

SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2027th MEETING: 31 AUGUST 1977

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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

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

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

2027TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 31 August 1977, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Jacques LEPRETTE (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2027)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 26 August 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12387)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 26 August 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12387)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision taken this morning, in conformity with Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table.

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

2. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you the felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We feel sure that, with your diplomatic skill and wide experience, you will guide our deliberations to success. We should like to assure you and your successor of the co-operation of my delegation.

3. This is the fourth year we have discussed the question of the situation in Cyprus, for the solution of which there

exists a unanimously adopted framework in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974). There can be no doubt that we must continue to strive to implement that resolution. There is, in fact, no alternative at present. It is necessary, therefore, to persist in our efforts to do so; otherwise, the credibility of the United Nations will be placed in jeopardy and the authority of the Security Council weakened.

4. However, what is significant is that the framework for a settlement of the Cyprus question is both objective and fair and was accepted by all the parties concerned. Yet, why is it that there has been little progress despite the good offices of the Secretary-General? Is it because the Secretary-General is not being given the diplomatic support he should by way of supplementing his own efforts? Is it because the powers that be are directing their efforts to other pressing problems so that the Cyprus question has suffered from inevitable neglect?

5. It seems to us that the nature of the Cyprus question in quantitative terms is relatively small—in numbers, in size and so on—and one would have thought that it would have been resolved by now. Apparently we have all been nursing the hope that the talks between the two communities would lead somehow automatically to solutions of all outstanding questions. However, that hope has not been fulfilled.

6. It is not my delegation's intention to analyse the causes or to apportion blame. But one thing is clear, that is, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots seem to be still somewhat overburdened by the weight of past memories and past bitterness. We wish they could now put their past behind them and look forward into their common future of coexistence in freedom and on a footing of equality. A vital requirement for that future is, of course, that the outstanding questions, both constitutional and territorial, should be settled through negotiations. And, for the negotiations to have a fair chance of success, it is necessary that neither party should resort to any unilateral action, however justified it may be, since it would upset the existing situation, thus creating new problems rather than resolving the existing ones.

7. In recognition of the danger of unilateral action interfering with the negotiating process, the Security Council has adopted, in no less than seven resolutions since 1974, operative paragraphs which have urged 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 Council.

8. Now, today, we have heard allegations concerning certain actions and alterations in Varosha which are unilateral in character and which, it is claimed, will deal a mortal blow to the bi-communal negotiations. It seems to me that it was always understood by the Council that changes which affect one party would not be carried out by the other, except as part of the negotiated territorial settlement. That is the ordinary and natural meaning of paragraph 3 of resolution 401 (1976) which I just quoted, and that paragraph was accepted by the parties concerned. Any deviation, therefore, from that understanding, unless it has the approval of all the parties concerned, would have to be regarded as unilateral and as contrary to the intent of the Council resolution.

9. A question of principle is involved: the impermissibility of unilateral action. The Security Council's authority and, indeed, the effectiveness of the good offices of the Secretary-General will come into question if unilateral action is freely permitted. If the Council desires to have its unanimously adopted resolution implemented, then it must have the active and willing co-operation of the concerned parties; to that end, it must restrain the parties from taking unilateral action pending the conclusion of the bicomunal talks. It seems to me, therefore, that unilateral action is incompatible with co-operation with the Council.

10. That Varosha is in the Turkish Cypriot zone is not in dispute. But the fact remains that changes in the sealed sector have to be settled through negotiations and, therefore, pending negotiations, unilateral action should clearly be avoided.

11. As for the action to be taken by the Council, it is clear to my delegation that the Council should reaffirm its previous resolutions and call upon the parties concerned to desist from such unilateral action as would adversely affect the success of the bi-communal negotiations, which success is vital for an over-all settlement.

12. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to associate my delegation with the condolences expressed by you to the delegation of Cyprus on the death of Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. Mr. President, I take particular pleasure in welcoming your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August and in extending to you the warmest congratulations of the Romanian delegation. My country has long-standing relations of friendship and is developing mutually advantageous co-operation with your country, France. I should also like to express my satisfaction for the excellent relations between our delegations both in the Security Council and in other United Nations bodies. While wishing you complete success in the accomplishment of your lofty tasks, I should like to assure you of the full support of the Romanian delegation.

14. I should also like to convey my cordial and sincere congratulations to Ambassador Chen Chu of the People's

Republic of China for the exemplary manner in which he presided over our work during the month of July. Under his presidency, the Council adopted decisions of major political significance, in particular the recommendation for admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

15. The Romanian delegation followed attentively the statements made this morning in the Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Christophides, by the representatives of Greece and Turkey and by Mr. Çelik. Those statements, concerning in particular the modern part of Famagusta, highlighted a situation which might be deleterious to the efforts towards a peaceful, just and durable settlement of the Cyprus problem and, at the same time, give rise to profound concern in that area and throughout the world.

16. As is well known, ever since the outbreak of the Cyprus conflict, Romania has always spoken out for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the territory of that country, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. Only on that basis will it be possible to reach solutions consistent with the interests of the entire Cypriot people and of peace in the region.

17. The situation before the Council today reflects once again the absence of significant progress towards a settlement of the fundamental aspects of a conflict which constitutes a dangerous hot-bed of tension in the region. The resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, to which Romania attaches special importance because they lay down the principles and define the framework for solution of the Cyprus crisis, are very far from being implemented.

18. As a Balkan country, Romania is deeply interested in the establishment and development of relations of close co-operation and good neighbourliness among all the Balkan countries in order to transform the region into a zone of peace and fruitful co-operation. Referring to that part of the world, the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, recently stated:

"Romania devotes particular attention to the development of bilateral and multilateral co-operation in the Balkans . . . We are of the view that the establishment of new relations in the Balkans, far from being detrimental to any country or group of countries, would directly serve the interests of peace, co-operation and security in Europe and in the whole world. As regards the situation in that region, Romania considers it of particular importance that a political solution should be found to the situation in Cyprus, a country with which we have good relations of friendship and co-operation based on respect for the independence and integrity of that State, its neutrality and the guarantee of conditions necessary for the peaceful coexistence of its two communities."

19. Our constant concern is all the greater since the situation involves a country located in a neighbouring geographical area, a country with which we have relations

of friendship and co-operation. It is therefore natural that my country has always emphasized the need for a political settlement of the Cyprus situation through negotiations between the two communities; we are convinced that it is possible to reach such a solution of the Cyprus problem, which is an essential element for peace and co-operation in that region of the world.

20. In the efforts to settle the Cyprus problem, we regard as a positive development the high-level meetings which have taken place and the communiqué which was issued in connexion with them. We wish to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, thanks to whose efforts it was possible to organize those meetings as well as a new series of intercommunal talks.

21. The pursuit of those efforts is now more imperative than ever so that we may arrive at a solution of the conflict in the framework of a constructive political dialogue. The Council should encourage the resumption of intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General with a view to establishing for the Republic of Cyprus a state structure that will respond to the aspirations and basic interests of all Cypriots. But, in order for those negotiations to be resumed, it is, of course, necessary for the parties concerned to act in conformity with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions which, *inter alia*, call upon them "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". We believe, therefore, that the Council should also consider measures that would ensure the implementation of those resolutions with the co-operation of all the parties concerned.

22. The search for a settlement of the situation in Cyprus requires the maintenance of a calm atmosphere in the island; any further action contrary to the provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions would tend to complicate the situation further and would create new obstacles to intercommunal talks, thereby resulting in a further intensification of tension in the Mediterranean and Balkan areas.

23. The Romanian delegation, for its part, is prepared to support any step taken by the Council in that direction, as well as any initiative aimed at facilitating negotiations between the two communities to reduce and eliminate tension and to find a solution to their common problems, based on the principle of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

24. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first and foremost, the Soviet delegation would like to congratulate you, the representative of France, on successfully discharging the functions of Security Council President for this month. I wish to note the fruitful development of relations between our two countries. Indeed, as was underscored in the Franco-Soviet Declaration signed at Rambouillet on 22 June by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and the President of the French Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing:

"The two parties were gratified at the benefits which France and the Soviet Union have derived from the development of co-operation between them and from the contribution which that co-operation has made to improvement of the situation in Europe and throughout the world." [*See S/12362, annex I.*]

Allow me to express the conviction that, under your guidance, the Council will effectively resolve the question which is now before it. Our delegation is ready to render any assistance that may be necessary.

25. We should like also to voice our gratitude to the representative of China for the work he performed as President of the Council for the month of July.

26. The Soviet delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express its condolences on the passing of the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, who made a major contribution to creating the State of Cyprus, to maintaining its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to implementing a peace-oriented foreign policy.

27. Having listened attentively to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Christophides [*2026th meeting*], and the statements made by other representatives, the Soviet delegation is compelled to conclude that unjust delay in settling the Cyprus problem increases tension in the Eastern Mediterranean and creates a threat to the existence of an independent, unified State of Cyprus. It is a pretext for acts such as those which are being examined today by the Council.

28. For some years now, the Republic of Cyprus has continued to be one of the hot spots in the world, and we must once more note that the reasons for the Cyprus crisis have not yet been eliminated and that the main elements of the Cyprus problem remain unresolved. The talks between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus aimed at resolving the internal problems of the island have encountered serious difficulties and not led to progress in resolving the many aspects of the Cyprus problem.

29. The situation in Cyprus has been exacerbated by attempts to force on the Cypriots a solution which would promote the interests of those circles which are making plans to destroy the integrity of the State and even the Republic itself, turning the island into a military strategic bridgehead for NATO. Such designs are the main reason for the situation which exists in Cyprus.

30. The resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly designed to resolve the crisis in Cyprus have not yet been complied with. It is quite clear that this situation is extremely abnormal and, indeed, dangerous. It is well known that, from the very outset of the conflict in Cyprus, the question has been the centre of attention at the United Nations. As has already been mentioned today, the General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, examined the problem of Cyprus and unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was

later unanimously reaffirmed and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974). At its thirtieth and thirty-first sessions, the Assembly adopted resolutions 3395 (XXX) and 31/12 by an overwhelming majority.

31. The decisions taken by the United Nations on Cyprus contain major provisions dealing with the very bases for a solution of the problem of Cyprus. They affirm the necessity of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, respect for its political non-alignment, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and military personnel from the territory of Cyprus, non-interference in its internal affairs and the return of the refugees to their homes. Nevertheless, these crystal-clear specific demands of the United Nations, which express the will of the overwhelming majority of Member States, have not been met. The Soviet Union considers that the decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus should be fulfilled *in toto*.

32. We have several times stated our willingness to co-operate with other States in the interest of a just settlement of the crisis in Cyprus. The Soviet Union views the situation in Cyprus as a complicated and dangerous focal point of tension and favours the exclusion of any foreign interference in the affairs of Cyprus and the withdrawal from the island of all foreign troops, so that the internal affairs of Cyprus can be resolved taking due account of the interests and rights of both communities without any attempt to force an external solution upon the Cypriots. We are in favour of re-establishing a spirit of mutual trust and co-operation between the two communities and we consider that the search for a solution should be based on unswerving respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Recent events have convincingly confirmed the position of the Soviet Government that the solution of the Cyprus problem required the convening, as soon as possible, of a representative international conference under United Nations auspices.

33. The importance and urgency of finding a solution to the Cyprus question were once more emphasized in the Soviet-Yugoslav communiqué of 19 August, which was issued in connexion with the visit to the Soviet Union of President Tito. It is stated in that communiqué:

“Both sides have pointed out the need for an immediate solution to the problem of Cyprus. They unswervingly support the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment. They are in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory and the granting to the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot populations of the right to decide their own fate and to put in order their affairs.”

34. The Soviet delegation considers that the duty of the Security Council is to foster as much as possible efforts at ensuring that the decisions of the United Nations are complied with. The parties concerned should act with the utmost restraint and refrain from unilateral or other actions which could have a negative effect on the prospects for a peaceful settlement.

35. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to perform a very happy task by extending to you my delegation's congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Our countries have very old ties, and it is with the utmost sincerity that I hail in you the distinguished representative of the culture to which so many of us have remained faithful. It is also with the greatest confidence that my delegation sees this debate on such a complex question begin in the Council today under your presidency. Before turning to the consideration of this question, I should like to pay a particularly well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Chen Chu of the People's Republic of China, for the competence and wisdom with which he guided our work during the month of July.

36. The title of the question that is once again before the Council—"The situation in Cyprus"—obviously reminds us of the founder of that State, who unflinchingly struggled for its independence and risked his life for its unity. I speak, of course, of His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, whose untimely death has profoundly touched us. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to the delegation of Cyprus the condolences which my Government has already conveyed to its Government.

37. I think that it was most useful for the Council to have met fairly quickly this morning at the request of the Cypriot Government. We thus had an opportunity to listen to the divergent views expressed by the parties directly concerned. It was with particular interest that my delegation listened to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Christophides [*2026th meeting*]. It seems to me, from what was said by the representative of Cyprus, that illegal settlements have been established through unilateral action. For my part I believe that those settlements, regardless of size, are not conducive to the resumption of intercommunal talks likely to lead to a negotiated peaceful solution. I would even go so far as to say that, in any case, this is an initiative whose dangerous consequences should not be underestimated, for settlements of that nature invariably become permanent and are then faits accomplis. The history of events in that region shows that such settlements, once established, develop progressively and give rise to a potentially explosive situation.

38. We should therefore appeal to those who, by unilateral and thoughtless action, took such a responsibility, so that they will renounce without delay the continuance of those activities which, however insignificant they consider them, are, in our view, fraught with danger. The concern that we are experiencing today is not new, as we can see from paragraph 3 of resolution 410 (1977) which the Security Council adopted on 15 June 1977 and which reads as follows:

“Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint by refraining 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”.

39. I believe that, in the present circumstances, the Council, acting unanimously and with the greatest insistence, should appeal to the parties directly concerned to implement the provisions and spirit of resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, by which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and of resolution 31/12, which the General Assembly adopted on 12 November 1976. It is to be hoped that such action will pave the way for a satisfactory settlement of this protracted crisis.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Greece has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply and I now call on him.

41. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): In my statement at this morning's meeting I pointed out specific facts in Cyprus and specific violations by the Turkish side of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In his answer, the representative of Turkey made some broad allegations against my country which I shall answer in all sincerity.

42. There is no denying that the junta régime was guilty of an attempted crime against the Republic of Cyprus, but this crime, apart from being unsuccessful, was short-lived. It lasted only a few days and no Turkish Cypriot suffered during that brief time. But it was seized by Turkey as the pretext it had been waiting for to invade Cyprus. That, however, does not justify the commission of immeasurably greater crimes against the people and the Republic of Cyprus and their continuance *ad infinitum*. The adoption of a whole series of United Nations resolutions on the question of Cyprus is indisputable proof of world opinion on that.

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Cyprus who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

44. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): This morning, the Council heard the views of Turkey expressed by both Ambassador Türkmen and Mr. Çelik who, I regret to say, is performing here the role of a mouthpiece of Ankara. There is no need, of course, to remind the Council that Mr. Çelik is appearing here under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, and thus as an individual. I should like to reply to certain points that were raised in the course of statements made this morning.

45. It has been said that Famagusta is under the administration of the so-called Federated State of Cyprus. I think that that was a statement made by both Mr. Çağlayangil and the representative of Turkey. One should, I think, ask: What is this so-called Federated State to which they referred? It is, in fact, the part of the territory of Cyprus that has been the victim of invasion and of the expulsion of its indigenous majority from their homes and properties in which colonizers from Turkey are being massively implanted. The result of this multiple, I should say international, crime, committed in violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions on the question of Cyprus is what has been called the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

46. There is an attempt to present the problem of Cyprus as a dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. I am sure that if that were the case, the problem of Cyprus would not have been heard either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council, and the problem is, of course, a very serious one. In fact, the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, referred to the problem of Cyprus as being one of the most serious problems in the world today, and I am certain that he would not have referred to it in that way if it were just an internal dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

47. This morning it was also said that no settlement of Maras—that is, Famagusta—was under way: the Greek Cypriot representative's claim on which this present recourse is based. It was also said that there was no massive settlement. Well, I am sure that the facts regarding the settlement are known to the Secretariat, and if members of the Council and you, Mr. President, wished to ask the Secretariat, it would certainly confirm that there had been settlement in one of the sectors of the new city of Famagusta. Of course, this is just the beginning, because, as I said this morning, it is one of the favourite tactics of Ankara to follow what is called "salami" tactic. It is one of the favourite tactics of Ankara to proceed, not to the solution of the Cyprus problem step by step, but through step-by-step tactics to bring about the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus.

48. It was also said this morning that the Turkish Cypriot side and Turkey were always ready and willing to start negotiations with a view to finding a realistic solution to the Cyprus problem, and the Government of Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot community were accused of not being sincere, of not wanting the negotiations and of creating obstacles to them. I informed the Council this morning of what had been Turkey's attitude in the negotiations, and I believe that many countries around this table must be aware of our position at the latest Vienna talks and that of the Turkish Cypriots. But, at the same time, it was said that we did not want the negotiations, that we were the ones who were creating obstacles to the negotiations and that "the Turkish Cypriot side is always ready and willing to start negotiations with a view to finding a realistic solution" [2026th meeting, para. 70].

49. I can do no better than to read from a letter from the Greek Cypriot representative at the talks, Mr. Papadopoulos, to Ambassador Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus:

"My side has noted persistent attempts by Mr. Denktaş and other Turkish leaders to put forward ill-founded contentions concerning the matter of the succession to the office of President of the Republic and to try to connect such contentions, in a most irrelevant manner, with the process of the Cyprus intercommunal talks which are being carried on under the relevant United Nations resolutions.

"I have had the opportunity of discussing this situation with the Acting President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and it is our view that our stand on the issue of the talks should be restated for the sake of avoidance of any misunderstanding or false impressions.

"The Greek Cypriot side remains firmly committed to the process of such talks, as it has been created under the aforesaid resolutions.

"We insist that the talks should be meaningful and substantive"—and I am sure no one here will disagree with that—"and we further hold the view that it should be publicly and officially declared, so that it will become generally accepted by all bona fide persons, that the Turkish side's attitude towards the talks and its refusal to put forward concrete proposals on all aspects of the problem, and particularly the territorial aspect, is the sole cause which prevents the talks from being meaningful and substantive.

"My side considers the recent tactics of the Turkish side, to which I have referred above, to be nothing else than an attempt to avoid and frustrate the resumption of meaningful and substantive negotiations, whilst it utilizes the intervening period for the creation of further faits accomplis such as the settlement of Turks in the Greek part of Famagusta Town.

"I would like to put it clearly on record that my side is ready to continue with the talks as envisaged in the last Vienna communiqué and requests that the Secretary-General and yourself will spare no effort to make the Turkish side return to the negotiating table for the third meeting of the current series of talks in Nicosia, as already previously scheduled, hoping that this time the negotiations will become really meaningful and substantive."

I should like to add that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has for a long time now been trying to call to the negotiating table the Turkish Cypriot representative, who has, however, been refusing on one pretext or another or even not replying to the Special Representative.

50. The attitude of the Turkish side in the talks is also made very clear by recent statements. Perhaps many statements were made earlier, but I have before me only the recent statements of Mr. Denktaş. The first I shall quote is dated 16 July last:

"Because of the negative attitude of the Greek Cypriots, I do not think that the intercommunal talks will resume in the forthcoming days."

Another statement, dated 21 July:

"It is of no use to resume the Cyprus intercommunal talks so long as the world does not accept the existence of two separate Governments in the island."

This statement was made on 10 August:

"If the man to be elected by the Greek Cypriots is to be recognized as the President of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriots will not resume the intercommunal talks."

On 13 August, Mr. Denktaş stated:

"At this stage, any contact with the Greek Cypriot community and the resumption of the talks are out of the question until the situation is clarified."

And on 15 August:

"It is the Turkish Cypriots' final and historic decision not to negotiate with a community which will call its leader the President of Cyprus."

Then a representative of the Turkish Cypriots—I think he is the press representative—said

"The Turkish Cypriot side will not talk, negotiate, discuss or reach an agreement on any issue with the Greek Cypriots."

On 17 August, Mr. Denktaş stated:

"Today there is no question of resuming the intercommunal talks."

On 24 August he stated:

"If the Greek Cypriot leader to be elected next month is declared President of all Cyprus and he is accepted by the world as such, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus may close its borders. . . . [Another measure] would be to break off the intercommunal talks."

And, he said:

"We have already announced that if, after the 10 September elections, the Greek Cypriot leader elected is declared President, we will break off the intercommunal talks. We can wait for the United Nations to adopt a resolution before we implement our decision on the closure of the borders."

So the talks are dead, according to Mr. Denktaş. Of course, the closing of the borders would depend on the resolution of the Council. Referring to the Cypriot interlocutor, he said:

"Mr. Papadopoulos is making statements about the talks. What is his authority? The person who had appointed him as the negotiator has died."

So it is evident that what was said this morning by the representative of Turkey and his mouthpiece was for the consumption of the Council.

51. Before I come to the problem of human rights, I think it right to quote from an article in *The Guardian* yesterday. It concerns the colonization of Famagusta. It states:

"... Yet Cyprus remains a moral issue as well as a purely political mess. . . . Turkey for centuries has been an expansionist power. The Ottoman Empire is not so long gone. In the summer of 1974, the Greek Cypriots made a fatal mistake. . . . Though there was no immediate threat to the Turkish Cypriot minority . . . Ankara invaded Northern Cyprus with mainland emigrants, . . . and now Varosha—a resort that every peace plan envisages would be returned to Greek hands— . . . Ankara has settled the North. Ankara has refused meaningful negotiations. Ankara . . . is moving people into Varosha. . . . The settlement of Varosha, indeed, will be a calculated snub

to Washington. . . Can a country invade another under the West's nose and get away with it? Is might right? And if might is not right, what is Mr. Carter going to do about it?"

52. Another very disturbing point is that I did not hear Mr. Türkmen say this morning that they were not going to proceed further with the colonization of the new city of Famagusta. On the contrary, according to what he said, the way is left open for the step-by-step colonization of the new city of Famagusta.

53. Mr. Türkmen also referred this morning to a question of human rights. There is an English proverb—and I do not know whether it is the same in Turkish—that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. With regard to the violation of human rights in Cyprus, I could do no better than simply refer to an article which appeared in *The Sunday Times* of 23 January last. I will only refer to the leading article in *The Sunday Times*. Of course, *The Sunday Times* is neither the Greek Cypriot or Greek mouthpiece nor a newspaper that has no respect in the world. It states:

"On page ten of today's issue, we publish some of the details from a report about alleged Turkish atrocities in Cyprus. The report is the work of the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe. It is a horrendous indictment against Turkey and its soldiers and civilians sent from the mainland to the Turkish areas of Cyprus. The member Governments of the Council of Europe must decide next month whether or not to accept the report. If they do accept it, and it is difficult to see, on the evidence, how they can avoid doing so, then Turkey will stand condemned before the bar of European and indeed world opinion.

"The first thing to be clear about is that these wrong doings are the work of the Turks from the mainland. Turkish Cypriots harbour a credible sense of past grievance against the Greek Cypriot majority on the island. But they know that they can and must eventually live, as they have done for centuries, in peace with their Greek neighbours. The invaders from the north are another matter altogether. The Government in Ankara, as well as Turkish public opinion itself, must be brought to see that Turkish behaviour in Cyprus is a blot upon the good name and reputation of the Turkish people themselves. 'Turks are extraordinarily civilised people,' Mr. Demirel, the Turkish Prime Minister, said last week.

"The Prime Minister can, of course, sustain this claim by producing counter evidence for the period of the European Commission report. But there are other steps of immediate relevance to the people in northern Cyprus today. He should issue orders—and see they are obeyed—for the protection of human rights. And he should permit free access (denied even to Turkish Cypriots) to all parts of northern Cyprus. These would be measures of good intent. The new President of the United States, who has pledged himself to defend human rights, should encourage Turkey in this; his moral fervour and humanity will be an important element in reasserting the need for America's NATO allies to observe irreducible standards of conduct."

54. Of course, we all know that Mr. Demirel has not changed his orders and that he is not allowing the Greek Cypriots or indeed the Turkish Cypriots to circulate or go back to their homes and lands. In addition, we know now that they are proceeding even to further violations of human rights by going ahead and expropriating the houses, land, shops and hotels of the Greek Cypriot people from Famagusta.

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

56. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): It is not my intention to reply in a polemical spirit to either Mr. Papoulias or Mr. Christophides, as I think Mr. Çelik will give the necessary answers to what Mr. Christophides has just said, but I want to dispel a serious misconception. This misconception is that Turkey has no interest in the settlement of the Cyprus problem or that Turkey is trying to prevent a settlement of the problem. That is what Mr. Christophides said. That is a very wrong assumption. It is contrary to logic. Why should Turkey not be interested in a settlement of the Cyprus problem? Turkey derives no economic or political benefit from the present situation. It has no strategic interest in Cyprus at all. The only interest Turkey has in Cyprus is identified with the interests of the Turkish community itself, the security and the well-being of the Turkish community. It is for this very reason that it is not Turkey but the Turkish community that is negotiating with the Greek community. It is contrary to reason to assert, as Mr. Christophides did, that the Greek Cypriot community is not negotiating with the Turkish community but with Turkey through a mouthpiece of Ankara. That is a very vicious and erroneous attitude and it should be corrected if we want the intercommunal talks to succeed.

57. Mr. Christophides quoted some statements to the effect that the Turkish community did not envisage a resumption of the intercommunal talks. Such statements are made very often by both sides, but we should also carefully consider that there is no other alternative to the talks, and it should be the duty of the Security Council to encourage the two communities to resume the intercommunal talks under the good offices of the Secretary-General.

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am informed that Mr. Çelik, who was invited by the Security Council under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, would like to make a further statement. I call on him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

59. Mr. ÇELİK: It is with great reluctance that I have asked for the floor for a second time. As I stated this morning, it was not my intention to answer each and every point raised by the representative of the Greek Cypriot administration, but, as he referred to some issues which are very critical and of grave importance for the Turkish Cypriot side and for the future of the talks and the future of Cyprus, I thought it appropriate to make a clarifying statement regarding his reference to government, especially in the context of the resumption of the talks and the negotiations which are supposed to be carried out by the two communities on an equal footing as two equals.

60. I have to put on record here that there is no government, *de facto* or constitutional, as far as we are concerned, that can represent the whole of Cyprus. There are two separate administrations. The fact that there are two separate autonomous administrations has been confirmed by the Geneva Declaration of 30 July 1974, which was signed by Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom as the guaranteeing Powers [see S/11398]. This is the situation that has prevailed since then.

61. The separate administrations in the island have been in existence since 1963, the date when the Turkish Cypriot members of the Government and of the House of Representatives were ousted from their offices by force of arms and prevented from carrying out their duties jointly with their Greek colleagues. Therefore, this is something that must be taken into account in the context of statements made by my President, Mr. Denktaş, and quotations made here from them.

62. Naturally, the statements made by Mr. Denktaş—although out of context here—are an expression of the strong feeling of the Turkish Cypriot community on the question of the equal status of the two sides. We are very jealous of this equality, and we feel it is a must to recognize the equal status of the two communities, otherwise there will be no possibility or chance of a fair settlement.

63. Since the Greek side regards Cyprus as a Greek island, it considers that the usurpation of powers as the Government of Cyprus is something that should be permanent; it has turned down sincere proposals by our side for a joint administration and for running common services jointly, and it gives no chance for a normalization that would pave the way for a settlement.

64. Those who are here today posing as the Government of Cyprus and pretending to represent us should themselves be in the dock to answer questions about, among other things, the loss of hundreds of Turkish Cypriot lives, the destruction of thousands of homes and the division of the island into two communities of which they are today complaining very strongly. Before they accuse us of anything, they should instead admit their faults and try to be as realistic as possible in the careful handling of matters so necessary for a settlement in the island.

65. I hope that in the process of the new reorganization now under way in the south of Cyprus the new people who take office will be more realistic in their approach to the Cyprus question.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

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