



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/38/781
S/16309
3 February 1984

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 41
QUESTION OF CYPRUS

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-ninth year

Letter dated 2 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of
Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

In order to set the record straight, I consider it necessary to refer to document A/38/766-S/16232 dated 22 December 1983, which contains numerous distortions of fact and out-of-context quotations intentionally used by its twin authors to misrepresent and misguide.

Turkey's desperate efforts to persuade the international community and the United Nations that its invasion of the Republic of Cyprus was a so-called "peace operation" have been repeatedly rejected in all international forums, and the invasion was condemned for its unprecedented brutality and its utter disregard for international law and order. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November 1974, which was subsequently endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), and a host of other United Nations resolutions on Cyprus for the past 10 years give ample evidence of this fact.

The allegation that Turkey invaded Cyprus in accordance with its obligations under the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee is, to say the least, an affront to the memories of the founding fathers, contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, in particular to Article 2, paragraph 4, thereof, which calls upon Member States to refrain from the use of force in their international relations. Turkey used the coup d'état of 15 July 1974 as a pretext to invade Cyprus, and the ensuing consequences of the invasion show that its actions were not those of a guarantor to restore constitutional order in Cyprus but, instead, those of a brutal violator of what Turkey had guaranteed with its signature, namely, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

It should be made clear that article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, often invoked by Turkey to justify its invasion, calls for the guarantor Powers to act jointly and, if this should not prove possible, says that each guarantor Power has

the right to take action with the sole aim of "re-establishing the state of affairs created by the Treaty". Article IV does not refer to or allow military action or use of armed force, as Turkey claims, because it would be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, which is the peremptory norm of international law from which no derogation is allowed. Furthermore, Article 103 of the Charter clearly states that obligations of Members of the United Nations under the Charter shall prevail over their obligations under any other international agreement. Needless to add that Ankara did not consult any of the guarantor Powers and acted unilaterally.

As the very nature, the conduct and the consequences of its invasion, and the subsequent occupation of nearly 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, clearly demonstrate, Turkey did not invade with the sole aim of re-establishing the constitutional order in the island but, rather, with the sole aim of destroying the constitutional order of Cyprus as well as the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic that it had itself undertaken to guarantee.

As to the Turkish allegation that the invasion was carried out in order to protect the Turkish Cypriot community, it should be repeated that, beyond the falsity of the Turkish argument, neither Turkey nor any of the other guarantor Powers had ever been entrusted with the task of protecting the rights of any specific community or individual in Cyprus. Furthermore, such an allegation has been officially refuted by Mr. Turan Gunes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey at the time of the invasion, who, I submit, is in a position to know better the real reasons of the Turkish invasion. This is what Mr. Gunes admitted on 20 July 1980, in a statement published in "Sekiz-gun", a weekly supplement of the Turkish daily Hurriyet:

"Cyprus is valuable as a right arm for a country interested in its defence or for its expansionist aims, if it harbours such aims. ... Without keeping in mind this strategic importance of Cyprus, one cannot understand the 20 July peace operation Many States, to a certain extent because it suits their interests, want to see the Cyprus problem merely as our desire to protect the Turkish community in the island. Whereas the actual problem is the security of the 45 million Turks in the motherland. ..."

Concerning the quotations used by the twin authors of document A/38/766-S/16232, I wish to state that it is indeed audacious and ironic, to say the least, for an aggressor to try to justify his crimes by quoting out of context the statements reflecting the pain and suffering of his victims.

Truly, the late President Makarios denounced and condemned the coup d'état staged by the Greek military régime, which was aimed at his assassination. That condemnation proves beyond doubt the independence of mind of Makarios, his objectivity, the high democratic principles and the lofty ideals with which he was imbued, as well as the moral policies which he all along pursued.

The coup d'état provided a pretext for an unprecedented evil: the horrendous invasion by the Turkish Attila.

/...

Because the memory of the authors seems to fail them in recounting matters of historical record, let them be reminded of how President Makarios described the inhuman consequences of the Turkish invasion:

"As a result of the Turkish invasion, Cyprus, a flourishing and happy island, has been turned into a place of ruins, tears and death. The Turkish invasion forces have occupied almost 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus and have uprooted from their homes over 200,000 people, constituting one third of the population of the country, who, having been forced to abandon their lands, were turned into refugees living in appalling conditions. The world has witnessed the ruthless showering of napalm bombs on undefended towns and villages, indiscriminately killing civilian population in a fury of destruction. Even hospitals, churches and priceless ancient monuments were attacked and turned into ashes. Murdering in cold blood, raping, looting and plundering were the daily practice. For examples of invasion with similar acts of brutality and destruction one has to go back to the fifth century A.D. to the time of Attila, whose name has been aptly given to this invading operation by the aggressor himself. Festivities and demonstrations were organized in Turkey to mark and celebrate the victory of the Turkish forces against Cyprus and decorations and medals have been distributed to the chiefs of the Air Force and Navy for their victory against a small and defenceless island. Victory it is indeed. But a victory against the international legal order, against the United Nations and its Charter and against every norm of decency in a civilized society."

Similarly, it is also degrading for Turkish propaganda to exploit the tragic and traumatic experiences of a novelist, in order to seek justification for the Turkish invasion. Mrs. Catselli, in her book entitled Refugee in My Homeland, which is written in a form of a diary, expressed the pain, the anguish and the suffering of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees who were forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and lands and were rendered destitute refugees in their own homeland.

The Turkish propaganda wilfully isolates certain sections from Mrs. Catselli's book which refer to the period of the coup d'état, but utterly disregards the bulk of the book which vividly exposes the extent of the Turkish crime against the Republic of Cyprus and its people.

I wish to remind the authors of document A/38/766-S/16232 of some sections of Mrs. Catselli's book, urging them to study it more carefully, hoping that they will thus be given a lesson on factual accuracy.

In pages 19 and 45 of the book, the traditional friendship and co-operation between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, which continued still after the coup, is sincerely depicted. As a matter of fact, on page 31, Mrs. Catselli reveals an agreement between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots of Kyrenia for mutual assistance before and during the Turkish invasion. The entire book is replete with the Turkish atrocities, the looting, the rapes, the desecration of churches, the uprooting of the refugees, the inhuman treatment of the prisoners of war, the tragedy of the missing, the longing of the refugees to return to their

/...

A/38/781
S/16309
English
Page 4

ancestral homes and lands, the tortures and executions, the usurpation of the Greek Cypriot refugees' properties by the Turkish settlers, to mention only a few examples (see pages 40 to 65 of the book).

"Words are too weak", writes Mrs. Catselli, "to describe the infamy of our contemporary civilization, how it crushes every human feeling, how little it takes the human individual into account" (p. 45).

Words are similarly weak to describe the Turkish arrogance, audacity and disrespect for truth, morality and law. The Cypriots are but the latest victims of Turkish expansionist designs and military conquests. Words are indeed weak to describe the extent of the tragedy for the people of Cyprus as a whole which has been brought about by the Turkish invasion. Yet, the Turkish crimes against humanity are accurately recorded in history and speak for themselves.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, under agenda item 41, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Constantine MOUSHOUTAS
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Cyprus to the United Nations
