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THIRTY-SECOND YEAR

2030th MEETING: 9 SEPTEMBER 1977

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NOTE

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2030TH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 9 September 1977, at 4 p.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/2030/Rev.1)

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 5.05 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: 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.

2. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

3. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, may I say how grateful my delegation and I are to you and the other members of the Council for holding this meeting and for giving me this opportunity to make a statement.

4. The Council, nearly two weeks after it was convened as a matter of urgency at the request of my Government, has not yet heard—for some good reason, I would presume—statements from a number of representatives of Member States and seems to be encountering difficulties in the formulation of a draft resolution that would give appropriate expression to its position both on the broader aspects of the Cyprus problem and on the immediate issue raised by the situation in the new Famagusta area.

5. During the past several days, intensive private consultations have been held and a number of endeavours made by you, Mr. President, by the previous President and by members of the Council, acting individually or in groups, in an effort to overcome the difficulties confronting the Council as a result of the position taken on a resolution, primarily by some members of a group within the Council.

6. In the meantime, the Cyprus crisis remains unabated, and Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leader Mr. Denktaş, by inflammatory and provocative statements, cause alarm and despondency among the unfortunate refugees, and particularly those from Famagusta. I shall now quote some of those statements.

7. On 4 September, Mr. Denktaş stated:

“A resolution of the Security Council on the Varosha quarter of the Famagusta town would be a direct intervention in the internal affairs of the Federated State and would adversely affect the intercommunal talks.”

8. Two days earlier, that is, on 2 September, the following was published in the Turkish newspaper *Tercüman*:

“Until now the policy of the ‘doves’ was being implemented. In other words, a solution was being sought through the intercommunal talks, and when it became necessary territorial concessions were going to be made. The voice of the ‘hawks’ is now being heard more and more in Ankara. The ‘hawks’ advocate the implementation of the Israeli policy. In other words, they want to occupy more territory in the island and thus sit at the negotiating table from a position of strength.”

9. On 6 September, Mr. Denktaş declared: “There is no such thing as the closing or opening to settlement of the Famagusta region. Famagusta is within the Turkish Federated State.” One day later, in an interview with the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, he stated:

“There are Turks who want to settle in Famagusta and whom we will settle . . . The settlement of Famagusta is

becoming a necessity as time passes . . . The reality is that Famagusta is a region within the territory of the Turkish Federated State. The reality is that our State alone is responsible for the way Famagusta is governed or used."

And on 8 September, Mr. Denktaş made the following statement: "The time has come to take a decision on the proclamation of independence."

10. I am certain that the statements to which I have referred do not paint a happy future for Cyprus.

11. My Government and the people of Cyprus therefore find it difficult to comprehend why, two weeks after it was convened urgently, the Council is still unable to reach a decision on such critical issues as the persistent violations of its resolutions by Turkey and Turkey's illegal moves to colonize even the new Famagusta area. Of course, these actions have special implications for international peace and security. The reaching of a decision should not, I would submit to the Council, present any major difficulty since it seems clear that on the basic points there exists unanimity or near unanimity and a common position.

12. On the basis of the statements made before the Council and in the course of our many contacts with its members, we have arrived at what we believe to be a fairly accurate conclusion: that the overwhelming majority of Council members are not in doubt as to the real facts with regard to the recent developments in the new Famagusta area. These facts were set out in my statement of 31 August [2026th meeting] and were corroborated by the Secretary-General [2028th meeting]. It would also be objectively true to say that there is unanimity or near unanimity in the Council that such developments constitute unilateral actions in violation of the council's own resolutions, and particularly of its resolution 367 (1975). Some members of the Council also share our view that the said unilateral actions are only the beginning of the step-by-step colonization by Turkey of the new Famagusta area.

13. It would also be safe to assess that there is grave concern among all Council members regarding the disastrous repercussions which these new unilateral actions will have both on the intercommunal talks and on the prospects for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. It is therefore logical to assume that the Council would wish to call upon Turkey to desist from any unilateral action in the new Famagusta area and, indeed, elsewhere.

14. We are also fully aware of the importance a great number of members attach to the intercommunal talks provided for in the Council resolutions, considering that if they were carried out meaningfully and constructively they could enable progress to be made towards solution of one of the aspects of the Cyprus problem, the internal aspect. But it is also known—and I am certain that most members agree with this view—that no meaningful and constructive negotiations can be carried out unless there is a common purpose in the negotiations and unless the representatives of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities come to the talks with comprehensive and concrete proposals on all subjects under negotiation. The common purpose of the negotiations should of course be

the safeguarding of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus, as provided for in all the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

15. Apart from the provisions for the intercommunal negotiations on the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem, there are also the cardinal provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions. These demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the cessation of all foreign interference in the Republic of Cyprus and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety. These provisions are directed at and can be implemented only by Turkey and by Turkey alone. It is of course an indisputable fact that Ankara has not only ignored these provisions but has also been persistently violating them.

16. There is also no doubt that the Council remains firmly committed to its own resolutions, that it regard them as the appropriate basis for a just solution of the Cyprus problem and that it is concerned over the fact that they have not been implemented. This view of the Council is clearly manifested in paragraph 2 of resolution 410 (1977), unanimously adopted as recently as 15 June, and in which the Council

"Reaffirms once again its resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, by which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) adopted unanimously on 1 November 1974, and calls once again for the urgent and effective implementation of those resolutions and of its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975".

17. It is in view of the absolute disregard shown by Turkey towards the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and in the light of resolution 31/12 of 1976, in which the General Assembly expressed the hope that the Security Council would consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its resolution 365 (1974), that, in my statement of 31 August, I appealed to the Council to adopt effective measures which would ensure the immediate and effective implementation of the resolutions on Cyprus.

18. We firmly hold the view that a just solution of the Cyprus problem can come about only through the full and effective implementation of all the provisions of the relevant resolutions and had hoped, therefore, that the Council would have been prepared at least to entrust a committee of the Council with the task of studying, in consultation with the Secretary-General, the means by which its resolutions could be implemented. It seems, however, that a number of members are not prepared, perhaps as yet, to support such a course.

19. In our opinion, the brief analysis I have made demonstrates that there is indeed a consensus on a number of points on which the Council could adequately respond by the adoption of an appropriate resolution. We find it, therefore, difficult to comprehend why the proceedings are so protracted and what the Council's difficulty is in arriving at a conclusion, when the main elements to be incorporated in an adequate resolution are in substance agreed upon by all or nearly all.

20. To us it seems strange that some members are unwilling to spell out in a resolution, even in moderate

language, views which they firmly hold and on which virtually all members of the Council seem to agree. It is not for me to go into the reasons or expediencies motivating such attitudes, but I believe I am entitled to say in all candour that to a small country such as Cyprus, in its hour of need, this attitude does not seem to be compatible with the great responsibilities entrusted to this body of the United Nations.

21. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that Mr. Çelik, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure [2026th meeting], wishes to make a further statement to the Council. If no member of the Council raises any objection, therefore, I shall invite Mr. Çelik to take a place at the Council table and make an additional statement. There being no objection, I so invite Mr. Çelik and give him the floor.

22. Mr. ÇELİK: I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the floor. It is not my intention to take up every point raised by my Greek Cypriot colleague, as it is not my intention to inflate the Council's deliberations.

23. The Council has now been seized of the Cyprus problem for almost a fortnight and it has not yet been possible to reach a conclusion to its deliberations. This in itself shows and confirms our contention that there was no urgency in the present Greek Cypriot recourse to the Council in any case. There is no crisis and there has been no crisis, unless it is the one precipitated by the Greek Cypriot side for internal political reasons. The quotations that have just been cited by the Greek Cypriot representative do not

point to any change of policy regarding new Famagusta. Our position is on record, and there has been no change indicated by the recent statements which have been quoted here out of context.

24. It appears that the Greek Cypriot representative insists on a one-sided resolution. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to reach a consensus. A resolution will not mean a solution. We have enough resolutions, and we are of the opinion—and we hope we are right—that we are agreed on a framework within which, through negotiations, the Cyprus problem could be solved. We still honour the framework agreement reached and especially confirmed by the four-point agreement reached early this year between President Denktaş and the late Archbishop Makarios, and within this framework we are prepared to go back with our colleague and make a new effort for a political settlement.

25. As I have said, any resolution which might be prejudicial to one side or the other would only hinder the negotiations and would make an already difficult situation even more difficult. With that in mind, I hope it will be possible to avoid any conclusions which would not be conducive to negotiations or would not help us to resume negotiations which we hope this time will be more fruitful.

26. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers. The date for the next meeting of the Council to continue consideration of the agenda item will be fixed in consultation with members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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