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Letter dated 6 June 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to a letter from the representative of Turkey attaching a statement to the press by Mr. Denktash (A/33/104-S/12714, annex) regarding the Turkish proposals prepared in Ankara and submitted to the Secretary-General on 13 April 1978.

These proposals run counter to the agreed constitutional basis for a federation, preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. They clearly are, in substance and effect, but proposals for the partition of the island with annexation looming in the background. No consideration, of course, could be given to such proposals as a basis for negotiations. Consequently, as Your Excellency is aware, they have been rejected outright by the Government of Cyprus.

The bulk of the Cypriot people, of whatever ethnic origin, who cherish the independence and territorial integrity of their country and the freedom of its people cannot possibly think otherwise. They cannot contemplate negotiations, the purpose of which would be to legalize the results of the aggression and of all the international crimes committed by the invasion forces, upon a pre-planned design to force a change in the demographic structure of Cyprus. All this, at the cost of the basic human rights of the people of Cyprus as a whole, namely both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The Greek Cypriot people have been the tragic victims of the atrocities of the Turkish army of invasion, as set out in the report of the European Commission of Human Rights (Strasbourg, 1977), which, according to the London Sunday Times, amounts to a "massive indictment of the Ankara Government and its impact could result in the withdrawal or expulsion of Turkey from the Council of Europe" (Times, 23 January 1977).

\* A/33/50/Rev.1.

The Turkish Cypriot people have also suffered in their basic human rights and in their very identity, ominously threatened by the massive influx of settlers from Turkey - alien to the Turkish Cypriot people and their living standards.

The voice of Mr. Denktash is but the echo of Ankara and its army of occupation. It has, thus, been all along the inimical, arrogant and dictating voice of the invader. It does not represent the true interests and feelings of the rank and file of the Turkish Cypriots. At this juncture, Mr. Denktash has suddenly assumed a new façade. He speaks glibly of "good faith" and "flexibility" in an attempt to mislead by way of concealing the stark reality of the partition project in the proposals.

As to the genuineness of the representation of Turkish Cypriots' interests, it can be judged by the fact that the 40,000 invasion troops and the 50,000 odd settlers transported from Turkey after the invasion have been given, arbitrarily and illegally, Cypriot citizenship with voting rights. It should be recalled that the total number of the Turkish Cypriot population is 110,000 by the last census.

Mr. Denktash's pretence of "good faith" comes up against a background of repeated instances of total lack of it in all the Turkish actions in Cyprus since the invasion. They start with the broadcast by the Turkish Prime Minister, on 20 July 1974, that Turkey is embarking upon a "purely peace operation to restore constitutional order in the interest of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people". The broadcast, however, was immediately followed by napalm bombing of open towns and villages resulting in the agonizing deaths of hundreds of innocent men, women and children. Thereafter, a fierce and systematic expulsion of the indigenous Greek Cypriot majority population began. Was this consistent with the peaceful purposes expressed in the said broadcast and was it a show of good faith?

Second. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) - unanimously adopted including the vote of Turkey, and endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974) - calls for the speedy withdrawal of the occupation forces and the cessation of all foreign interference in Cyprus. Yet, the Ankara régime violated and continues to violate those resolutions and has been engaged for over three years now in illegal activities and inhuman use of force to change the demographic character of Cyprus in further violation of the said resolutions. Is this not a show of lack of good faith?

Third. A solemn commitment was undertaken by Mr. Denktash in the presence of the Secretary-General during the third round of talks, namely that the remaining 15,000 Greek Cypriots in the north "are free to stay and ... they will be given every help to lead a normal life, including facilities for education and for the practice of their religion, as well as medical care ... and freedom of movement in the north" (S/11789, 1/ 5 August 1975). This agreement was reneged in its entirety by the Turkish side as soon as the corresponding commitment, to its

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1/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975.

benefit, was fully carried out by the other side. Furthermore, in sharp contrast to the agreement, the 15,000 Greek Cypriots of the north were systematically expelled from their homes through intensified harassment and threats to their very life. As a result, the figure was tragically reduced to only 1,700. What else can this be but a total absence of good faith?

Lastly, skipping all other instances, I would refer to the most recent demonstrable lack of good faith, that of submitting to the Secretary-General on 13 April 1978 proposals pretendedly on the agreed basis for a federation ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of the State of Cyprus but in reality proposals to the very opposite effect, namely partition. Is there a particle of good faith or flexibility in these proposals?

Under such conditions, negotiations - on which the Ankara régime pressingly insists - would serve no useful purpose. They would merely be calculated to create misleading impressions that a search for a just solution is in progress, and thus tend to cover up the stark reality of the continuing aggressive occupation by Turkey of 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus, with the result of one third of its population being still destitute refugees uprooted from their homes and properties.

Only through the due implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions can the problem of Cyprus find its just and lasting solution. Regrettably, Ankara's stance on Cyprus and towards the United Nations is replete with insincerity and negativeness. It arises from an outdated policy of territorial expansion and domination that runs counter to the compelling demands of a closely interdependent world in a United Nations age.

So long as Ankara's régime remains steeped in such noxious parochialism, Turkey will be a negative influence in the world, causing at the same time serious damage to itself and to the true interests of its people, in a manner running parallel to the havoc it is actually causing to other nations and peoples.

The hope is expressed that saner counsel may eventually prevail for a more positive attitude in the common interest of all concerned and in that of peace in the area and in the world.

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

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