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LETTER DATED 20 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 12 February 1975 addressed to you by H.E. Mr. Rauf R. Denktag in his capacity as Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and the head of the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter of the President of the Federated Turkish State of the Cyprus Republic as a document of the Security Council.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Osman OLCA  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

Letter dated 12 February 1975 from Mr. Rauf F. Denktas, Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus, addressed to the Secretary-General

I would like to refer to the letter dated 29 January 1975 which was addressed to Your Excellency by Mr. Zenon Rossides in which he wishes to register on behalf of "his government a most emphatic protest" against the alleged interference of Mr. Esenbel, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, with the intercommunal talks.

While rejecting Mr. Rossides' allegations as grossly inaccurate, I would like to stress the fact that if by the term "Government" he means the de jure Government of the Republic of Cyprus, then he has acted ultra vires by addressing the above-mentioned letter to Your Excellency because my consent on this matter as the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus has not been obtained as required by the provisions of Articles 49 (d) and 57 of our Constitution. Mr. Rossides knows very well that the Greek Cypriot Administration which had usurped the Government machinery in December 1963 has for the last 11 years been posing as the "Government of Cyprus" and arbitrarily exercising this authority in non-Turkish Cypriot areas merely on the strength of the de facto superiority which it had acquired by the use of force. After the coup of 15 July 1974 and the Turkish Peace Operation which followed it in order to save the bicomunal State of Cyprus, whose independence was in imminent danger of being destroyed by the organizers of the coup, the "de facto superiority" which had enabled the Greek Cypriot Administration to pose as the "Government of Cyprus" in complete disregard of constitutional provisions, came to an end and two autonomous administrations each exercising control over a separate region of Cyprus has come into being. In this connexion, I would also like to refer to Archbishop Makarios' recently appointed Council of Ministers and to place on record that apart from the fact that all the said Ministers are Greek Cypriots in contravention of Article 46 of the Constitution, their appointment is also unconstitutional on the ground that their instruments of appointment have not been signed also by the Vice-President of the Republic as required by the said Article 46. Consequently, the said Council of Ministers has not been lawfully and constitutionally appointed and all its decisions, including those on matters of foreign affairs, cannot in any way bind the Republic of Cyprus as a whole and particularly the Turkish Cypriot Administration. This Council is nothing but the executive body of the Greek Cypriot Administration and has no authority whatsoever over the Turks of Cyprus or in the Turkish region of Cyprus.

Mr. Esenbel's statement to which Mr. Rossides referred in the second paragraph of his letter has not produced any negative effect upon the talks. In fact there was nothing new in the statement which could produce such an effect. The coup of 15 July and the events that ensued (i.e., acts of genocide committed by the Greek and Greek Cypriot armed elements against defenceless Turkish villages including the mass massacre of whole village populations, irrespective of age and sex and the inhuman treatment to which Turkish Cypriots living in the Greek-controlled South are being subjected) had already proved beyond any shadow of doubt that a cantonal system of administration could not adequately safeguard the security of life and property of the Turkish Cypriot community. This realistic stand of the Turkish Cypriot community has been repeatedly stated by me since the breakdown of the Second Geneva Conference and long before Mr. Esenbel's recent statement to which

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Mr. Rossides has taken such exception. If there is any negative influence disruptive of the talks, it is emanating from Archbishop Makarios himself. His recent adverse criticism of the intercommunal talks and his frequent allusions to an all-out struggle for "national restoration" and for "the survival of Cyprus Hellenism" are giving rise to serious misgivings on the Turkish Cypriot side. He has again resumed his previous mischievous and belligerent attitude which had impeded progress in the talks during the last seven years. Obviously he has not learned any lesson from his previous experiences. The disasters which he brought to the Turkish Cypriot community as well as to his own community have not produced any change in his intransigent attitude. A complete catastrophe has been avoided thanks to the Turkish Peace Operation to which Mr. Rossides has ungratefully referred to as "genocidal invasion" in his above-mentioned letter. The whole world as well as Mr. Rossides know that the Turkish Peace Operation has not only saved the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus but restored democratic rule in Greece and ended internecine killings between Greek Cypriots in Cyprus.

Mr. Rossides has also complained that Mr. Esenbel stated that the evacuation of 10,000 Turkish Cypriots to Turkey created "a new reality" and stressed that Greek Cypriots should now understand that "there is no possibility of turning the clock back". The hopes of "turning the clock back" were shattered with the Greek Cypriot onslaught of December 1963; but this had not bothered Greek Cypriots or Mr. Rossides because "turning the clock back" at that time meant the restoration of the rights usurped from the Turkish Cypriot community and the abandonment of ENOSIS which they could afford to do but did not. It is high time that the Greek Cypriot side realized that we would not agree to "turn the clock back" to 1964-74 periods unconstitutional order and give them the opportunity to repeat their onslaught and genocidal acts against the Turkish Cypriot community. We are convinced that the only way to achieve peaceful coexistence in Cyprus would be the establishment of a biregional federal state. Such a federal set up will provide political equality and enable the two communities to co-operate in all fields in the best interests of Cyprus.

Mr. Rossides' allegation that I had accepted a plan for the reopening of the International Airport at Nicosia "worked out by the United Nations and United States officials" and that I had later withdrawn my acceptance following Mr. Esenbel's statement is completely untrue. Negotiations on this matter are still continuing and the Turkish Cypriot side is showing every goodwill in this respect.

I shall be grateful if this communication is circulated as a Security Council document.

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

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