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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1781/Rev.1)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in Cyprus:	
(a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);	
(b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);	
(c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348)	1

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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 20 July 1974, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier PÉREZ de CUÉLLAR (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1781/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
 - (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
 - (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
 - (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348)

The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

- (a) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/11334);
- (b) Letter dated 16 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11335);
- (c) Letter dated 20 July 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11348)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 1779th and 1780th meetings, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and India to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Olcay (Turkey) and Mr. Panayotacos (Greece) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I propose to invite the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania and India to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to come to the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Petric (Yugoslavia), Mr. Duma (Romania) and Mr. Jaipal (India) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In addition, I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 20 July from the representative of Mauritius, requesting that Mauritius be invited to participate in the Security Council discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, if I hear no objection, and in accordance with the usual practice, I propose to accede to this request and to invite the representative of Mauritius to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, also on the understanding that he will be invited to come to the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This urgent meeting of the Security Council has been convened at the request of the representative of Greece contained in his letter of 20 July [S/11348], which is the subject of agenda item 2 (c).

5. I now call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In order to assist the members of the Council in discharging their responsibilities with regard to the very grave situation in the eastern Mediterranean, the following is a summary of the latest developments, based on the

reports of my Special Representative, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, and the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), Major-General Prein Chand.

7. At 0450 hours Cyprus time in the morning of 20 July, Mr. Inhan, the Ambassador of Turkey in Nicosia, telephoned the Force Commander to say that he had instructions from his Government informing him that Turkish troops would be intervening in Cyprus very soon. In view of this and related information, the Commander put UNFICYP on maximum alert.

8. Turkish military activity both in the air and by sea began at 0545 hours. At 0555 landing craft and three warships were observed five miles out from Kyrenia; the landing craft were heading for shore. At 0607 hours, 19 C130 Hercules aircraft began dropping paratroops into the main Turkish Cypriot enclave, which extends from Nicosia to south of Kyrenia.

9. At 0637 hours, the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation station carried an announcement calling on all Greek Cypriots to take up arms to resist the Turkish invasion.

10. As of 0645 hours a total of 34 aircraft had landed paratroops and cargo in the Turkish Cypriot enclave and there were further attacks on Nicosia airport. Machine-gun and tank fire had broken out in the Paphos Gate area of Nicosia at 0615 hours and there was heavy small-arms fire throughout the capital city, directed mainly against attacking Turkish aircraft. Greek Cypriots with small arms were gathering in the central stadium and National Guard armoured reinforcements were seen moving in the direction of the airport.

11. At 0830 hours the Special Representative and the Commander of UNFICYP reported that in addition to the airborne invasion there had been amphibious landings, approximately two battalions in strength, west of Kyrenia, near Snake Island.

12. At 0845 hours Turkish air and ground forces were attacking the Greek National Contingent camp outside Nicosia. Nicosia airport was under heavy air attack. At the same time large landing craft landed near Snake Island. National Guard troops were reported firing on Turkish national forces at Dhikomo, but both sides were contacted by UNFICYP and agreed to stop firing.

13. At 1000 hours firing had commenced along the green line, despite UNFICYP attempts to bring about a cease-fire. Nicosia airport was under heavy ground as well as air attack, which had subsided by 1100 hours. It was not clear which side was in control of the airfield.

14. At 1012 hours 67 helicopters landed 500 Turkish soldiers at Krini and a few minutes later 980 para-

troopers were dropped near Krini from 16 transport aircraft. These troops began moving towards Nicosia.

15. In Nicosia, both the National Guard and Turkish Cypriot fighters were threatening to attack the Ledra Palace Hotel. UNFICYP was assisting in the evacuation of guests from that hotel because the hotel was full of tourists. A hospital in Nicosia was sustaining shell fire and heavy casualties were reported. UNFICYP was attempting to stop the shelling of the hospital.

16. In Larnaca district the situation as of 1200 hours was quiet and both sides had promised not to open fire.

17. At noon there was heavy firing in Famagusta between the National Guard and Turkish Cypriot fighters, and Carl Gustav camp, where the Swedish contingent is quartered, found itself in heavy cross-fire. There were reports of a paratroop drop in the Famagusta district.

18. In Kyrenia district, the area near the city of Kyrenia where landings had taken place, was in Turkish hands, as was the road linking the coast to the major Turkish Cypriot enclave. At 1105 hours there were reports of further landings on the beach five miles west of Kyrenia.

19. In Limassol fighting broke out between National Guard and Turkish Cypriot fighters at 1015 hours. After intervention by the local UNFICYP commander, the firing had subsided as of 1200 hours.

20. In Paphos and at nearby Mandria, the local National Guard commanders were threatening to open attacks on Turkish Cypriot fighter positions. The National Guard at Paphos rejected the efforts of UNFICYP to head off the outbreak of fighting.

21. I regret to inform the Council that UNFICYP has suffered its first casualties as a consequence of the current fighting. Six Canadian soldiers were wounded, one of them seriously.

22. Upon receiving the reports about the outbreak of hostilities before midnight I issued a statement expressing my deep concern at this development which is extremely serious for the maintenance of international peace and security. I immediately instructed my Special Representative and the Force Commander to transmit urgently all necessary information as a basis for the deliberations of the Security Council. I also contacted the President and members of the Council in order to determine the future action to be taken by the United Nations.

23. In Nicosia, shortly after the outbreak of firing, Mr. Orek, of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, telephoned General Prem Chand at 0625 hours and

gave assurances that Turkish Cypriots would not fire on Greek Cypriots unless the latter fired first. This was communicated by UNFICYP to the Commander of the National Guard. However, no reciprocal assurances were forthcoming from National Guard headquarters. Indeed, the National Guard was reported making preparations to attack the Turkish Cypriot enclave. It agreed to postpone this move in response to urgent requests from UNFICYP. The National Guard insisted, however, that any movement by Turkish troops out of the main enclave or any landings from the sea would be resisted.

24. At 0700 hours the Force Commander passed a message to the Turkish Ambassador expressing his deep concern at the possibility of fighting in Nicosia, where there were many civilians as well as embassies, and offering UNFICYP assistance to prevent the spread of hostilities into the city. The Turkish Embassy subsequently replied that it would agree to pass this request to the Commander of the Turkish forces provided assurances were received through UNFICYP that there would be no attacks by the National Guard on the Turkish Cypriot sector in Nicosia and on Turkish cities and villages throughout the whole island. This message was immediately conveyed to the National Guard. At 0745 hours there was a telephone call from Mr. Dimitriou, who said he was speaking on behalf of the Council of Ministers and the National Guard and asked UNFICYP to inform the Turkish side that the National Guard could not be responsible for any attacks on civilian Turks in various parts of the island unless Turkish bombing and attacks on Cyprus ceased.

25. At 0800 hours, fearing that ground fighting might reach Nicosia in the course of the day, my Special Representative and the Force Commander proposed to the Turkish military authorities and to the National Guard that Nicosia be declared an open city on humanitarian grounds. UNFICYP was in touch with various embassies in connexion with this matter. Although Mr. Dimitriou initially agreed to this proposal, the response of the National Guard was negative unless the Turkish attacks ceased. I have followed up this suggestion here with the Permanent Representatives concerned. It seems to me to be of particular importance that fighting in Nicosia and other heavily populated areas should cease immediately.

26. UNFICYP officials are also continuing their efforts to prevent the fighting between Turkish troops and the National Guard from spreading into inter-communal fighting along the lines of confrontation in the island. As of 0830 hours the Turkish Cypriot leadership had assured UNFICYP that Turkish Cypriot forces would not fire on National Guard units except in self-defence. However, the Turkish Cypriots stressed that they had no control over the actions of the Turkish national forces. The National Guard and the Commander of the Turkish invasion forces gave similar assurances.

27. During this period United Nations forces remained in position along the green line in Nicosia and were prepared to patrol this line with armoured cars when the situation permitted. However, as of 1 000 hours heavy firing had commenced along the green line.

28. As of 1200 hours, the Turkish Cypriot leadership expressed its readiness to stop firing along the green line as soon as the National Guard Commander ordered his troops to stop firing.

29. At 1300 hours the Commander of the National Guard advised UNFICYP that he was willing to accept its proposal for a cease-fire at 1400 hours along the green line provided the Turks agreed to the same condition and provided UNFICYP ensured that the Turks would not take advantage of the cease-fire to improve their position. This message was immediately passed by UNFICYP to Vice-President Denktas, who accepted the cease-fire. A later cable from General Prem Chand said that the cease-fire would go into effect at 1700 hours.

30. At 1930 hours UNFICYP reported that the cease-fire in Nicosia had failed to hold and that there was firing throughout the city.

31. In the afternoon of 20 July heavy fighting continued throughout the island and waves of airborne troops from Turkey continued to land. Turkish air attacks on the Nicosia airport and other targets in Nicosia continued. There was heavy fighting in Larnaca district where UNFICYP was attempting to arrange a cease-fire. In Limassol district Turkish Cypriot fighters requested UNFICYP to supervise their surrender to the National Guard. Fighting continued in Paphos.

32. I shall certainly continue to keep the Council informed as further information becomes available.

33. We are faced with an appalling and extremely serious situation. The fighting on Cyprus, with the arrival of Turkish forces, has reached a new level of violence and bitterness. The dangers of a wider conflict, which we discussed earlier this week, have now become a tragic reality. A major breakdown of international peace and security has occurred, despite all bilateral efforts to avoid it.

34. An enormous responsibility has now fallen to the Security Council—the responsibility for putting a halt to the fighting, for preventing further escalation and for finding a way in which we can begin to restore the peace.

35. In this situation I appeal to the parties in conflict to put a halt immediately to the devastating battle which is now going on and to co-operate with UNFICYP in its efforts to limit the fighting and to protect the civilian population. The hopes of the world

are now centred on this Council. Let us not fail in our duty.

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for the very important information he has given us.

37. I should like to state that the President of the Council, in close co-operation with the Secretary-General, has devoted every effort to seeing that the Council discharge in the most appropriate manner its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, and to that end has held continuous consultations with the representatives of member States. Those consultations started on 15 July and were intensified as the situation worsened. I should like to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General and to all those representatives of member States for their valuable and devoted co-operation.

38. As a result of those talks and consultations it has been possible to circulate a draft resolution [S/11350]. In view of the urgency of this question, I hope that it can be put to a vote at this meeting.

39. Since I understand that no representative wishes to speak at this time I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.¹

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

41. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I am grateful to you for the opportunity of participating in this debate and I am especially grateful that the Security Council has just taken the decision that it did, in the way that it did and by the majority that it did. It is rare indeed that the whole of the world community finds itself in such total unanimity when it approaches an issue of such delicacy and gravity as the one with which we are now faced.

42. The resolution itself is one which has of course emerged from many consultations which have taken place in the course of today. It was right that those consultations should have been long and detailed; it was right that we should have given very careful consideration indeed to the precise nature of the dispute and to what we, the Security Council, could call upon the parties to do.

43. Since I am the first to speak in explanation of vote may I therefore devote perhaps one or two moments to looking at the operative part of this resolution.

44. First, what we have done is to call yet again, as various nations have done in this forum in the course of the last week, upon all States to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of the nation of Cyprus all States, not just some States.

45. Secondly, we, as the supreme forum of the world community concerned with peace and security, have called upon all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing—all parties, not just some.

46. Thirdly, we have demanded an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus. We have requested the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel. We have called upon Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations. We have called upon all parties to co-operate fully with UNFICYP and we have decided to keep the situation under constant review.

47. It is a comprehensive resolution and it is one which, if it is accepted by those nations most intimately concerned with Cyprus, will hopefully bring peace to that area. This is, I think, a time for brevity and not for oratory.

48. Now that the fighting has commenced yet again, I think the question we should ask ourselves is what can we do now. Where do we go to from here in order to attempt to minimize the fighting within Cyprus itself? And, secondly, how can the United Nations help to confine the fighting to Cyprus itself? At least there is one small glimmer of hope in the fact that, so far, the fighting has not spread outside the island of Cyprus.

49. There must, in our view, be immediate talks. The Cyprus situation is one which will not be settled other than by direct negotiations and direct discussions. The United Kingdom, as one of the guarantors under the terms of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee,² has therefore asked both Greece and Turkey to hold talks in London tomorrow. The object of those talks would be to reduce tension in the area and to work towards a return of constitutional rule in the island of Cyprus. So far we have had no response from the Turkish Government. This is a matter of great regret to the Government of the United Kingdom. Last night the Government of Greece responded to an earlier suggestion made by the United Kingdom and accepted that talks would be necessary. It is very much to be hoped that the Turkish Government, in accordance with paragraph 5 of this resolution which was adopted unanimously, will also feel able to accept the invitation to these talks. But it is vital that they should start soon if the twin aims, which I believe we in the Council have set ourselves, of confining the fighting to and within Cyprus are going to be fulfilled.

¹ See resolution 353 (1974).

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, p. 3.

50. I am conscious of the fact, too, that a number of delegations, in the course of the informal discussions which were going on through today, had some misgivings that paragraph 5 was somewhat high-handed. I believe that some felt that it might seem that there was a suggestion in the paragraph that the internal affairs of Cyprus should be settled in detail by some bodies other than the people of Cyprus. There is, of course, no such intention at all. My Government would certainly wish to keep in close touch—and will keep in close touch, as it has done in recent days—with the President of Cyprus, and the Council will no doubt recall my statement yesterday [1780th meeting] as to my Government's views on the status of Archbishop Makarios as the President of Cyprus.

51. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, there is, in consequence, no question of our attempting to settle the internal affairs of the independent Republic of Cyprus without the participation of all concerned. Over the last six years the attempt has been made to reach agreement on suitable internal arrangements for Cyprus through the intercommunal talks. We would hope that at an appropriate time discussion could be resumed, either in that forum or through some other suitable arrangement. Agreement between the representatives—and I mean by that the properly appointed representatives—of the two communities is essential to any just and peaceful settlement of the affairs of Cyprus on a lasting basis.

52. In conclusion, may I just say that this has been a terrible week. It commenced with a coup in a small island in the Mediterranean; it has ended with direct military intervention by one country in the affairs of that island. I hope that at this time next week we are not sitting here again in this chamber looking back at the events of a week which has proved to be even more terrible than the one that we have just lived through.

53. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): We convene here today in the wake of open military action in the eastern Mediterranean. To our deep regret, Turkish troops have landed on Cyprus. The Council, all too familiar with the antagonisms which have shaped Greek-Turkish relations on Cyprus, needs no reminder of what the Turkish landing forebodes for the stability of the island and what a serious threat is posed for peace in the area. Regrettably, the process of diplomacy was not given a chance to run its course. The people of Cyprus are the tragic losers, once more overtaken by events sadly beyond their capacity to control. Indeed, we are all losers, as international peace hangs most precariously and dramatically in the balance.

54. My Government deplores the pressures and interventions which contributed to the Turkish action on Cyprus, and for which Greece must bear a heavy share of the responsibility. However, this invasion in no way serves the hopes for peace of the Turkish

community on Cyprus, or indeed the cause of peace in the world. Neither can we be convinced that foreign military intervention in Cyprus, from whatever quarter and by whatever means, has at any time been justifiable.

55. We oppose any intervention in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations.

56. My Government has worked untiringly these past days in an attempt to forestall the escalation toward intervention in the eastern Mediterranean. Tragically, with the Turkish intervention last night, another step has been taken toward exactly that which we have attempted to forestall.

57. Turkey is and will remain an ally of the United States. Greece is and will remain an ally of the United States. It is in the interests of the people of Greece and the people of Turkey to ensure that Greece remains the ally of Turkey. As friends for a generation, both peoples have made giant strides; as enemies they stand to lose all. It is in the interest of the people of Cyprus as well as those of Greece and Turkey and all members of the Council that Cyprus not become a Mediterranean battleground.

58. The United States will continue to work with its friends toward this goal. We urge the Governments of Greece and Turkey to display to the members of the Council the maximum spirit of restraint and compromise in the interest of peace. We believe that, with goodwill, common sense and extraordinary statesmanship by all concerned, it is still not too late to avert a major tragedy.

59. We appreciate that all members of the Council have joined in calling for an immediate cease-fire. We owe the embattled people of Cyprus no less. All the members of the Council have wisely joined with us in a request to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to accept immediately the United Kingdom proposal for negotiations among the guarantor Powers. We believe that at this time the Council can make no greater contribution to the cause of peace and constitutional government in Cyprus.

60. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has followed with the greatest attention the debates which the Security Council has devoted to the situation in Cyprus. Speaking on behalf of the countries of the European Community on 16 July [1779th meeting], it expressed the serious concern which the present crisis has caused France and its eight partners. Our meeting yesterday [1780th meeting] enabled us to hear not only His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, but also a series of statements which contributed to clarifying a situation which had thus far been confusing.

61. The French delegation would have preferred to have voted yesterday upon the draft resolution which

was negotiated over the past few days on the initiative of some non-permanent members of the Council, had it been possible to have the vote yesterday. We cannot but deplore the delays which took place and which prevented concerted action on the part of the Council, and which have perhaps prompted one of the parties to invoke the provisions of the Treaty of Guarantee and to resort to force in order to preserve interests which should have been preserved by peaceful means. That intervention is a serious concern to my Government. It was bound to be accompanied by the loss of human life—and in this context I also have in mind the members of UNFICYP who have been wounded—and by material damage, which, added to that resulting from the events of 15 July, is increasing the sufferings of the Cypriot population.

62. The French delegation hopes that all fighting will come to a halt as soon as possible on the island of Cyprus. None the less we are obliged to note both that the circumstances surrounding the recent coup d'état in Nicosia and the fact that officers of the Cypriot National Guard belong to the Greek army confer a special responsibility upon the Athens Government for the events that took place. The statements made yesterday in this chamber corroborated the feeling, obvious shared by all the members of our Council, that the recall of the officers of the National Guard, whose recall Archbishop Makarios had requested on 2 July, played a role in the coup d'état which took place on 15 July. We cannot but regret such an intervention in the internal affairs of a State which not only is a sovereign nation, as are all Members of the Organization, but also has by diplomatic treaties been endowed with a structure guaranteed by international law, an obvious and express condition for its internal equilibrium.

63. In the explosive circumstances that have prevailed over the past five days it is essential that we appeal to all to ensure that the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected and that all intervention in the internal affairs of the island should cease without delay. Since Greece, which is a guarantor of the treaties on Cyprus but has officers stationed on the island who have been accused of having derogated from their professional duty, nevertheless affirms that it respects the principles of the Charter, its most significant contribution to an easing of the crisis would have been for it to withdraw its military personnel seconded to the Cypriot National Guard. In this way it might perhaps have been possible to prevent the developments that have taken place over the past 24 hours.

64. No doubt it might be desirable for us in due course to ask ourselves under what conditions a more normal life could be re-established in Cyprus. I am thinking in particular of the constitutional democratic provisions which ensure the presence of the legitimate authorities and the coexistence of both communities. I am also thinking of the conditions which are

indispensable for the useful continuance of the inter-communal talks.

65. However, I shall not now enter into considerations which will no doubt be more usefully discussed in the course of the negotiations, which we hope will be initiated as soon as possible.

66. At this time the most urgent thing is the restoration of peace, and that is contingent upon the commencement of the negotiations I have just mentioned, the restraint shown by the parties involved and a return to constitutional order. Those three essential points were the subject of very urgent negotiations which were carried out today with the Governments of both Athens and Ankara by the representatives of France, who acted on behalf of the European Community. I shall now read out the substance of those negotiations, which is:

“First, the nine Governments support the British initiative for a meeting in London by the guarantor Powers with a view to the holding of urgent consultations necessitated by the events in Cyprus. They appeal to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to accept this invitation.

“Secondly, the nine Governments urge that the Governments concerned take all measures in their power to prevent a worsening of the situation. They request Turkey to put a halt to military operations and to cease fire. They request Greece not to intervene militarily.

“Thirdly, the nine Governments are in favour of a return to constitutional order in Cyprus and request the Turkish and Greek Governments, each insofar as it is concerned, also to take a position along those lines. The nine Governments cannot consider that the maintenance in Cyprus of the present *de facto* régime is in keeping with the constitutional order.”

67. I shall now refer to the resolution the Council adopted a few minutes ago. First of all, I should like to note that it takes into account the three points I have just stated. That is not a coincidence, but merely proof that in various responsible forums the same conditions are recognized as necessary for the settlement of the serious crisis which we are now confronting.

68. The French delegation this morning made great efforts to reconcile the concerns of its Government and the views which had been stated in this forum as well as the wishes of the parties concerned. Thus it cannot fail to be gratified that, thanks to the wisdom and untiring patience of our President and the understanding of the other members of the Council, that body has adopted a text very similar to the one on which the delegation had tried to obtain the agreement of the members as a whole.

69. My country, which has traditionally close ties of friendship with both Greece and Turkey and which feels warm compassion for the sorely tried people of Cyprus, will be ready, as will its European partners, to make any contribution to the cause of peace in the Eastern Mediterranean that may appear useful.

70. I would not wish to conclude this statement without expressing our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts for peace, and also to UNFICYP, its Commander and its troops, for the invaluable contribution they have made to the local efforts to prevent or put a halt to the fighting and to assist the victims. We are convinced that the Secretary-General and UNFICYP will in the coming days render still more valuable services in that connexion.

71. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): From the very outset, the Soviet delegation has favoured the adoption by the Security Council of rapid and effective measures in connexion with the dangerous situation that has arisen in and around Cyprus.

72. In the statements by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the representative of Cyprus, Mr. Rossides, and some members of the Council, it has been convincingly shown that this situation has arisen in Cyprus as a result of the open and flagrant military intervention by the Athens Government in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, the Republic of Cyprus, and as a result of a military *putsch* inspired from Athens. It has been irrefutably demonstrated that this *putsch* was carried out on orders from Athens by Greek officers serving in the National Guard of Cyprus.

73. We were therefore somewhat surprised to see in the agenda for today's meeting a reference to the letter from the representative of Greece to the President of the Council. We should like, in this connexion, to draw the attention of the Council to the extremely hypocritical nature of this step taken by the Athens Government and to point out that in this instance the request for a meeting of the Council came from a Government which has committed aggression against an independent State, the Republic of Cyprus.

74. As early as the first meeting devoted to consideration of the situation in Cyprus, on 16 July [1779th meeting], the Soviet delegation strongly urged the Council, which bears special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus and to ensure the immediate withdrawal of Greek military personnel present in the territory of Cyprus.

75. We regret that, in view of the delaying tactics employed by certain members of the Council, the

Council delayed the adoption of the effective and expeditious measures of which the Soviet delegation spoke, although we warned that such a delay could only lead to a further aggravation of the situation.

76. Now, Mr. President, I should like to make a few comments about the resolution which has just been adopted.

77. The Soviet delegation voted in favour of that resolution because it meets the two basic demands which we have supported from the very outset.

78. First, this resolution expresses support for the sole legitimate Government of Cyprus, headed by President Makarios, and envisages the need to restore the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus.

79. Secondly, this resolution demands an immediate end to foreign intervention against the Republic of Cyprus and calls for the withdrawal without delay from Cyprus of foreign military personnel, including specifically those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus in his letter of 2 July 1974.

80. As everyone will understand, this specific reference is to the Greek officers whose flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus on orders from Athens was the original cause of the present crisis.

81. Thus, the resolution adopted by the Council on the whole meets the two main demands which the Soviet delegation has put forward from the outset and which were included in the text of the resolution at its insistence.

82. Of course, the resolution which has been adopted does not fully meet the requirements of the moment in all respects. But if it is implemented, the main objectives will have been achieved, namely the restoration—and I emphasize the word "restoration"—of the constitutional structure of Cyprus and of the Government headed by President Makarios, an end to foreign intervention against the Republic of Cyprus and the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from the territory of Cyprus.

83. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLI (Iraq): Mr. President, as this is the first time that my delegation has spoken during this debate I should like briefly to extend to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your skill, experience and wisdom have been amply demonstrated during the past few difficult days. I should also like to pay a special tribute to the outstanding manner in which your predecessor, Mr. El Hassen, the representative of brotherly Mauritania, presided over the Council during the month of June.

84. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted, despite some

misgivings relating to the language of paragraph 2. To be sure, we understand the word "parties" in that paragraph as raising no implication of recognition of the usurpers of the constitutional power of Cyprus as a legitimate party.

85. The reasons which prompted us to vote in favour of the draft resolution are the following: first, it deals with the basic cause of the crisis in Cyprus; secondly, it calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Compliance with the provisions contained in the text, and especially the provision contained in paragraph 4, would lead to the restoration of the legitimate Government and the head of State of Cyprus and would guarantee the existence of the constitutional arrangements embodied in international agreements.

86. Mr. NJINÉ (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is particularly happy to congratulate you on your accession to the burdensome and delicate responsibility of being President of the Security Council this month. Your great country, Peru, is already engaged in close co-operation with my own, not only within the United Nations family, but also and particularly within the framework of the great assembly of non-aligned countries. Therefore I can assure you in advance of my delegation's whole-hearted co-operation with you in the discharge of your responsibilities.

87. I should like also on behalf of my delegation to thank sincerely your predecessor, Mr. El Hassen of Mauritania, for his distinguished presidency last month.

88. My delegation regards an immediate cease-fire as an urgent necessity which will reduce the loss of human life and further material damage. How is it possible to restore peace to Cyprus when only gunfire is heard. All the parties concerned must show a co-operative and moderate attitude, so that an atmosphere propitious to dialogue may be created and, so that the dialogue may no longer be conducted in terms of deadly weapons.

89. We take this opportunity of expressing both our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his dedication to the cause of peace and our great appreciation for his tireless efforts to keep the Council regularly informed of the developments in Cyprus.

90. Turning now to the resolution just adopted, the provisions of which my delegation supports, we wish to emphasize the importance that the United Republic of Cameroon attaches to respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. In this regard, my delegation expresses its deep concern at the alarming nature of the information that has been reaching the Council.

Nevertheless, it is our hope that all Member States will co-operate sincerely with the Council to strengthen peaceful coexistence among all the States of the region concerned and to safeguard international peace and security.

91. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In our statement yesterday [1780th meeting] the Chinese delegation has already stated our principled position on the situation in Cyprus. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle waged by the people of Cyprus under the leadership of their President, Archbishop Makarios, the legitimate head of State of Cyprus, and resolutely oppose the aggression and subversion against Cyprus by all foreign forces and the violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

92. We are seriously concerned about the present situation in Cyprus. What should be stressed in particular is that the two super-Powers, whose sole anxiety is the absence of trouble in the world, are stirring up flames everywhere by taking advantage of the present situation; they are sparing no effort to sow discord so as to achieve their aim of fishing in troubled waters and plundering a burning house in their contention for hegemony in the Middle East and Mediterranean region. All countries and peoples of the world which uphold justice should maintain high vigilance against this and resolutely oppose their aforesaid iniquitous acts.

93. The Chinese delegation has voted for the draft resolution contained in document S/11350. But it must be pointed out that the seventh preambular paragraph and paragraph 6 of the text mention the question of UNFICYP. On the question of dispatching a United Nations force, the Chinese Government has always held its own position of principle. This is well known to all. Consequently, the Chinese delegation has reservations on the afore-mentioned two paragraphs.

94. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the congratulations addressed to you on your performance as President of the Security Council. The well-deserved prestige which you enjoy has been enhanced by the intelligent and able manner in which you have guided the debates of the Council. My delegation reiterates the offer made to you privately to render the greatest co-operation to you in the carrying out of your high functions.

95. My delegation listened with emotion to the statement made yesterday [*ibid.*] to the Council by the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, and for many different reasons it has feelings of solidarity with the cause so worthily represented by him.

96. The difficult juncture through which the Cypriot nation is passing at this time is of very great concern

to the Government of Costa Rica, since a very deplorable event has taken place, that is, a legitimate Government legally constituted and firmly rooted in the will of the people has been overthrown by some who exhibit no valid credentials to claim to exercise it.

97. What has happened is all the more deplorable because there is a conviction that the coup that took place in Cyprus did not take place in circumstances which might lead one to consider it an internal affair. The information which has come to my Government by different channels leads us to believe that the movement which overthrew the Government headed by Archbishop Makarios could not have been brought about without assistance and foreign encouragement and this adds the reprehensible element of foreign intervention to it.

98. The combination of Cypriot armed forces and Greek military officers was the element which unleashed the armed attack which deposed Archbishop Makarios. My country very sincerely deplores the fact that the military collusion of forces of Cypriot origin abetted by foreign forces overthrew a Government whose legitimate credentials emanated from its own people.

99. My Government deplores this because it never accepted either one or the other. My country has never accepted as valid the expedient that armed forces could breach their loyalty to the authority of the Power legally constituted and attempt to overthrow it. Nor does my country accept that any change in the structures of power of an independent and sovereign nation should be in any way made or influenced by a foreign nation.

100. Clearly, when a nation undergoes an essentially national change, unequivocally recognized as an internal matter, even though the new régime may not be to one's liking from the point of view of a value judgement, the international community is precluded from taking any kind of action. But when, on the contrary there is an evident usurpation of power with the assistance of foreign forces, the international community could hardly look upon this with indifference.

101. The views set forth find their clearest explanation in the conduct and in the developments which have guided the political life of my country. We are a small nation and as such we have profound feelings of solidarity with another small country whose existence has been disturbed by the nefarious alliance of soldiers and foreign forces.

102. We ponder what could be the fate of the smaller countries if the international community were to be indifferent to such dangers and threats.

103. When direct confrontation has taken place between two States, thanks to the system of peace-keeping created by the United Nations, the decisions

of the Security Council have for the most part been effective and have prevented worse evils. None the less, it would appear that that peace-keeping jurisdiction has not been fully exercised in those cases in which the controversy is not quite as obvious even though it might also be likely to endanger international peace and stability.

104. That is to say that, when the danger or threat no longer takes place on a battlefield but is surreptitiously displaced to a country and slyly disguises itself as an internal affair, although it might be equally likely to endanger international peace and security, it produces a paralysing effect on the decisions of the Council.

105. My delegation finds this latter tendency disheartening: first of all because it selects as its victims small nation which are not powerful enough to resist that concealed aggression; in the second place because, if we come to the desperate conclusion that there is no international protection to prevent such actions, the medium-sized and small nations will continue entrusting their security to an ever more dangerous armaments spiral, which contradicts in its essence all the efforts which today are being proclaimed and which, regrettably, are not being carried out sincerely, in order to establish through multilateral agreements in the United Nations propitious conditions for achieving general and complete disarmament.

106. That is why my delegation feels that it is not too late, in the face of concrete facts which violate the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of the State, that the Security Council should exercise its peace-making mission and enact effective measures to prevent the commission of acts as reprehensible as the coup which took place in Cyprus.

107. My delegation feels that the present situation in Cyprus may endanger international peace and security despite the fact that, originally, attempts were made to make it appear that it was an internal affair, and that it is the obligation of the Security Council, conscious of the responsibility incumbent upon it, to act as speedily as possible. It is quite evident that it would be desirable for this action to be channelled through constructive—but no less vigorous—efforts in order to restore to Cyprus its constitutional order.

108. As a result of the Turkish intervention which took place in the early hours of today, new events have been added to the already very delicate situation which has been evolving in Cyprus. When the coup against the legitimate Government of Archbishop Makarios took place, despite the fact that it altered an established situation to which other States were parties, it was perhaps not yet possible to see clearly all the harmful consequences which that coup would unleash. But it was sufficiently clear that things were not going to stay as they were viewed from any angle,

the conclusion could be reached that we are faced with a potentially dangerous situation that might affect international peace and security, whose trusteeship is in the hands of the United Nations.

109. As a general rule, when situations of this kind come about, my delegation has been in favour of having the Security Council act as rapidly as possible because it understands that any delay makes it easier for the differences between the opposing uncontrolled forces to become deeper and, also, for new dangerous elements to be added.

110. It is not in vain to ask if in the present situation a timely resolution of the Council, which might only have contained a general warning to all States to refrain from intervening in Cyprus, in accordance with the measures contained in Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter, would not have been enough to discourage any State which might have had the intention of proceeding in that way.

111. Perhaps such action, or even less, might have sufficed so that we would not at this stage have to deplore the Turkish intervention on the island, which my delegation in no way accepts or can justify, because, whatever the reasons for which it was carried out, they in no way attenuate the character of an unjustified violation of the territorial integrity of another State.

112. We must very sincerely state that this dangerous escalation of the struggle in Cyprus was not wished by any member of the Security Council. What in truth has occurred is that because of disagreement which arose among the five permanent members, which have the monopoly of the decisions of the Council, it took longer than it should have to bring about a resolution that might have prevented things from going that far.

113. In the face of such deplorable events as those which have been taking place in Cyprus from the fifteenth of this month, in which a legitimate Government has been overthrown, the rights of a people have been violated, constitutional order has been disturbed, and to that we can add the intervention of two States, my delegation was very happy to see that ultimately the Council was able to reach agreement, which may now give rise to an action that will restore peace and constitutional order in Cyprus, put an end to foreign interference and prevent further loss of life.

114. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, in speaking for the first time under your presidency it gives me great pleasure to join those who have congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. The close association on both an official and personal level which I have been privileged to enjoy with you, Sir, permits me to state with confidence that the presidency is in most capable and experienced hands.

The last few days have confirmed how well merited that confidence is.

115. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation to Mr. El Hassen of Mauritania for the efficient manner in which he has acquitted himself of his duties as President during the month of June.

116. My delegation has followed the development of the last few days in Cyprus with the greatest apprehension. An open physical conflict in the island is an extremely dangerous threat to peace and security in the area. My delegation has always been of the view that the Council should act immediately to stop the fighting as a first step towards restoring peace and reaffirming the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as a non-aligned country.

117. My delegation regrets that the Council has needed so much time to take action after the happenings in Cyprus on 15 July. We are therefore happy that the Council has now agreed to take action in the form of the resolution which we have just adopted unanimously.

118. Allow me now to give my delegation's views with regard to the developments in Cyprus since 15 July. What has happened in Cyprus has become a matter of very serious concern to the members of the international community, and Indonesia fully shares that concern. Not only have the events that have taken place in Cyprus disturbed the delicate balance maintained for 10 years with the assistance of the United Nations, but they constitute a serious threat to the successful conclusion of the negotiations between the two communities on the island which is most important not only for the future of independent Cyprus but also for peace and security in the region.

119. A physical confrontation between the Greek and Turkish communities, especially if Greece and Turkey are directly taking part in it, definitely constitutes a serious danger for the peace and security of the eastern Mediterranean area and may turn the region into an arena for a wider, mutinational conflict.

120. The upheaval on Cyprus is especially disturbing to Indonesia because it affects a fellow member of the non-aligned group of nations. Indonesia attaches great importance to having the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as a non-aligned country respected, and to having the delicate balance between the two communities on the island, on the basis of existing agreements, maintained until they agree on the basis on which one Cypriot nation and people will be built.

121. My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his reports on the recent developments in Cyprus. There can be no doubt whatsoever that

the fighting should stop and that an end should be put to bloodshed and human suffering. The primary responsibility of the Security Council with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security makes it imperative for the Council to act, in view of the explosive situation developing in Cyprus which may endanger peace and security in that area. It is very important and very urgent to stop the fighting and the bloodshed and to restore the conditions of sufficient tranquillity on the basis of the constitutional structure and in accordance with existing agreements which will be helpful to the two communities in their negotiations.

122. My delegation believes that the Security Council should address itself to the basic problem of the present events occurring in Cyprus. In this connexion, my delegation whole-heartedly shares the view of the Secretary-General expressed in his identical telegrams addressed to the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey, through the representatives of Greece and Turkey, in which he said:

“At the heart of the problem of Cyprus are its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence. Any development which affects them obviously has the most serious consequences for the responsibilities of the United Nations in relation to Cyprus as laid down by the Security Council.”
[S/11336.]

It is in this context that my delegation would like to stress once again its view—which it shares with other delegations—that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus as a non-aligned country should be respected by all States.

123. Now that the situation in Cyprus has given rise to an even wider conflict endangering international peace and security, the Council must take immediate steps to stop the fighting.

124. A second measure which should be taken, in the view of my delegation, is the immediate withdrawal from Cyprus of all foreign military personnel, including those serving with the National Guard of Cyprus, whose presence on the island is not on the basis of existing agreements, in order to avoid further complication in the already highly dangerous situation. The withdrawal of such personnel will be a step towards establishing a situation in which the problem, will become a matter mainly for the population of Cyprus, whether of Greek or Turkish origin, to solve with the help of the United Nations and without the direct physical military involvement of foreign elements seeking to influence the outcome.

125. It is my delegation's belief that such measures would be helpful in preventing further bloodshed and human suffering and in advancing the efforts to restore tranquillity in Cyprus in order to build more solid foundations for lasting peace in the area.

126. It is on the basis of these views that my delegation has voted for the draft resolution in document S/11350.

127. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative in Cyprus, and the Commander and members of UNFICYP for the efforts they are making to help to bring back peace and tranquillity to Cyprus and to restore constitutional order to that country on the basis of existing agreements.

128. Mr. OULD MOULOUD (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I am speaking for the first time, I should like to begin by extending to you the congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your great experience of international affairs and your qualifications as a diplomat and a statesman have already contributed—and we are sure, will continue to contribute—to the full success of our work. I wish also to thank you for the kind words that you addressed to the representative of my country, Mr. El Hassen, whose responsibility it was to preside over the Council in June. My thanks go also to other members of the Council who have been so kind as to express the same sentiments.

129. I should like now to express the views of my delegation concerning the question before us: the situation in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus since 15 July.

130. New and grave developments in this situation obviously called for urgent and energetic steps by the Security Council. Such action was all the more justified because, so far as the maintenance of peace in Cyprus is concerned, the United Nations, and more particularly the Security Council, had and continues to have particular responsibilities that flow from the Council resolution 186 (1964) and subsequent resolutions. It was therefore a matter of urgency, from our standpoint, that the Council take all the necessary measures to halt the fighting in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

131. Having done so, the Council, we believe, must spare no effort to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

132. My delegation's position is rooted in my country's deep devotion to the ideals of independence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the affairs of other States. These ideals, which are supported by all peace-loving peoples, are the foundation of the doctrine of the non-aligned movement, a movement of which the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Republic of Cyprus are full members.

133. It is because of our common affiliation with the non-aligned movement, as well as our allegiance to its principles, that my delegation has supported and continues unreservedly to support the constitutional régime of the Republic of Cyprus. Furthermore, this support has already been strikingly evinced by all of the non-aligned countries, whose Co-ordinating Bureau published an unambiguous communiqué on the subject. I might recall that that communiqué was read out to the Council at its meeting on 18 July [1780th meeting, para. 73] by the representative of Yugoslavia.

134. It is in the interests of all the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and of the international community at large that an early solution be found to make possible a return to normal constitutional life in Cyprus.

135. In view of the foregoing considerations, my delegation was happy to vote for the draft resolution contained in document S/11350, which, we believe, will carry us towards an early and appropriate settlement of this crisis.

136. I would not wish to conclude this brief statement without paying a deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his unceasing efforts since the beginning of the present crisis. The instructions he has given and the arrangements made on the spot by his representatives have unquestionably been of great usefulness in restoring peace and limiting the effects of the painful ordeal through which the Cypriot population is now going. We thank him and his colleagues for their efforts.

137. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, as this is the first time my delegation has taken the floor under your wise presidency, let me offer you my delegation's congratulations and good wishes. The matter before us is of grave concern to all of us, as it involves the question of a threat to general peace. My delegation has been impressed with the manner in which you have so ably discharged your duties.

138. My delegation will be very brief. I will therefore confine myself to some brief comments in explanation of the positive vote we cast on the draft resolution just adopted.

139. My Government has always stood for recognition of and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, big or small. The events that have taken place in Cyprus in the last few days have greatly threatened the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that State, which has the closest ties with my own. It was therefore appropriate, indeed obligatory, that this the highest organ of the United Nations should call upon all States to respect these three principles in Cyprus.

140. It is a deplorable situation when the sovereignty of a sovereign State like the Republic of Cyprus is

negotiable at any time. This situation creates, in turn, too many anomalies which cannot easily be reconciled at the same time. It is imperative for the future of independent Cyprus that, first and foremost, its independence, with all it implies, should be accepted by all parties and by all States Members of the United Nations. When this is accepted, it will be possible for the friends of Cyprus, as well as for the United Nations, to give all the necessary support for the maintenance of that independence. Lasting peace will not come, however, as long as foreign Powers continue to claim either the whole or parts of Cyprus as their own. The steps that are taken after the current tragedy should therefore be aimed at making Cyprus, in fact as well as in appearance, a sovereign State. We have even heard the Cypriot people being described as "populations". Positive steps should be taken by the Government of Cyprus to reconcile the people of Cyprus to the fact of their being an independent nation, made up of different peoples of the island State that are not, as we know, culturally homogeneous. The energies entrapped within them, and often released in hate and fighting, should be directed towards the building of one nation. Until these steps are taken, the problem of Cyprus will remain.

141. My delegation would like to add its voice to that of those who have already appealed to all States to observe and respect this call by the Security Council.

142. My Government has always called for respect for human life; we have been greatly saddened by the loss of life that has taken place. We therefore hope that by this unanimity of the Council all fighting will cease. As has been pointed out in the resolution, this should be but the first step towards bringing lasting peace to that island, which has had enough trouble in its short history since becoming independent in 1960.

143. We attach great importance to the demand to remove from Cyprus all foreign military personnel, whose continued presence can only aggravate the situation. We hope, therefore, that speedy measures and action will be taken to see that this demand is complied with. We emphasize this because we have all realized that continuing the present state of affairs will aggravate matters and indeed endanger international peace and security.

144. In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General and UNFICYP for the very good work they have done during this difficult period. It is our hope that the United Nations will continue to play a major role in resolving not only this issue but all other international issues that face the world at present.

145. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): When we learned, in the early hours of this morning, of the new and grave turn of events in Cyprus, a sense of deep—and, if still possible, deepened concern—was universal. In my statement yesterday [1780th meeting],

I clearly expressed the views of the Austrian Government and its unequivocal support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus in freedom from foreign intervention. We have further expressed our firm support for the restoration and maintenance of those constitutional structures established and guaranteed by international agreements that should guarantee the peaceful living together and the prosperity of the two communities which for so many centuries have shared the island of Cyprus: the Greek and the Turkish communities.

146. We made it equally clear, however, that these objectives appeared to be gravely threatened by foreign intervention of the type that led, early this week, to the forcible overthrow of the constitutionally elected Government of Cyprus under President Makarios, an action which met with strong disapproval in Austria.

147. We could therefore only regret and deplore the new military intervention, which occurred early this morning and which, regardless of its objectives, can only contribute to a further heightening of the danger of war in the area.

148. It is and remains our firm conviction that the problems the independent Republic of Cyprus and its communities face can be solved only by peaceful means. Negotiations between all parties concerned, and principally those parties linked by international agreements on the matter, represent one of the most important of those peaceful means.

149. Since the outbreak of the crisis on Tuesday last we have felt action by the Security Council to be imperative, and indeed indispensable, to redirect events in the region towards peace and negotiation rather than towards a build-up of tension. My delegation has therefore been active in efforts during recent days to formulate principles to be expressed by the Security Council. We are therefore very satisfied and relieved that the Council has now most impressively and unanimously—and, I must say, with the co-operation of all members of the Council and the parties concerned, and particularly the representatives of the Republic of Cyprus—arrived at a resolution.

150. In reaffirming and establishing principles of action for peace, the Council has responded not only to its own responsibilities under the Charter but also to the urgent calls made during the week and especially today by many responsible Governments everywhere and by international bodies, especially those in Europe.

151. In calling upon all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing, and in requesting States to exercise the utmost restraint and refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation, the Council has pointed to the most urgent of the requirements of the day. It is the immediate fulfilment of those requirements by all concerned that

will put an end to the bloodshed and the immense human suffering which afflicts the population of Cyprus. In requesting, furthermore, the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of Cyprus in his letter of 2 July, and in calling furthermore, on Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations without delay, the Council has given indications on the urgent measures further required to meet the demands of the hour.

152. We also feel the urgent need expressed in the resolution for all parties to co-operate fully with UNFICYP, whose mandate, as we have just heard from the detailed report of the Secretary-General, continues to be of primary importance for the restoration of peace in the island. It is our firm hope that the resolution which has now received the unanimous support of the Council will meet with immediate implementation and full respect.

153. It is our firm hope that the next report the Council will hear from the Secretary-General will provide it with the first information that the fighting has been ended and that the first steps have been taken towards the restoration of peace and constitutional Government in Cyprus.

154. The Austrian people feels nothing but friendship and sympathy for the nations and countries now so tragically involved in conflict. It is in that spirit of friendship and concern that we have today offered, and will continue to offer, support for action by the Council designed to restore peace not only to an area but also to and between the people of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

155. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, despite the fact that this is the first time I am speaking in the Security Council as the representative of the Byelorussian SSR, I would not wish to make too lengthy an introduction to my statement. At the same time, we should first of all like to congratulate you on guiding the work of the Council at this decisive moment and to note the skill with which you are carrying out your complex and responsible task.

156. May I also say that, throughout the almost 30 years of the United Nations' existence, the Byelorussian SSR has invariably spoken out in the Organization in favour of peace and the security of peoples and the implementation of the lofty principles and purposes of the United Nations. The service of those purposes is undoubtedly a lofty and noble mission.

157. Allow me now to return to the substance of the question under discussion. For some days now, the

whole world has been carefully following the development of events in Cyprus and expressing alarm that the situation is becoming increasingly acute and threatening. At the same time, we consider that the latest events in the island in no way change the substance and the nature of what took place earlier in Cyprus as a result of the military plot of the Greek officers.

158. Our delegation has not spoken before and you will allow me, Mr. President, to state our position of principle with regard to what has occurred in Cyprus. In this chamber, we have had the honour to hear the statement by the deeply respected head of State of the Republic of Cyprus, President Makarios. In that statement, Archbishop Makarios told the members of the Council in sufficient detail about the situation which has developed in Cyprus and called upon the Council to use all the ways and means at its disposal to help to restore the constitutional order in Cyprus and the democratic rights of its people.

159. We cannot help but remember also the vivid and convincing statements made yesterday by a number of representatives strongly condemning the actions of the Greek military junta. The members of the Security Council will also remember the statement by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries in New York which was read out by the distinguished representative of Yugoslavia. The discussion which took place yesterday in the Council shows that the attempts of the Greek military junta and of certain NATO circles to portray the events which have taken place in Cyprus as being the result of an internal struggle have not deluded anyone. It has been demonstrated beyond question that the entire responsibility for the events which have taken place lies with the Greek military junta.

160. The Byelorussian delegation strongly condemns the military *putsch* in Cyprus organized by external forces against the constitutional Government of the Republic, which is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment with military blocs and favours the development of friendly relations and co-operation among peoples. However, literally in the last few hours, we have been faced with a further deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, the situation which arose in the first place as a result of the flagrant intervention by the Greek military junta in the internal affairs of the country. At meetings of the Council a number of representatives, including the representative of the Soviet Union, have already stated that, through the fault of certain members of the Council, this United Nations organ, which has been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, has been slow to take a decision. That delay has assuredly been harmful. As a result of that delay circumstances have also arisen which have led to a situation whose settlement now requires much greater efforts by all concerned.

161. In these complex circumstances the Byelorussian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/11350. At the same time, our delegation would like to state that our position has been dictated by a concern for the restoration of peace and security in that region and for the protection of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and the rights and interests of the Cypriot people. We voted in favour of the draft resolution because those provisions were to some extent reflected in that text. At the same time, we should like to note that that document contained provisions calling for the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present there. In this connexion, we have in mind that the provision concerning the withdrawal of military personnel will be implemented absolutely and that the military personnel whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July will be withdrawn absolutely and that the root-cause connected with the military *putsch* of the Greek officers, supported from outside the country and acting on orders from Athens, will thereby be removed.

162. However, certain facts of which we learned yesterday put us on our guard. Yesterday we witnessed support for those manoeuvres undertaken by the Greek junta in order to present its actions in a different light. It is a well-known fact that Greek ruling circles recently issued a statement concerning their intention to replace the Greek officers in Cyprus—replace, not withdraw. Unfortunately, that statement, that position of the Greek military junta found support among some member countries of NATO. And in speaking of that, we should like once again to emphasize that the resolution refers to the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the military personnel concerning whom a request was made in the letter from the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

163. Those who organized the revolt in Cyprus bear a heavy responsibility for the aggravation of the whole situation in that region.

164. Certain circles are really disturbed because the efforts of the Soviet Union to strengthen peace and security and extend détente in international relations to various parts of the world, efforts which are supported by the widest circles of public opinion, are yielding positive results. But no one, no force will succeed in reversing that process.

165. The statement by the Soviet Government issued as an official document of the Security Council [S/11340] is permeated with a concern for peace. The Byelorussian delegation fully agrees with everything said in that statement and supports the fundamental assessment it contains of the events which have occurred and of the steps which must be taken without delay in the interests of the Cypriot people and their lawful Government.

166. In conclusion, our delegation appeals to the member countries of the Council strongly to support the legitimate rights and interests of the Cypriot people to promote a settlement of the complex problem of Cyprus and to take all steps to strengthen peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

167. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): In my earlier statement in the course of this debate [1780th meeting] I have already expressed the views of my Government on the acute situation that has confronted us during this past week. Those views still stand and I shall not attempt to repeat them here, even though the gravity of the situation that we contemplate has been, as we all know, greatly increased within the past 24 hours.

168. Whatever regrets members of the Council have felt that the Council has not found it possible to take action earlier on this grave situation that has developed throughout the eastern Mediterranean—and my delegation has been among those members—we must all feel satisfaction that we have been able to adopt unanimously this afternoon a decision that addresses itself first to the immediate situation, but also seeks to look beyond the perils of the present to the solutions that must be found in the future to the problems arising from the very complex fabric of Cyprus.

169. The first clear duty that has faced us today has been to call for a cease-fire by all the parties involved in the fighting. My delegation has already expressed its profound regret over the part played by the Greek officers of the National Guard of Cyprus in precipitating this crisis and I now express the same profound regret over the intervention of Turkish military forces in aggravation of an already volatile situation.

170. My delegation has therefore joined wholeheartedly in calling upon all the parties involved in the fighting to cease all firing, in calling for an end to all foreign military intervention in Cyprus and in demanding respect by all States for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

171. My delegation hopes, further, that the negotiations envisaged in paragraph 5 of the resolution, negotiations among the parties to the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, will take place as speedily as possible and that they will open a way for the restoration—in the words of the resolution—“of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus”.

172. It is obviously desirable that the Secretary-General should be kept informed of the progress of these negotiations. Also in this connexion I have heard the representative of the United Kingdom make it clear that Archbishop Makarios will be consulted at all stages of these negotiations.

173. It is important also that paragraph 6 of the resolution calls on all parties to co-operate fully with UNFICYP to enable it to carry out its mandate. UNFICYP is one of the principal arms of the United Nations and of the Council in its task of maintaining harmony in Cyprus and in assisting in any way it can towards a movement in the direction of harmony between the communities. UNFICYP, we can all of us believe, is already finding its difficulties redoubled and made more acute by the situation that has arisen, and it is right that all parties should give their full co-operation to it in the performance of its tasks.

174. I have no more to say except once again to express the satisfaction that I am sure we all feel in the adoption of this resolution and particularly in its unanimous adoption, and I am quite sure that my own Government will receive word of its adoption with considerable pleasure.

175. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I have asked for the floor in order to read out a statement which has just been issued by the Soviet Government in connexion with the events in Cyprus. The statement reads as follows:

[The speaker read out the text of the statement contained in the document subsequently circulated under the symbol S/11367.]

176. Now I should like to read out the text of a TASS statement relating to the events. It reads:

“According to a report by Agence France Presse, on 20 July 1974, in connexion with the sharp deterioration in the military and political situation in the eastern Mediterranean, at first a part, and then in the second half of the day all of the armed forces of the Soviet Union are said to have been placed in a state of combat readiness. According to a report by the same agency, in response to this, the armed forces of NATO in Europe were also placed on alert.

“TASS is empowered by the competent organs to state that this report by Agence France Presse is an outright fiction aimed at further aggravating the situation, apparently in the interest of certain aggressive circles.

“The armed forces of the Soviet Union are in their normal everyday status and have not been placed on alert.”

177. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Again the representative of the Soviet Union has peeked into some mysterious corner and discovered that it is really NATO which is instigating the tragic developments on Cyprus. It seems to be a curious recurring nightmare, a sort of James Bondish twist of the real

facts. The NATO allies who have spoken up at the Council table have deplored all violations of the independence, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

178. Along with the United Kingdom and France, we have sought to promote and encourage negotiations in London for the purpose of restoring peace and the return of constitutional government to the island of Cyprus. If this is plotting, I submit to you that perhaps the world needs more of it.

179. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the representative of PERU, I wish to make the following statement.

180. The delegation of Peru warmly applauds the fact that the draft resolution contained in document S/11350 was adopted unanimously. That draft contains very valid elements which, if applied, we have no doubt will restore peace and order in Cyprus.

181. My delegation was prepared to support the document circulated yesterday, and it was also prepared to vote today in favour of any proposal to put an end to combat. My delegation was concerned that the Security Council should act speedily and decisively and should assume the responsibilities entrusted most specifically to it by the Charter which confer upon this organ its real substance.

182. The resolution which we have just adopted includes principles which have been enshrined in international law and which my country has traditionally respected, such as non-intervention in the affairs of another State and the non-use of force. Because of the inclusion of those principles in the resolution it will be an instrument that will be effective in attaining peace in that region. We feel that it is of great significance that the Council, unanimously, should clearly and strongly have requested respect for the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

183. I should add that, as a non-aligned country, we have been particularly concerned over the fate of a member State of the non-aligned group, and also over the fate of Archbishop Makarios, one of the most distinguished leaders of the third world.

184. We hope that the resolution will achieve its purpose and that the Council will keep a strict watch over events in that area so that it may thus, fully and without delay, discharge the responsibility which is incumbent upon it in keeping with the Charter.

185. In conclusion, my delegation would like to place on record its deep appreciation for the efforts carried out by the Secretary-General during the recent very difficult events, and for the impeccable manner in which he and his staff kept the President and the Council informed.

186. As PRESIDENT, I give the floor to the representative of France on a point of order.

187. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to refer to the statement made by the representative of the Soviet Union, who quoted an Agence France Presse dispatch. I should like to remind him and the members of the Council that Agence France Presse is not a Government organ. It is an agency independent of the Government, and the French authorities bear no responsibility whatsoever for the news it disseminates.

188. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the representative of Mauritius to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

189. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to thank you and, through you, the members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in the work of the Council. I am particularly fortunate that I should be doing so under your wise guidance and presidency.

190. Since I arrived in New York from the United Kingdom only a few hours ago, and since I have not been in on the secrets of the gods concerning the resolution which has just been adopted unanimously and which my delegation welcomes, the points in my statement may sound slightly out of date. I hope members will bear with me.

191. If I have asked to participate in this meeting of the Security Council, it is not because it is my intention to interfere in what some would like to believe are the internal affairs of NATO, but rather because my country, which cherishes peace, freedom and democracy, could not remain silent in the face of the dangerous developments in Cyprus, a non-aligned Commonwealth island-country, not unlike Mauritius.

192. When the Council met for the first time last Tuesday to consider the situation in Cyprus, my distinguished colleague and friend, Mr. Rossides, the representative of Cyprus, called for immediate action by the Council in order to bring about a cease-fire. He said:

“When a cause involving bloodshed and human rights comes before the Security Council, it is not permissible to seek an opportunity to evade a resolution.” [1779th meeting, para. 91.]

193. It may not be appropriate to blame the Council for the worsening of the situation in Cyprus, but it is opportune, I believe, to urge it to take decisive action to put an end to the fighting that is taking place on the territory of Cyprus and to ward off the obvious open conflict that might erupt between Greece and Turkey, with the possible involvement of other Powers.

194. We are confronted with a serious threat to international peace and security. But in tackling the global issue of war and peace we should not lose sight of another important objective, which is to restore constitutional order in Cyprus, for the direct cause of the present grave crisis is foreign intervention in the affairs of a Member State. It has now been established without the slightest doubt that the violent overthrow of the democratically constituted Government of President Makarios had been instigated and organized by the present régime in Athens and carried out by the Greek officers—some 650 of them—and by some element of the Greek contingent stationed in Cyprus. The original and primary issue is therefore that of the intervention by a Member State in the internal affairs of another Member State. Under these circumstances Member States which are parties to the Treaty of Guarantee concerning Cyprus should face up to their responsibilities in a very decisive way.

195. The Treaty, which was signed by the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, provides for the “recognition and maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity and security” of Cyprus—as the British Foreign Secretary has said. It is quite evident that Greece has acted in flagrant violation of the Treaty. For its part, Turkey, having warned us of “its inability to remain indifferent in the face of these grave developments” [S/11341], has resorted to direct military action, presumably to restore the balance of forces in Cyprus. We are confronted with the results of the violent action of the military régime in Athens and an equally violent counter-action by the military forces of Turkey.

196. Without necessarily condoning the actions of the Government of Turkey, the Government of Mauritius wishes to put on record its support for the Turkish view that the recognition of the régime which proclaimed its assumption of power following the overthrow of the Government of President Makarios “is not possible” [*ibid.*]. For my Government, Archbishop Makarios is and remains the sole legitimate head of the State of Cyprus.

197. We would have hoped that the United Kingdom Government, which holds the same view, would match its support of President Makarios with decisive action. It is not too late, however, for the United Kingdom Government to play its part as one of the guarantors under the agreements on Cyprus. We are therefore looking forward to the talks which it has called for.

198. In the meantime, the United Nations has its role to play. For the last 10 years it has been actively involved in keeping the peace in Cyprus. This role should continue. To this end the Security Council should see to it that an immediate cease-fire takes effect; and, again, I welcome the resolution which has just been adopted unanimously by the Council. The Secretary-General has rightly said that any

development which affects the territorial integrity and sovereignty and political independence of Cyprus “obviously has the most serious consequences for the responsibilities of the United Nations in relation to Cyprus” [S/11336]. An effective cease-fire should therefore be followed by the cessation of all foreign military intervention in Cyprus.

199. Adequate arrangements should then be worked out for the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel in excess of those envisaged in international agreements concerning Cyprus, as provided for in the draft resolution in document S/11350 which has just been adopted.

200. In conclusion, I would emphasize once more that we should not lose sight of our primary objective, which must be the restoration of constitutional rule in Cyprus. I shall, end by quoting the words of W. H. Auden in his hymn to the United Nations on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the world Organization: “Beware, mortals, of words, for with words we lie: we say ‘peace’ when we mean ‘war’”

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus, on whom I now call.

202. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): At the Council’s meeting yesterday in this chamber I spoke of the critical situation in Cyprus, which is one that because of its nature involves the whole world in a manner that has its parallels in history. Today, the unfolding of that situation has added to the tragedy in Cyprus by another intervention, another aggression following the first, in a cycle that is peculiar to the case of Cyprus, because the two countries which have grossly violated the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus are two of the guarantors of that independence and territorial integrity. It is a sad reality, but it is a reality, a very stark reality.

203. In paragraph 5 of the resolution just adopted, the Security Council:

“Calls upon [the three guarantors] Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus and to keep the Secretary-General informed”.

It is very important that the United Kingdom is in that list and that the representative of that country has made a very clear declaration that the United Kingdom will keep in contact and consultation with the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios—who, as that representative said yesterday, is the only President that the United Kingdom recognizes—on the progress of those negotiations.

204. It is also very important that the Secretary-General be kept informed so that the Security Council and the United Nations in general may follow what happens in these negotiations, for it is of particular interest that, contrary to what is envisaged in the Treaty of Guarantee—that is, the danger coming from somebody else, from outside Powers interfering in the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus—we have two of the guarantors doing it.

205. Of course it has been said here in the Council that the one has followed because of the other. The responsibility may in some way—perhaps in a very important way—rest upon the one which started the aggression against Cyprus, but surely one aggression does not justify another. The problem remains the effect of these aggressions and interventions—contrary not only to the Treaty of Guarantee which the guarantors have signed, not only to a treaty obligation, but also to the Charter of the United Nations and to the concept that every member of the Council has so emphatically declared: the inadmissibility of such interventions and aggressions against a small country.

206. And I must say again that, although Cyprus may be a trifling, small country to be trampled on, in the minds, if perhaps not in the words, of some, we must not forget that it was small, unimportant countries that were the cause, in the aggression against them, of both the First and Second World Wars. Those who committed the aggression thought: "Oh, what does that little country mean? I am going to trample over it and get what I want." But there was the First World War and, similarly, the Second World War; and at the end of each of those World Wars the international community, sobered by the effects and tragedies of those wars—and another world war would bring even greater tragedy which might mean the end of the world—sought to establish an international organization to prevent these invasions and aggressions. First it was the League of Nations. But, again, after a little while it was thought: "What do these principles matter? Power is everything—not principles. We are exercising our power, and therefore we are not going to let little countries stand up against us when we hold the power."

207. But then the Second World War brought a far greater sobering. Thus it is that we have the United Nations, with principles and purposes embodied in its Charter, as distinct from the League of Nations, whose Covenant did not contain any principles. But these principles have prevailed, and we are very happy to see that they prevail today in the statements of all members of the Security Council, and I take this first opportunity to express my gratitude, on behalf of Cyprus and its President, Archbishop Makarios, to all members that spoke in this Council today for their constructive approach to the problem and for their expressed dedication to the principles of the Charter and to the independence, territorial integrity and

sovereignty of Cyprus. I shall not mention each one, but I was greatly heartened by the statements of all the permanent members of the Council—all, without exception—in support of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, because what these two military interventions mean is a threat to the independence and, graver still, the territorial integrity of Cyprus.

208. And we attach a tremendous importance to the principle of territorial integrity, because Cyprus, through the ages, has had many vicissitudes; it has been overrun because of its strategic situation by the Powers of the day. It fell under foreign occupation, regained and then lost, and then again regained its freedom; but it has always remained one integral and undivided unit. That is why it has survived, according to the historian Stanley Cousins, with an unbroken continuity in its character and in its identity until today. If that identity had been broken even once, by partition or anything like that, it would have been dissolved by now—it would have become ashes and dust. Which are the countries today which have had the calamity and disaster of partition and have survived? They have survived, but they are bleeding. In Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East, in every part of the world, partition has been the greatest calamity that could befall any country.

209. Therefore, the threat to our territorial integrity is the greatest of threats, because even if you lose your independence you may regain it; but if you lose the wholeness of your country by its being cut in two, that wholeness is lost for ever. That is why we are gravely concerned with these developments in the island, and we do hope that all the Member States will, in their own interests and in those of the international community, support not only in words but in action the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, threatened by whomsoever it may be.

210. Mr. President, I wish to thank you for the efforts you have devoted to bringing about agreement on a resolution on this complex problem. Two days ago we encountered great difficulty in getting a draft resolution, in spite of my urgings, but today there has been much constructive work done. The gravity of the situation that has been created has had a sobering effect and has facilitated our reaching agreement. We have a resolution already adopted which meets the essential requirements. That is, it:

"Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

"...

"Demands an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of paragraph 1 above;"—that is, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It calls for a cease-fire, of course, and:

“Requests the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July 1974”.

Then it calls for negotiations among the three guarantors.

211. As I said before, I am grateful to the representative of the United Kingdom for bringing forward in his statement the need for having consultations on the progress of these negotiations with the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios; and we hope that the representatives of the other two countries which will be participating in those negotiations will follow the same line. In fact, it is the United Kingdom that has the initiative, and will be having the initiative, in the course of those negotiations.

212. And certainly, keeping the Secretary-General informed is of vital importance, because that means the direct involvement of the United Nations and the following by the United Nations of the whole course of events.

213. I do not want to retain unduly the attention of members of the Council on this subject, but I should like to add that I hope and trust that this development as it has unfolded—although it may seem a tragedy—will, given a sense of responsibility on the part of those concerned, bring about compliance with the provisions of this resolution—voluntary compliance, too, through a realization of the dangers involved for them, no less than for Cyprus, in continuing a policy of intervention in Cyprus that could not lead to any other result but calamity for all.

214. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call now on the representative of Greece.

215. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece): We are faced with a very grave, really explosive situation that could at any moment escalate into a generalized conflagration. There is no longer a time margin to be wasted in propaganda gimmicks or double-talk. It is time for action—serious action, immediate action.

216. Addressing the Council yesterday, I expressed to the Turkish representative my opinion that his allegations of a so-called Greek intervention endangering the rights of the Turkish community could only stem from the imagination of those who were merely trying to cover up their real schemes and goals—namely, those in Turkey itself. Shortly afterwards, the tragic events that followed demonstrated beyond any possible doubt the accuracy of my assessment. Actually, with the encouragement of mounting anti-Greek vituperations based on false allegations or hasty judgements, to use Mr. Scali's words; and formulated for

propaganda purposes only, as well as with the blessing of Makarios, following his treacherous assertion that he felt more threatened by the Greeks than by Ankara, the latter, taking advantage of the favourable climate thus created, launched a full-scale aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

217. The details of those unprovoked attacks are too long to be enumerated, and we are too short of time to indulge in details. I will therefore mention just a few: a full scale invasion by air and sea of the northern coast of the island as well as the Nicosia area; the occupation of the castle in Kyrenia harbour; the town of Kyrenia under fire; the bombardment of civilians and hospitals in Nicosia; and, last but not least, the bombardment with napalm bombs of the headquarters of the Greek contingent in Cyprus—and all this in flagrant violation of the formal assurances given to Mr. Sisco by the Turkish Foreign Minister at Ankara that the invaders would not open fire first unless shot at.

218. As justification for all those despicable acts perpetrated in cold blood, and on the basis of the Turkish long-term goal of the partition of the island, Ankara invoked its rights deriving from article IV, second paragraph, of the Treaty of Guarantee, deliberately passing over in silence two essential prerequisites included therein—namely, first, that unilateral action is possible only after the failure of consultations among the three guarantor Powers and, secondly, the sole aim must be re-establishment of the *status quo ante*. Neither of those prerequisites has been fulfilled. Actually, the exhaustion of consultations did not precede the Turkish attacks, nor were Turkey's plans aimed at the *status quo ante*, but, obviously, at the permanent occupation of large portions of Cypriot territory.

219. Earlier I mentioned the long-term goal of Ankara—namely, partition. Actually, Turkey's whole policy in creating and gradually enlarging its enclaves and its recent demands for federation, which brought the intercommunal talks to deadlock, were meant to be the prelude to the creation of the infrastructure for partition—Ankara's permanent and final target.

220. Obviously, Ankara thought that now was the right time to attain that target. For the moment I do not intend to elaborate further on this topic. Time is very precious. World peace is now seriously at stake owing to the unwarranted Turkish aggression undertaken under false pretences and on the basis of a well prepared expansionist scheme. Greece, all its margins of patience exhausted by the uninterrupted Turkish provocations that culminated in the dastardly bombardment of the camp of the Greek contingent at Nicosia, feels obliged, to its great regret, to take, in turn, appropriate counter-measures in exercise of its inherent right of self-defence provided by the Charter and in order to safeguard its national interests. To

that end, and considering the camp of the Greek contingent at Nicosia to be Greek territory, the ambassador of Turkey at Athens was today summoned to the Foreign Ministry and instructed to convey urgently to Ankara the demand of the Greek Government that, in order to avoid further escalation with unpredictable consequences, the invading Turkish forces should immediately be confined within the limits of the Turkish enclaves pending a final settlement of the matter. Furthermore, it was made clear that, in the event of Turkey's failure to comply, Greece would consider itself the victim of aggression, reserving for itself full liberty of appropriate action as a guarantor State by virtue of article IV, second paragraph, of the same Treaty of Guarantee invoked by the Turks.

221. In conclusion, I am directed to inform the Security Council of Greece's aforesaid intentions, convinced that, on the basis of the Council's responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, it might take any last-minute step in this respect in order to put an end to the Turkish acts of aggression.

222. And now, in order to prove to you how misleading Makarios' assertions can be, I should like to give you a final piece of news that has just reached me. Following the amnesty granted by the Government of Cyprus to the pro-Makarios paramilitary forces, at this very moment all Cypriots, united without any exception, are valiantly and with high patriotic spirit fighting against the invaders. Makarios' isolation seems complete, at least as far as Cyprus is concerned.

223. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call upon the representative of Turkey.

224. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I know how much time and effort are required of the Secretary-General and his dedicated team of assistants to make the kind of presentation he made this morning regarding the military situation in Cyprus. Those efforts deserve all the praises that have been extended by so many of the speakers who preceded me. I merely join them. I must take his word on the details of the military operation, which are not available to me. What I have to say will be limited to the political objective of the operation accomplished by the Turkish armed forces. I shall quote the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Ecevit, who said:

"The Turkish armed forces have started a peace operation in Cyprus this morning to end decades of strife provoked by extremist elements. At the last stage of the Cyprus tragedy, these extremist elements had started massacring even their own people, the Greeks.

"It is acknowledged all over the world that the coup which recently took place was manufactured by the dictatorial régime of Athens. In fact it was much more than a coup: it was the forcible and

flagrant violation of the independence of the Cyprus Republic and of the international agreements on which this Republic was based.

"Turkey is a co-guarantor of the independence and constitutional order of Cyprus. Turkey is fulfilling its legal responsibility by taking this action. The Turkish Government did not resort to armed action before all the other means were tried, but to no avail. This is not an invasion but an act against an invasion. This is not an aggression but an act to end aggression. The Turkish armed forces are not going to open fire unless they are fired at."

And the text ends as follows:

"I appeal to all Greeks in Cyprus who have suffered the atrocities of terrorism and dictatorship: bury with the past dark days the intercommunal enmities and strife that were the making of those same terrorists. Join hand in hand with your Turkish brothers to speed up this victory and together build a new, free and happy Cyprus."

225. I would only add that the operation which has taken place after more than a decade of insufferable conditions imposed on the Turkish community, conditions that culminated in the total disappearance of all legality on the island, has been carried out with the utmost restraint possible in the given circumstances.

226. The word "enclave" that was used many times in the report made earlier in this meeting by the Secretary-General is an ample illustration of the abnormal situation in which Turks have lived for a decade in what is—and I know that Ambassador Rossides agrees with me in this—their own land. The Turks at least had the hope of achieving through peaceful negotiations an end to this abnormal situation. When the take-over by the Nicos Sampson administration took place, with the dramatic ousting of Archbishop Makarios, and when it became clear that the invasion by Greece—and "invasion" is not my word; it is the word used by Archbishop Makarios to describe what Greece was doing—would not cease despite protracted negotiations in various capitals and in the Council, Turkey exercised its legal rights under the Treaty of Guarantee, with the sole aim of returning the island as a whole to constitutional rule and protecting the Turkish community's right within that framework.

227. I know how difficult it is for smaller nations to have their rights respected and how infinitely more difficult it has been for the Turkish community within Cyprus to have its lawful rights respected. The events of the past week have vindicated the Turkish representatives in all the warnings they have given on innumerable occasions in this forum concerning the plight of the Turkish community forced to live in an atmosphere of disrupted constitutional legality.

228. I should like on this occasion to remind Mr. Rossides of some provisions which he neglected to mention—I suppose deliberately—in his description of the Turkish action. I would quote only this one:

“In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty³”.

That has been and still is the aim of the Turkish Government.

229. Although I am not a member of the Security Council, I would ask to be allowed to make some remarks—they are belated and will be to no avail, but I should like to make them for the record—concerning the resolution adopted this afternoon.

230. I should like to raise some points in the form of questions, the answers to which some of the members round this table may know. During the process of the negotiations held today and the adoption of this resolution, what happened to the legality in Cyprus? On whom is it being conferred on the Greek Cypriot side? Does the fact that “the combat ceased for want of combatants” during the past few days make it an accepted fait accompli, leaving only the resulting action of the Turkish forces as a problem to be resolved? Certainly, that cannot be what the Council had in mind. And yet even the order in which the various appeals are made in the operative paragraphs of the resolution might give that erroneous impression. I note that paragraph 3 seems to mention only paragraph 1, forgetting the intervention clearly aimed at destroying the constitutional structure established and guaranteed by international agreements referred to in the sixth paragraph of the preamble.

231. I had intended to be brief, and I hope I shall be able to adhere to that intention and to refrain from answering as they deserve to be answered the allegations made by the representative of Greece. Before he spoke, I had made a note of some other remarks that I wanted to make. I wanted to draw attention to a situation which seems, at least to me, to be abnormal, a situation to which many others have referred. I think that I should ask for some clarification. I found it regrettable that the representative of the United Kingdom chose to refer to only one of the parties to the Cyprus dispute within Cyprus; he did not mention the Turkish side among those with whom he said his Government intended to keep in touch. I hope that is just a lapsus. Nevertheless, it needs to be corrected, as it seems that the representative of Australia, for instance, also had the same impression, and certainly Mr. Rossides made the point.

232. During his explanation of vote the representative of the United States made a reference to the “open

military action” [*para. 53 above*] of Turkey. It is an open military action, and what I am going to say is not intended to draw any reply on his part; it is not a criticism. I merely wanted to take this opportunity to draw attention to the difference between overt military actions and covert ones, not only in terms of juridical grounds and legitimacy but also from the point of view of the unique situation of Cyprus, where the Greek invaders were a welcome fixture of the political scene until they threatened the administration of President Makarios.

233. There is one more point on which I should like to dwell, not because of its importance but because it touches on a matter to which I have often had to refer. The representative of Kenya, I am sure, had in mind a quotation I gave from a speech by Archbishop Makarios when he deplored the fact that Cypriots are considered, not as a nation, but as the mere numerical addition of two different ones.

234. Anyone sitting where I sit has to be much more attentive to what is said than anyone else. Therefore I took note of the much greater time devoted by Mr. Rossides in his speech to the territorial integrity than to the independence of Cyprus. I hope this is not indicative of the relative importance attached to enosis and partition, which Turkey equally rejects.

235. I should like to address myself shortly to what the representative of Greece has just said about my country's intentions with regard to Cyprus. I do not even need to answer the allegations concerning the object of the Turkish intervention. That has been done in the Council by persons whose neutrality is beyond doubt. I will not try to follow him in all the adjectives he chose to use concerning this operation. I would only refer anyone who is interested to what Archbishop Makarios—and he cannot be accused of anti-Hellenism—said yesterday when he talked about the frame of mind in which the Greek Government at Athens finds itself right now. This kind of paranoiac attitude is typical of that which any Fascist Government holds towards its own public opinion and world public opinion.

236. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Cyprus has asked to be allowed to speak, and I call upon him.

237. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I will not take up much time but I think it is proper that I give my friend and colleague Mr. Olcay a reply on certain points he raised.

238. First of all, with regard to his statement concerning the words in the Treaty of Guarantee: “In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible,” of course I do not for a moment think that common and concerted action by the three guarantors carries the meaning that these three would act together by using their aircraft and battleships to invade Cyprus

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

and bomb it in order to protect its territorial integrity and independence. Those words "concerted action" mean lawful action, peaceful action, through measures of representation, through the Security Council and through other means, not through aggression, which under the Charter of the United Nations is forbidden. There should be no use of force except in self-defence. Are these three guarantor Powers, not in self-defence but to protect the independence of Cyprus, going to abolish it by invading it? Therefore the words "concerted action" must mean lawful action. In consequence, when the Treaty says, "when concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action", it means lawful action. It does not mean that each of them has the right to invade Cyprus. Why is there such a tendency to interpret the word "action" as meaning invasion, as meaning violation of law? Does "action" mean anything unlawful—bombing? We have just heard from the representative of Greece—I did not know it—that there were napalm bombs used in Cyprus. Is that part of the action of a guarantor?

239. I am very sorry that I have had to make this reply; I did not want to open another discussion but I could not let this idea stand that the Treaty of Guarantee in Cyprus involves the very opposite of what a treaty of guarantee means. I am really astonished that such an interpretation is given to it.

240. In continuation of that, I should like to point out that everyone spoke here in the same sense, and the representative of the United States made it very clear that the landing and action of Turkey was wholly unjustified. I heard him very clearly. He said that Greece bore a heavy responsibility for the action it had taken, which had as a sequence the other action, but also that the Turkish action was an unjustified violation of international peace and security.

241. The representative of Turkey is astonished that I put such emphasis on territorial integrity. Really he should not be astonished, because this has been a recurring theme in the Security Council in regard to statements made by Turkey—statements that the objective is partition and federation in the sense of partition and so on. That has been said so many times that he should not be astonished that we are frightened when we see forcible intervention in Cyprus by Turkey and feel that this is taking advantage of the situation to move towards partition. We should be very happy to have assurances to the contrary. I hope that things may move in the right direction and this idea may be abandoned. But it is still there in the background, because of other things that have happened. I believe that the question of territorial integrity has the greatest importance when we see the tragedies that have occurred in the world as a result of partition. Millions of people have been killed as a result of the partitioning of India and Pakistan, where there have been wars until recently, and of Ireland, Palestine, Viet-Nam and Korea. In what country that

has been partitioned has there not been a bleeding wound over the years, an unending wound? It is a calamity for the country, for the world community and for international peace.

242. Therefore, we want to emphasize it once more, and on every occasion we emphasize this great calamity in the world which has been realized. It was not realized what partition meant 25 years ago. Therefore, partition was tried as a means of solving problems. But now everybody realizes what partition means, and it is good to remind ourselves of it on every occasion.

243. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I think that this afternoon all of us in the Security Council, and perhaps many people outside, were waiting with a great deal of interest to hear what the representatives of Greece and Turkey had to say. At about a quarter past five this afternoon, the Council, by 15 votes in favour and none against, adopted a resolution which called upon various countries to do various things, but which, if I may summarize it, had two principal elements. One was a request that the fighting in Cyprus should cease; the second was a request that Greece and Turkey should join in the negotiations which the United Kingdom has proposed.

244. I think it would be of great help and assistance, certainly to my country and possibly to the Council, if the representative of Turkey, and the representative of Greece if he so wishes, could deal with those two points. Does the representative of Turkey accept the need for a cease-fire? Is his Government prepared at this stage to respond to the unanimous wish of the Council in that respect? Furthermore, may I ask both him and his colleague from Greece whether they still accept, either or both of them, the necessity for the negotiations which we hope will soon take place?

245. I apologize for speaking again, but it did seem to me that the urbane discussion which was taking place over the details of the Cyprus treaties was not directed perhaps to the questions which certainly I, and perhaps many more, wish to see answered.

246. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Turkey.

247. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): I am sorry to ask for the floor again. With regard to the representative of the United Kingdom not answering my question but asking me to answer his, I would say that the only thing that any representative around the table can say at this stage is that he has transmitted faithfully the text of the resolution to his Government.

248. With regard to what was just said by Mr. Rossides, I should like to tell him that each time recourse to force has taken place in Cyprus on the part of Turkey it has been in response to a vital threat to the life of the Turkish community, which Turkey

has a duty to protect. The name of the present ruler at Nicosia is enough to warrant protective action by the whole of the civilized world.

249. Again, responding to a point raised by the representative of Cyprus, I should have, protocol allowing, asked His Beatitude, on the occasion of his passage through these chambers, about his intention of publicly denouncing enosis as Turkish statesmen and, as their mouthpiece, I did and would denounce partition.

250. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council has unanimously adopted a draft resolution which calls upon all parties to the present fighting, as a first step, to cease all firing and requests all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation. However, the situation in the area remains very critical, and at this stage it cannot be foreseen what action the Council may be called upon to take on this issue.

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.

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