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QUESTION OF CYPRUS

ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

RIGHTS OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Letter dated 25 October 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Osman Ertuğ, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 54, 107 and 108.

(Signed) Inal BATU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 25 October 1993 from Mr. Osman Ertuğ to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to the statement made by the Greek Cypriot delegate at the meeting of the Third Committee on 15 October 1993 during the discussion of agenda items 107 and 108, entitled "Elimination of racism and racial discrimination" and "Right of peoples to self-determination", respectively.

Since, due to the forceful usurpation and continued monopolization of the title of "the Government of Cyprus" by the Greek Cypriot administration, the Turkish Cypriot side is unable to exercise its natural right of reply at the Third Committee, I am compelled to respond to the Greek Cypriot delegate's inflammatory remarks in writing.

I wish to point out at the outset that the groundless allegations and hypocritical arguments advanced by the Greek Cypriot delegate at the said meeting are a tiresome repetition of those he made last year. Since I had sufficiently responded to them with a letter dated 20 October 1993 (see document A/47/567-S/24695 dated 22 October 1992), I do not wish to go into them again in detail. I would, however, like to reiterate our response to some of the more glaring examples of distortion and misrepresentation in the aforesaid statement of the Greek Cypriot delegate, in order to put the facts on record:

1. If there is a party which has practised not only racism, racial discrimination and multiple violations of human rights, but also the repulsive method of ethnic cleansing, it is the Greek Cypriot side itself. The massacres, crimes and atrocities committed by the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriot people between 1963 and 1974 are such well-established and well-documented facts that they hardly need to be elaborated here.

2. The Greek Cypriot delegate's portrayal of the Turkish Cypriot people as an "ethnic community manipulated by external interference" adds insult to injury. Recent history clearly shows who manipulated, and continues to manipulate, which community in Cyprus for its own irredentist aims.

The campaign of violence and warfare waged by the Greek invading army, in collaboration with the local Greek Cypriot armed elements, against the Turkish Cypriot population, the human suffering and destruction it had brought to the island, culminating in the coup d'etat of July 1974 and the ultimate division of the island, are well known and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say, one would have hoped that the Greek Cypriot leadership has learned a lesson from the unfortunate chain of events which it had unleashed itself. It is regrettable, however, that the present Greek Cypriot leader, Mr. Glafcos Clerides, in total disregard of his side's past mistakes, has made it a policy priority for his administration to have an additional Greek military division brought to the island, rekindling fears that the Greek Cypriot leadership is trying to set the stage for new adventures.

It is indeed ironic that, at a time when his own leader is actively seeking further interference and inviting manipulation by Greece in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot delegate at the Third Committee should have the audacity to complain about alleged "external interference and manipulation" of the Turkish Cypriots by Turkey. Far from being manipulative or interventionist, the peace-keeping role that Turkey has successfully played in Cyprus in the last 19 years continues to serve as the only effective deterrent against the repetition of Greek aggression and manipulation in the island.

3. The Greek Cypriot delegate's allegations that "Cyprus is a victim of foreign invasion and occupation" and that "its people are not allowed to freely express their aspirations" are equally ludicrous and totally misdirected. The dramatic remarks made by Archbishop Makarios before the Security Council on 19 July 1974, in the wake of the Greek coup d'etat, are precise as to who was invading Cyprus when Turkey stepped in to save the island from being colonized by Greece and the Turkish Cypriots from being annihilated: a/

> "No revolution took place in Cyprus which could be considered as an internal matter. It was an invasion which violated the independence and the sovereignty of the Republic ... It is clearly an invasion from outside ... The coup of the Greek Junta is an invasion, and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks."

If there is an occupation in Cyprus today, it is the continued occupation of the seat of Government by the Greek Cypriot usurpers of power. Indeed, it was the Greek Cypriot usurpers of power. Indeed, it was the Greek Cypriot side who seceded from the legitimate bi-communal partnership State in 1963 by forcibly expelling the Turkish Cypriots from all organs of the State and turning the partnership Republic into a purely Greek Cypriot enterprise, which it is today.

4. Separate right to self-determination for each component people or community in Cyprus has long existed and continues to exist. It was first exercised by each community in forming the bi-national Republic of 1960. This inherent right of the Turkish Cypriot people was again manifested when the Greek Cypriots, by force of arms, destroyed the partnership Republic, expelling the Turkish Cypriots from the State organs and monopolizing the government apparatus. The unlawful state of affairs created by the Greek Cypriot usurpation of governmental authority had left the Turkish Cypriot people with no choice but to exercise their right to self-determination separately, as the alternative would have been to subject themselves to Greek Cypriot domination and oppression, and ultimate elimination. Thus, they organized themselves in areas under their control and administered their day-to-day affairs, refusing to be subjugated by the Greek Cypriot side.

5. That the Turkish Cypriots have since exercised this right separately and continue to do so is a matter of fact, not legal fiction. By refusing to acknowledge this reality, the Greek Cypriot side is not helping the process of

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a/ S/PV.1780, paras. 18, 23 and 32.

negotiations aimed at a viable and just solution, because it is the two equal communities or peoples who, through the exercise of the right to self-determination, can bring about such a solution based on their free will to be expressed through separate referenda. To argue the opposite is to shut the door to a mutually acceptable, negotiated settlement and constitutes a veiled attempt to bring the Turkish Cypriots under Greek Cypriot hegemony.

6. The Greek Cypriot argument that the Turkish Cypriots do not have the separate right to self-determination because they are not "a nation with the characteristics of a people" is thus historically and factually incorrect. This claim is based on the assumption that there is a "Cypriot nation" and that the Turkish Cypriots are a "minority" within this "nation", whereas the Greek Cypriots were the first to refute the existence of a "Cypriot nation". As early as March 1963, Archbishop Makarios had declared that "the Cyprus Agreements of 1960 established a State but not a nation". The same Agreements, in recognition of the sui generis situation prevailing in Cyprus, where two ethnically, culturally and linguistically distinct communities exist, had conferred upon each community the status of a "people" and recognized their "co-founder partner" status in a bi-national Republic.

7. The Turkish Cypriots never abused the right to self-determination which, as explained above, was inherent in the Agreements. On the contrary, it was the Greek Cypriots who repeatedly abused this principle by trying to convert the bi-national Republic into a Greek Cypriot one, and by attempting to unite the island with Greece (ENOSIS). They continue to abuse that principle by claiming to be the sole representatives for the whole of Cyprus, whereas they know full well that they do not have the consent of the Turkish Cypriot people to do so. The lack of any such consent, which is essential for a legitimate, representative government, puts the Greek Cypriot administration and its representatives in the position of impostor.

In the final analysis, the Greek Cypriot side's phobia concerning the application of the right to self-determination, which is prevalent in virtually every paragraph of the Greek Cypriot delegate's statement, is yet another evidence of his side's archaic mentality that Cyprus is a Greek land and that the Turkish Cypriots are, at best, a "minority". This is a clear rejection of the concept of a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question based on equality, and I am sure Your Excellency, as well as the international community, will duly take into account the negative implications of this approach for your efforts to establish trust and confidence in the island and for the achievement of an overall solution.

I shall be grateful if this letter is circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 54, 107 and 108.

(Signed) Osman ERTUĞ
Representative
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
