



UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

1612th

MEETING: 13 DECEMBER 1971

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1612)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488): Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10401)	1

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.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND TWELFTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 13 December 1971, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. I. B. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1612)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):
Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10401).
3. Letter dated 12 December 1971 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10444).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

1. The PRESIDENT: May I interpose at this stage that I have the great pleasure of having our Secretary-General sitting on my right this morning. He has been away for so long for reasons all of us know well. We are happy to see him back with us, although he may not be with us for long. I wonder how I would have felt if he had not given me one morning to honour my Presidency by sitting on my right as he has been used to doing for other colleagues. I am happy you are here, Mr. Secretary-General, and I hope you will be with us at least for a few minutes before you withdraw.

2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Thank you very much for your very gracious references to me. I am most grateful. I am sure you speak on behalf of the Council and I am most grateful to all the members of the Council also for having reflected their sentiments through the President.

Letter dated 26 December 1963, from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/5488):

Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/10401)

3. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece, in letters addressed to the President, have

requested to be allowed to participate in the discussion of this item without the right to vote. In accordance with the usual practice of the Council, and if there is no objection, I propose to invite those representatives to participate in the Council's discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. Kyprianou (Cyprus), Mr. U. H. Bayülken (Turkey) and Mr. D. S. Bitsios (Greece) took places at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now consider the question on its agenda. I wish to draw attention to the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/10401 which is before the Council.

5. As a result of consultations prior to this meeting, a draft resolution has been prepared [S/10441], copies of which have been distributed to the members of the Council. In this connexion I wish to mention that there is a slight omission. In operative paragraph 2 of the original text the words "and accelerate" should be inserted after the word "continue". Operative paragraph 2 would accordingly read as follows: "*Urges* the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate determined co-operative efforts . . .".

6. It is my understanding that the Council wishes to take a vote first on this draft resolution and that I should call on speakers, in the order in which they are inscribed, on my list, after the vote. Accordingly, if there is no objection we shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/10441, as corrected.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none.¹

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

7. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote after the voting.

8. Mr. CHEN Cho (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to the Cyprus question, the Chinese delegation is of the opinion that, fundamentally speaking, this is a question left over from imperialist colonial rule. We have consistently maintained that questions of this nature should be settled in a reasonable way by the countries concerned through consultation on an equal footing.

9. As for the question of the United Nations forces, the Chinese Government has always had its own principled

¹ See resolution 305 (1971).

stand. This is well known to all the representatives. Therefore we could not participate in the voting on this resolution.

10. We support the people of Cyprus in safeguarding their national independence and sovereignty and hope that the two communities of the Greek and Turkish peoples will live together in peace on the basis of equality.

11. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Cyprus.

12. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Mr. President, first of all I should like to extend to you my best wishes in your capacity as President of the Security Council during a rather delicate and most difficult period when you have been called upon to preside over this highest body of the United Nations and of the world community.

13. The presence of the Secretary-General at this meeting fills us with extreme pleasure and happiness and we are glad to see him back in his office and at his duties. As representative of Cyprus, I think there cannot be a better occasion than this to express to him personally our deep appreciation and our gratitude for what he has been doing for Cyprus during all these difficult years, for the well-being of Cyprus, for peace in the area, as well as for all his efforts towards a just solution to the Cyprus problem in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles laid down in the resolutions of this Organization. He has been ready at all times to give advice, to direct, to guide us. His objectivity and his integrity are beyond any question and, as I said, I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my President, on behalf of the Government and people of Cyprus, to express to him our gratitude and our deep appreciation, to wish him all the best and a complete restoration to health and happiness for many years to come.

14. We have heard a report that the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria has lost his life in an accident and we should like to express our regrets and our grief at this event. He was a friend of long standing and an outstanding statesman.

15. We meet today to consider the report of the Secretary-General in regard to Cyprus. Before I make any remarks on that, I would wish to congratulate the representative of Turkey on assuming the post of Foreign Minister of his country and I look forward to co-operating with him in our efforts to improve the relations between our two countries on the basis of equality and understanding. We have known each other for a long time. We have on many occasions found ourselves in direct opposition. We have had many quarrels and many arguments together, but I believe that we can make this acquaintance—although not so pleasant in the past—a pleasant one in the future.

16. We are fully conscious of the fact that the Security Council is in the middle of dealing with an acute crisis in the world. We are fully conscious of the fact that members of the Council are exhausted, that they have been working hard and that they have been trying to achieve something on a specific issue which today appears to be, and is, the main crisis in the world—without in any way wishing to

underestimate the significance and dangers involved in other crises which still persist and have not been removed. We are fully aware of the circumstances in which we meet today and it is not, therefore, our intention—as far as my delegation at least is concerned—to take up unnecessarily any of the valuable time of this Council in dealing with aspects of the problem which either are not urgent or are well known. Therefore I shall confine my remarks to certain aspects which are very pertinent to this meeting.

17. The Security Council has been seized of the Cyprus problem since December 1963 and, after a long debate in the Council in February and March 1964, it adopted a resolution on 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)] which, while respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, provided for two basic objectives. It provided for a peace-keeping operation in Cyprus. It also provided for a peace-making machinery, because it was rightly considered that peace-keeping alone is not enough if the causes which threaten peace are to be removed. Therefore the peace-keeping and the peace-making should go together. The peace-keeping operation in Cyprus has been going on for a long time, although at the time it was hoped that it would be a temporary affair; in fact, the first provision was for three months. From what we see in the report of the Secretary-General, this is the twentieth time that he is suggesting a renewal of the mandate of the Force, and since 1964 almost eight years have gone by. Despite certain faults, despite certain shortcomings—and it is not perhaps the proper time here to analyse and discuss them—despite some ambiguities regarding the terms of reference which from time to time gave rise to misunderstandings, on the whole the peace-keeping operation has been successful. It has been successful in the sense that it has been able to prevent the recurrence of fighting of a major nature and also it has at least done its best to contribute, perhaps without much success, as can be seen from the report of the Secretary-General before us, to the efforts for the normalization of the situation. I shall not deal any further with peace-keeping. I shall go into peace-making.

18. For the past few years many have quite legitimately been advising, urging and requesting us to do our best to solve the Cyprus problem. We have heard from many that this situation cannot go on indefinitely, that the Cyprus problem must be solved.

19. It is very legitimate for those who contribute to the maintenance of the peace-keeping operation, either in terms of contingents or in terms of financial assistance, to be anxious to see the operation concluded. It is also legitimate for others who do not participate in the peace-keeping operation to be anxious to see the whole operation concluded, in view of the fact that as long as this situation does not end there still remains a threat to peace.

20. It is naive, if I may so suggest, and it is unrealistic to believe that in the world of today, as I had occasion to emphasize earlier in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, we can take the view that we must learn to live with the problem. But when we hear the calls, the urging, when we hear of their anxiety and the advice that they give, and when they tell us, "Do your best to reach a

quick solution to the Cyprus problem", my answer is simple. We should like a quick solution to the Cyprus problem ourselves, and I should underline that, with all due respect, we should like to see a solution to the Cyprus problem much quicker than others might, because we are the people who are most directly involved, we are the people who are suffering the most from the continuation of, and I shall put it in mild terms, the uncertainty about the future. Therefore, not only are we ourselves anxious to see a quick solution to the Cyprus problem and not only do we share the views of all others who are urging us in this matter, but, I submit, we indeed have done our utmost in that direction and we shall continue to do so.

21. As I said at the beginning of my statement, there are two elements to the resolution of 4 March 1964—the peace-keeping and the peace-making. What happened to the peace-making? I think that the Security Council, and I hope one day soon, will have to examine what happened to its peace-making effort. What happened to the peace-making effort of the United Nations? What happened to the peace-making effort of the Mediator who was appointed by the Secretary-General in pursuance of that resolution? The mediation effort did not produce any results. The Mediator produced his report.² We were ready to accept it, and we so indicated and worked on that basis for a solution of the Cyprus problem. Unfortunately, it was not accepted by the other side. After that various efforts were made, but it is not enough to make efforts. What should be done is to make meaningful efforts, and meaningful efforts to get somewhere—not negotiation for the sake of negotiation, and not talk for the sake of talk, and not an exchange of views for the sake of exchanging views, nor negotiation for prolonging the situation, which usually results in complicating the issues further. We should have negotiations which would be meaningful and which would aim at something specific. I believe that the terms of reference which were laid down in the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 were quite specific with respect to peace-making. They had been very properly analysed after long consultations by the United Nations Mediator, Mr. Galo Plaza.

22. As I have said, after that various other efforts were made. Apart from other efforts, there was the debate in the General Assembly, where a resolution was adopted [2077 (XX)]. I am sure that members of the Security Council are anxious to have resolutions implemented. It is very legitimate to put the question: why has that resolution not been implemented? Why have other resolutions not been implemented? Why has the good offices procedure of the Secretary-General, which was provided for in the Security Council resolution of December 1967 [244 (1967)] and which was adopted after a serious crisis, not been meaningfully utilized?

23. Again, procedure is not enough. If we are going to have a solution of the Cyprus problem, certain things—and at the end of my statement I shall make an announcement—must be accepted realistically. That must be done if we are to reach a solution of the Cyprus problem and if the

resolution which has just been voted upon is to be implemented. While reaffirming all the previous resolutions, paragraph 2 of this resolution speaks of achieving the objectives of the Security Council. If those objectives are going to be achieved and if a peaceful solution is to be found, as we all want, there are certain basic things which must be accepted realistically. And in the case of Cyprus, as I suppose in most other cases, realism is not something which is different from principles.

24. If we are going to build upon a basis of complicated, *sui generis*, improvised arrangements, then we shall fail. If we try to build on sand, the structure will collapse. If we approach the Cyprus problem as a complicated problem and once again, therefore, try to give it a complicated solution, we shall fail again.

25. The Cyprus problem can be solved if we approach it in its simplicity. These are the facts, and may I put it by way of questions, because if the questions are negatively answered, then the whole structure of my thinking cannot be argued any further. These are the questions: is Cyprus or is it not a Member of the United Nations? Is Cyprus or is it not, therefore, entitled to equal sovereignty as a Member of the United Nations? Should Cyprus be regarded as a second-class independent State? In the case of Cyprus, should intervention be allowed? Should the people of Cyprus not be left alone to decide how best they can solve their problems?

26. There are many other things I could mention, many other principles I could analyse. I could cite, I could list, I could refer to international documents and declarations adopted by the United Nations. I could refer to the Charter. But I will not do so, because my intention is not, at this stage, to open up a debate on the substance of the issue. I simply want to emphasize that certain things must be accepted if we are to have a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. To try to create and give the impression that Cyprus is under tutelage or that Cyprus is under the suzerainty of other States—something which was dismissed by the great leader of Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, in the case of his own country—would not contribute towards a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

27. Cyprus is in a very sensitive area of the world, and a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem would be to the benefit not only of the people of Cyprus but of international peace and security as well. We have been trying for the last three years to see what we could do as far as resolving the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. The Cyprus problem has two aspects, the internal and the external. We have been holding talks in Cyprus between the representatives of the Government of Cyprus and the representatives of the Turkish Cypriots. Those talks have been going on for three years. Unfortunately, there have been no results. At the end we found out that there were important issues upon which we could not agree.

28. What should be done next, is the question which arises. Should we leave it at that? No, we should not leave it at that. But bearing in mind what I said before, it is not enough to provide for a procedure, it is not enough to agree to talk. There must be the determination, there must be

² Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6253.

basic principles which ought to be accepted, if progress is to be made. Those principles have been repeated once again in the report of the Secretary-General for this period, and he specifies that Cyprus should be sovereign, that Cyprus should be independent, that Cyprus should be a unitary State. But the Secretary-General in his effort to see how we can proceed, how we can have another go, how we can make another effort, made certain suggestions. He in fact made two suggestions: he made a suggestion which is contained in paragraph 79 of his report and he made another suggestion which is contained in paragraph 103. The first suggestion, the one in paragraph 79, concerns the reactivation of the local talks in Cyprus. He makes certain suggestions. We shall not go into the background of this proposal, nor do we consider it necessary to explain certain things which preceded the suggestion; but the Secretary-General said that:

“The presence at United Nations Headquarters of the Foreign Ministers of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and of the Secretary-General’s Special Representative in Cyprus made possible an exchange of views with the Secretary-General on steps that might usefully be taken to facilitate the search for a settlement of the long-term problems of Cyprus. As a consequence of these conversations the Secretary-General made a suggestion designed to reactivate and make more effective the intercommunal talks in Cyprus. Although certain aspects of this suggestion did not prove immediately acceptable to all the parties concerned, the proposal as a whole still seems to the Secretary-General to provide a new basis for achieving the ends which all the parties have in mind. For this reason the Secretary-General feels that it may be useful to put his suggestion in writing for the convenience and continued consideration of the parties.

“The Secretary-General’s suggestion is that with a view to facilitating the future conduct of the intercommunal talks, his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. B. F. Osorio-Tafall, should, in the exercise of the Secretary-General’s good offices, take part in the talks between the representatives of the two communities. It is also suggested that the Governments of Greece and Turkey should each make available a constitutional expert who would attend the talks in an advisory capacity.” [See S/10401, para. 79.]

29. When this suggestion was put to us formally by the Secretary-General we expressed a number of reservations, which I should have no difficulty in reporting here in a summary form.

30. First of all, it has been an established practice that the talks in Cyprus on the Constitution of Cyprus should be, as they have been for the last three years, between the Cypriots themselves. There was a question of principle involved. Second, we felt that this formula, or this procedure, might possibly create problems if differences of opinion arose in the course of the talks. For these two basic reasons we have expressed serious reservations regarding the participation of experts from Greece and Turkey in the constitutional talks in Cyprus. I had occasion to discuss this several times with the Secretary-General before his illness, and since his illness with his colleagues in the Secretariat.

31. We have come to the conclusion that, despite our reservations, we would accept this proposal as it stands as another indication of our willingness and our desire to employ all possible means of making progress.

32. Of course, the task of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, who will participate in the talks, will be a rather difficult one. He will have to assist us to find a way out of the deadlock, because the purpose is not to build on the deadlock, and the purpose is not to complicate matters further.

33. Despite all our reservations, we are ready to listen to the constitutional advice of the constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey who will attend the talks in an advisory capacity, as stressed by the Secretary-General.

34. We may be accused of deviation from accepted practice. Perhaps it will be said that, with the possible exception of colonies under foreign rule, since the eighteenth or early nineteenth century there has not been a case of a constitution of an independent country being worked out in co-operation with others. But we accept the proposal of the Secretary-General as contained in paragraph 79 of his report. I repeat, our reservations were grave and serious, and we have informed both the Secretary-General and members of the Council, in our individual contacts, of these reservations.

35. Let us however also try this method, on the understanding that it does not create or does not implicitly create a precedent. We expect a great deal in this context, I may add, from the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the talks in the exercise of the Secretary-General’s good offices, as emphasized in the aide-mémoire handed to the three Governments by the Secretary-General.

36. But there is another pertinent paragraph in the report of the Secretary-General, which reads as follows:

“I should like here to add that it would seem to me to be appropriate, and indeed most desirable, at this juncture, when the United Nations has been involved in this problem for so many years, and with considerable expenditure both of effort and resources, that the Security Council should become more actively involved in assisting the parties in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. On some of the basic issues it seems to me that the Council’s advice, guidance and new initiatives, of course with the agreement of the parties, would be a reassuring and constructive element in their efforts to reach a settlement. It would be, of course, for the Council itself to consider how best it might play such a role.” [Ibid., para. 103.]

37. Having accepted the proposal of the Secretary-General as set forth in paragraph 79, to which I have referred, this becomes even more pertinent. It becomes more pertinent in the sense that we are accepting this proposal of the Secretary-General in the Security Council and in pursuance of the resolutions of the Council, and also of the resolution adopted today, which “Urges the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to continue and accelerate

determined co-operative efforts to achieve the objectives of the Security Council". If in this new effort, under the proposal of the Secretary-General—which we have accepted—we fail again within the next two or three months, to achieve the objectives of the Security Council, either the Council on its own initiative, or the Government of Cyprus, will ask the Security Council to utilize the spirit and the letter of paragraph 103 of the report of the Secretary-General.

38. And having said that, I would like to emphasize one thing which is of paramount importance. For reasons which it is not necessary to analyse and enumerate once again—we have done that repeatedly before the Security Council on several occasions—the Government of Cyprus has put its faith in the Security Council; the Cyprus problem is within the framework of the Security Council. The Security Council has been seized of the Cyprus problem since the crisis of 1963 came about, and we are working for the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and for the attainment and the achievement of the purposes of the Security Council. Any attempt to solve the Cyprus problem in a way which is unacceptable to the vast majority of the people of Cyprus, will not only find us ready to oppose it with all the means at our disposal, but I trust that it would find the Security Council also opposed. Having said that, I do not wish to indicate that there is going to be such an effort. I hope there is not. But in any case, Cyprus is a very small country. It is in a very sensitive area. It is one of the smallest Members of the United Nations. Therefore, it is only proper to humbly remind the Security Council of its responsibilities towards Cyprus.

39. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cyprus for his statement, particularly for his reference to me. I call on the representative of Turkey.

40. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): Let me begin by thanking the members of the Council for their courtesy in inviting me to appear here. The Council has held more than the ordinary number of meetings this month. Mr. President, we observed with admiration your patience, your objectivity, your sagacity of both heart and mind, so sorely needed on these trying occasions. You have inspired the discussions with a sense of responsibility, with a sense of fairness, with a sense of compromise, and a sense of expeditiousness, warranted by the gravity of the problems. We will follow your inspiration. We will be brief. We will speak to the point. We will seek to promote the means to a peaceful agreement as required by the task before us today.

41. Customarily, the frame of the debate on Cyprus has been cast by the Secretary-General's report. We will follow the precedent with pleasure, and with appreciation of the Secretary-General's invaluable contributions. Without his sincere endeavours, without his humanitarian approach, the intercommunal strife in Cyprus could have engulfed the region in turmoil and bloodshed. His dedication will always be remembered and cherished by all of us.

42. I would like to express my personal feelings of happiness at seeing our eminent Secretary-General recovered from his recent illness and taking part again in the work of our Organization.

43. In this context, I should like to express once again our appreciation to Mr. Guyer, Under-Secretary-General, and to his staff; to Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Cyprus; the Force Commander, Major-General Prem Chand, as well as to all members of UNFICYP for their dedicated and constructive work. I also express our appreciation to the contributing countries and the members of the Security Council, whose efforts and understanding make the presence of UNFICYP on the island possible.

44. While talking of UNFICYP, it is with emotion and profound sadness that I should like to recall the memory of Ralph Bunche whose untimely death has deeply grieved us all and constitutes a great loss for our Organization. Mr. Bunche's selfless dedication to the cause of peace, conciliation and *entente*, his unswerving loyalty to the ideals of the Charter, assured him a world-wide recognition, appreciation and admiration. We also remember him because of his efforts concerning the conciliation in Cyprus. I extend our condolences to his bereaved family.

45. I would also like to express my sincere condolences to the Bulgarian delegation and nation at the untimely and tragic death of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria. We have friendly and good relations with that country. I knew him personally. It is a loss for the countries which have maintained friendly relations with Bulgaria.

46. I will now comment on the three principal topics in the report: the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, the daily circumstances of life between the two communities, and, thirdly, the intercommunal talks.

47. First, the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP which appears as the immediate task before the Council, as indeed was concluded by the adoption of the resolution. The Secretary-General recommended an extension for a period of six months. My Government agreed with his recommendation and we are glad the Council acted promptly on that recommendation.

48. With regard to my second topic, the Secretary-General in his report states:

"Although there has been no recurrence of fighting, there has been a marked increase in tension and in the number of provocative incidents, and this has prevented progress towards a return to more normal conditions."
[S/10401, para. 2.]

49. The Council does not need to be reminded that it is the Turkish community that continues to labour under greater pressure and greater deprivation in its daily life. Nearly 20,000 Turkish Cypriots still remain displaced and the whole community for the eighth year continues to subsist under extremely trying conditions. Unfortunately, as stated by the Secretary-General in part III of his present report, the expectations expressed in the previous report about improvements have not materialized. The rehabilitation of the displaced persons has not progressed. The supply of electricity and water has not improved. Turkish civil servants of the Republic of Cyprus are still denied their salaries from the public treasury. The Turkish Cypriots are

still unable to benefit from the social insurance scheme and they do not get their share of revenue from the State of Cyprus or from the international development funds given to Cyprus. While both sides are reported to have equally co-operated with UNFICYP for promoting normalization and for preventing the escalation of isolated incidents, the report cites a few occasions on which this co-operation was found to be unsatisfactory. In this regard, once again, I would like to draw your attention to the difficult and precarious circumstances under which the Turkish community lives. The deterioration of the situation, particularly due to an upsurge of a pro-*enosis* campaign in the island, as reported by the Secretary-General, was bound to increase and has indeed increased the sensitivity of the Turkish Cypriots to their security requirements. And you must concede that the past experience of the community is not conducive to an easy confidence which would allow them to relax their vigilance.

50. Now I come to my third topic. Launched more than three years ago, the intercommunal talks have provided a channel of serious communication between the two communities and have served as an outlet for tension.

51. In this connexion, I would like to quote the Secretary-General. In his report he states:

"I remain convinced that the best way of achieving a solution to the Cyprus problem is through a negotiated agreement between the two communities on its constitutional aspects. On the other hand, I have come to the conclusion that the intercommunal talks in their present form have reached an impasse which cannot be overcome without some new impetus being given to them. Two considerations have led me to believe that it is possible to reactivate these talks. First, all the parties have agreed that the intercommunal talks should continue in modified form with a view to promoting the search for a solution of outstanding problems; and secondly, the discussions between the Governments of Greece and Turkey have recently led to joint efforts by them aimed at reactivating the intercommunal talks." [*Ibid.*, para. 99.]

52. Although the talks have not yielded a positive result, still they provide some grounds for optimism. The Secretary-General in part V of his report has given full information about his endeavours to reactivate the talks. He has indicated the acceptance in principle of his suggestions by all the parties concerned. Speaking for my Government, I can say that I am confident that the continuation of these contacts with the Secretary-General on this matter by the parties will soon produce a consensus upon which the talks may be resumed.

53. In this context, Turkey and Greece, motherlands to the two ethnic communities living in Cyprus, which shared the privilege of bringing about the independent bi-communal Republic of Cyprus in 1960, share also a responsibility in the search for permanent peace and stability. Indeed both countries are entrusted with moral and contractual obligations towards their respective communities. In fact, strengthened by a denominator common to both, in the search for a permanent and just solution, they can be most effective in promoting and speeding the common objectives of all.

54. Therefore it is necessary that, while these endeavours for reactivating the talks continue, the situation in the island should not be allowed to deteriorate. UNFICYP will no doubt contribute to this end, and it is hoped that all activities in Cyprus not compatible with permanent independence will be suspended and the chasm of mistrust and suspicion between the two communities will be narrowed by a sincere thrust towards finding an agreed solution on these constitutional matters.

55. In a week we shall reach the ninth anniversary of the tragedy of Cyprus, with the sight of a peaceful and agreed solution still eluding us. We have witnessed enough suffering, fears and tears, blood and thunder in Cyprus. It is high time that tears and fears were replaced by joy and hope and that the certainty of peace, security and happiness replaced the dark clouds of yesterday. It is high time the communities began to co-operate on works of development rather than continue to watch each other as enemies from different camps. That is not difficult to achieve; it merely requires that the realities of the Cyprus problem be faced and accepted by all parties with civilized courage.

56. It is my Government's hope, therefore, that as we enter the ninth year these endless and futile discussions on semantics will be set aside and that the realities and past experience which constitute the concrete elements in this matter will be tackled realistically. The problem before the parties concerned is the exploration of the possibilities of reshaping an existing Constitution, having regard to the desires and the requirements of the parties as well as to the realities of Cyprus. If slogans are set aside, abstract concepts abandoned and political aims not compatible with permanent independence forgotten, peace may be found in a short time, to the joy of all of us, and I hope 1972 will be a year of peace for Cyprus as well as for all mankind.

57. Speaking as a member of the Turkish Government, I want to assure this Council that my Government's decision and action on Cyprus, as indeed on all international problems, will continue to rest on a sense of responsibility for international peace and security, on a sense of understanding for international cohesion guided by a spirit of reasonableness and fairness, based on the law and justice which underlie the Charter of the United Nations.

58. As I said at the beginning of my statement, I have no intention of taking up the valuable time of the Security Council. I believe that the points I have made are sufficient to show the situation as it exists now and also to express and underline our hopes for the future.

59. Before concluding, I should like to say that, although I may differ on some points with what was said by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, nevertheless I should like to thank him for his kind words about myself and my new post.

60. I hope that the search for a peaceful solution will not be set aside and that, as I have stressed in my statement, determined efforts will continue. I think that if the Turkish community, which is one of the parties in this difficult problem, can be convinced of the goodwill of the Greek

Cypriot community and a scheme for an agreed solution can be arrived at on the constructive basis which created the partnership of the two communities in the Republic of Cyprus, a solution of the problem will not be too difficult.

61. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Greece.

62. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): We were happy to see U Thant with us this morning. Our sincerest wishes went with him during his recent illness, and we trust that he will enjoy a complete recovery.

63. We also wish to express our deep sorrow at the tragic death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria. He worked with us to achieve first the normalization and then the strengthening of ties between our two countries.

64. Once again we have to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus covering the period 20 May to 30 November 1971 [S/10401]. As in the past, it gives us a clear and precise picture of developments in the area we are discussing and of the constructive role the United Nations Force continues to play in Cyprus.

65. I do not intend to dwell on that part of the report that deals with the internal situation in Cyprus in the course of the past six months except to express the satisfaction of my Government at the fact that, generally speaking, calm has reigned in the island during that period. For that, the contribution of the Force was valuable, and it is bearing in mind the great usefulness of its presence that Greece has supported the extension of its mandate for a new six-month period. We will continue to contribute to the expenses of UNFICYP as far as our possibilities allow. Our contributions to date have gone beyond \$10 million.

66. In Greece we have always been in favour of a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus, and a peaceful solution can only be devised in an atmosphere of calm and peace.

67. Another essential element is unquestionably the goodwill, the desire of the parties to arrive as soon as possible at a just and equitable solution in keeping with the spirit of our day and of the Charter of the United Nations. Thus the time factor in the talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash in Nicosia was very important. Members of the Council will recall that I have repeated this opinion at each of its meetings. I am the first to regret that the prediction I made in November 1969 has turned out to be accurate. At that time I stated that lack of progress in the Nicosia dialogue might lead to a hardening of positions and make a solution more difficult.

68. The Secretary-General, fearing the effects of the stalemate in which the conversations found themselves at the end of this summer, addressed to the parties concerned his aide-mémoire of 18 October 1971, which appears in paragraph 79 of the report. The Greek Government replied affirmatively. In accepting the contents of U Thant's memorandum as a whole, my Government was motivated by the following reason: it shared the concern of the Secretary-General and his desire to see the intercommunal

talks reactivated and made more effective. We consider that these talks are the most propitious, if not the only, way of arriving at a constitutional solution of the problem. Furthermore, the Greek Government felt that it was its duty and in keeping with its previous efforts on behalf of a successful dialogue not to refuse the appointment of one of its experts in constitutional questions who, acting in a purely consultative capacity, might contribute to the success of the negotiations. Finally, it felt that the participation of the Secretary-General's representative in these conversations, as part of the Secretary-General's good offices, was in keeping with U Thant's appeal of November 1967 [S/8248/Add.3] and with paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 244 (1967) of 22 December 1967 pursuant to which the Nicosia dialogue was begun in the first place.

69. Having given our immediate and unconditional agreement we can now only hope that a new phase in these constitutional talks can be embarked upon soon, in a renewed spirit of goodwill. But in negotiations of this nature, there must be no victor and no vanquished. We must never lose sight of the fact that the two parts of the population have to live together.

70. I do not intend in this statement to enter into the substance of the talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash. But it is necessary, perhaps even useful, to point out that paragraph 70 of the report is incomplete when it states that Mr. Clerides has said that he is willing to accept separate authorities for communal affairs. He went much further in his proposals regarding local administration. The Greek Government felt that the proposals submitted by Mr. Clerides were constructive and could constitute the solid basis of an agreement. There are accordingly also good reasons to insist that the dialogue be resumed, and to hope it will be successful.

71. As I have just said, the Nicosia talks are the procedure most likely to result in an agreement embodying the expressed will of the population of Cyprus itself, particularly after the failure of the mediation called for in the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964. Greece agreed to the mediation attempt and we pinned our hopes on it, as the Secretary-General points out in paragraph 109 of his report. We also accepted the final report of the Mediator, Mr. Galo Plaza. It was in 1965 that the opportunity of finally reaching a solution was allowed to pass. We do not want the new opportunity offered by the talks between the representatives of the two parts of the population of Cyprus to be lost too. It is for that reason that we should like to see the Council adopt the suggestion of the Secretary-General as contained in his aide-mémoire of 18 October, since it will allow the two parties to resume their talks. The Security Council would thus be encouraging the parties along the right lines.

72. We have read with deep regret that the report before us is the last one that U Thant will be submitting on the question of Cyprus as Secretary-General. As in other regions, in respect of other problems, U Thant has struggled unremittingly for the restoration of peace in Cyprus and its maintenance in the neighbouring area. He was fortunate in being surrounded by distinguished colleagues both here at

the Headquarters of the United Nations and in Cyprus. We wish again to thank them. But it is U Thant who since 1963, when he took over the question, has followed it personally with unequalled moral courage, dedication to the principles of the Charter, and impartiality. We are profoundly grateful to him, and his devotion to the cause of peace and justice will inspire us in the efforts which we too will continue to make in order to achieve a goal that is dear to him.

73. In thanking you, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak, may I also be allowed to extend to our colleague, Mr. Bayülken, our warmest congratulations on his appointment as Foreign Minister of his country. I have had the pleasure of working with Mr. Bayülken on various occasions over the years, and I am confident that in his new and highly responsible post he will contribute positively to the solution of the problem before the Council.

74. The PRESIDENT: I have just learned at this very meeting, with the greatest regret, of the death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria. On behalf of the members of the Security Council may I extend my condolences to the Government of Bulgaria as well as to the bereaved family of the late Foreign Minister. May his soul rest in peace.

75. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): As the representative of a European country enjoying cordial relations with Bulgaria, may I express Belgium's deep sadness on learning of the tragic death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria.

76. On behalf of my Government and of the Permanent Mission of Belgium, I wish also to present our most sincere and cordial congratulations to Ambassador Bayülken, the new Foreign Minister of Turkey. The relations between our two countries are very close and trusting, and I am convinced that under his auspices these relations will improve further.

77. Once again the Security Council is asked to prolong for a further period of six months the mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. My delegation voted in favour of the Council's resolution because we share the views and the arguments expounded in part VIII of the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 20 May to 30 November 1971.

78. While it is true that this report contains certain encouraging elements when compared with the last one, such as the fact that "UNFICYP has suffered no casualties attributable to intercommunal incidents" [*S/10401, para. 11*] and the relative stability in the number of incidents, it nevertheless reflects the disquiet and apprehensions of impartial eyewitnesses at the deterioration of the general situation in Cyprus. Paragraphs 94 to 97 leave no doubt regarding the aggravation of the tension between the two communities on the island. After examining developments during the period under review the Secretary-General states:

"... a relative, though superficial, calm has been maintained. (UNFICYP) ... has been able to achieve only limited progress in the normalization of conditions in the

island and none at all in the important fields of freedom, of movement and deconfrontation". [*Ibid., para. 95.*]

79. My delegation has taken note of the conclusions the Secretary-General draws from his analysis of the situation, particularly that no effort must be spared to maintain calm on the island and to this end that the mandate of UNFICYP should be prolonged for a further period of six months and also that the Security Council might take a more active role in assisting the parties in their search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus.

80. With regard to the maintenance of calm, my delegation has every confidence in the efficiency and conscientiousness of the officers and men of the United Nations Force who, since 1964, have contributed decisively to the restoration of public order and who have done everything in their power to prevent incidents from leading to clashes.

81. Furthermore, the efforts to maintain order can be successful only if, at the same time, the intercommunal talks emerge from their present stalemate. My Government strongly hopes that Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash will resume their talks and compose their differences on the local administration and on the guarantees of the independence of Cyprus.

82. Pending an over-all settlement, the role the Secretary-General would like to see the Security Council play seems to us at this point less important than the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The latter is not asked to stand as a mediator between the parties, but by his presence and authority to encourage them to continue in their search for a solution, and themselves to find the compromises and the accommodations without which no settlement is possible.

83. It is against this background that my delegation supports the suggestion in paragraph 79 of the report of the Secretary-General. The approach and the method suggested for speeding up the talks between the two communities, both by their extension and by the presence of the Special Representative in Cyprus, we believe offer a realistic basis for consultations leading to a solution acceptable to the Government and people of Cyprus. It was also in this spirit that my delegation viewed the hope expressed by the Secretary-General in the first part of paragraph 103 of his report. If in the course of this debate members of the Council are ready to give their support to the suggestion in paragraph 79, then I am convinced that in the present circumstances and as of this moment we will have assisted the parties in their search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus.

84. May I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the tireless perseverance of the Secretary-General and his Representative in Cyprus in efforts to avoid the threat to international peace and security inherent in the situation on the island.

85. My Government has taken note of the financial implications of the United Nations operation in Cyprus. As in the past, Belgium will not fail to make a voluntary contribution to help cover the operating expenses of the Force.

86. I would not wish to conclude my statement without paying deserved tribute to the officers and men of the United Nations Force for the exemplary way in which they are carrying out the tasks which the Security Council entrusted to them in resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. We can fairly state that the United Nations has introduced a factor of order and peace in Cyprus.

87. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): First of all I should like to congratulate Mr. Bayülken on his assumption of the high office of Foreign Minister of Turkey.

88. My delegation believes that it is necessary to extend further the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for six months as proposed by the Secretary-General in his report [S/10401]. However, our support for this extension is not without some feeling of reluctance. This is the twentieth time that the Security Council has taken a similar decision for extension and we are aware that there is a justifiable criticism directed against the apparently indefinite perpetuation of the Force.

89. I should like particularly to draw the attention of the parties concerned to the last part of paragraph 3 of the resolution adopted by the Council just now, which approves the extension of the stationing of the United Nations Force in the expectation that by the end of the mandate, namely 15 June 1972 "sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force". My delegation wishes to urge all the parties concerned to continue and accelerate determined efforts in a spirit of compromise and statesmanship to fulfil this hope of the Security Council.

90. The Secretary-General said in his report that during the last six months the tension between the two communities in Cyprus has not only persisted but has even increased. My delegation cannot but view this situation with certain misgivings. At the same time, my delegation welcomes and highly appreciates the Secretary-General's initiative in trying to find a constructive clue to break the present deadlock in the intercommunal talks. It is an encouraging sign that, in the course of a series of consultations which the Secretary-General had with the representatives of the Governments concerned, a considerable degree of meeting of minds has been achieved, including the idea of his Special Representative's participation in the talks in the exercise of the Secretary-General's good offices. My delegation hopes that the initiative taken by the Secretary-General will give impetus to the future conduct of the intercommunal talks towards a mutually acceptable accommodation.

91. My delegation would like to emphasize that we highly value the United Nations presence in Cyprus, one of the successful examples of peace-keeping operations. No one will deny that it is because of UNFICYP's presence, that relative calm has been maintained in Cyprus. The discipline and dedication which the UNFICYP personnel of all categories—military or civilian—has shown for more than seven years are indeed remarkable and deserve particular praise and appreciation. We also wish to take this opportunity to express our warm gratitude to the Governments which have patiently shouldered the burden of providing the contingents for the peace-keeping operation.

92. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our earnest desire that an early peaceful solution to the Cyprus question be found in a spirit of compromise on both sides, so that the size of UNFICYP could be gradually reduced to a nominal presence.

93. It is on this understanding that Japan has continued to support the peace-keeping operations in Cyprus by voluntary contributions and other appropriate means.

94. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, our congratulations upon the return amongst us of the Secretary-General, after a long absence during which serious illness kept him to his bed. We offer him our sincerest wishes for perfect health so that he may long continue to make his contribution to the United Nations in which such great hopes are vested.

95. My delegation has further cause for satisfaction in the news that our distinguished friend and colleague, Ambassador Bayülken of the Republic of Turkey, has been appointed to the high office of Foreign Minister of his country, whose spokesman he now becomes. We have had the opportunity to know him, and we know that this event may foreshadow a definitive solution to the problem of Cyprus, in view of the tact, dexterity and high political and diplomatic skill he has always displayed. We wish him every success, not only in his duties but in the broader framework of his country's foreign policy and the multilateral diplomacy of the United Nations.

96. We have had an opportunity on several occasions to speak of this problem of Cyprus. We do not believe that it is impossible for two communities, belonging—originally, of course—to two different nations, to build a composite nation and to arrive at a Cypriot identity, which should be the end result of the present situation.

97. We are therefore in favour of a continuous and fruitful search for a political entity of the Cypriots, be they of Turkish or Greek origin. To reach this objective, it is essential that the leaders of the two communities do their utmost to keep people calm on both sides. This could be brought about through what I might call a social and cultural symbiosis of the two communities which would in fact be the basis of the complementarity which is so necessary between the two communities, Turkish and Greek.

98. It is true that the minority community might have the feeling that Vergil expressed in the *Aeneid*, when he said "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*" ("I fear the Greeks, even when they bear gifts"). But I do not believe this feeling can be any obstacle when the two communities know one another so well. And so, if there are constructive proposals from the Greek community, those proposals should be taken into account, respected and implemented. However, it seems to us that what should prevail is consideration for individual and personal values before all else. It is this personal and individual criterion that should be applied, posts and responsibilities being granted, without necessarily—and certainly not automatically—having regard to the number as such. What counts is individuals. It is in this form that authentic democracy can be conceived. The

citizens of both communities have the right to life and citizenship on the same footing, and those two communities should not be so greatly committed to their ancestral or historical allegiance that they cannot bear in mind the future they must safeguard, irrespective of outside assistance.

99. As the Secretary-General says in his report, we feel that the situation in Cyprus is an example on which the United Nations can congratulate itself on its work to maintain peace. It would be very desirable for this example to be followed in other areas where the Security Council is obligated to try to maintain peace and play a conciliatory role among the parties.

100. In a word, we think that it is for the two communities to do everything in their power to build a single fatherland: Cyprus. That should be their main objective. We also believe that the present calm could serve as a point of departure for a definitive solution of the problem. Hence we hope that in a few months' time the parties concerned—whether at the governmental level, that is to say, the leadership, or at the level of the Cypriot communities—will find a solution to the present situation, which would make it unnecessary for the United Nations to leave in Cyprus the troops that have been stationed there since 1964.

101. It is in conformity with the above principles that the Government of the Republic of Burundi has authorized us to vote for the resolution, expressing the hope that a definitive solution—which should before all be worked out and implemented by the Cypriots, as Cypriots—will be found so that the United Nations may concentrate its resources on other problems which are just as important and urgent as that of Cyprus.

102. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): I should like to associate my delegation with the expressions of regret on the occasion of the death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria.

103. I should also like to join with you, Mr. President, in saying how glad we were to see the Secretary-General with us at the beginning of this meeting.

104. I want to begin by thanking the Secretary-General for his report, which, as he has himself noted, is the last which he will present to us on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. This makes it all the more regrettable that he is unable to report progress towards a solution of the difficulties which prevailed in that island. That, however, is certainly no fault of his. This report and its predecessors make abundantly clear how dedicated an effort the Secretary-General and his advisers have made in trying to promote a settlement.

105. Once more there is no improvement to report in the situation on the island. Indeed, rather the reverse is true, since the Secretary-General's report notes a deterioration in the situation and an increase in tension between the two communities. Fortunately, although there have been a number of intercommunal incidents, some of them serious, a comparative calm has been maintained thanks largely to the efforts of UNFICYP, to whose commander and men, as

well as to the Secretary-General's representative, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, I take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute.

106. In the circumstances, my Government accepts that the Security Council cannot at present withdraw the United Nations force from Cyprus, and my delegation therefore had no hesitation in voting in favour of the draft resolution which the Council has adopted, extending the mandate of UNFICYP for a further period of six months. We are also willing to maintain our troop contingent in Cyprus for the period of the renewed mandate and to continue our financial contribution.

107. What is perhaps, however, even more serious than the deterioration in the situation in the island is that, as the Secretary-General has made clear, there is no progress to report in the search for a settlement. The intercommunal talks remain stalled. In this connexion I should like to repeat what my delegation has said before. I have just said that my Government is willing to continue its support of the operation for a further period of six months, but our acceptance of the burden of support for UNFICYP in men and in money cannot be taken for granted. Doubtless the same is true for other contributors.

108. Nor must it be assumed that we shall be willing to continue it indefinitely. This is both because of the implications for the Cyprus question itself and because it would be regrettable if the experience of UNFICYP were to have the result of undermining confidence in the effectiveness of a peace-keeping operation as a tool in dealing with problems of international conflict. The importance of making progress towards a political settlement in Cyprus thus has relevance beyond the confines of the Cyprus question itself.

109. Nor is this impatience confined to the contributors. I believe that there is a growing and general belief that it is high time that this particular problem was solved and that it has been on the agenda of the Security Council for far too long. It is, I think, with very much the same thought in mind that our Secretary-General has suggested that the Security Council might become more actively involved in assisting the parties in the search for a solution to their problem. It is neither unreasonable nor surprising that he should have made this suggestion. In present circumstances, however, we believe that it would be premature to embark upon such an exercise and that it is better, as far as the Security Council is concerned, to do as we have done and renew the mandate of UNFICYP. This is because in present circumstances we still believe that the intercommunal talks provide the best hope for progress. As the Secretary-General has again emphasized in his report, in the last resort a solution to the difficulties can only be reached through arrangements directly negotiated between the parties. We also believe that it is too pessimistic and too soon to conclude that there is no hope of reviving the intercommunal talks.

110. But while suggesting that wider consideration of the matter by the Security Council is premature, I wish also to emphasize that it is indeed essential that the intercommunal talks should be given new life. We therefore whole-

heartedly support the initiative taken by the Secretary-General on 18 October, and we hope that it will be possible to achieve agreement on a formula for the reactivation of the talks which is acceptable to all the parties.

111. As I understand it, the Secretary-General's proposal, which is essentially of a procedural nature, does not represent any sort of straitjacket. Its sole purpose is to get the talks going again. We accordingly urge all the parties concerned to show the maximum flexibility in considering this proposal so that the talks may be resumed on the basis of what he has suggested.

112. In this connexion, I think we can draw some encouragement from the statement this morning by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus. Once talks are resumed, we hope that flexibility will be shown in working for a solution to the outstanding substantive problems which divide the two communities.

113. I should like to make one or two further points. First, we join with other delegations in congratulating the representative of Turkey on his translation to a new sphere of activity. We are confident that in his new post, as in his previous one, he, for his part, will do all he can to encourage and promote a successful dialogue in Nicosia.

114. Secondly, I should like again, as indeed the representative of Greece has done, to stress the importance of the intercommunal talks as the best method for seeking a solution of present difficulties. It would surely be a counsel of despair to suggest that these difficulties could only be solved with the collective help of people not directly concerned, and on that basis to be contemplating the necessity of such intervention. Our aim must surely be to promote the dialogue without the thought of such a necessity looming ahead. These intercommunal talks are indeed of vital importance because, while as parties to the 1960 treaties we, for our part, continue to respect them—and of course expect the other sovereign States that entered into them to do the same—we recognize that there may be some parts of the texts of the treaty instruments which no longer reflect the wishes of all the parties and which may now be inappropriate in some respects. It is precisely with a view to adjusting the internal aspects that the intercommunal talks have been taking place and should continue.

115. In his statement in the general debate in the General Assembly,³ the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of my country quoted our undertaking in the Charter to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. The Charter refers to international relations, but it was drawn up on behalf of "the peoples of the United Nations", and that passage surely applies not only to relations between States, but to the conduct of and relations between communities within a State.

116. Mr. DE LA GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation heard with sorrow of the sudden death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria. May we

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1944th meeting.*

associate ourselves with the feelings of condolence expressed in the Council towards a country with which France enjoys very old and friendly relations. May I ask the Bulgarian delegation kindly to accept our heartfelt condolences.

117. Once again the Council has met to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. Once again we have agreed to recognize that we should prolong the United Nations Force there; in the course of the last six months, as in the past, that Force has prevented new confrontations and incidents which, without its presence, might have jeopardized the precarious calm that reigns in the island. Once again, on this point, we must pay tribute to those whose mission is to direct these efforts of conciliation, to that "model team" to which I referred last year, and I specifically refer to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, and to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Prem Chand.

118. Once again we have to recognize that the presence of the Force, whose usefulness in the prevailing circumstances in Cyprus cannot be challenged, must not be considered permanent, leading to a crystallization of a situation which satisfies no one, and which therefore increases the risks of confrontation between the communities.

119. Having said this—or should I say having repeated this—our feeling is that if this time we remain satisfied with these overly familiar reflections or findings we shall overlook two factors that should incite us to leave well-trodden paths. On the one hand, we must take into account the observation of the Secretary-General in his report according to which, "The period under review has been marked by a deterioration of the general situation in Cyprus" and "The task of UNFICYP has become increasingly difficult" [A/10401, paras. 94 and 95]. On the other hand, there are new proposals regarding the search for solutions to the problem of the island.

120. With regard first of all to the aggravation of the situation, the report before us provides us with a great deal of evidence: it speaks of increasing tension along the Green Line, an increase in personnel of the National Guard, reinforcement of the military capacity of the Turkish Cypriot fighters, rejection, in a certain number of cases, of recommendations or advice given by the Force to preserve the *status quo*, and the continued recurrence of incidents giving rise to shooting. The report once again brings out the increasing tendency towards separate development of the economy of the two communities, with public services, for their part, being completely separate one from the other. Furthermore, freedom of movement on the island is still restricted, and, in the words of the report, "is one of the most serious irritants to Cypriots of both communities" [*ibid.*, para. 61]. We must also emphasize, as our Secretary-General has done, the inappropriateness of anything that might recall a painful and still very recent past and might therefore contribute to an aggravation of tensions.

121. But this atmosphere of frustration and tension of which I have just mentioned the most significant highlights, is linked above all to the profound disappointment created

by uncertainty; in a word, by the setbacks encountered in the search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus. The exchanges of letters between the representatives of the two communities have resulted in no progress along the road to agreement and have, basically, only stressed the continuing difference in their positions, particularly in matters of local administration and safeguards of independence. Needless to say, we cannot merely note with concern the persistence of a considerable gap between the views of the two sides.

122. Our Secretary-General, who at our request has for a number of years lent his good offices, has deemed it appropriate to seek a resumption of the talks between the two communities; and according to his view, this would call for a different procedure, one that might give the new impetus to these negotiations that was so obviously lacking heretofore. He was also encouraged by the joint efforts of the Greek and Turkish Governments, since at the beginning of the year their Foreign Ministers were able, right here, to find common ground with regard to ways of assisting the spokesmen of the parties concerned to break out of their stalemate. That was a new and significant step on the road to mutual trust.

123. The proposals that emerged have since become well known. Starting from what has been achieved so far, that is, a formula that still did not meet the expectations of the parties concerned, and flowing from their divergent concerns, these proposals could not immediately satisfy all parties. For our part, however, we believe that we should keep them in mind, for they do constitute a reasonable approach to the problem and, as far as is possible, they do take into account the concerns of both sides.

124. It is for this reason that my delegation wishes to say that the Secretary-General's endeavours have our sympathy and should, we believe, be welcomed by all. They can contribute to an effective resumption of the intercommunal talks. We believe that the practical approach proposed by the Secretary-General should allow some common ground to be found. The Security Council's support for this initiative will constitute the reassuring and constructive element which, according to the terms of the report, should dissipate all remaining reluctance.

125. As he himself points out, this report marks the twentieth time that U Thant has appeared before us to recommend an extension of the mandate of the Force. In the course of the last eight years, my country has constantly supported his efforts to achieve, in accordance with the terms of resolution 186 (1964) of the Security Council, of 4 March 1964, a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem in Cyprus. Our confidence in him has never flagged. That explains why, despite certain reservations regarding the extension of the mandate of the Force—something that is becoming a half-yearly ritual—we have always resigned ourselves to it.

126. Our decision today is no departure from the line of conduct we have set ourselves. However, we do hope that the various parties concerned understand the reason for our position: the new extension given to them is not the result of any resignation on our part or of any facile approach. We hope that they will give us proof of their good will,

specifically and especially of their will to make compromises and accommodations enabling their talks to be resumed.

127. We are convinced that in this regard, Mr. Bayülken will bring to bear his wide experience and perfect knowledge of our concerns for a settlement of the Cyprus problem, to make easier the search for the indispensable conciliation. And may we, on this occasion, congratulate him most warmly on being entrusted with the high responsibility of directing the diplomacy of Turkey. We of course hope most sincerely that he will enjoy great and brilliant success in the high mission now entrusted to him.

128. Possibly, circumstances may now lead us to postpone the formulation of directives and suggestions, to which the Secretary-General referred in his report. But while it is obviously up to the parties themselves to find a solution to their problems, the Council's responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, which is the reason for the presence of the Force on the island, must lead us to ensure that no chance for achieving a settlement be overlooked.

129. With all his experience and his familiarity with the problem of Cyprus, the Secretary-General has laid down a course to be followed. We trust that his proposals, together with whatever changes are needed to make them acceptable to all the parties, will be followed up, and we are gratified at the new and favourable elements that this debate has brought out. We trust that it will mark a new phase in the search for a fair solution that will be acceptable to the Cypriots of both communities.

130. Mr. VINCI (Italy): Mr. President, I wish to join you and previous speakers in the expressions of heartfelt welcome addressed to Secretary-General U Thant, for whom my respect and admiration and, if I may say so, sincere affection have never ceased to increase throughout all the years of his tenure of office.

131. The Italian delegation has cast its positive vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/10441, by which the Security Council has decided to renew for another six-month period the stationing of UNFICYP in Cyprus. In so doing, the Italian delegation wishes to express once again the unswerving support of the Italian Government for United Nations peace-keeping operations, when particular conditions so require. This is still the case with Cyprus, as we can easily conclude from the comprehensive report submitted to us in document S/10401 by the Secretary-General.

132. The report of the Secretary-General, in fact, has given us a complete description of the present situation. We feel indebted to U Thant, as well as to his Special Representative in Cyprus and to all the United Nations forces stationed there, for their very deserving activities in the maintenance of peace in that sensitive and delicate area so close to my country.

133. My delegation has examined this report with the utmost interest and attention and we have noted with some concern that, in the period covered by the report, the situation in Cyprus has been characterized by a consider-

able increase in tension and in the number of incidents which have prevented the achievement of even small progress towards a return to more normal conditions. Nevertheless, the Secretary-General states in his report: "Despite the difficulties involved, I am deeply convinced that, given the necessary goodwill" in accordance with the principles of the Charter, "the Cyprus problem is capable of solution". [S/10401, para. 111.]

134. The report of the Secretary-General, therefore, while stressing the difficulties which hamper the pursuit of adequate solutions, indicates some positive prospects which, if they should materialize, could lead to favourable results. These results, in turn, could facilitate the bridging of the differences still dividing the parties, thus creating the ground for a lasting solution of the Cypriot problem, which would be of great benefit to all countries, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus stated so eloquently this morning. I refer in particular to the procedural suggestions aimed at reactivating and making more effective the talks between the two communities. The Italian delegation deems that these are meaningful suggestions which could give new life and a fresh start to the intercommunal talks, providing a potentially stronger machinery in the search for a solution to the problem. We are happy that, as we were made to understand also from the statements which we heard this morning, this last suggestion is acceptable in principle to all the parties concerned.

135. In this connexion we were most encouraged by the statement made by the representative of Turkey, in which he expressed the hope that 1972 will be the year of the establishment of peace in Cyprus. Our confidence is increased by the fact that Ambassador Bayülken will very soon assume the high responsibility of the post of Foreign Minister of Turkey. We congratulate him most warmly on this assignment and, although we shall miss him as an esteemed colleague and good friend, we are gratified by the noble purposes which he will pursue in this highly responsible position.

136. We cannot fail to note, however, at the same time that, so far, the situation is uncertain in the island and is likely to become worse if precautionary measures, not only aimed at limiting the dispute, but also intended to lead towards a solution, are not adopted. The United Nations Force in Cyprus has proved its ability in accomplishing such a task, and it is for this reason that the Secretary-General has suggested the extension of its stay for another six-month period.

137. In addition to these few remarks, the Italian delegation wishes to emphasize that the peace-keeping operations represent, in our view, one of the ingenious means enabling the United Nations to create the necessary conditions for a more peaceful, just and prosperous world, thus meeting the expectations placed in our Organization by all the peoples of the family of nations. Also, if we bear in mind that in building up an effective United Nations role in this field, we are complying with another of the main guidelines adopted unanimously by our Organization on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, namely, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)], which urged all Member States to

respond to the immediate need to agree on guidelines for more effective peace-keeping operations in accordance with the Charter.

138. If these are the basic reasons why my Government has from the very beginning supported the United Nations operation in Cyprus, this should not prevent us from expressing our concern about the many years during which we have been occupied with this problem without as yet seeing the light at the end of the tunnel. It is, therefore, essential, at a moment in which mankind is facing global problems which require the maximum commitment of us all that the situation in Cyprus should be settled by fully guaranteeing to the parties concerned respect for their own interests in the framework of both independence and unity of the island.

139. Of course, we realize the complexity of the problems with which we are confronted, but I wish only to emphasize the firm belief that mutual trust, goodwill and respect for the different positions, when really applied, can lead to results which may exceed the best expectations.

140. It is in this spirit that the Italian delegation has lent its support to the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP.

141. The report submitted to us by the Secretary-General is the last one on the subject prepared by him. May I be allowed to address to him, on behalf of the Italian Government, the warmest thanks and expressions of deep gratitude for the indefatigable work he accomplished in this field and for the commitment, dedication and high sense of responsibility with which he has acted throughout all these years in the pursuit of an acceptable solution of the problem of Cyprus.

142. Before concluding, may I associate myself and my delegation with the condolences expressed by you, Sir, and by previous speakers, on the untimely death of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria. Mr. Bachev was a well known figure in these circles and I had the privilege on a number of occasions to appreciate his knowledge, his equanimity and goodwill in discussing the crucial problems here and elsewhere.

143. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Permit me first of all, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to express our profound condolences to our Bulgarian comrades and friends on the occasion of the tragic death of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Comrade Ivan Bashev, a faithful friend of the Soviet Union and a consistent champion of the peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist State of Bulgaria. The Soviet delegation would like to ask our Bulgarian friends to convey our feelings of deep grief to the family of Comrade Bashev.

144. The Soviet Union invariably approaches the consideration of questions discussed in the Security Council and in the United Nations as a whole from the standpoint of the need to strengthen international security and peace. Such an approach is fully in accord with the main purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

145. The Soviet Union's position on the Cyprus question has frequently been expounded in the statements of the Soviet Government and of the USSR representatives, in the Security Council and elsewhere. That position retains its full force and validity. The Soviet Union has always taken and continues to take the view that the Cyprus question must be settled by peaceful means in the interests of the people of Cyprus and in the interests of the easing of tension in that important region of the world. Such a settlement must be based on respect for the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus which is a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations and pursues a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs. There is and can be no doubt that the solution of the internal problems of Cyprus is a matter for the Cypriots themselves.

146. The Cyprus question must be solved without any interference from outside. The lawful rights of all citizens, whether of Greek or Turkish nationality, must be respected by all. The Soviet Union is firmly opposed to any attempts to infringe upon the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and to any intent to settle the Cyprus question behind the backs of the people of Cyprus to the detriment of their vital interests and to the benefit of the imperialistic aims of outside forces.

147. It is our deep conviction that, in order to ensure the complete independence, integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, all foreign forces must be withdrawn from its territory, and the foreign military bases on the territory of Cyprus must be removed.

148. The Soviet delegation would also like to stress the need for all States, in strict compliance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964, to refrain from actions contrary to that resolution which might complicate the situation in Cyprus.

149. It should also be pointed out that Cyprus is situated in immediate proximity to Europe, and the state of affairs on that continent has the most direct influence on the situation in Cyprus. That being so, one can only welcome the recent turn towards the easing of tension in Europe. For its part, the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, consistently calls for further measures to consolidate European peace and security, the most important of which would be the early convening of an all-European conference on questions of security and co-operation.

150. Today the Security Council is once again considering the question of Cyprus in connexion with the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus for the period 20 May to 30 November 1971. On studying this report, one cannot but draw attention to the statements it contains to the effect that the period under review has been marked by a deterioration of the general situation in Cyprus, that tension on the island has noticeably increased and that there have been a number of incidents, some of them serious, between representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities. Such statements can only give rise to regret and concern.

151. The report also states that the intercommunal talks have virtually reached a deadlock. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation shares the opinion of the Secretary-General that the best way of achieving a solution to the Cyprus problem is, indeed, through talks between the two communities. We take the view that such talks are the internal affair of the Republic of Cyprus. There can be no doubt that only through such talks, based on mutual understanding and goodwill, without any interference, and, what is more important, without any pressure from outside, can conditions be created which would ensure a peaceful life and security for all Cypriots.

152. The report expresses the view that the Security Council should become more actively involved in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem. A similar idea was also expressed in today's statement in the Council by the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou. The Soviet delegation, for its part, shares those views. We should also like to point out that many years have already passed since the day when foreign forces, foreign military contingents under the title of United Nations forces first arrived in Cyprus as a result of well-known circumstances. Today the Security Council is considering a proposal to extend the mandate of those forces for the twentieth time. Their presence on the island for such a long time, as has previously been stated by ourselves and by many other delegations, can in no way be regarded as normal. As in the past, the Soviet delegation holds firmly to the view that this United Nations operation cannot and must not continue indefinitely. In itself, the presence of foreign forces in the territory of an independent sovereign State, even under the auspices and on behalf of the United Nations, can only be a temporary or extraordinary measure which should be ended as soon as possible.

153. The time has come for the Security Council to study once again all the possibilities for a settlement of the situation in Cyprus which would lead to the withdrawal of United Nations forces from that island. The Council must, of course, itself decide in what way it can best carry out this task.

154. It is on this understanding, and bearing in mind the position on this matter of the interested parties and above all of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, that the Soviet delegation will not now raise the question of the withdrawal of United Nations forces from the territory of Cyprus.

155. With regard to the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, the USSR delegation considers it necessary to point out that this resolution reaffirms the basic provisions of resolution 186 (1964), and also of subsequent Council resolutions on the Cyprus question. The USSR delegation considers this to be a decisive factor in determining the Soviet Union's attitude to this resolution also.

156. The USSR delegation did not object to the adoption by the Council today of a resolution extending the stationing of the United Nations forces in Cyprus until 15 June 1972, on the understanding that this extension will be effected in full accordance with the provisions of

resolution 186 (1964) and of the subsequent Security Council resolutions on the Cyprus question, which is to say that these forces will retain their present functions and will continue to be financed in the same way, namely, on a voluntary basis.

157. Finally, the Soviet delegation would like to take advantage of the presence at today's meeting of the Security Council of the Permanent Representative of Turkey, Ambassador Bayülken, who was recently appointed to the high office of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey. We should like to express the hope that his great experience and erudition will foster the further development and the strengthening of Soviet-Turkish good-neighbourly relations and friendship. I congratulate him on his high appointment.

158. Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation wishes first of all to associate itself with the sorrow expressed by yourself on behalf of the Council, and echoed by other members, on the tragic death of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria. To the Government and the people of Bulgaria, with whom my country enjoys the closest of friendly relations, we address our sincerest condolences.

159. However, at the other end of the spectrum of feelings, may I congratulate the representative of Turkey, Mr. Bayülken, on his nomination as Foreign Minister of his country. May I express our hopes for great success to crown his efforts.

160. Once again, the Security Council is meeting to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus covering the period from 20 May to 30 November 1971, circulated in document S/10401. First of all we would like to express our appreciation for the valuable report the Secretary-General has submitted to us, valuable both because of the precise description of events that have taken place and the assessment made of them, as well as for the conclusions drawn.

161. We would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Osorio-Tafall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his unremitting efforts, and the Commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, Major-General Prem Chand, for the very correct way in which he has commanded the forces under his orders. They certainly are fulfilling what we would call the peace mission of our Organization.

162. The Secretary-General has very eloquently described the increase of tension in the island, the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks, the increase in military activities on the part of the armed contingents of the different groups, as well as certain cases where the trust that should be given the United Nations has been found wanting. These elements and these facts, as well as others that the Secretary-General details with his usual accuracy and

frankness, hardly lead the Council to be optimistic regarding events in the island.

163. All this led my delegation to entertain favourably the request contained at the end of paragraph 104 of the report before us, that the mandate of UNFICYP be extended for a further period of six months, that is, until 15 June 1972.

164. We have heard it stated very often in this Council in all languages and by all delegations that we cannot unduly delay the efforts to find a definitive solution to the problem confronting us. In 1967 my delegation, when it was a member of the Council, stated it, we repeated it in May of this year, and we wish to press this matter home very clearly today, for we consider it to be of crucial importance.

165. Without in any way lessening our support for any temporary measure that may lead to understanding among the parties, or for the intercommunal talks, the strengthening of which is vital for the maintenance of peace and the pacification of the island, we feel justified in wondering whether the time has not arrived for us to do more than merely decide upon an extension of the stay of the Force in Cyprus. We must state very clearly that we note with great interest the ideas expressed in part V of the report, which speak of the good offices of the Secretary-General and more particularly of the possibility that the Special Representative might participate in the talks between the two communities.

166. In conclusion, I wish to recall what U Thant stated in paragraph 110 of his report:

"Thus the hopes and expectations of 1964 are yet to be fulfilled. After nearly eight years, the solution of the Cyprus problem is still not in sight, conditions in the island remain precarious and I have to come once more before the Security Council—in fact for the twentieth time—to recommend a further extension of the mandate of UNFICYP. It is obvious that this situation cannot continue indefinitely, to the detriment of the people of Cyprus and as a lingering threat to international peace and security."

167. The PRESIDENT: I still have several speakers inscribed on my list to speak on the item concerning the question of Cyprus. Members may wish to adjourn now. It would be my intention, however, to call the next meeting of the Council at 4 o'clock this afternoon in order to hear the remaining speakers on this item and then to proceed to the other item on the agenda. We may use the period from 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. for consultations, as indicated at the last meeting. Since it is my understanding that members of the council are agreeable to this course of action, the next meeting will be scheduled for 4 p.m. The agenda will be the same as for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
