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QUESTION OF CYPRUS

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fifth year

Letter dated 4 August 1980 from the Permanent Representative of
Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to attach herewith a letter dated 4 August 1980 addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, representative of the Turkish Federated State of Kibris.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 23 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Coşkun KIRCA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* Reissued for technical reasons.

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ANNEX

Letter dated 4 August 1980 from Mr. Nail Atalay to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 25 July 1980 addressed to Your Excellency by His Excellency Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Federated State of Kıbrıs.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 23 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nail ATALAY
Representative of the
Turkish Federated State of Kıbrıs

APPENDIX

Letter dated 25 July 1980 from Mr. Rauf R. Denktas to the
Secretary-General

Recent public statements by the Greek Cypriot leader, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, are giving cause for concern and are casting considerable doubt on whether Mr. Kyprianou is in fact seriously seeking a bicomunal and bizonal federal solution, as agreed in your presence on 12 February 1977 between the late Archbishop Makarios and myself. Despite this "Four Guidelines Agreement", as confirmed by point 2 of the "Ten-Point Agreement" of 19 May 1979, and despite the agreement on an exchange of populations reached at the third round of the Vienna talks in 1975, Mr. Kyprianou still insists on a "biregional" solution (which envisages not a federation but merely the giving of local regional powers to the Turkish Cypriots within a unitary State) and still speaks about the return of "all refugees" to their homes (despite guideline 3 of the "Four Guidelines").

I feel obliged, from time to time, to draw attention in my public statements to this erroneous policy which is being followed by Mr. Kyprianou and to its dangerous consequences. In public statements which I made on 23 and 24 July (enclosures I and II) I proposed that Your Excellency should take up with Mr. Kyprianou his recent statements and ask him whether he seriously wants a dialogue, whether he consents to a partnership federation and whether he will revive questions that have been already resolved, such as the exchange of population agreement. I pointed out in my statements that, if what Mr. Kyprianou said in his latest speeches constitutes his real policy, it would be futile to discuss the Cyprus problem with him.

Disclosures about Mr. Kyprianou's real aims, which were made public in London recently by Mr. D. Constantinou, one of the Akel (Greek Cypriot Communist Party) leaders, have considerably added to our doubts and confirmed our misgivings. The following extracts from a speech which Mr. Constantinou made before a gathering of Greek Cypriots in London, as reported in the Cyprus Mail of 2 July 1980, are very significant and revealing:

"However Mr. Constantinou said that President Kyprianou had confessed to an Akel Party deputation that he believed Makarios was 'deceived' by United States Presidential envoy Mr. Clifford into making the proposals he made, and that Kyprianou believed there could be a return to the situation prior to the coup and invasion and to an improved version of the Zurich Agreement.

"These are utopian solutions and their pursuit could lead to adventures and double Enosis, Mr. Constantinou said.

"The Akel speaker said Kyprianou's disagreement with the line of settlement naturally made the President wish to avoid the intercommunal talks."

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If the policy followed by Mr. Kyprianou is that to which he has confessed to an Akel party deputation and as confirmed by his recent speeches, then I would respectfully repeat here my public appeal to you to ascertain from Mr. Kyprianou whether he seriously wants a dialogue on the basis of a bizonal federation in accordance with the guidelines agreement of 12 February 1977.

Mr. Kyprianou, by his insistence on a "biregional" as distinct from a "bizonal federal" solution and by his above-mentioned confession to an Akel party delegation, clearly wishes to put the clock back to the pre-coup 1963-1974 period (which Mr. Kyprianou had described as "happy days" - for the Greek Cypriots, of course) and during which period, in accordance with the notorious "Akritas Plan" (which has been circulated to the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council as an appendix to document A/33/115-S/12722 of 30 May 1978), a/ the Turkish people of Cyprus were harassed and molested, deprived of all their basic human rights, ruthlessly massacred; 103 Turkish villages were destroyed and about 30,000 Turkish Cypriots were rendered homeless. Details of these gross violations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriot leadership during this period (which included Mr. Kyprianou), as a deliberate instrument of policy, are only too well known by you and are recorded in detail in reports to the Security Council by Your Excellency and your predecessors.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 23 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

Rauf R. DENKTAŞ
President of the Turkish
Federated State of Kibris

a/ For the text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12722.

Enclosure 1

Public statement of 23 July 1980

Do the Greek Cypriots want serious talks?

Whenever Mr. Kyprianou speaks of a federation of two sections, he uses the term "biregional". Makarios and I used the term "bizonal" and this is the fundamental basis.

Mr. Kyprianou says he is frightened of the meaning implied by the word "bizonal". He claims that the island will be divided if he uses the term "bizonal". The allegation that "bizonal federation" would be tantamount to "partition" is pure imagination on behalf of Mr. Kyprianou. In fact, he is rejecting the principle of equality embedded in a federal system. As a matter of fact, Mr. Kyprianou is rejecting the principle of the partnership of two peoples foreseen by a federal system.

We have conveyed in writing to Mr. Waldheim what we mean by a bizonal federal system. In turn, Mr. Waldheim who described our proposals as "concrete and substantial", submitted them to Mr. Kyprianou. The immediate answer of Mr. Kyprianou was "no". However, had he read and studied our proposals, he would have realized that our request was the re-establishment of a partnership government within the framework of the principles agreed upon with Makarios, between the Turkish Cypriot people, who have inalienable, co-founder partnership rights in the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, and the Greek Cypriot people, who maintained an 11-year-long ruthless and inhuman oppression against the Turkish Cypriots for the destruction of the 1960 partnership republic.

With the term "biregional" and what he says, Mr. Kyprianou has adopted a stand, which contravenes the realities and lacks any serious intent of devolving some rights to local administrations. With this stand and approach, he is rejecting the guidelines agreements (which he opposed right from the first day) concluded with Makarios. Thus, he is also rejecting the 19 May 1979 agreement which is based on the guidelines agreement concluded with Makarios. As a matter of fact, this was confirmed immediately after the 19 May agreement by the extraction of the United Nations General Assembly resolution contravening the 19 May agreement.

As long as Mr. Kyprianou continues his efforts to become master of Cyprus by hiding behind such resolution, division will become deep rooted. By denying the population exchange, which has already taken place, and basing the solution of the problem on the chimera of the return of all displaced persons to their former places, Mr. Kyprianou is exposing his unwillingness to find a solution through negotiations. Mr. Kyprianou's inhuman statements lacking seriousness on the question of missing persons indicate his true ambitions.

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Mr. Kyprianou insists on denying the co-founder partnership rights of the Turkish Cypriot people who were left outside the Government and outside the State through use of force, and he aims at removing the guarantees which prevented the destruction of the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus.

We propose that Mr. Waldheim should take up Mr. Kyprianou's latest speech and ask him whether he seriously wants a dialogue, whether he consents to a partnership federation, and whether he will revive questions that have already been resolved such as the population exchange.

If what he said in his latest speech constitutes Mr. Kyprianou's real policy, it is futile to discuss the Cyprus problem with him. It would be useful, indeed essential, to give the Greek Cypriot people the chance to find a more realist leader.

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Enclosure 2

Public statement of 24 July 1980

The announcement of the Greek Cypriot Democratic Party on behalf of Mr. Kyprianou that they are stressing "biregionality" and their attempt to present this as the policy of late Archbishop Makarios, sheds light on the intrigues to which they are resorting in order to deceive their own people and the world by playing with words.

I discussed with Makarios "bizonality" and not "biregionality". This is a fact which was also confirmed by Mr. Waldheim in his contacts related to his inauguration speech. The Greek Cypriot leadership has shifted to "biregionality" in order to bring back the inhuman régime of the 1963-1974 period and to avoid the establishment of the partnership régime with the Turkish Cypriot side. Mr. Kyprianou does not want the establishment of a bizonal federal partnership between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot people through negotiations. Mr. Kyprianou is under the illusion that he owns Cyprus through his false pretence of "government" after having ruthlessly massacred Turkish Cypriots and rendered about 30,000 Turkish Cypriots homeless for 11 years and doomed them to hunger and poverty, and under this false and usurped title of "government" he does not feel the need to compromise with us to establish a bizonal federation. Very clearly, Mr. Kyprianou is endeavouring to bring back the 1963-1974 period.

Mr. Kyprianou is rejecting the "bizonal" agreement concluded with Archbishop Makarios and is wasting time by playing with words. This was exposed also in his letter to Akel, which was published in the Cyprus Mail of 2 July. According to this disclosure, Mr. Kyprianou did not like the agreement Makarios concluded with me, and claimed that Makarios was deceived. According to Akel, Mr. Kyprianou cherishes the view that it is possible to return to the pre-coup period, that is to say to the 1963-1974 period, and does not contemplate anything beyond an agreement similar to the Zurich agreement. And in this same announcement Akel pointed out that because of this policy he cherishes, Mr. Kyprianou does not support the intercommunal talks, stresses that he pursues a policy of avoiding talks, and emphasized that there is not the least hope of a compromise or agreement with Mr. Kyprianou.

These are the bitter facts which promoted me to ask, in my statement yesterday, Mr. Waldheim to find out the true intentions of Mr. Kyprianou. People who are under the illusion of taking the Turkish Cypriot people back to the pre-1974 period cannot be expected to discuss with us the formation of a partnership federation. This is why time is being wasted.
