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QUESTION OF CYPRUS

Letter dated 12 October 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 12 October 1976, addressed to you by Mr. Nail Atalay, 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 agenda item 118, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ilter TURKMEN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 12 October 1976 from Mr. Nail Atalay
to the Secretary-General

It has come to my knowledge that Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, the President of the Greek Cypriot EDEK Party and the Vice-President of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Presidium (AAPSO), will shortly be in New York, leading an AAPSO delegation, in order to have consultations in connexion with the Cyprus problem.

With a view to giving Your Excellency, and through you the distinguished delegates at the United Nations, background information about this Greek Cypriot leader, I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 1 September 1976, addressed to the editor of Review of International Affairs, by His Excellency Mr. Rauf R. Denktas, the President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, regarding an article written by Dr. Lyssarides in a recent issue of the said magazine.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 118, and of the Security Council.

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

APPENDIX

Letter dated 1 September 1976 from Mr. Rauf R. Denktas
to the editor of Review of International Affairs

With reference to "Cyprus: Right to Exist" by Dr. V. Lyssarides in your issue of 20 May 1976, I should like to state that the article is completely misleading as it has nothing to do with the truth.

On 23 April 1973 Dr. V. Lyssarides, speaking at a press conference in Nicosia in his capacity as the leader of EDEK Party said the following:

"The real cause of the crisis is because the people of Cyprus have not been allowed to exercise their right to self-determination. For this reason, various groups have turned to different goals and thus a crisis has arisen. Some people speak of 'enotists' (that is to say those who favour union of Cyprus with Greece) and 'anti-enotists' (that is to say those who do not favour union with Greece). This is not at all correct. All Greek Cypriots are 'enotists' and they are prepared to make every sacrifice and to fight for enosis (union with Greece), provided that suitable conditions are created for its achievement."

In Cyprus two ethnic communities had compromised in 1959 and had agreed to set up a bi-national Republic of Cyprus guaranteed against enosis (union with Greece). Until 1958 the Greek Cypriot leadership had been waging a terroristic struggle in order to achieve union with Greece. Dr. V. Lyssarides, in his capacity as the physician of Archbishop Makarios was an activist in this struggle. The Turkish Cypriot community looked upon enosis as "a change of colonial masters and enslavement". Thus the Turkish Cypriots became an obstacle on the way to enosis. Hence, the compromise of 1959 whereby the Greek Cypriots seemed to agree to a bi-national Republic. We consented to this because enosis (the Turkish fear of colonization by Greece) was averted by a system of guarantees.

But as stated by Archbishop Makarios later and as proven by the disclosures of the Akritas Plan (a copy of which is attached) the Greek Cypriot side never intended to keep and maintain this bi-national independence.

In an address to Greek journalists who had come to Cyprus from Greece Archbishop Makarios was saying "my wish is that I should live long enough to see enosis achieved" (23 September 1973 - Makhi), while Dr. Lyssarides, in a statement to Paris Radio (as published in the Greek Cypriot press of 5 October 1973) declared:

"The most appropriate solution is the one reached through the exercise of the right of self-determination. A solution contrary to the wish of the people of Cyprus cannot be lasting. The solution which the people of Cyprus wish is full national rehabilitation."

Thus in a bi-national Republic, based on the co-founder partnership of the two national communities, Dr. Lyssarides was seeking to impose the will of the Greek Cypriot side as an application of the right of self-determination. The Turkish Cypriot partner's inalienable right to the protection of the independence

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and sovereignty of Cyprus was thus defied and ignored. "National rehabilitation", like "the right of self-determination" was used synonymously with enosis (union with Greece).

On 27 March 1972 Dr. V. Lyssarides is reported in Kypros as having said the following:

"The use of the right of self-determination in Cyprus will result in the union of Cyprus as a whole with Greece."

This would be the natural result of the kind of self-determination which the Greek leaders aspired, namely, the complete disregard of the will of the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner in the independence of Cyprus.

These are just a few of the statements by the Greek Cypriot leadership which go a long way to prove the real causes of the Cyprus problem and, I hope, will suffice to disprove everything written by Dr. V. Lyssarides in his above-referred article to your esteemed journal.

Dr. V. Lyssarides, as the personal physician of Archbishop Makarios, cannot conceal from the socialist countries the "holy oath" of Archbishop Makarios which he took in church on 20 October 1950 and which has continued to be the root of "the problem of Cyprus" ever since. This is the oath:

"I take the holy oath that I shall work for the birth of our national freedom and shall never waiver from our policy of annexing Cyprus to mother Greece."

In 1973 and later just before the coup d'état of 1974, the Archbishop reiterated dozens of times that he had never waived from this holy oath. On 4 May 1972 he was saying:

"Firm attachment to and insistence on enosis constitute the main primary factor."

And in an interview with Acropolis of Greece:

"I will be nationally satisfied, and so would all Greeks, only if the Cyprus problem were solved through union of Cyprus with Greece."

Has anything changed since the coup d'état and the Turkish Peace Operation which was made unavoidable with the mortal danger posed to the bi-national independence and to its Turkish Cypriot partner? No, nothing has changed in Greek Cypriot leaders' minds. They still claim one-sided self-determination and they still try to make the world believe that the Turkish Cypriot factor in the problem of Cyprus is irrelevant. Mr. V. Lyssarides cannot avoid this factor by making a non-existent Erol Mehmet say that he "does not want barbed wires between the Greek

and Turkish Cypriot brothers". Dr. Lyssarides surely knows that those barbed wires (and worse the mass graves of Turkish Cypriots all over Cyprus) were put there by Greek Cypriot leaders like himself who have been trying to impose Greek Cypriot will on the Turkish Cypriots since December 1963.

Dr. V. Lyssarides has posed the question as "Cyprus: Right to Exist". We have no quarrel with a bi-national Cyprus. Indeed we have died in order to defend the bi-national independence while Dr. V. Lyssarides has been trying to destroy it and to impose a purely Greek Cypriot Administration in preparation for the final plunge for enosis. That is why the Greek Cypriot leaders deny the right to exist as a co-founder partner to the Turkish Cypriots. Hence, the problem still unsolved and with little likelihood of solving it while the same people who created it continue to master the Greek Cypriot political scene. To them a settlement of the problem on a bi-national basis of independence (now moulded into a bi-regional form) is defeat, because as indicated through their speeches and as set out in the notorious Akritas Plan, the idea is to establish a Greek Cyprus in preparation for the final stage prior to enosis.

(Signed) Rauf R. DENKTAŞ
President of the
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
