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SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-first year

Letter dated 3 August 1976 from the Permanent Representative of
Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 3 August 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, the representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 69 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) İlter TÜRKMEN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* A/31/150.

ANNEX

Letter dated 3 August 1976 from Mr. Nail Atalay
to the Secretary-General

I would like to refer to Mr. Zenon Rossides' letter of 15 July 1976 which has been circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council (A/31/151-S/12144 and Corr.1).

At a time when efforts are being made both in Cyprus and elsewhere with a view to reactivate the intercommunal talks, it is disappointing to receive yet another letter from Mr. Rossides. My first reaction to the letter was to ignore it, because there are much more important matters to deal with in the interest of Cyprus as a whole than to waste valuable time answering Mr. Rossides' unfounded allegations. Much of what he says and writes is false and, moreover, his extracts from official reports and documents are culled in such a way as to give a completely distorted picture of the real situation. These extracts are out of context and are irresponsibly designed to mislead those responsible people whose energies are being exerted to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. I therefore feel compelled, in order to put the record straight, to reply to Mr. Rossides' letter, though I do so with hesitation and in the hope that I will not have to do so again.

Unlike Mr. Rossides, who attempts to divert the Cyprus problem from its appropriate framework to the so-called "burning issues", I would like to stress once more what the crux of the matter is.

Greek Cypriots had treated the Turkish Cypriots inhumanely, as second-class citizens, for 12 years, but not until the coup staged on 15 July 1974 by a Greek Cypriot faction in collaboration with the Greek Junta was it possible for world public opinion to comprehend, and to comprehend only partially, the extent of the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriots at the hands of the Greeks. At that point Turkey was obliged to intervene as a guarantor power. The position now is that it is imperative that a definitive solution should be reached which would prevent once and for all the recurrence of the past with all its tragedies.

Mr. Rossides' elaborate allegations that the Greeks living in the north are forcibly ejected from their homes and sent to the south are a travesty of the truth. In all cases permission is granted for them to move, upon their own written request or upon their application through UNFICYP. This has been stated repeatedly on several occasions and most recently through my letter of 21 May 1976 (S/12082).

Mr. Rossides refers to Lord Radcliffe's assessment of the situation in Cyprus, but he fails to mention that Lord Radcliffe was speaking some 15 years ago. Mr. Rossides also fails to mention the massacres of innocent Turkish

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Cypriots in the village of Ayios Vassilios in 1964, armed attacks against the villages of Kophinou and Ayios Theodoros in 1967, and massacres in the villages of Tokhni, Aloa, Maratha and Sandallaris in 1974. To give Lord Radcliffe his due, he would not and he did not anticipate the savage lengths to which the Greek Cypriots would go to carry out their infamous plans against the Turks for the achievement of enosis.

Two quotations from impartial observers will suffice to show the treatment accorded to the Turkish Cypriot community:

"... a still worse massacre took place at the village of Ayios Vassilios, north-west of Nicosia, where 21 Turkish bodies were discovered on 13 January 1964, all buried in the earth.

"Some had been bound in uncomfortable positions before death, including one who had been blown up by a bomb placed in his lap." a/

"In a raid on a small Turkish village near Limassol, 36 people out of a population of 200 were killed. The Greeks said that they had been given orders to kill the inhabitants of the Turkish villages before the Turkish forces arrived." b/

Mr. Rossides alleges that the Turkish Cypriots were prevented by their leadership from returning to their homes, for political purposes, and he claims that "it was well known there was no problem of security". He purports to refer to reports of the Secretary-General to substantiate his allegations. Extracts from such reports are either incomplete or false, or quoted out of context, but what is well known is what a master Mr. Rossides is of the manipulation of words out of their context to serve his purposes. The facts speak for themselves. The deaths of innocent villagers speak. As the massacres show, it is the inhuman treatment they suffered at the hands of the Greeks that display what the Greeks' real feeling towards us is. This is what kept our people away from their homes. In order to disprove Mr. Rossides on the matter, it will suffice to refer him again to various United Nations reports and other objective sources which are in full accord in reporting the sufferings and psychology of the Turkish Cypriots in those past years:

"When the disturbances broke out in December 1963 and continued in the first part of 1964, thousands of Turkish Cypriots fled from their homes, taking with them only what they could drive or carry, and sought refuge in what they considered to be safer Turkish Cypriot villages and areas." c/

a/ Extract from Professor H. D. Purcells' book entitled Cyprus.

b/ Washington Post, 23 July 1974.

c/ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document S/8286, para. 126.

"... the conclusion seems warranted that the economic restrictions being imposed against the Turkish communities in Cyprus, which in some instances have been so severe as to amount to a veritable siege, indicate that the /Greek Cypriot/ Government of Cyprus seeks to force a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action." d/

"... The official list of restricted goods still comprises 31 items. Most of these goods, however, have extensive civilian use, such as building materials and automobile replacement parts. In addition, other items which are not on the official list but which qualify under similar headings are often subjected to seizure at Cyprus Police /Greek Cypriot/ checkpoints, giving cause for complaints." e/

"The Greek Cypriots claim that many of the Turks had been driven, under the threat of their own leaders, to form large enclaves which are intended to pave the way for a separate and Federal State. It is difficult to find evidence in support of this allegation. Their motive seems to be more to protect themselves against sudden attack than a calculated attempt to form a separate State." f/

Greek thinking in general and Mr. Rossides' thinking in particular on the question of Cyprus is so biased as to be incompatible with reason.

A recent speech by former Greek Prime Minister Kanellopoulos in Nicosia on the occasion of the second anniversary of the 1974 coup in Cyprus is a good example of the Greek way of thinking on Cyprus. There are three main points arising from this speech.

Mr. Kanellopoulos says that "God has given Makarios a duty to carry out ...", bearing in mind the oath Makarios took in 1950 when he became Archbishop, "to achieve enosis during his lifetime." Therefore, there can be no room for doubt that enosis is not dead and will never be dead in the minds of Greeks. The Turkish Cypriots, therefore, are fully justified to wish to protect themselves from this evil idea and its probable manifestations.

Secondly, Mr. Kanellopoulos spoke about "Hellenic Cyprus" and said that "they have no other homeland to lose", thus exposing the fact that he really regards Cyprus as a Greek island. This sort of attitude, expressed by a responsible Greek statesman, proves beyond doubt the Turkish Cypriot viewpoint that for the past two

d/ Ibid., Nineteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1964, document S/5950, para. 222.

e/ Ibid., Twenty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1966, document S/7350, para. 111.

f/ Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1964.

decades the Greek Cypriots have worked to suppress the Turkish community in order to realize the so-called "Hellenic Cyprus".

Thirdly, Mr. Kanellopoulos draws a parallel between the Turks in Crete and the Turks of Cyprus and asks why the Turks of Cyprus cannot live together with the Greeks as the Turks did in Crete. What happened to the Turks in Crete who were more numerous than those in Cyprus is well known to world public opinion. Today there is not a single Turk in Crete. They did not just disappear into thin air, but were the victims of the ruthless policy of Ethniki Eteria (aggrandizement of Greece at the expense of Turkey). This is exactly what the Greeks have dreamt to implement in Cyprus for decades. Therefore, the Turkish Cypriots are fully justified in wishing to protect themselves against similar aggressions. This is the reason why we insist on actual and physical guarantees. This is why we regard bizonal federation as the only realistic solution to the Cyprus problem.

The Turkish Cypriots want the reactivation of the talks which we consider as the best, in fact, the only method for the solution of the Cyprus problem. But do the Greeks? Judging from the statements made by Greek Cypriot leaders and from the letters written by Mr. Rossides, it is quite obvious that they do not.

Goodwill, sincerity and realism is needed to solve the Cyprus problem; it cannot be solved through acrimonious debates in international forums or through publication of letters such as the one written by Mr. Rossides with a view to deceive world public opinion.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly under item 69 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

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