

UNITED NATIONS  
  
**General Assembly**  
FORTY-SIXTH SESSION  
*Official Records*

FIRST COMMITTEE  
44th meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 27 November 1991  
at 10 p.m.  
New York

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 44th MEETING

**Chairman:**

Mr. MROZIEWICZ

(Poland)

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**Consideration of** and action on **draft** resolutions on international security agenda **items**

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**Distr. GENERAL**  
**A/C.1/46/PV.44**  
20 December 1991

ENGLISH

91-61889 7649V (E)

**Best Copy Available**

18p.

The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.

**AGENDA ITEMS 67 AND 68 (continued)**

**CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
AGENDA ITEMS**

The CHAIRMAN: Yesterday I informed *members* that the Committee would proceed this morning to take action on draft resolutions **A/C.1/46/L.52** and **A/C.1/46/L.53**. Owing to the fact that consultations are continuing, I have decided to postpone until this afternoon action on draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.53**. However, we shall proceed to take action on draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**.

I shall first call on delegations wishing to make a statement other than a statement in explanation of vote or position.

I call on the representative of Malta to introduce draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**.

Mr. GRIMA (Malta): On behalf of the sponsors - Albania, Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Tunisia, Yugoslavia and Malta - I am pleased to introduce draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**, entitled "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region".

(Mr. Grima, Malta)

In **introducing** the **draft** resolution, I should also like, **on** behalf **of** the sponsors, to propose **a** slight revision in operative **paragraph 2**. The word **"of"** in the **phrase "efforts of the Mediterranean States"** should be replaced with the word **"by"**.

The main purpose of the draft resolution is to underline the need for cooperation in **the** Mediterranean for regional peace and security, **and in** this context the **draft** highlights a number of initiatives **that** are being undertaken **by States of the region**, **There are** nine **preambular** paragraphs. **After recalling** last *year's* resolution on the subject and reaffirming the primary role of the Mediterranean countries in strengthening and promoting **peace**, security and cooperation in their region, the **Assembly** would, in the third preambular paragraph **of** the draft, recognise the efforts realised **so far** and **the** determination of the Mediterranean countries to **intensify** their dialogue. In **the fourth preambular** paragraph there is an **expression** of concern **at the** persistent tension in the region, and in the following preambular paragraph recognition of **the** indivisible character of security in the **Mediterranean** and of the **fact that** cooperation to promote economic **and** social development in the region will contribute significantly **to** stability, peace and security.

In the **sixth** preambular paragraph The **Assembly** would **recognize** that **the** positive developments **taking place** worldwide would **enhance prospects** for closer **Euro-Mediterranean** cooperation, and in the **seventh** preambular paragraph it would **express** satisfaction at the growing **awareness** of the **need** for joint efforts by all Mediterranean countries so **as to** strengthen **economic**, social, cultural and **environmental** cooperation.

After taking note **of** the report of the Secretary-General in document **A/46/523 and Corr.1**, the Assembly would, in operative paragraph 1, reaffirm

(Mr. Grima, Malta)

that **security** in the **Mediterranean is closely** linked to **European** security as well as to international **peace and security**.

In operative **paragraphs** 2 and 3 it would *express* **satisfaction** at the **continuing** efforts by **Mediterranean States** to **contribute actively** to the **elimination** of all **causes** of **tension** in the **region** and emphasise **the need** for a just and peaceful settlement of **persistent problems** in **accordance** with the Charter and **relevant** resolutions of **the** United Nations.

In **operative paragraph** 4 the Assembly would **welcome** the **decision** by the United **States** of America **and** the Soviet Union no longer to deploy tactical **nuclear** weapons on naval vessels and the positive effect this would have on confidence- and security-building in the Mediterranean.

In the next two operative paragraphs, the Assembly would **take** note, **respectively, of** the **adoption** of the **Charter** of Paris in December 1990 and of the **conclusions** of the **Tenth Ministerial** Meeting of the Movement of **Non-Aligned** Countries in **September** 1991.

In operative paragraph 7 it would welcome the decisions **taken** by the Western **Mediterranean** countries at their second **meeting**, held at Algiers in October 1991, **and** their **decision** to hold a **summit** at **Tunis** early in 1992.

In operative paragraph 8 it would note the widespread **support** among **Mediterranean countries** and the ongoing **consultations** to create the appropriate **conditions** for the **convening** of a **conference** on security and cooperation in the **Mediterranean**.

In **operative paragraph** 9 **Mediterranean countries** are encouraged to redouble their **efforts** to promote **confidence-** and security-building **measures** **and** to eliminate economic **and social** disparities in the **region**; and in **operative paragraph** 10 all States **are urged** to cooperate with the Mediterranean States in the **intensification** of existing *forms* of **cooperatio**

**(Mr. Grima, Malta)**

In operative' paragraph 11 Member States and **relevant** organisations are invited to **communicate to the Secretary-General ideas** and suggestion<sup>8</sup> for his **report** on the issue to be submitted to the general Assembly at its **forty-seventh session**; and in operative paragraph 12 **there is** a decision to include this item in the **provisional** agenda of the next session.

It is the **hope** of the sponsors that **draft** resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**, as orally revised on behalf of the sponsors, **on the item "Strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region"** will this year, as in previous years . be adopted by consensus.

**The CHAIRMAN:** The Committee will now **take** a decision **on draft** resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**, submitted **under** agenda item 67, "Strengthening of security and cooperation **in** the Mediterranean region\*\*.

I call **upon** the Secretary **of** the **Committee**.

**Mr. KHERADI** (Secretary of the **Committee**): Draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52** has **nine** sponsors and was introduced by the representative of Malta at **the Committee's 44th** meeting **on** 27 **November** 1991. It **was** orally revised **at** this morning's meeting by the representative of Malta.

The sponsors *of* the **draft** resolution **are:** Albania, Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, **the** Libyan Arab **Jamahiriya**, Malta, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia.

**The CHAIRMAN:** The *sponsors of draft* resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52** have expressed the wish that the draft resolution be adopted by **the** Committee without a vote. **May I take it that** the Committee wishes to act accordingly?

**Draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.52, as orally revised, was adopted.**

**The CHAIRMAN:** I shall now call upon representatives who wish to explain their position. May I **remind them** that, in accordance with General Assembly **decision 34/401**, explanations are limited to 10 minutes.

**Mr. KLUBA (United States of America):** The United States is pleased to join in the consensus on the draft resolution concerning the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. However, my Government wishes to note that United States support for this draft resolution does not necessarily constitute support for the proposal to establish a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

**Mr. COTTAFANI (Italy):** The delegations of France, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, participated in the adoption, without a vote, of draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.52 on strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region although they would have preferred to support a more thoroughly revised draft freed from all unbalanced and divisive language.

The Mediterranean countries of the European Community would have liked to build, with the other Mediterranean partners, a solid common base from which to address jointly concerns related to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. Enhanced regional cooperation is, in our view, the right aim of the draft resolution, and its achievement is the precondition for its further development. We regret, therefore, that negotiations with the original sponsors did not result in a draft we could fully support and co-sponsor. Some paragraphs of an unbalanced and divisive nature were specifically addressed in the negotiations.

Nevertheless, the delegation on whose behalf I have the honour to speak hope that a more forthcoming and updated approach will next year allow the Mediterranean countries fully to support and sponsor the draft resolution which will address security and cooperation in our region.

**Mr. MASON** (Canada) would like to **express** its support for the important principle **underlined** by **my** colleague **from** Italy in his statement, that is, the principle that regional initiatives, **to** be successful, must enjoy broad support among the parties in the region.

Secondly, **we** would draw specific attention to the oral **amendment** to operative paragraph 2, which **makes** clearer the selective nature of **the efforts about** which satisfaction is being expressed in that paragraph.

**Mr. SERKSNYS (Lithuania):** Lithuania supports all resolutions and **efforts** for the strengthening of peace in the world. Taking into account **the** continuing **war** in Croatia, **we** could not formally accept operative paragraph 2. Now, **after** the change in operative paragraph 2, if there were a **vote, we** would **abstain**.

**Mr. AINEO** (Estonia): Estonia participated in the adoption of draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**; however, we should like to express **our** position regarding operative paragraph 2. We are greatly disturbed by the language in that paragraph **since** we cannot derive any satisfaction from the carnage, death and destruction that is **presently** taking place in **the** Mediterranean **region**; **nor** do we perceive any attempts to withdraw the occupation forces. Rather, we **see** an increase in attempts to occupy certain areas.

**Mr. ALPMAN (Turkey):** I should like to explain, **briefly, my** **delegation's** position on draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.52**, entitled "**Strengthening of security and cooperation in the** Mediterranean **region**", which the First Committee has just adopted.

**As in the** case of similar draft resolutions in previous years, **my** delegation joined in the consensus in favour of this year's draft resolution. This is an expression **of our keen** interest in maintaining **and** strengthening **peace** and security in the **Mediterranean** region as a whole.

(Mr. Alpman, Turkey)

I should note, however, that the draft resolution refers to documents adopted at certain meetings in which Turkey did not participate. I should like to put on record the fact that our participation in the adoption of the draft resolution should not be construed as Turkey's agreement with every element contained in the conclusions of those meetings.

The CHAIRMAN: I have been informed, during the discussion which has just taken place, that we may now be able to take action on draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.53 also.

Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/46/L.53 is an attempt by its sponsors to adopt an approach which would be more in conformity with the new trends in international relations. However, I should like to inform the Committee that, for lack of time, the sponsors were not able to complete consultations with all the interested members of the Committee.

Therefore, after today's consultations, the sponsors have decided not to press for action on draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.53. Instead, they have decided to propose a procedural draft decision. I should like, therefore, on behalf of Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Pakistan, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, to introduce the following draft decision:

...

"... Reaffirms the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security;

"Recalls its previous resolutions under this item, the latest of which is resolution 45/80 of 12 December 1990;

"Invites Member States to provide their views on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security;



(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

**"Requests** the **Secretary-General** to submit a report to the General **Assembly** at its forty-seventh **session;**

**"Decides** to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-seventh session **the** item **entitled** 'Review of the implementation of the Declaration **on** the Strengthening of International **Security**'."

We **feel** obliged to say **that** we should, **of course**, have preferred to have had a draft **resolution** at this session too, but, unfortunately, owing to the lack of **time**, the consultations could not be completed. Therefore, I propose to the Committee, on behalf **of the sponsors**, **that this** draft **decision** should be adopted without a vote.

**The CHAIRMAN:** The **Committee** has heard the statement by **the** representative of Yugoslavia, who announced that **the** sponsors of draft resolution **A/C.1/46/L.53** are not now pressing for **action** on it.

The representative of Yugoslavia also **introduced** a draft decision for consideration by the **Committee**. It is **my** understanding that, **if the Committee** wishes to **act** accordingly, then the procedure should be as **follows:** the draft decision will receive a new symbol, namely, **A/C.1/46/L.54**, and the Committee will proceed to take action on it.

If I hear no **objection**, I shall **take it** that the Committee wishes to adopt draft decision **A/C.1/46/L.54**.

**Draft decision A/C.1/46/L.54 was adopted.**

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Hungary.

Mr. GAJDA (Hungary): I had no wish to prevent the Committee from taking the decision it has just taken; I wish merely to submit a proposal to the sponsors of draft decision A/C.1/46/L.54.

As my delegation was not involved in the consultations on that text, I am left with the possibility of making only one proposal from the floor. That proposal is connected with the text as read out by the representative of Yugoslavia.

In following the text carefully, I noticed in the second paragraph a reference to previous resolutions, including the most recent one. The first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.53 merely recalls General Assembly resolution 45/80 of last year. I submit that reference to that one resolution, as in draft resolution A/C.1/46/L.53, would suffice in draft decision A/C.1/46/L.54 as well.

I would suggest that when the text is reproduced and put to the vote in the General Assembly its second paragraph should recall only General Assembly resolution 45/80 of 12 December 1990. I hope the sponsors of draft decision A/C.1/46/L.54 are agreeable to that proposal.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall call now on representatives wishing to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. ALPMAN (Turkey): In the statement he made yesterday, the Greek Cypriot representative referred to the "continuing illegal occupation of part of the territory" -

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Cyprus on a point of order.

**Mr. KAKOURIS** (Cyprus) : There are two **points** of order I wish to raise.

First - and perhaps **you can clarify** this, **Mr. Chairman** - it is my understanding that the right of reply **can be exercised** at any time before action has been taken on draft resolutions under the **items** in question. We have just taken action on two texts; that relating **to** the strengthening of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region and draft decision **A/C.1/46/L.54**. In my view, the situation **is** this: in keeping with rule 128 of the rules of procedure,

"After the Chairman has announced the beginning of voting, no representative **shall** interrupt **the voting except** on a point of order in connection with the actual conduct **of** the voting. . ."

**The CHAIRMAN:** My understanding of the rules of procedure is that the right of reply **can be exercised until** consideration of the **agenda** item 8 in question has been completed. **We** are still considering agenda items 67 and 68.

**Mr. KAKOURIS (Cyprus):** s a y s t h a t

"During the course **of** a debate, the Chairman may announce the list of speakers and, with the consent **of** the **Committee**, declare the list closed. He **may**, however, accord the right of reply **to any** member if a speech delivered after he has declared the list closed **makes** this desirable."

The debate on the **items concluded**; we entered the voting procedure **on** those **items**; and we have just concluded that procedure, except for explanations of vote after the voting.

**The CHAIRMAN:** I have **consulted** the representative of **Cyprus**, and I **now** again **call** upon the representative of Turkey.

**Mr. ALPMAN** (Turkey) : In the **statement** that he made yesterday, the **representative** of the **Greek** Cypriots **referred** to the **continuing** illegal occupation of part of the **territory** of the **Republic** of **Cyprus** by Turkish **forces**. In **exercise** of my delegation's right of reply, I would **first** point out that the Turkish **forces** to which he **referred** are not "**in** the territory of the **Republic** of **Cyprus**" but in the territory of the **Turkish** Republic of **Northern** Cyprus.

**Furthermore, those forces are** not occupying **these lands**. On the contrary, they are **seen** by the **Turkish Cypriots as their liberators** and the guarantor of their very **existence**. The international **community is well aware** of the **unspeakable** events of the period between 1963 and 1974, in which thousands of **Turkish** Cypriots **were** massacred by the **Greek Cypriots** attempting to unite the island with **Greece**. **Those who are not familiar with these tragic** events should refer to the 1964 **Security Council resolution** **●** establishing the **United Nations** Peace-keeping **Force** in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

I should like to **emphasise** further **that** the **presence of Turkish forces** in the island **is** not the **cause** but the outcome of the **Cyprus** problem, This **Problem is** an **intercommunal question**. Its **settlement has** to be **negotiated** between the Turkish Cypriot and the **Greek Cypriot communities**. The **settlement is seen** by the **Security Council, as** described in **resolutions** 649 (1990) and 716 (1991), **as** the establishment of a new and lawful State on the island, which will be a **bizonal** and **bicommunal** federation based on the political equality of the **two** communities.

Instead of **distorting** the nature of the **Cyprus issue and misrepresenting** the facts in order to **use** the **First Committee** for his community's political

(Mr. Alpman, Turkey)

propaganda, the **representative of the Greek Cypriots** would do better to display the good **intentions** that he attributed to his **Government** -

T h e : I **call** upon the **representative of Cyprus** on a point of order.

Mr. KAKOURIS (Cyprus) : When the representative of Turkey referred to me in his initial remarks as the Greek Cypriot representative, I refrained from any comment, but he has now referred to me again as the Greek Cypriot representative. It is regrettable that the representative of Turkey has again this year shown total disregard and disrespect not only for my own delegation but for the Committee and the United Nations in general.

The country that I represent, a sovereign country and a Member of the United Nations, is Cyprus. The representative of Turkey should at the very least not show total contempt for the Organisation by referring to me as anything else than the representative of Cyprus.

What is particularly, and more, disturbing in terms of the Committee is that the representative of Turkey is also our Vice-Chairman. In my humble opinion, his behaviour and his manner of addressing me is not in line with the position and responsibilities that we have afforded him. In any case, Mr. Chairman, your calling upon me as the representative of Cyprus is a sufficient rebuke to the representative of Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN : I would ask representatives to refer to countries by their proper name.

I now call upon the representative of Turkey.

Mr. ALPMAN (Turkey) : I shall continue. The representative would do better to display the good intentions he attributed to his Government with

(Mr. Alpman, Turkey)

respect to the peaceful settlement of this 28-year-old dispute by placing the issue in its true framework.

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. KAKOURIS(Cyprus): My delegation has just heard the comments of the representative of Turkey and regrets that he continues in his attempt to hoodwink the international community by camouflaging the internationally condemned illegal act conducted by his country, Turkey, against my country, Cyprus, through its invasion and continued occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

I do not wish to enter into a dialogue with the representative of Turkey because the Organisation knows the Cyprus problem only too well, Facts are facts, An invasion did occur, and an occupation remains in place. My Government has repeatedly stated that it is committed to a just and viable solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The question that really needs to be asked here of the representative of Turkey is: Is Turkey also willing to implement the various relevant resolutions of the United Nations, especially those of the Security Council, which, if I may be allowed to remind the representative of Turkey, are of a binding nature? The Government of the Republic of Cyprus has stated on numerous occasions its support for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, including the most recent one, Security Council resolution 716 (1991), which reaffirms all previous resolutions. We support it in its entirety, and we regard it as most constructive.

As regards the illegal entity existing in the occupied area, which the representative of Turkey attempts to give legitimacy, let me refer him and

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**Committee to Security Council resolution 541 (1983), which calls** upon all States not to **recognise this** illegal entity in the **occupied** part of Cyprus. It is interesting to **note that** the only country that has disregarded that resolution **is** in fact Turkey. Furthermore, **Security Council resolution 550** (1084) **specifically** condemned Turkey **for** exchanging **ambassadors** with the illegal entity **in** the occupied **area**.

The United **Nations is** not a marketplace where you pick **and** choose that which you like and throw away that which you do not, We **saw** Turkey's **quickness** in misrepresenting and misinterpreting resolution 649 (1990). Similarly, **it** has attempted **to** misrepresent and misinterpret **resolution** 716 (1991). It is high time that **this hypocrisy** ended. If Turkey **is** at last willing **to** show **respect for** the United Nations **and** its Charter, then let it start by stating in **this** Committee its unequivocal support **for** all United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and their implementation. Until it **does so**, Turkey will remain isolated **on** the international stage as one who continues to advocate that might is right, over **the** Charter and the United Nations and over the primacy **of** the peaceful settlement of **disputes**.

Mr. ALPMAN (Turkey): In the exercise of my delegations's right of reply at the Third Committee on 12 November, the Turkish representative pointed out that it appeared impossible to hear conciliatory views from the Greek Cypriots with regard to Cyprus.

This observation has once again been confirmed today. In the face of the statement of the representative of the Greek Cypriots, I think it would be appropriate to quote what was said by the Turkish delegation at the Third Committee on that occasion:

(spoke in French)

"It would certainly be impossible to hear such conciliatory and encouraging things said here in this forum on the subject of Cyprus. We have once again heard allegations made in an aggressive manner, and counter to the truth. This relapse, which runs counter to Security Council resolutions 649 (1990) and 716 (1991), certainly does not serve the objective of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices.

"It is not my intention to dwell on the details, and I shall limit myself to making a few comments of a general nature by referring to the report of the Secretary-General of 8 March 1990 (S/21183), as well as to the aforementioned Security Council resolutions 649 (1990) and 716 (1991), which are dated, respectively, 12 March 1990 and 11 October 1991.

In paragraph 5 of his report of 8 March 1990 (S/21183), the Secretary-General declares the following:

"Cyprus is the common home of the Greek Cypriot and of the Turkish Cypriot community. Their relationship is not one of majority and minority, but one of two communities in the State of Cyprus. The mandate given to me by the Security Council makes it clear that my mission of



(Mr. Alzman, Turkey)

good **offices is with the two communities.** My mandate **is** also explicit that **the participation of the two communities in this process is** on an equal footing. **The solution that is being sought is thus one that must** be decided upon by, and must be acceptable to, both **communities.** It **must also respect the cultural, religious, social and linguistic identity of each community'.**

**"Security Council resolution 649 (1990) reaffirms, in its operative paragraph 1, that the leaders of the two communities pledged to establish a bi-communal Federal Republic of Cyprus; while in operative paragraph 3, the leaders of the two communities are called upon to pursue their efforts to reach freely a mutually acceptable solution providing for the establishment of a federation that will be bi-communal as regards the constitutional aspects and bi-communal as regards the territorial aspects.**

**"Security Council resolution 716 (1991) reaffirms, in its operative paragraph 3, that the establishment of a new constitutional arrangement for Cyprus that would ensure the well-being and security of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in a bi-communal federation is one of the fundamental principles of a Cyprus settlement. In its operative paragraph 4, resolution 716 (1991) reaffirms that the solution to the Cyprus problem is based on one State of Cyprus comprising two politically equal communities. In its operative paragraph 6, the resolution reaffirms that the Secretary-General's mission of good offices is with the two communities, whose participation in the process is on an equal footing.**

**"As these references clearly indicate, the fundamental elements for a solution are, first of all, the political equality of the two Cypriot communities, the Turkish and the Greek; and, secondly, the establishment**

(Mr. Alpman, Turkey)

of a new, federal, bi-zonal, bi-communal Cypriot State, in which the two communities will enjoy equality as well as identical powers and attributions."

(spoke in English)

This is the true framework of the Cyprus issue that I referred to at the end of my first statement today.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply for the second time.

Mr. KAKOURIS (Cyprus): It was of course regrettable, Mr. Chairman, that during the course of the statement by the representative of Turkey he did not heed your ruling on referring to my country by its proper name; but that is only an extension of total disregard for United Nations resolutions.

All I have to say is that which I said in my first statement, that is, that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus supports the efforts of the Secretary-General, and all United Nations resolutions.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.