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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 15 December 1988, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. KAGAMI

(Japan)

Members: Algeria
Argentina
Brazil
China
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Italy
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yugoslavia
Zambia

Mr. OUYAHIA
Mr. CULLEN
Mr. de ALENCAR
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. BROCHAND
Mr. VERGAU
Mr. MIGLIUOLO
Mr. JOSSE
Mr. NDIAYE
Mr. BELONOGOV

Mr. BLATHERWICK
Mr. OKUN
Mr. PEJIC
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 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/20310 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Nezeritis (Greece) and Mr. Aksin (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Ozer Koray in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to extend an invitation to Mr. Koray in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the appropriate moment I shall invite Mr. Koray to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General (S/20310 and Add.1) on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 1 June to 30 November 1988. They also have before them a draft resolution, contained in document S/20324, which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided and I put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/20324.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Nepal, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yugoslavia, Zambia

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 625 (1988).

The first speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I should like at the outset to express our profound sympathy to the representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Aleksandr M. Belonogov, on the tragic loss of life and property in Soviet Armenia. The devastating results of the earthquake have touched every fibre of the heart of our people, who are helping in every way they can.

I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and to commend you and the members of the Council for the unanimous resolution just adopted renewing the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for another period of six months. We are happy that the presidency of the Council is in the talented hands of the Permanent Representative of Japan, a friendly country with which we enjoy close diplomatic relations and co-operation.

My congratulations are directed also to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations, Mr. Giovanni Migliuolo, on the skilful manner in which he conducted the work of the Council for the month of November.

The six-month period now under consideration brought no remedies or solutions to any of the long-standing issues of the problem of Cyprus. If anything, the grave situation prevailing in my country as a result of the Turkish invasion and occupation remained in general the same, and this is borne out by the relevant

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

report of the Secretary-General now before the members of the Council in document S/20310 and Add.1.

The expectations, however, for a just and lasting settlement of the problem - as is true in the case of other international problems - have risen, cautiously, owing to the commencement of a sustained high-level dialogue between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of our Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, in pursuance of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The Government of Cyprus fully and whole-heartedly welcomed this auspicious beginning. The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, commenting on the commencement of the talks said, among other things:

"Today we turn a new page in the book of the troubled history of Cyprus. Let us hope that better times lie ahead. We are, all of us, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, duty bound to make the most of this opportunity, for the sake of the generations to come".

We welcome the unanimous renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP by the Council and pledge our full co-operation with the United Nations peace-keeping force. To the Commander of UNFICYP, Major General G. Greindl, and to his dedicated officers and men, as well as to the contributing countries, we extend deep appreciation for their valuable services and contribution to the cause of peace. The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping operation honours the contributing countries and the Secretary-General and is a matter of special gratification to Cyprus.

The renewal of the mandate, to which my Government gave its prior consent, addresses the peace-keeping aspects of the United Nations tasks in Cyprus and is, as the Secretary-General puts it, "indispensable" (S/20310, para. 47). On the other hand, the peace-making efforts vigorously undertaken by our Secretary-General

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

and his dedicated colleagues merit our fullest appreciation and support. United Nations peace-keeping and peace-making go hand in hand and should always be directed towards the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, on the basis of which just and viable solutions can be found.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

On the question of Cyprus the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations have solidly defined the parameters within which a just and lasting solution must be sought. These resolutions unequivocally demand, among others, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and settlers from the Republic of Cyprus, the cessation of all foreign interference in its internal affairs, the return of the refugees to their ancestral homes and lands, and the safeguarding of the fundamental freedoms and human rights of all Cypriots.

In line with the United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements, our target remains a free, independent, sovereign, demilitarized and non-aligned federal republic, with no foreign troops, settlers and unilateral interventions, based on one economy, one international personality, one country, in which all people can live and work wherever they wish, where human rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed.

The first round of talks has already been concluded. A second round is to commence on 19 December this year. This round will be devoted to exploring, without prejudice, the positions of both sides through a wide range of options for each of the issues that makes up the problem of Cyprus, and evaluating them in the light of the interests and concerns of both sides.

As we have stated before, we are committed to a negotiated settlement. We believe that the people of Cyprus as a whole stand to benefit from a just and lasting solution which will allow unimpeded freedom to all our people in an island free from military presence and barbed-wires.

These aspirations of our people and their yearning for peace and co-operation in a federal republic are placed on this Organization, whose principles constitute the pillars and provide a valid framework for a just settlement. We fully trust and rely on the vast experience and outstanding diplomatic skills of our

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to steer us in the direction of a lasting peace based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements. I should be remiss if I were not to reiterate my earnest hope that the Secretary-General and his specially appointed representative will continue their painstaking efforts towards the tracing and accounting of the missing persons in Cyprus.

To the Secretary-General, to his able colleagues, the Special Representative, Mr. Oscar Camilion, and Mr. Marrack Goulding, Mr. Gustave Feissel and Mr. Giandomenico Picco, we express deep appreciation for their perseverance and commitment to the cause of peace in our country.

I wish on the occasion of the completion of his successful service to the cause of peace in Cyprus to express the deepest gratitude and appreciation of the Government and the people of my country to Major-General Greindl for the outstanding leadership he provided on behalf of the United Nations, sometimes against very difficult odds. We wish to assure him that the people of Cyprus will always remember and value his dedication and commitment to the purposes of the United Nations Charter in Cyprus.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cyprus for his kind words addressed to my country and myself.

The next speaker is the representative of Greece, on whom I now call.

Mr. NEZERITIS (Greece): May I at the outset express to the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Ambassador Aleksandr Belonogov, the deepest sympathy of the Government and the people of Greece for the devastating earthquake that struck his country, causing enormous human and material damage. To the limit of its possibilities Greece is extending assistance to the victims of this disaster.

(Mr. Nezeritis, Greece)

Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. I am convinced that with your wide expertise and your well-known diplomatic capabilities you will guide our efforts successfully. May I, at the same time, express the deep appreciation of my delegation for the efficient way in which your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Italy, has guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of November.

The Security Council has just renewed the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further six months. It is a decision with which my Government fully concurs, since the Government of Cyprus, which is the only legal representative of the Republic of Cyprus, in its entirety, has already given its consent.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey the deep appreciation of my Government to all officers and men of UNFICYP and to all the countries that have supported this peace-keeping force by providing manpower and material, as well as through their financial contributions. Particular thanks should be addressed to Major-General Greindl who, after long service, is leaving Cyprus to assume other duties. Throughout his tenure Major-General Greindl has conducted his mission according to the best traditions of United Nations peace-keeping. We thank him and wish him well for the future.

This year has put the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations in the limelight. The Nobel Peace Prize, which the Secretary-General of our Organization accepted on their behalf only a few days ago, constitutes the highest recognition of their contribution to the cause of peace. Since this is the first renewal of a United Nations peace-keeping force after the award ceremony in Oslo, I would like to pay a tribute to the hundreds of thousands of men and women who have served the

(Mr. Nezeritis, Greece)

common cause of peace under the blue flag of the United Nations, particularly to those who have sacrificed their lives in carrying out their duties.

The United Nations Force in Cyprus is one of the longest-running United Nations peace-keeping operations. It has been necessary to maintain it for so long because there has still been no solution to the Cyprus problem, since the resolutions of the United Nations, which set out in unequivocal terms the requirements for its solution, have not been implemented. I need not recall all the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council that have explicitly dealt with the question. I would simply like to recall Security Council resolution 365 (1974), which, endorsing General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was adopted unanimously, demands, among other things, the speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops, and to recall Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). Had those resolutions been implemented, some of the main issues of the question would have been firmly settled and there would have been little difficulty in reaching an agreement on other outstanding points.

It is not my intention to enter, at this juncture, into the details of the various aspects of the question of Cyprus. They are known to all. We wish to see a solution to the question because the prolongation of the existing situation constitutes a danger to peace not only for the island, but also for the wider region. We therefore attach particular importance to the question of the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus. It occupies a central place in our considerations for reaching a viable solution.

We remain faithful to our commitment to seek a just, fair and durable solution to the problem, which would ensure the independence, unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We therefore support any proposal which would contribute to

(Mr. Nezeritis, Greece)

the promotion of a solution to the four key issues: the withdrawal of foreign troops, the withdrawal of settlers, the question of guarantees and the question of the three freedoms.

In a few days the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Vassiliou, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktash, will resume their discussions with a view to finding a fair, just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. We welcome this development and pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in this respect. The Greek Government welcomes the continuation of the present discussions, which should aim at finding a solution which would ensure the functionality of the State, the unity of the country and the demilitarization of Cyprus.

It is our sincere hope that the discussions will bear fruit and that the people of Cyprus will be able at last to enjoy the benefits of peace after having borne for so long the miseries of war and strife.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is Mr. Ozer Koray, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KORAY: Mr. President, I should like, at the outset, to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for affording me this opportunity to participate in the Council's debate on the question of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

It is with deep anguish and resentment that we have witnessed yet another attempt by the Greek Cypriot side to disturb the peace in Cyprus. A Turkish Cypriot soldier was shot by Greek Cypriot soldiers in Nicosia on 11 December while on patrol duty within the borders of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The soldier who was shot in the back was routinely tracking the established patrol route inside Turkish Cypriot territory and was not, contrary to the allegation of the Greek Cypriot authorities, inside no-man's land. An UNFICYP spokesman in Nicosia has also confirmed that the Turkish Cypriot soldier presented no threat to the Greek Cypriot soldiers in the area. The unprovoked heavy firing directed at the Turkish Cypriot soldiers by Greek Cypriot elements can only be described as an act of premeditated murder and, as such, should be condemned by the world community.

In that connection, I should like to invite the attention of the Council members to the paper included in the set of proposals submitted by the Turkish Cypriot side to the meeting held in New York in November, outlining an approach to the question of "de-confrontation" with the aim of reducing tension along the border in Nicosia. Unfortunately, that proposal has not found its way into the

(Mr. Koray)

Secretary-General's report which, parenthetically, in paragraph 11, indicates the concern of UNFICYP with regard to the situation in Nicosia where:

"the troops of both sides continue to be in dangerous proximity to each other....." (S/20310 and Add.1, para. 11)

The underlying basis and the motive behind the Turkish Cypriot proposal for urgent "de-confrontation measures" in the area has become obvious through this grievous incident. The Turkish Cypriot side had asked for the implementation of the proposal without any delay inasmuch as it fell outside the "integrated whole" concept governing the rest of the proposals.

Unless the Greek Cypriot side assumes a responsible stance, it is obvious that the current talks between the two sides will not bear any fruit. The implications of this ill-favoured situation, created by this deplorable act, for the process of negotiations will be taken up with the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Cyprus by the President of our Republic, Mr. Rauf Denktash, upon his return to the island from Rome. The Greek Cypriot side will be required to give its unambiguous pledge to respect the cease-fire agreement and to stop further violations of the no-man's land.

It is beyond any doubt that the most recent border disturbances, which will be dealt with in more detail later, followed by the killing of a Turkish Cypriot soldier, are all part of the Greek Cypriot side's unrestrained designs to extend, by use of force, its illegal authority over the Turkish Cypriot areas which fall outside their domain and authority. The attitude of the Greek Cypriot leadership in the face of recent incidents is very discouraging. Recent provocative reports in the Greek Cypriot press and the statement of the Greek Cypriot Minister of Defence commending the recent fatal action taken by his forces on the border, are all indicative of the continued antagonistic behaviour of the Greek Cypriot side.

(Mr. Koray)

This deplorable incident and the irresponsible reaction to it by the Greek Cypriot side has impelled the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to evaluate the whole situation once again.

The events of the recent past have once again proved that the prevalence of peace in the island since 1974 is disturbing the Greek Cypriot leadership. The ferment arises from the fact that the current pacific and stable state of affairs in the island belies their baseless argument that the Cyprus problem has been created by the events of 1974. In order to upset the present peaceful conditions in the island, the Greek Cypriots are resorting to organized disturbances at the borders. Several unwarranted demonstrations, staged over the last year or so, have culminated in repeated violations of the boundary between the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Southern Cyprus. It is of particular significance that the present and former Greek Cypriot leaders have not only supported those violent demonstrations, but have also taken part in them. By attending those meetings and delivering speeches at them, Greek Cypriot leaders have openly lent their personal support to such provocative actions, which run counter to the very essence of the ongoing talks between the two leaders in search of a bi-zonal federal settlement through peaceful methods.

Furthermore, the recent border demonstrations were not "spontaneous" meetings, as the Greek Cypriot side alleges, but were organized actions perpetrated, as the evidence suggests, by its leadership to stir up trouble in order to attract third-party attention. According to a news report in The Guardian, published on 18 November 1988, the recent Greek Cypriot demonstrations have resulted in injuries

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being inflicted on United Nations peace-keeping soldiers. The news item testifies to the organized and highly risky nature of the incidents:

"... In a dangerous new development suggesting that the level of violence was planned, several petrol bombs were thrown at the UN force but were extinguished in flight. Demonstrators also threw matches in an effort to ignite petrol along UN lines."

The news report further notes that members of the Greek Cypriot so-called National Guard, some in civilian clothes and others in uniform, were seen actively participating in the recent border clashes and contributing to the escalation in violence.

In his most recent report, the Secretary-General also notes that:

"Regrettably, these events have been marked by violence against UNFICYP personnel." (S/20310 and Add.1, para. 16)

The report also reveals that it was only after the personal intervention of the UNFICYP Commander with the Greek Cypriot Minister of the Interior that the Greek Cypriot police took any action.

Mr. Charles Gaulkin, the United Nations spokesman in Nicosia, is quoted in the English-language daily newspaper Cyprus Mail, published in South Cyprus, expressing the shared concern in United Nations circles over the recent border unrest:

"... We have had enough of serving as the punching bag for demonstrators ... It's the worst it's been and the demonstrators are becoming more violent and more frequent It's a situation which cannot be tolerated any longer It can lead to uncontrollable situations."

I should now like to elaborate, to some extent, on the current phase of the efforts being made to enhance the prospects of a solution in the island and the positive attitude displayed by the Turkish Cypriot side in this process. I shall

(Mr. Koray)

also, in passing, describe the existing realities in the island which have a direct bearing on the form and substance of a future settlement in Cyprus.

The reality in Cyprus since 1974 is that there exist two separate and independent States, each exercising control and jurisdiction over its own respective territory. It should be underlined that the acknowledgement of this reality is imperative since a possible federation in Cyprus can only be established by two political entities enjoying equal status vis-à-vis each other. Several fundamental principles are regarded as indispensable by the Turkish Cypriot side in a possible future federal settlement, namely: first, political equality; secondly, bi-zonality and, thirdly, security and the continuation of Turkey's effective guarantee.

(Mr. Koray)

The two sides in Cyprus have on occasion expressed the wish to unite their respective states under a federal roof. The parameters for such a solution were laid down by the 1977 Denktash-Makarios summit agreement. It is therefore imperative that the two sides, in keeping with their declared will, should engage in a negotiating process in search of a settlement based on those established parameters - namely a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal framework.

The Turkish Cypriot side's conduct during the course of the long and arduous negotiations held over the years has been in strict adherence to those parameters for a settlement. The Greek Cypriot side, however, has not acted accordingly. The election of Mr. Vassiliou as the Greek Cypriot leader did not change this situation. His stated policy demonstrates that the Greek Cypriot side is not yet ready or willing to assume a constructive and realistic stance towards a negotiated solution in Cyprus on the basis of a bi-national, bi-zonal federation, as previously agreed.

Our conviction that the Greek Cypriot leader lacked any political incentive to come to terms with his Turkish Cypriot counterpart has been further strengthened by a recent statement, as reported in the Greek Cypriot press of 1 December, by DIKO, a Greek Cypriot political party led by the former Greek Cypriot leader Mr. Kyprianou, to the effect that Mr. Vassiliou concurred with its policies, which can be described in no other terms than uncompromising and unavailing.

At this juncture I need hardly remind all concerned that the Cyprus issue has only two possible paths along which it can realistically evolve in the future: first, the establishment of a bi-zonal federal republic based on the equal political status of the two peoples of Cyprus, and, secondly, the continuation of the present state of affairs on the island - in other words the consolidation of the two independent states in Cyprus.

(Mr. Koray)

If the Greek Cypriot side fails to demonstrate its readiness to concentrate all its efforts towards the attainment of the first option, recognition of the two separate and independent Cypriot states by the world community will become inevitable.

The first phase of the talks between the two leaders in Cyprus and the recent joint assessment session with the Secretary-General in New York have been dealt with in paragraphs 41, 42 and 43 of the report of the Secretary-General.

In this connection I should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to the set of proposals put forward by President Denktash at the recent New York meeting, which deals with the issues hitherto raised by the Greek Cypriot side during the first phase of the talks. The Turkish Cypriot side prepared and submitted those proposals, in line with its good will and conciliatory approach, in order to facilitate progress by putting forward realistic alternatives. The Turkish Cypriot proposals come under the following headings: first, the Turkish Cypriot approach to the question of the so-called three freedoms as part of an integrated whole; second, the Turkish Cypriot approach to the question of Cypriot and non-Cypriot forces as part of an integrated whole; third, the Turkish Cypriot approach to adequate and effective guarantees as part of an integrated whole; fourth, federal structure, as part of an integrated whole, is the key to a comprehensive settlement; fifth, the Turkish Cypriot approach regarding the future course of the talks; and, sixth, the Turkish Cypriot approach to the question of "de-confrontation".

This initiative of the Turkish Cypriot side has been regarded by all interested parties as positive and constructive, and by this virtue has met with a favourable response from the United Nations Secretary-General, who expressed his hope that the proposals would be given deserved thought. The only exception to this shared opinion was the initial negative attitude displayed by the Greek Cypriot side. We

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would like to hope that the Greek Cypriot side will reconsider its position and make use of this opportunity to demonstrate the will to engage in productive and substantive negotiations with its Turkish Cypriot counterpart.

In connection with our proposals, I deem it necessary to draw attention to a recent remark made by the Foreign Minister of Greece, Mr. Karolas Papulias, in which he questioned President Denktash's authority and standing in submitting the above-mentioned proposals. Mr. Papulias should be in a position to know that those proposals were put forward by a democratically elected Turkish Cypriot President who, together with his people, has been struggling against Greek and Greek Cypriot attempts to turn Cyprus into a Greek colony for the past 30 years and at the same time seeking a solution with iron-clad guarantees that would prevent a return to the 1963-1974 conditions. Mr. Papulias asked, in a provocative manner, "Who is Denktash? What would his position be without Turkey's military and economic support?" In response to that remark, President Denktash has stated the following:

"Mr. Papulias asks what would have happened to us without Turkey's military and economic support. ... Yes, Mr. Papulias, I, Denktash, and the Turkish Cypriot community know very well what would have happened to us. We would have been massacred and buried in mass graves like our brethren, the inhabitants of Ayios Vasilios, Maratha and Sandalaris, who were murdered in spite of Turkey's guarantee ... And those of us who would have survived would have become second-class citizens, subjected to inhuman treatment at barricades and oppressed in every way, as we had been treated for many years.

"Yes, Mr. Papulias, we are grateful to you for asking this question because it has given us the opportunity to explain to the world once again why we refused to give up Turkey's guarantee.

"Yes, we are also asking ourselves the same question and we are thankful to God for having given us Turkey's support.

(Mr. Koray)

"Yes, Mr. Papulias, you have with this statement of yours explained very clearly what you would have done to us, the Turkish Cypriot community: you would have completely annihilated us had we not obtained Turkey's support.

"We thank you for clarifying the Greek stand and we want you to be sure that we shall refuse any settlement which will not include the effective guarantee and all other kinds of support of Turkey."

The Turkish Cypriot side is greatly concerned by the continued concentration of troops and weaponry in southern Cyprus. The sale of offensive arms to south Cyprus by certain European countries has dealt a heavy blow to the efforts of the Secretary-General by encouraging the Greek Cypriot side to sustain their inflexible position vis-à-vis the inter-communal talks. In addition, we are also closely reviewing a recent co-ordinated move by the Greek Cypriot administration in Greece aimed at increasing the offensive power of the combined Greek-Greek Cypriot forces in the island by way of importing arms from Greece and also setting up weaponry plants on the pretext of increasing defence capabilities. The Secretary-General has been duly kept informed by our authorities about the implications of this and other military endeavours which could lead to more adventurism on the part of the Greek Cypriots.

In the circumstances the security of the Turkish Cypriot people, faced with a hostile and heavily armed neighbour, will continue to be effectively safeguarded by Turkey's physical presence in northern Cyprus. In the light of past bitter experiences and the present record, the continuation of the Turkish guarantee is imperative for the protection of the Turkish Cypriot people, who are resolutely opposed to a return to the vulnerable situation before 1974.

(Mr. Koray)

At this stage I should like to reiterate that the resolution just adopted by the Security Council with regard to the issue of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side for the same reasons that were outlined in previous Security Council debates on this matter.

(Mr. Koray)

Any resolution which refers to the Greek Cypriot administration of southern Cyprus as the "Government of the Republic of Cyprus" is totally rejected by the Turkish Cypriot side, as such resolutions ignore the existing realities in Cyprus and attempt to negate the principle of equality between the two sides.

Notwithstanding its unavoidable rejection, in toto, of the present resolution, for reasons outlined above, the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is nevertheless favourably disposed to accept the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, on the same basis as that stated in June 1988. Thus our position continues to be that the principle, the scope, the modalities and the procedures of co-operation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions which shall be taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the outgoing Commander of UNFICYP, Major-General Gunther Greindl, who has performed his arduous duties under particularly difficult and uneasy conditions. We are thankful to him for his share in the efforts to preserve the impartiality of UNFICYP in its all-important mission.

I should also like to reiterate our support for the good offices mission of the Secretary-General and reaffirm our commitment to finding a solution within a bicomunal, bizonal federal framework. In doing so, I should like to commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Oscar Camilion, for his incessant efforts during the first round of talks and for his positive contributions to the process of negotiations in Cyprus.

Finally a word of caution: The success of the next round of talks to be convened in Nicosia later this month will depend to a large extent on the readiness of the Greek Cypriot side to respect the "integrated whole" approach as agreed upon

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by the two sides. Before addressing the issues in detail within this framework between the two sides, the Greek Cypriot side will be required, first of all, to respond to the following questions put to them, directly or indirectly, on many occasions: Is the Greek Cypriot side prepared to work towards the establishment of a partnership state with the Turkish Cypriot side based on the fundamental principle of equality or not? Is the Greek Cypriot side prepared to share, on an equal basis, the governmental authority in a bizonal federal framework or not? The answers to be given to these cardinal questions will determine whether or not it would be possible to proceed to a federal settlement in Cyprus.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Koray for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I should like at the outset to associate myself to the previous speakers in expressing our very deep sympathy to the representative of the USSR with regard to the grievous suffering of the people of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia following the disaster that has struck this area. My Government has provided emergency assistance to the victims and continues to be in touch with the Soviet authorities for further help.

I wish to extend to you, Sir, warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December and best wishes for success. We are pleased to see as President of the Security Council the representative of Japan, with which Turkey has close and cordial relations. We are confident that the Security Council will benefit from your diplomatic skills, wisdom and experience in dealing with sensitive international questions.

I wish equally to pay tribute to Ambassador Migliuolo and his delegation for having led the Council in November with ability and distinction.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The resolution just adopted by the Council contains objectionable elements. We cannot give our consent to an extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on this basis. Mr. Koray, the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, has just explained the position of his Government on the modalities of UNFICYP's presence in his country. My Government supports this position.

This debate comes within a few days of the deplorable incident in which a Turkish Cypriot soldier on patrol duty near the Ledra Palace hotel was fatally shot by Greek Cypriot soldiers. I should like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that the soldier was shot in the back. UNFICYP spokesman Mr. Gaulkin's statement on the incident contains the following sentence:

"UNFICYP's investigation has not established that the soldier presented any threat to the Greek Cypriot National Guard's soldiers in the area."

It is evident that such incidents must not be allowed to occur at a time when there is a renewed effort to reach peaceful solutions through negotiations.

My Government is very anxious to have these negotiations succeed and fully supports the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. We are thankful for his dedicated and untiring efforts for securing a negotiated settlement between the two sides in Cyprus. We also feel duty-bound to extend our appreciation to his distinguished Special Representative, Mr. Oscar Camilion, who, through his diplomatic skill, has made a valuable contribution to the ongoing negotiating process. We also wish to express our appreciation for the services of UNFICYP's Commander, Major-General Greindl, who has served for many years in Cyprus, under difficult conditions, with loyalty and high professional skill. We are glad to see him here among us today.

For the last 13 years the Secretary-General has been exercising his mission of good offices by arranging a number of useful intercommunal talks. The two

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979 between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders, which established the goal of a federal republic in Cyprus and defined the broad parameters of a federal solution, were achieved with the assistance of the Secretary-General. The basic concepts embodied in these Agreements were confirmed by the "Opening Statement" of the Secretary-General in 1980. The two sides continued their talks between 1980 and 1983 under the auspices of the Secretary-General. In August 1984 the Secretary-General initiated a new round of intensive consultations which produced a comprehensive Draft Framework Agreement of 29 March 1986. As the members of the Council will recall, this Framework Agreement was accepted by the Turkish Cypriot side. However, upon its rejection by the Greek Cypriot side, the search for a peaceful settlement was interrupted, until very recently.

During the last few months we have witnessed positive and encouraging developments in Cyprus. The Government of Turkey is pleased to see the resumption of the negotiations between the two Cypriot sides. It is our sincere wish that this new phase of negotiations between the two leaders will be the beginning of the process for the achievement of a new era in Cyprus. At this juncture, it is important for third parties to refrain from taking positions and adopting postures on this question that may disturb the ongoing delicate negotiations. Turkey is convinced that a Cyprus solution can only be obtained by the two Cypriot communities, negotiating on a footing of equality.

In the negotiations, it is important that the parties show respect for each other's concerns and discuss with goodwill how these concerns can be met. It is neither possible nor realistic to put the clock back to the 1963-1974 period. In the course of the negotiations the bitter lessons of history should be fully taken into account by the two sides.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

I do not want to recall the bloody events that took place since the break-up of the partnership State in 1963. However, it is evident that the Turkish Cypriot community lived their darkest days during the period between 1963 and 1974. In the light of these bitter experiences, the Turkish Cypriots cannot expose themselves to the same dangers in the future. Neither is it in the interest of the Greek Cypriots to ignore the past suffering of the Turkish Cypriots, if their intention is to establish a viable federal structure under which both communities can live together in peace and harmony.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The aim of the negotiating process in the island is the establishment of a bicomunal, bizonal federal State based on the political equality of the two peoples in Cyprus. Those parametres of a settlement have been defined in the course of various negotiations that have taken place since the mid-1970s under the auspices of the Secretary-General. The Turkish Cypriot side adheres strictly to the principles embodied in the agreements and understandings reached between the two parties with the assistance of the Secretary-General. Their efforts are directed towards creating a sound and workable federal structure in which the two peoples and their respective federated States can coexist side by side and co-operate with each other as equal partners.

In federations the essential element is the political equality of the federated units. In the case of Cyprus, where intercommunal confrontation has existed for the past 25 years, the political equality of the two sides becomes even more necessary.

Bizonality is another agreed principle of the future federation in Cyprus, embodied in the High-Level Agreement of 1977. The 1980 Opening Statement by the United Nations Secretary-General stressed that basic element with the following formulation:

"Both parties have reaffirmed their support for a federal solution of the constitutional aspect and a bizonal solution of the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem." (S/14100, Annex, p. 1)

We have to bear in mind that that basic principle, which was repeated in all the subsequent documents produced by the Secretary-General, has a vital security aspect for the Turkish Cypriot side.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

I now wish to make the following comments with regard to the Secretary-General's report (S/20310). Paragraph 42 of the report makes reference to the New York meeting of the two leaders, and the first round of discussions is underlined as helpful in building a good working relationship and in clarifying many of the issues facing the two sides. And then, in paragraph 46 of the report, there is an appeal to both sides to find a way to move forward and tackle the difficult issues so that the present encouraging situation can be sustained.

However, no mention is made in those paragraphs of the papers submitted by President Denktash to Mr. Vasiliou containing the ideas of the Turkish Cypriots in six major areas, including the three freedoms, Cypriot and non-Cypriot forces, adequate and effective guarantees, federal structure, the future course of the talks and deconfrontation measures. We are sorry to see that this important factual information has not been reflected in the report. In that respect the report is likely to give a wrong impression, in that it contains an appeal to both sides to move forward, even though the Turkish Cypriot side has already done its share.

It is our conviction that President Denktash has taken a timely initiative in New York by presenting constructive ideas, thus making an important contribution to the negotiating process. During Mr. Denktash's visit to Ankara on the eve of the New York meetings, my Government supported and encouraged him in those ideas. We believe that Mr. Denktash's move has also helped the Secretary-General in his efforts to give fresh impetus to the negotiating process.

Just how timely the Turkish Cypriot proposals are is clearly demonstrated by the recent killing of the Turkish Cypriot soldier referred to earlier. If the Greek Cypriot side responds positively to President Denktash's proposals on

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

deconfrontation, such incidents will be more easily prevented in the future. The proposal relating to deconfrontation should have been incorporated in paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report.

In that connection I find it useful briefly to point out the information contained in paragraph 16 of the Secretary-General's current report. In that paragraph a number of violent Greek Cypriot demonstrations inside the buffer zone are brought to our attention. It is clear that those aggressive actions, organized with the support of the Greek Cypriot authorities, have been a prelude to more serious incidents, like the killing of the Turkish Cypriot soldier. We therefore feel compelled to invite the Greek Cypriot authorities to put an end to their unacceptable behaviour in organizing violent demonstrations, which have undesirable effects on the search for tranquillity and stability in the island.

In the report there is no mention of the latest rearmament effort of the Greek Cypriot authorities. I feel compelled to draw the attention of Council members to the dangers of the growing military build-up in southern Cyprus. Only a few days ago a new Greek officer was assigned as commander of the Greek Cypriot National Guard. The recent statements by the responsible Greek Cypriot authorities underline their efforts to prepare their army for war. In the Greek Cypriot press it is reported that the Greek officers' term of duty in the Greek Cypriot National Guard will be extended from two to three years and that additional Greek officers will be dispatched for training the Greek Cypriot troops in the use of sophisticated weapons systems. We note in the same press reports that the dispatch of arms and military equipment from Greece and other countries to southern Cyprus will be accelerated and that parts for military vehicles, as well as ammunition, will in the future be produced in the south with technical assistance from Greece.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

At this delicate phase of the intercommunal negotiations such a military build-up is completely unjustifiable. That build-up is a serious cause for concern for the future of the negotiations.

Let me recall once again that Mr. Denktash put forward constructive and encouraging proposals on Cypriot and non-Cypriot forces during his meeting with Mr. Vasiliou. It should also be recalled that the demeanour of the Turkish forces in Cyprus has clearly demonstrated over the last 14 years that their sole task is to protect the Turkish Cypriots. I should also like to bring to the attention of the Council the fact that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has absolutely no territorial claims against its southern neighbour. However, the Greek Cypriot claims on the entire territory of the north are well documented.

There is no doubt that the present pace of rearmament in the south will lead to serious complications in the negotiating process. It will further widen the existing gap of mistrust between the two sides in Cyprus. Unless the Greek Cypriots put an end to their rearmament campaign it will not be possible for the Turkish Cypriot Government to give a reasonable explanation to its people for its constructive attitude on the question of Cypriot and non-Cypriot forces.

I would like to conclude my statement by referring to the goodwill measures proposed by the Turkish Cypriots to the Greek Cypriots earlier this year. Those goodwill measures covered a broad range of co-operation areas, such as trade, tourism, transportation, communications, environmental protection, health, sports and cultural activities. Their aim was to offer fresh opportunities for progress towards peace. However, they were not accepted by the Greek Cypriot leadership.

If the negotiations now in progress are to succeed, there must be an environment of mutual trust and confidence between the two parties in Cyprus. It is our desire that those goodwill measures, as well as the recent constructive

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

ideas presented by the Turkish Cypriots, will be assessed positively and will be reciprocated in the same spirit by the Greek Cypriots during the coming phase of the negotiations. Turkey will continue to encourage the Turkish Cypriots to maintain their constructive position. In return, we hope that the Greek Cypriots will adopt a more forthcoming attitude towards the federal solution in Cyprus. No federation can come into being nor last very long without the essential ingredients of mutual respect, mutual trust and mutual esteem.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to my country and to me.

I call upon the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I honestly hoped that it would not be necessary for me to reply. Let me say at the outset that we express regret at the loss of life in the buffer zone. On our part, unlike the recent tragic incident with a Greek Cypriot as a victim, we took all steps necessary to avoid firing. However, the Turkish Cypriot did not comply. It is interesting to note that the Greek Cypriot soldier was shot while unarmed and wearing sports clothes, whereas the Turkish Cypriot was in uniform and armed.

We do not condone attacks on members of the United Nations Force. The protests were an expression of the frustration of our people and their rejection of the continuing occupation of their homes and lands.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

Definitely, the protests constituted no threat to the Turkish Cypriot community, and they were not sponsored by the Government, as alleged by the Turkish side, in order to undermine the dialogue now going on.

As to the reference to the entity in the occupied areas as an independent State, I only have to remind members of the Security Council of resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

As to the proposals of Mr. Denktash, as a general principle proposals or ideas which include provisions for perpetual occupation and the the presence of foreign troops constitute a reintroduction of a policy of perpetual tutelage in an enlightened twentieth-century world. Worse still, proposals or ideas which impede the application of the freedoms of settlement and ownership of land in the same country for 18 years are, to say the least, at variance with the minimum standards set by United Nations conventions on such freedoms and liberties.

In this specific case, there are no proposals on the table; as the Turkish side has described them, they were ideas, but they were not on the table. They were expressed in the wrong place and at the wrong time; what is expected is what the Secretary-General requests, that is, proposals of options, in Nicosia.

The communiqué issued by the Secretary-General at the end of his meeting with President Vassiliou and Mr. Denktash makes no reference whatever to the "ideas" or "proposals" of the Turkish side. That was not an omission.

Cyprus is 100 times smaller than Turkey, the latter having the biggest army in Europe. Cyprus being under occupation by Turkey and having the military disadvantage which it has, it has proposed - and is again reiterating this proposal here and now - to demilitarize the Republic of Cyprus. So long as the Turkish side rejects demilitarization it would seem ludicrous for it to complain that its victim, Cyprus, arms itself.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

The Turkish side insists on the need for security for the Turkish Cypriots. No one, in any case or anywhere, can deny a person or group of persons the inalienable right to security. It would, however, be a gross lack of logic and fairness for us to recognize the right to security for Turkish Cypriots and not for Greek Cypriots. To be objective, it is the Greek Cypriot community which is and feels insecure, because of the presence of the 35,000 Turkish troops. Turkey alleges that the permanent presence of the occupation troops and the right of Turkey to intervene are necessary. But what about the security of the Greek Cypriots? The answer from the Turkish side is that Greece too can station troops in Cyprus.

But such arrangements cannot satisfy the Cypriots. We want the fate of the Cypriot people to be in the hands of Cypriots, and not in the hands of Greece or Turkey.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Greece, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. NEZERITIS (Greece): It was certainly not my intention to ask to speak in reply. However, I felt impelled to do so because I must admit to being deeply disturbed by what I heard earlier.

It was certainly - and still is - my Government's hope that the forthcoming talks in Nicosia would be able to open the door for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus question. However, what we heard was much more of a remembrance of and an appeal to the past - a past which the Greek Cypriots themselves can look back to with great anguish and despair about what they have suffered - rather than a look to the future and the prospects that are offered.

I sincerely hope that that attitude will not be reflected in the forthcoming talks.

(Mr. Nezeritis, Greece)

One last word: The representative of Turkey looks askance at the support the Government of Greece gives to the Government of the Republic of Cyprus in order to assure it of its minimum defence requirements in the face of the overwhelming numerical superiority, both in manpower and in equipment, of the Turkish forces in the occupied territories. The Government of Greece remains absolutely faithful to its commitment to assist, by all means at its disposal, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to repulse any possible attacks and infringements on the territory now under its control.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Turkey, who has asked to speak.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I shall speak very briefly to answer some of the allegations coming from the other side of the table. I was a little sorry to hear that reference to the killing by the Turkish Cypriot soldier; I quoted from the statement in that connection from the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), and I do not think it needs any further elaboration. The blame was apportioned there in a clear fashion, and I think nothing more need be said about it.

We heard a lot about "occupation" and "perpetual occupation" and "tutelage". I think the parties who are complaining about the Turkish presence should look into the background of this question and see under what circumstances that Turkish army happened to be present there. It would be a good thing if they could look into the past a little bit and try to recall - because I do and I think others in this chamber do too - what the circumstances were before the arrival of the Turkish troops.

Talking about the security of the Greek Cypriot side, I think the security of everyone should be respected. But in all honesty we should ask ourselves whose security was undermined by whom in the past. It was always the Turkish community

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

that was the underdog; they were the ones who were massacred - not once but several times. I do not want to become emotional, but I think these are the things the other side of the table should consider before it starts talking about the security of the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot community never posed a security threat to the Greek Cypriots. It is the other way around, and I think we should bear this clearly in mind.

I might also add that the draft framework agreement the Secretary-General proposed to the two sides, after consultations with the two sides on finding a solution, contained elements which were designed to reduce and get rid of a military presence in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot side, I would recall again, accepted those proposals. It was the Greek Cypriots who rejected them. I do not think there are too many causes for complaint.

As regards the enlightened world of the twentieth century that we are living in, yes, we are living in such a period. But the ghastly events of Cyprus took place in this twentieth century, when we are living in an enlightened world. I think one should not have two standards about events before 1974 and after 1974. The events after 1974 are events of peace and tranquility on the island; it was before 1974 that the island was in turmoil. It is that we must try not to return to; it is that we must try to avoid.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Cyprus, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I just want to state that those who examined the situation in the past, as suggested by the other side, found an illegal invasion, a military action contrary to the Charter and international law and they adopted resolutions calling for an immediate withdrawal.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Turkey, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): When I finished my statement in exercise of the right of reply, I did not expect to have to speak again, but this talk about an illegal invasion is preposterous. The invasion took place in circumstances when Cyprus was being annexed; an independent State was being brought to an end, an independent State that was guaranteed by three countries, including Turkey. Turkey was duty-bound and treaty-bound to intervene to prevent that. It was through Turkey's intervention that Cyprus maintained its independence, because it was about to be annexed. I believe everybody knows that.

Please let us not use terms illegally, because to refer to an "illegal invasion" should be illegal in this Chamber, I believe.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Greece, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. NEZERITIS (Greece): Again, it was not my intention to exercise the right of reply. However, in view of what the representative of Turkey has just mentioned, I feel obliged to do so.

The events to which the representative of Turkey referred are well known to all of us. It is very well known that an illegal clique of people who had usurped authority in Greece tried to usurp authority in Cyprus through a coup there, which everybody, including Greece, absolutely and unequivocally condemned. To link that

(Mr. Nezeritis, Greece)

with the euphemistically called "arrival" or "presence" of Turkish troops and the ongoing occupation of a large part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is, to say the least, stretching the truth of the situation to quite an extent.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like to express my deep gratitude to the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey for the condolences and sympathies they have expressed here today in connection with the earthquake in Armenia.

At yesterday's meeting of the Security Council, I had occasion to report to members on the situation in the area of the earthquake. Therefore, I shall confine myself today to adding that the situation is gradually returning to normal, though it still remains very difficult and serious, as is demonstrated by the seismic situation in the region of the disaster itself. On 7 December, more than 300 aftershocks occurred there, 94 of which exceeded 5.5 on the Richter scale.

Although seismic activity is on the decline, the aftershocks continue. Rescue work is still going on and is in full swing. In Leninakan alone, it was possible to rescue more than 5,000 people from the ruins.

Once again, through the Security Council, I should like to express to all those countries our sincere gratitude for their moral and material assistance.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like, following consultations of the Council, to make the following statements on behalf of the members of the Council:

"The members of the Security Council expressed their support for the effort launched on 24 August 1988 by the Secretary-General in the context of

(The President)

the mission of good offices in Cyprus. They welcomed the readiness of the two parties to seek a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem by 1 June 1989.

"They called upon all parties for full co-operation with the Secretary-General in ensuring the success of the process currently under way."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.