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LETTER DATED 28 AUGUST 1974 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TURKEY
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to communicate to Your Excellency the text of the declaration of the Turkish Government, issued yesterday, 27 August.

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

(Signed) Osman OLCAY
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Declaration issued by the Government of Turkey on 27 August 1974

The independence of the State of Cyprus, based by international agreements on the acceptance as an historic and social reality of the existence and perpetuation of two distinct communities on the island - the Turks and the Greeks - and the maintenance of a balance between the rights of the two communities as a basic factor of the independence and entity of the Republic of Cyprus, was entrusted to three guarantor Powers, Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland - three countries that have had historic ties of varying degrees with Cyprus.

The upsetting of the balance regarding the rights of the two communities, the flagrant violation of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus and the illegal massing of military forces from Greece, resulted, during the Makarios administration, in establishing a situation whereby Greece could freely and increasingly interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic and endanger its independence, as well as causing continuous internal strife, not only among the Turks and the Greeks but even within the Greek community itself. In the meantime, all the constitutional rights and guarantees of the Turkish community were usurped, the members of this community were suppressed politically and economically and they had to endure continuous discrimination as well as periodic massacres.

Finally the military régime of Greece carried its interference and military presence to the point of virtually ending the last remnants of the independence of Cyprus and took complete control of the administration, through a bloody coup and an internal war. This was obviously intended to achieve de facto enosis, annexation of Cyprus to Greece.

It was at this stage that the Republic of Turkey had to take the initiative and to exert her right and duty as a guarantor State with the sole objective of restoring the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, of establishing peace and order on the island and of providing for the security of the Turkish community.

The Turkish Government has had no knowledge of attempts on the part of NATO to "liquidate the Republic of Cyprus as an independent and sovereign State or "to turn the territory of Cyprus into a NATO stronghold", as alleged in the statement of the Soviet Government. The illegal actions of Greece might have produced such results, but they were checked and prevented by the measures that Turkey promptly took as a guarantor State.

The present Greek Government's criticism of NATO for not having intervened in the Cyprus problem may indeed be interpreted as an indication of that country's desire to involve NATO in Cyprus. But, in the view of the Turkish Government, NATO has had no right to be involved in Cyprus in any way, since the Republic of Cyprus has never been a member of NATO and remains outside the scope of the collective security arrangements undertaken by that alliance. The membership of Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom in NATO is not connected with, and should not influence, their status as guarantor States for Cyprus.

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The independent and sovereign State of Cyprus should have full authority to decide her own foreign policy, without any interference by any of the guarantor States. Turkey has always attached great value to the easing of tension in the eastern Mediterranean and accepts the view that Cyprus would best serve peace and stability in this area by following her own independent foreign policy line. It was with this understanding that Turkey has shown full respect to the policy of non-alignment of the State of Cyprus. The possibility of Cyprus coming within the collective security system of NATO could have arisen if the whole or part of Cyprus were to be annexed to a member country of that alliance, and Turkey intends to resist, as in the past, such an annexation.

One of the main reasons for Turkey's objection to Greece's enosis ideal or to the prospects of partition of Cyprus has been its sensitivity to the independence of Cyprus regarding her external relations as well as her internal affairs.

It is in the same spirit that Turkey, while appreciating the constructive attitude taken by the Soviet Union since the very beginning of the Cyprus conflict, is reserved about the Soviet suggestion for involving a large number of States in the Cyprus issue. This, we fear, would inevitably result in the limitation of the independence of Cyprus and would infringe upon the will of the peoples of Cyprus.

Furthermore, such a practice would open the way for the permanent members of the Security Council to decide the status and policies of other countries whenever and wherever a country is faced with problems that may cause some degree of international concern.

The risks that such a situation could create for the independence of those countries should be appreciated.

Moreover, the experiences of the recent past do not sufficiently demonstrate that some permanent members of the Security Council have always acted in compliance with the principles of impartiality, fairness and objectivity in connexion with the settlement of all international issues. On the contrary, on some occasions it has been possible to observe that particular considerations have prevailed over justice.

There is another reason for our reserve about the Soviet suggestion of directly involving a large number of countries in the Cyprus issue: such an arrangement would prolong the discussions indefinitely, thereby creating a situation in which both communities on the island would have to consolidate, in view of the complete absence of an effective and constitutional Government, their autonomous administrations, and this might inevitably result in partition. We have already had suspicions that this may have been the main objective of Greece in her refusal to attend the Geneva Conference. In fact, while on one hand professing attachment to the principle of the independence and integrity of Cyprus, the Greek Government has been talking at the same time about international "hellenism" and "spiritual" or virtual enosis - these being ideals that would hardly be compatible with the independence and territorial integrity of the State of Cyprus.

Under the circumstances, Turkey believes that negotiations on Cyprus, within the framework already drawn up by the Security Council, should be resumed without delay and that the three guarantor Powers specifically named in Security Council decision 353 should promptly help to create such conditions as would enable the

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parties to reach a final settlement. As indicated in the Geneva Declaration, the three guarantor Powers have decided to reach that settlement with the full participation of the representatives of the two autonomous communities in Cyprus. It goes without saying that the new status of the State of Cyprus must essentially have the approval of these two communities, which, with the assistance of the three guarantor Powers, will be reached through negotiations.

We would like to confirm, in this connexion, Turkey's commitment to the Geneva Declaration of 30 July, in accordance with which it intends to start timely and phased reduction of its forces on the island as soon as the conditions stipulated in the said Declaration begin to emerge.

It should be admitted by all that talks and threats about enosis and "guerrilla warfare", the verified reports of massacres committed against unprotected groups of the Turkish community and the continued internment and torturing of thousands of unarmed Turkish Cypriots in flagrant violation of international rules and of the provisions of the Geneva Declaration of 30 July, are not conducive to the creation of an atmosphere for either fruitful negotiations within any framework or the phased reduction of military forces on the island.

The establishment of peace and security on the island, which we are striving for, would certainly facilitate and speed up the reduction of Turkish forces that were sent to Cyprus in Turkey's capacity as a guarantor State.
