

UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



SECURITY
COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/33/74
S/12626
31 March 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-third session
Item 28 of the preliminary list*
QUESTION OF CYPRUS

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-third year

Letter dated 30 March 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to a communication circulated as a document of the United Nations at the request of the representative of Turkey (A/33/72-S/12621) on 24 March 1978 and signed by Mr. Denktash as President of the so-called "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus".

As already amply shown in my letter of 31 October 1977 (A/32/316), this purported State - fictitiously set up by Turkey in the invaded 40 per cent territory of Cyprus and made up of alien population largely transported from Turkey to supplant the expelled majority Greek Cypriot population in their usurped homes and properties - is but the manifest offspring of a multiple international crime against Cyprus and its people.

The arbitrary elimination at the present juncture of the historic Greek names of the towns and villages in the invaded area and the substitution thereof by new and invented Turkish names comes as a crowning aggression against the age-long history and culture of Cyprus.

Ankara through her instruments in Cyprus tries, by the aforesaid letter, to create confusion by bringing in again a systematized repetition of unsubstantiated charges to the effect that the Turkish Cypriots since December 1963 were the victims of an "onslaught" by the Greek Cypriots and were for 11 years, until 1974, harassed and compelled to be secluded in enclaves, and deprived of their homes and their freedom of movement. These irresponsible allegations were refuted by concrete and authoritative evidence in the official six monthly reports by the Secretary-General covering the whole 11-year period in question. Extensive extracts from these reports were quoted in our statements in the United Nations on more than one occasion, namely in the Security Council on

* A/33/50/Rev.1.

30 August 1974, 1/ in the Special Political Committee on 29 October 1974 2/ and in the General Assembly on 8 October 1975. 3/

On all these occasions, as shown in the relevant records, the statements have gone unanswered because they were unanswerable. But this does not prevent the Turkish side from irresponsibly reverting after a time to those untrue allegations.

The allegation that the Turkish Cypriots were a minority held under siege and terror by the Greeks is proven blatantly false also by other evidence and even Turkish evidence, which also reveals that the clashes were provoked and pursued under the banner of partition.

The Turkish Cypriot newspaper Halkin Sesi, the mouthpiece of the then Vice-President Kutchuk, in its issue of 29 February 1964, writes: "The Greeks are in a state of distress in the full sense of the word. Starting from Nicosia in all clashes the Greeks suffered great losses, but they do not give the casualty figure." The paper continues: "The Turkish fighters have pledged to fight on until the realization of partition". Thus, the attitude of the Turkish minority has been admittedly one of provoking division and instigating armed conflict with the aim of partition.

In yet another issue of Halkin Sesi, it is made clear that the avowed aim of partition is actually for annexation. In its issue of 9 August 1965, Halkin Sesi writes: "Cyprus is another Alexandretta in the history of Turkey. The power of Turkey will ensure an honourable life for the Turkish Cypriots in the same way as it did in Alexandretta by annexing it and bringing it under Turkish domination. The road in this direction has been opened by the Turkish fighters at Kokkina who are now fighting in every corner of Cyprus."

Further evidence that this motivation of clashes came from Ankara appears in Prime Minister Inonu's words to the National Assembly of Turkey in October 1974: "Officially, we promote the federation concept rather than the partition thesis so as to appear as though within the provisions of the Treaty."

Since the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements in 1960 and the establishment of the Republic, the Turkish leadership, egged on by Ankara, has been systematically obstructing the effective functioning of the State in order to promote divisiveness, friction and conflict. It was this policy, well under way by 1961, which led the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives to abuse their rights under the Constitution for a separate majority by preventing

1/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh year, 1795th meeting.

2/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Special Political Committee, 923rd meeting.

3/ Ibid., Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2380th meeting.

the passage of an admittedly normal and unobjectionable income tax bill. The result was a serious financial crisis and trouble. They next insisted on a house by house division of the towns, a proposition which was predictably impractical and proved unworkable.

Armed clashes in December 1963 were thus the culmination of continued and provocative hampering on the machinery of the Government by the Turkish Cypriot leadership at the bidding of Ankara. This persistent obstructionism made it necessary for the President of Cyprus to address a letter to the Turkish Vice-President, in November 1963, proposing amendments to the excessively divisive and unworkable elements in the Constitution and increasing, in exchange, the authority of the Turkish Vice-Presidents of the Republic and of the House of Representatives.

The response, openly prompted by Ankara, was outright rejection coupled with the unnecessary and provocative appearance of Turkish Cypriot fighters, who showed themselves fully armed and ready to fight.

It may be recalled that already in October 1959, even as the Zurich and London Agreements were being drawn up, Turkey was secretly shipping arms and ammunition to Cyprus in preparation for armed uprising. The vessel "Denis" was at that time actually caught by the British authorities in the very act of unloading an arsenal of weapons on the north of Cyprus. At the same time, a special invasion force was being prepared in the Mersina area opposite the coast of Cyprus.

No sooner had the clashes begun, than the underlying purpose for them became apparent by Turkey's attempt to invade Cyprus on 27 December 1963. Recourse to the Security Council halted the attempt. Vice-President Kutchuk, however, encouraged from outside, continued to give the signal of rebellion by declaring publicly that he was "no longer a Vice-President and that the Constitution is dead" (The New York Times, 4 January 1964) and "that partition is the best solution". He went so far as to propose the thirty-fifth parallel as "an ideal demarcation line", as reported in The New York Times of 4 and 11 January 1964 respectively, as well as in the Herald Tribune of 9 January 1964.

At the bidding of Dr. Kutchuk, the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives resigned from the House. At the same time, all Turkish officials and employees in the Civil Service ceased functioning and withdrew from the public service.

These proven facts belie the Turkish posture of an allegedly persecuted Turkish Cypriot minority deprived of their rights and their share in the administration.

In June 1964, Mr. Erkin, then Foreign Minister of Turkey, offered another clear insight when he said in a newspaper interview in Athens: "The radical

/...

solution would be to cede one part of Cyprus to Greece and the other, closest to the Turkish Asiatic coast, to Turkey."

It is these designs of Ankara for partition and ultimate annexation which over the years have assiduously cultivated and nurtured a climate of friction and enmity between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The task was known to be a difficult one; so much so that it had to be furthered through violence. An underground terrorist organization - TMT - set up and manned by officers from Turkey, began in 1958 systematically forcing the Turkish Cypriots through threats of heavy punishment, into discontinuing any friendly contacts and associations with their Greek Cypriot compatriots in a sustained effort to keep them apart as enemies.

In that effort, all human rights of the Turkish Cypriots were denied them by their own leadership, imposed upon from Ankara. Their right of freedom of movement, freedom of residence - and even to life - were violated by the Turkish Cypriot leaders working in league with TMT which terrorized the rank and file of the Turkish Cypriot community into complete submissiveness to its orders.

A considerable part of the Turkish Cypriot people had thus been compelled by their leadership in conjunction with TMT to abandon their homes and properties even in areas far removed from the site of conflict and to be segregated in enclaves so as to create the nucleus of a geographic division and promote the objective of partition. From those enclaves they were not permitted by order of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and TMT to get out, although longing to return to their homes. They could not leave the enclaves without special permit, and had to be back at a specific time. Those who tried to escape were shot on the spot. Many instances were quoted in our letters to the Secretary-General at that time.

In his report of 10 June 1965, 4/ the Secretary-General states:

"The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots."

The Government's contention is thus borne out that:

"... the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the

4/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1965, document A/6426, para. 106.

direct result of the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file".

During the intercommunal clashes in the period 1963-1974, there were no doubt occasions of regrettable acts of violence by which both sides suffered. But how can these sporadic instances of irresponsible violence compare with the systematic violation of human rights by the army of invasion through verified mass executions of innocent civilians by the thousands in a genocidal expulsion of over 200,000 Greek Cypriots from their ancestral homes and properties. This was immediately followed by implanting therein alien population, imported from Turkey, in the pre-planned design to change by force the demographic composition of Cyprus. A horrifying account of the atrocities involved in this sinister operation is contained in the studied report of the European Commission of Human Rights, partly published in the Sunday Times of 23 January 1977.

Such decline in moral values and all sense of human decency in a presumably civilized world community is unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations and modern history.

Yet, the rank and file of the Cypriot people - Greek and Turkish alike - yearn for conciliation and the resumption of their former amicable relations. They are forcibly prevented by outside interventions for purposes alien to the interest of the people of Cyprus.

In spite of all adversity and constant undermining of the moral fibre of the Cypriot people, we have faith in a better future for Cyprus compatible with its spiritual legacy. We confidently trust the United Nations will come to its own by applying the Charter and giving effect to its resolutions on Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly under item 28 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

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