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LETTER DATED 4 FEBRUARY 1975 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 21 January 1975 addressed to you by H. E. Mr. Rauf R. Denktas, Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and the head of the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration, dealing with the questions raised by the letter of the representative of the Greek Cypriot community in the United Nations, Ambassador Zennon Rossides, dated 6 January 1975 (S/11596).

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Osman OLCAY  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

Letter dated 21 January 1975 from Mr. R. R. Denktas, Vice-President  
of the Republic of Cyprus, addressed to the Secretary-General

I would like to refer to the letter dated 6 January 1975 addressed to you by Mr. Rossides, the Greek Cypriot representative to the United Nations Organization, which was circulated as Security Council document S/1596 of 10 January 1975.

I wish to place on record once again that Mr. Rossides has ceased to represent Cyprus as a whole since the end of 1963 in view of the de facto situation created as a result of the Greek Cypriot onslaught of December 1963 against the Turkish community of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot wing of the constitutional Government. He has no right, therefore, to speak on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community or of Cyprus as a whole. In the circumstances, his opening sentence "On instructions from my Government", is an attempt to pass himself off for what he is actually not! It is pertinent to mention here that the Greek Cypriot Administration, having usurped Government machinery, has, for the past 11 years, been posing as the "Government of Cyprus" and exercising this authority in non-Turkish areas arbitrarily without any legal basis whatsoever and in complete disregard of constitutional provisions. After the coup of 15 July 1974 and the Turkish intervention which followed in order to save the bi-communal State of Cyprus from destruction by enotists, the de facto situation has further changed, and there now exists two separate autonomous administrations exercising control over two separate regions of Cyprus. The fact that Mr. Rossides cannot represent Cyprus as a whole has become even clearer since July 1974.

Mr. Bulent Ecevit has delivered his speeches within the autonomous Turkish Cypriot region in the north of Cyprus, and what he said was met with the approval of 120,000 Turkish Cypriots living in this region, because in his speeches Mr. Ecevit explained the limited and peaceful decisions which were taken by the Turkish Government for the purpose of giving an end to the injustices and to the discriminatory and inhuman treatment to which Turkish Cypriots had been subjected during the past 11 years and averting the dangers resulting from the coup d'état of 15 July 1974, which threatened the independence of Cyprus and the very existence of the Turkish Cypriot community.

In referring to Archbishop Makarios, Mr. Ecevit correctly stated that the Archbishop was a problem only for the Greek Cypriot community and that the argument that he is the President of Cyprus, representing all the peoples of the island, has no base of support. When Mr. Ecevit said this he was merely repeating an acknowledged fact. Indeed, Archbishop Makarios had forfeited his claim for that representative office when he ordered the Greek Cypriot onslaught of December 1963, as a result of which unarmed Turks in the hundreds were killed, 24,000 Turkish Cypriots were rendered homeless refugees and 103 Turkish villages were completely or partially destroyed, ransacked and looted in the name of ENOSIS. His activities during the past 11 years have been equally destructive for the Turkish community of Cyprus and in complete violation of constitutional provisions. He has never acted as "the President of the Independent Republic of Cyprus" because he could not rise to the heights of that office. As a fanatic church leader whose sole concern

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was the fulfilment of "the historic mission of the church, namely, ENOSIS" he was always acting only as the leader of the Greek Cypriot community and he had only the interest of that community in mind.

Mr. Rossides has referred to the Turkish intervention as an act of aggression. This, to say the least, is incorrect and unjust. Turkey had made it abundantly clear from the outset that it had no ambition for territorial expansion and that it had sent a peace force to Cyprus solely for the purpose of safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and protecting the security of life and property of the Turkish Cypriots. A coup d'état had been staged in Cyprus by the Greek junta and its collaborators in Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios himself had declared before the United Nations Security Council that this coup was an attempt on the part of Greece to take over Cyprus "in flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic".

The violent acts which started on 15 July and continued thereafter threatened the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus and were not only flagrant violations of the periodic resolutions of the Security Council since 4 March 1964 but also brought about a state of public emergency and a threat of war which endangered the life of both communities of the Republic. It is worth putting on record that the enotists who had staged the coup had murdered more than 2,000 Greek Cypriots in three days and had imprisoned 3,000 other Greek Cypriots. That the turn of the Turks was coming was a known secret during those days! It was in order to put an end to this grave situation and imminent threat to the security of life and property of the peoples of Cyprus in general and of the Turkish community in particular that Turkey, acting upon its international obligations arising from the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, was compelled to intervene. This lawful intervention has not only saved the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus but restored democratic rule to Greece and ended internecine killings between Greek Cypriots in Cyprus for which Mr. Rossides and the Greek Cypriot leadership must be secretly grateful.

It is indeed paradoxical that those very people who have applied the principle "might makes right" against the Turkish community of Cyprus during the past 11 years should now make so much noise because Turkey has, in exercise of her treaty rights, intervened to save the independence of Cyprus from their hands and the Turkish Cypriot community from complete extermination. Let us remember that by the time Turkey managed to save Cyprus from the Greek junta and its stooges in Cyprus, hundreds of Turkish civilians (including babies hardly one month old) had been massacred in a number of villages.

Today, as this very letter is being written, Turkish Cypriots in the south are living in constant fear and agony in the hands of hostile Greek Cypriot gunmen. Several Turks have again been hospitalized by Greek Cypriot gunmen; Turks in fear of their lives continue to take grave risks in trying to come to the Turkish region. The mere fact that of the 10,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees in the Akrotiri Sovereign Base Area not a single one chose to return to his home in the Greek-controlled region in the south is sufficient proof of the kind of life they were subjected to and the ordeal they have gone through during the past 11 years.

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Mr. Rossides' allegation that the economy of the island has suffered as a result of the Turkish intervention and his talk about "economic development through a spirit of goodwill and friendly co-operation" disregard the fact that for the past 11 years, the Greek Cypriots and their administration have done all in their power to destroy the economy of the co-founder Turkish Cypriot community. The Greek Cypriot Administration, which had usurped the Government machinery, utilized all the resources of the Republic for the benefit of the Greek Cypriot community. Apart from the fact that not a single penny was spent from the budget for the Turkish community, attempts by the latter to improve its economy through its own resources were impeded by the Greek Cypriot Administration through various arbitrary restrictions. The present state of affairs is the result of the above policy and 11 years of chauvinism, hatred, enmity and ENOSIS agitation of the Greek Cypriot leadership. It is, therefore, hard to reconcile Mr. Rossides' talk about "economic development through a spirit of goodwill and friendly co-operation" with the past record of the Greek Cypriot administrators. Co-operation in all fields will, we hope, be possible when we establish political equality in a bi-regional federal State.

As regards the allegation of Mr. Rossides that Mr. Ecevit's visit was calculated to jeopardize a resumption of the talks and a return to normality, I would point out that Mr. Ecevit's realistic approach to the problem has not only made a favourable contribution but, in fact, enabled the resumption of the talks which had stopped on a matter of policy difference between the two negotiators just before Mr. Ecevit's arrival in Cyprus! The fact that these talks are now continuing proves the falsity of Mr. Rossides' allegation.

Furthermore, the accusation made by Mr. Rossides that Mr. Ecevit's speeches were "provocative and seriously damaging" is a deliberate misinterpretation of Mr. Ecevit's statements. To interpret Mr. Ecevit's statements in this manner is indicative of the fact that Mr. Rossides and the people he represents are still labouring under the same old delusion that Cyprus is Greek and that the Greek Cypriots are the ruling power in Cyprus and that they can manipulate the co-founder Turkish Cypriot community at their will in furtherance of their political ambitions.

Mr. Ecevit's speeches contained nothing provocative; nor was there anything in them which suggested or implied that Cyprus should not continue to retain its independence. On the contrary, as a statesman who had saved the independence of Cyprus by eliminating the threat of ENOSIS, Mr. Ecevit, in his speeches, made a healthy and constructive appraisal of the situation and unfolded the realities of the Cyprus problem, emphasizing that in this new situation the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus were solidified within the framework of a federal set-up.

I feel confident that the honourable members of the Security Council, who are aware of the true situation, will ignore Mr. Rossides' unfounded allegations. It is sincerely hoped that the Greek Cypriot side will, at last, see the realities of the problem and will co-operate in the talks which have now commenced in finding a just and realistic solution to the Cyprus problem.

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I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will kindly circulate this letter as a Security Council document.

(Signed) R. R. DENKTAŞ  
Vice-President  
Republic of Cyprus

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