allowed to make a statement.

129. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): Mr. Türkmen, in his statement before the Council yesterday

[*ibid.*], declined to reply to my charges concerning, among other things, the expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the occupied area and the behaviour of the Turkish army of occupation towards UNFICYP. My charges, which were based on facts and substantiated by references to the Secretary-General's report, were directed at Turkey and not at the Turkish Cypriots.

130. By his silence the Turkish representative cannot escape his country's grave responsibility for the tragedy which Ankara brought upon the people of Cyprus; for it is Ankara which invaded Cyprus and it is its troops which are in hostile occupation of a large part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. And, of course, it is Ankara which is expelling the indigenous population from the occupied area and colonizing it.

131. Mr. Türkmen cannot escape so lightly and throw on to the shoulders of my Turkish Cypriot compatriots, whose voice cannot be heard through the instruments of the invader, responsibility for the inhuman acts which his country's military forces perpetrate daily against the Greek Cypriots. Nor can he deny the obstacles put in the way of the freedom of movement of UNFICYP or the shooting incidents directed against the Force, which are certainly the work of the Turkish army. The Secretary-General's report on these issues is very clear and speaks eloquently. But if anyone doubts that it is Ankara which runs the show in the occupied area, I should like to quote from an article in *The Economist* of 29 May 1976:

"The mainland Turks, who are now in charge of northern Cyprus, say frankly that the area is being absorbed into, but not annexed by, Turkey. They claim that the experiment of letting the Turkish Cypriots run their own affairs has failed—a failure that was at least partly due to the fact that the Turkish Cypriots, cleverer and more efficient than the mainlanders, were never given a free hand. Be that as it may, the decision has been taken that, from now on, northern Cyprus is to be run openly and officially by mainlanders."

132. Beyond that, Mr. Türkmen's deliberate silence serves the well-known purpose of Ankara's policy of falsely presenting the Cyprus problem as a dispute between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. It is certainly not a dispute between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. The problem of Cyprus, as it stands today, is the problem of aggression and occupation of territory of Cyprus by Turkey. It is the problem of the military presence of Ankara in an independent and sovereign State, in violation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and the fundamental principles of the Charter. Mr. Türkmen knows very well that that is the correct position and that the responsibility for the crimes perpetrated in Cyprus falls squarely on the shoulders of Ankara's military forces. But, if he wishes to refresh his memory,



he can refer to the official report of the European Commission of Human Rights of the Council of Europe, to which my Government resorted, indicting Turkey for its continuing crimes and inhuman behaviour in Cyprus. The report has been made available to all the members of the Council of Europe—and both Cyprus and Turkey are members of the Council. I am not, however, at liberty to disclose the contents of the report at this juncture.

133. In his statement yesterday, Mr. Türkmen referred to my statement as a "distortion". He implied, among other things, that the Greek Cypriots are leaving the occupied area of their own free will. In this connexion, I think I could do no better than to quote from a news report which appeared in *The Times* of London the day before yesterday—that is, 13 December. It should be noted that this report is based on the most authoritative, reliable and unbiased sources: the officers of UNFICYP. The report reads, in part:

"Confidential United Nations military documents, circulated to officers in the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, disclose that looting is being systematically carried out on a massive scale by the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot authorities in the north of the island.

"In terms never publicly used by the United Nations, they also state categorically that scores of Greek Cypriots are being forced to leave their houses in Turkish areas and that robbery is now widespread in parts of Turkish-held Cyprus.

"...

"Publicly, the United Nations here acknowledges that its movements in the north are 'restricted' but it has otherwise given no indication of the officially-sanctioned theft going on in that area. The documents, which speak of Greek Cypriots being forced to sign applications to leave their homes in Turkish-held districts, also refer to attacks on Greek Cypriots.

"...

"There are reports of robbery in other parts of the north and continuous references to Greek Cypriots being forced to leave their homes. Most of the evictions are noted by troops of the Canadian United Nations contingent in Sector Four, which includes part of Nicosia. On 27 April this year, for example, the Canadians recorded that two Greek Cypriots from the village of Bellapais near Kyrenia 'were forced to sign applications' to leave their homes.

"The subsequent report tells of how 11 Greek Cypriots from Bellapais were escorted from the office of the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, to the Red Cross centre. They did not have

to pay for the transport but all had been forced to sign the application to move.

"...

"One of the most blatant [incidents], according to the United Nations papers, occurred in October.

"...

"On 9 October this year, summary 404 again dealt with Sector Six and stated: 'During night time 3 to 4 October 1976 five Turkish Cypriot men entered the house of Greek-Cypriot Lysandros Foka in the village of Ayias Trias, beat him up, robbed money in the value of 581 Cyprus pounds (830 pounds sterling) and raped his 14-year-old daughter. Another Turkish Cypriot was guarding outside while the five committed the crimes. The Turkish Cypriots were carrying a shotgun and fired at least one shot in the air'."

The report goes on to speak about the looting, but it is rather late and I shall therefore not take any more of the Council's time by quoting further from this article.

134. It is fortunate that these facts, which come as no surprise to us, have been disclosed, so that the world may know the kind of peace that Ankara has in mind for the people of Cyprus; so that the world may know the kind of solution—"final solution" were the words used yesterday in this chamber—to which Ankara aspires. Perhaps the appropriate word in this respect would be "*Endlösung*", that infamous term.

135. It has been said during this morning's debate that the Cyprus question is a story of missed opportunities. There may be an element of truth in that, but it is equally true that the Cyprus question is a story of foreign interventions when there should have been none and of failure to intervene when there was an obligation to do so.

136. We appreciate what has been said about the patience shown by the Council in the face of the parties' failure to reach agreement. But I believe I would be justified in saying that there would have been no need for such patience if the Council had not failed so far—for reasons which are too well known to require elaboration—to take effective action to implement its own resolutions, in the face of Turkish intransigence. Had it taken such action to implement its own resolutions, it would have ensured a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the Charter and United Nations resolutions, and would have made unnecessary the repeated renewals of the mandate of UNFICYP.

137. Before concluding, I should like to make some brief remarks on resolution 401 (1976), adopted by the Security Council yesterday.

138. While the resolution was the result of a compromise, bearing in mind the objective of obtaining the unanimous support of the members of the Council, it goes considerably beyond the mere renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP. And even though in some respects more categorical terms would have been more in accordance with the requirements of the situation in Cyprus, the resolution, taken as a whole, meets our basic demands.

139. It was the Turkish contention that the Council should do no more than renew the mandate and possibly call for a resumption of the intercommunal negotiations. In fact, the resolution adopted emphatically reaffirms Council resolution 365 (1974), in which General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) was endorsed and the urgent and effective implementation of that resolution was demanded.

140. The Council also reaffirmed its resolution 367 (1975) which, *inter alia*, expressly rejected creation of the so-called Turkish Federated State and stipulated that it should not prejudice the solution of the Cyprus problem. Thus, the Security Council on that occasion also stressed the essential broader aspects of the approach of the United Nations to the Cyprus question as a whole, as was my delegation's request at that juncture, leaving the door wide open for the next step: the taking of appropriate measures for the effective implementation of resolution 365 (1974), as urged by the General Assembly in its latest resolution on the subject, resolution 31/12 of 12 November 1976. This is further stressed by the request in paragraph 6 of the resolution the Council adopted yesterday that the Secretary-General should submit a report on the implementation of the resolution by 30 April 1977, thus providing the opportunity at that time, if not earlier, depending on intervening developments, for the Council to examine the Cyprus questions in all their dimensions and for the appropriate measures for implementation to be taken.

141. On a different level, the resolution, by noting the information contained in the Secretary-General's report concerning the restrictions on the freedom of movement of UNFICYP in the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus, and by urging, in its operative part, the parties to refrain from unilateral actions and to co-operate fully with UNFICYP so that it may perform its functions effectively, meets our preoccupation regarding the encroachments into the buffer zone and the freedom of movement of UNFICYP in the occupied areas and strengthens the hand of the Secretary-General in these respects.

142. The resolution also covers the point regarding the changes in the demographic composition of Cyprus through colonization. Similarly, by emphasizing the need for adherence to the agreements reached at the previous rounds of the talks, which in fact means the substantive agreement of 2 August 1975 [see S/11789, annex] and the procedural agreement of 21 February

1976 [see S/11993, annex], the resolution deals also with the need for normal life for the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north and takes a position against the inhuman expulsions of those unfortunate people contrary to their legitimate wishes.

143. In the same way, the Council has also taken a position regarding the resumption of the intercommunal talks, which should take place in accordance with the procedural agreement of February 1976—that is, through the submission of practical proposals on the territorial aspects by the Turkish Cypriot side, as the Greek Cypriot side did in April of this year.

144. It remains for me to express my Government's appreciation and thanks to the Security Council as a whole for the position it has taken and more particularly to those among its members which have taken a strong stand in favour of the just cause of Cyprus.

145. A special tribute is owed to you, Mr. President, for your statesmanlike efforts in the best traditions of your office for the adoption of the resolution by general consent.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

147. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I wish briefly to refer to the statement of the representative of Panama. He said he was confused by Mr. Çelik's statement regarding his position on General Assembly resolution 31/12. It is not incumbent upon me to reply on behalf of Mr. Çelik, but I wish to point out that, as far as we are concerned, there is no link whatsoever between the mission of the Secretary-General and any resolutions of the General Assembly on the question of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks have indeed been proceeding within the framework of a procedure whose salient point is that the parties are not negotiating on the basis of any pre-conditions. The Secretary-General and the parties are on record on this point.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have been informed that Mr. Çelik, who is participating in this debate at the invitation of the Security Council under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, wishes to address the Council again. If I hear no objection, I shall call upon him.

149. I invite Mr. Çelik to take a place at the Council and to make his additional statement.

150. Mr. ÇELİK: Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to address the Council again.

151. I made a lengthy statement yesterday [1979th meeting]. The Turkish Cypriot side does not often have the opportunity to address the United Nations, and I hope that my lengthy statement will be viewed in that light. I thank you, Mr. President, and

each and every member of the Council for your indulgence.

152. In my statement yesterday I replied at some length to the issues raised by Mr. Christophides. It is therefore not my intention to take up much of the Council's time today to enter into a new dialogue with my counterpart on the issues raised either today or yesterday. We believe that a dialogue of that nature can go on forever, each side coming up with new arguments in support of its case. It therefore becomes more evident that we should do less talking here and should go back to negotiations, in which, in secrecy, with good will and mutual accommodation, we should try to find a settlement to our long-standing conflict.

153. Mr. Christophides' statement of this morning, however, leaves very little room for optimism. I regret to say this, but from the fact that he still persists in ignoring us as his counterpart in Cyprus, it is evident that in the circumstances there is little willingness or readiness to engage in a dialogue with us.

154. The Cyprus problem is a problem between the two communities. The Cyprus problem is a problem that must be resolved between the two communities. If we do not resolve our problem, no one else will be able to resolve it for us. It is futile for Mr. Christophides to try to avoid us as a counterpart and to turn to Turkey as a partner in the negotiations. He must

come to us, and we are ready and willing to enter into a dialogue to resolve the problem.

155. I welcome a change of heart. Mr. Christophides has just referred to us as his compatriots. This is really something we expected to hear years ago, decades ago. We have never been recognized, and we have never even been mentioned as part of Cyprus for the last two decades. The Cyprus problem has been considered by the United Nations since 1955—for 21 years—and never have the Turkish voice or Turkish legitimate rights been mentioned or supported here by Greek Cypriot delegations. Therefore no one can presume to be representing the whole of Cyprus here.

156. Mr. Christophides knows he cannot represent me, and I definitely do not presume to represent him. In this light I again call upon my counterpart and extend to him my hand in friendship and ask him to be as realistic as possible and to look upon us as the party with which they have to resolve the Cyprus problem.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 63rd meeting.

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