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MEETING: 1 SEPTEMBER 1977

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2028TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 1 September 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

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/2028)

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 11.30 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before entering into the subject of discussion, our resumed debate on the situation in Cyprus, permit me to express on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our admiration and gratitude for the skilled and experienced manner in which my predecessor, our President for the month of August, the representative of France, Ambassador Jacques Leprette, discharged his difficult duties. The President for the current month will earnestly try his best to match the excellence with which Ambassador Leprette and his predecessors guided our work.

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)

2. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2026th meeting, I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

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

3. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation extends to you its heartfelt congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of September. My delegation is convinced that, thanks to your professional and human qualities which we are all well aware of, you will effectively conduct the deliberations in the Council. You can count on our full co-operation.

4. I would take this opportunity to express to the outgoing President, our friend, Ambassador Leprette, the sincere appreciation of my delegation for the responsible manner in which he conducted all the affairs of the Council for the past month.

5. My delegation would like to pay a respectful tribute to the memory of Archbishop Makarios, the eminent head of State of the Republic of Cyprus. That illustrious man, throughout his entire career as the head of the Cypriot State, waged a relentless and just battle to preserve the non-aligned character of the State of Cyprus. My delegation requests the delegation of Cyprus to convey to the Government and people of Cyprus the sincere condolences of the people of Benin.

6. The recent steps taken concerning Famagusta are simply unilateral measures and, as such, are likely further to complicate an already inextricable situation in the island. The efforts to impose changes at Famagusta represent, in the opinion of my delegation, a regrettable escalation which does not favour a dialogue for the peaceful settlement of the crisis. So it is quite right for the Government of Cyprus to sound the alarm and to request the Council to assume its full responsibilities. We therefore think that the decision of the Cypriot authorities is quite responsible and wise, because any other attitude would be tantamount to political unawareness.

7. Furthermore, it is not honest to say that the situation is either calm or normal on the island so long as external Powers maintain major military contingents there. My delegation has several times denounced before the Council this direct or indirect aggression that the people of Cyprus are undergoing. The dubious manoeuvres of certain foreign Powers are unacceptable and must therefore be condemned. All the measures taken against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus seem to be dictated by the imperialist designs of these same Powers.

8. The stage of the escalation of faits accomplis which we are now witnessing can only further complicate matters. It is therefore quite wise for the Council, if it really wishes to work for peace and security, to take sincere stock of the resolutions already adopted on this subject and consider effective measures to assist the Government of Cyprus to recover its territorial integrity.

9. The Cyprus crisis is an internal one that is becoming increasingly complicated because of the inadmissible interference of external forces. My delegation is still convinced that the people of Cyprus, if left free and independent, will be able to find a satisfactory solution for their own problems. The Council must therefore work for the unconditional withdrawal of all external military forces occupying the island. In the light of the recent measures taken at Famagusta by the Turkish Government, it would be unwise for the Council not to be concerned over the dangerous tension deliberately brought about by that policy of provocation and aggression.

10. My delegation reiterates its condemnation of the permanent military aggression suffered by the independent and non-aligned State of Cyprus and demands the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island in order to enable the people of Cyprus to settle their internal problems thanks to the good offices which are being used by our Secretary-General. This is the only way; no other exists.

11. Mr. AKLUND (Pakistan): Sir, I should like to offer you my delegation's and my own warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. The long experience, diplomatic ability and energy which you bring to the task will stand the Council in good stead in dealing with the difficult and complex subject which is on its agenda today, and with others which may come up during the month.

12. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Leprette of France, President of the Council for the preceding month. Although the month passed largely without event, we are all aware of the conscientiousness with which, during that otherwise not very agreeable month, Ambassador Leprette remained at his post and kept members informed of developments of interest. We owe him our gratitude, furthermore, for initiating the present debate in a manner which, we are sure, will help you, Sir, to carry it to a successful conclusion.

13. My delegation has listened with the closest attention to the representatives of the parties directly concerned in the question we are considering. On the one hand, there have been allegations that Turkey intends to colonize the city of Famagusta and thereby foreclose the discussions on the future of the city. On the other hand, we heard yesterday from the representative of Turkey that

"there had been no changes in the area except for the opening of the Constantia Hotel, which has been undergoing repairs for the last two years, as a catering institute" [2026th meeting, para. 79].

14. It is not easy to sift the rights and wrongs of the situation in the island of Cyprus without going back a long way in time and considering all the events and actions which have created a confrontation between the two communities whose home it has been for many centuries. In the atmosphere of hostility and suspicion which unfortunately has come to prevail, each side considers the other wholly to blame and is disposed to view its every word and deed in the worst possible light. We are all aware of this and, wherever their sympathies may lie, members will, we are sure, not wish to do anything which might provide the adversaries with fuel further to enflame the situation.

15. When the question of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus was debated in the Council last June, my delegation stated [2013th meeting] that, although the situation in Cyprus was not normal—as indeed it could not be, under the circumstances—we were encouraged by the positive developments reported by the Secretary-General in the two comprehensive reports which he presented to the Council at the time [S/12323 and S/12342], notably reporting the lessening of intercommunal incidents, the reduction of cease-fire violations and the stabilization of the security situation. At the time, we also expressed the view—which we continue to hold—that the process of intercommunal talks initiated by the Secretary-General between the two Cypriot communities offered the best hope for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

16. As all of us are aware, an immense amount of effort has gone into getting both parties to agree to the process of negotiations, for which the Secretary-General deserves our special praise and thanks. It is, therefore, imperative that the momentum generated by the recent intercommunal negotiations should not be lost. There is no alternative to a negotiated settlement. It would be a matter of regret, therefore, if the parties, for whatever reason, were to be distracted from the larger and much more important objective of finding a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem.

17. My delegation remains convinced that a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem is possible if both communities address themselves to the task in a spirit of mutual accommodation, with flexibility and good will.

18. At their meeting of 12 February 1977, the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Rauf Denktaş agreed on the basic guidelines under which the intercommunal talks should proceed. We are aware that considerable differences of a political, territorial and constitutional nature still exist between the two sides. However, only negotiations can enable the two communities to reconcile each others' legitimate aspirations so that a just and equitable solution can be found which would protect the fundamental rights of the two communities in an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal federal republic of Cyprus—a goal which is shared by the two communities.

19. The Secretary-General played an important and constructive role earlier this year in bringing the two communities to the conference table. I should like to conclude this statement by reiterating our appreciation to

the Secretary-General for his persistent and untiring efforts, and would respectfully urge that these efforts should continue so that the intercommunal talks can be resumed at an early date.

20. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Cyprus, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has asked for the floor.

21. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): Judging by the statement of the representative of Pakistan, it may be that the real facts regarding Famagusta are not clear in the minds of some Council members. Therefore, if the facts are in doubt, perhaps the Council might wish to ask the Secretary-General to furnish such information as he may have available.

22. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): It would be useful for members of the Council, before taking a decision, to know any facts about this situation which the President or the Secretary-General have at their disposal.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Secretary-General.

24. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In response to the request which was just made by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus and supported by the representative of the Soviet Union, I wish to give the Council the following information based on the reports which we received recently from my Special Representative in Cyprus and the Commander of UNFICYP.

25. Varosha, the new quarter of Famagusta south of the Turkish Cypriot-inhabited walled city, was evacuated by its Greek Cypriot inhabitants and occupied by Turkish troops during the second military operation, in August 1974. While the Greek Cypriots and other residents have not been permitted to return to Varosha, Turkish Cypriots have also been prevented from settling there. UNFICYP posts and patrols are being maintained in the town.

26. On 20 July 1977, Mr. Ecevit, while still Prime Minister of Turkey, stated that his Government had taken steps to

open Varosha for civilian settlement. He rejected the impression that Varosha was being reserved for purposes of territorial concessions through the intercommunal talks. Mr. Ecevit's suggestion was endorsed by Mr. Denктаş. On 23 July the latter also invited foreigners, as Greeks then were, holding property at Famagusta to reopen their businesses there.

27. It was subsequently announced that the Constantia Hotel, situated on a promontory at the north-east end of Varosha overlooking Famagusta Harbour, would be opened as a Turkish Cypriot hotel and catering training centre and that certain nearby buildings, including a 100-flat apartment building, would be taken over by Turkish Cypriots in this connexion.

28. In mid-August, the Turkish Cypriot authorities began changing Greek street names to Turkish names in the Constantia Hotel area and, in one instance, outside it.

29. In various statements, Mr. Denктаş and other Turkish Cypriot spokesmen have emphasized the point that Varosha was an integral part of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, whose status was a Turkish Cypriot internal affair. However, on 29 August, Mr. Denктаş publicly denied that Varosha was being colonized.

30. The bearing of the Varosha situation on the conduct of the intercommunal talks was stressed by Mr. Papadopoulos, the Greek Cypriot interlocutor who, on 23 August, stated that if the colonization of Famagusta should go on that would be an expansion of the Turkish invasion. As a result, the object of the intercommunal talks would disappear.

31. This latest information is based on reports I have received from my Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar.

32. The PRESIDENT: In reply to the question of the representative of the Soviet Union, I should like to state that there is no additional information available to me.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.

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