



Twentieth session  
Agenda item 93

## QUESTION OF CYPRUS

Letter dated 12 October 1965 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

During the past month, a number of communications on Cyprus have been circulated at the request of the Permanent Representative of Turkey. I avoided, so far, replying to inconsequential material - particularly as the substance of the contents of my letters (S/6630, S/6631, S/6632) remained entirely unanswered. It is, however, necessary to point out some of the inconsequences and self-contradictory statements made in the Turkish communications.

In one of these communications (S/6708), Dr. Küçük expresses astonishment that "we can speak of the Turks as wanting to partition the island". He was, however, demonstrably unable to deny his own public statements calling for partition and even giving the "35th parallel as the dividing line", as quoted in my letter (S/6630). Similar statements by the highest officials of the Turkish Government advocating partition and referred to in my said letter, remained equally uncontradicted. That the Turkish use now of the better-sounding term of "federation" is but a temporary camouflage of the same purpose of partition, was amply revealed by former Prime Minister Inonu's statement to the National Assembly on 8 September 1964, which was also quoted in the said letter and has never been denied.

The theme of "federation" (a thinly-veiled substitute for partition) as a means of solving the political problem in Cyprus, keeps recurring in practically every tract of Turkish propaganda. But the concept of "federation" as envisaged by the Turkish side implies the exact opposite of its accepted meaning. As generally understood, federation is the process of unifying what is divided and

not of dividing what is united. In its proper sense, it is the linking together of States or of distinct geographical entities having separate independent existence; it is not the breaking up of a single unit through the calamity of population shifting, pretendedly in the name of federation, but really in order to create artificially a pattern of geographic separation - now non-existent - necessary to promote partition. This aim is hardly concealed in official statements from Turkey. Thus the Minister of Information of the Turkish Government, Dr. Cocuz, said that the only long-term solution was "the separation of the two communities in a federate State", adding that "such a federation would grow into separate independent States which would eventually opt for union with Greece and Turkey..." namely, partition with the inevitability of perpetual war on the borderline, as in Kashmir for nearly two decades now.

Cyprus has been one single entity since time immemorial, and cannot now be broken up and torn asunder under the guise of federation in order to suit the partitionist and expansionist aims of Turkey. Such a turn of events, disastrous in its implications, is resolutely opposed by the bulk of the people of Cyprus, including a considerable number of Turkish Cypriots who realize the grave consequences involved.

It is in the pursuit of this aim of federation as a means to partition that Turkey, and its extremist agents in Cyprus, persistently oppose everything that would make for peaceful coexistence and co-operation between the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots - as equal citizens of a single State. Thus while they hypocritically assert on the one hand that all they want is not to be "dominated" or "enslaved" by the Greek majority (S/6667), they summarily reject, on the other hand, any suggestion of equal rights of citizenship, insisting on specific powers and discriminatory rights for themselves with the effect of subjugating the Greek majority to the will of the Turkish minority in a way disruptive of the State. The phrase, therefore, "enslavement of the Turkish community", as used in Turkish statements, is intended to mean any constitutional arrangements under which the Turkish minority of 18 per cent would not have the power to dominate the majority. To ascertain, however, the actual meaning of certain terms as used in letters emanating from the Turkish Mission, reference should be made to the special little dictionary provided for the purpose in my letter of 10 June 1965 (S/6429).

In the Turkish document S/6667, the Government of Cyprus is criticized for urging the continuance of the United Nations mediation work by Mr. Galo Plaza, "as though" - in the words of Dr. Kiliç - "there were no other person in the world who can be a mediator in Cyprus". This is another instance of arbitrariness in approach. Mr. Plaza was not chosen by the Cypriot Government, nor are we now at the stage of selecting a mediator. Mr. Plaza was nominated by the Secretary-General and appointed by him with common consent, including the concurrence of Ankara and the Turkish Cypriots. He functioned as a Mediator with general approval. The culmination of the mediation effort which lasted for one year was Mr. Plaza's report, a constructive document based on the realities of the situation and fully consistent with the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 and the Charter of the United Nations. Because the report, as an objective study of the situation, brushed aside the unreasonable demands of Ankara for a partitionist "federation", the Turkish side rejected it off-hand, and purported to declare the Mediator's mission terminated. But they cannot arrogate to themselves the prerogative of dismissing the United Nations Mediator whose findings do not fit in with their divisive purposes. Mr. Plaza enjoys the full confidence of the Secretary-General.

If we are to move forward in the pursuit of a peaceful solution, the mediation of Mr. Plaza and his report cannot be ignored nor set aside. It is the negativeness of the Turkish attitude that has obstructed any progress in this direction since the issuance of the Mediator's report on 26 March 1965. The responsibility, therefore, for the present deadlock lies entirely at the door of the Turkish side.

Necessary as the apportionment of responsibility is, the overcoming of the deadlock is still more important. For this task a spirit of goodwill is required together with mutual respect for what is just on universally accepted standards of democratic equality and freedom. Upon that basis a sound and lasting solution of the problem can, and should, be sought.

Your Excellency is kindly requested to have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations

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