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LETTER DATED 21 JANUARY 1968 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF CYPRUS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Turkish representative to the United Nations by his letter of 8 January (S/8326) refers to Turkey as the guarantor of the Republic of Cyprus, and proceeds to dictate to the Cypriot Government what it should or should not do, in order to satisfy the Turkish Government's wishes, as though Cyprus were a vassal State of his country.

Should it be necessary to remind Ambassador Eralp that Cyprus is not a protectorate of Turkey? Surely he could not be under the delusion that a so-called "treaty of guarantee" could reduce an independent country and a full Member of the United Nations, to the status of trusteeship territory, and moreover make of it a prey to military attack by Turkey, as claimed by it, in order to impose its will by the use of force. Such interpretation of the treaty, bringing it into sharp conflict with basic obligations under the Charter, could only have the effect of rendering it void ab initio, as expressly provided in the Charter.

Cyprus no less than every other Member State of the United Nations is entitled to the enjoyment of equal sovereignty, and the respect of its territorial integrity and independence which the Charter requires all Members to observe. This is recognized by the Security Council resolution on Cyprus of 4 March 1964, and emphatically affirmed by the General Assembly resolution of 18 December 1965.

Forcible intervention, therefore, against Cyprus on matters of its domestic jurisdiction would be in flagrant violation of the Charter and of contemporary international law, as well as of the aforesaid specific resolutions of the United Nations.

Beyond its blatant illegality, Turkey's military threat against Cyprus, as a menace to peace, is further aggravated by its sinister motivation - that of invading Cyprus in order to partition it by force. This is the basic cause, physical and psychological, of keeping Cyprus in anxious and armed turmoil.

Moreover, it is this expansionist drive by Turkey towards the hopelessness of partition - hardly concealed under the transparent cloak of federation - that has rendered complex and intractable the otherwise simple problem of Cyprus. And, worse still, in pursuing that objective, the Turkish Government has been exerting assiduous efforts to intensify division and strife in the island. An expression of such policy has been the systematic obstruction by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, inspired from Ankara, of all constructive measures by the Government and the UNFICYP towards peace and a return to normality.

The recent pacification and normalization measures, announced by the President, Archbishop Makarios, with a view to reducing tension and creating an atmosphere of conciliation, were welcomed by UNFICYP and noted with satisfaction by Your Excellency's report of 8 December 1967 (S/8286), where it is stated that these measures... "are the most encouraging development for a long time in the Cyprus problem and could well constitute a promising basis for further progress". The report also remarks that "the suspicious attitude of the leadership was not shared by the Turkish Cypriot masses in Limassol and Paphos Districts, whose reaction to the normalization measures was one of relief and satisfaction". Turkey's relevant attitude, however, has also been negative. For it is the conciliation implicit in such return to normality, as leading to integration, that Turkey vehemently opposes.

When it became known that the Cypriot Government was to extend those measures to the whole of the island and the official announcement to that effect was expected shortly, the Turkish Government reacted sharply. It immediately dispatched to Cyprus on 27 December, two of its high officials for the purpose of setting up a so-called "Provisional Cyprus Turkish Administration". However unrealistic this separatist move may be, it is calculated to drive a wedge into the pacification measures, as well as prejudice the good offices of the Secretary-General; and it is manifestly a provocative step towards partition.

The flurry of wordy explanations issued by Ankara, and echoed by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, could not extricate the Turkish Government from its embarrassing complicity in a step which made all too obvious its partitionist aims over Cyprus. But partition, or any other devisive plans, whether termed "federation" or otherwise, are wholly unacceptable to the Cypriot people and will be determinedly resisted. Cyprus has been through the ages and shall remain one and undivided entity.

It should further be noted as a healthy and hopeful sign, that the bulk of the Turkish-Cypriots are also averse to partitionist or separatist concepts. They are no less conscious of the disastrous effects in terms of perpetual war, that any such development would inevitably bring upon Cyprus and all its people. Along with the Greek Cypriots, they eagerly look forward for peace and harmony, of which the island has been forcibly deprived in recent years by outside intervention. As it is noted in Your Excellency's report, S/7191, there are "...a number of indications that both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations of Cyprus are increasingly impatient for a return to normal conditions and for a solution of the Cyprus problem..." (para. 148). In this sense, the new pacification and normalization measures are being unilaterally proceeded with and applied by the Government of Cyprus as of 12 January 1968. Furthermore, as declared by the President of the Republic in his statement of 14 January 1968 (S/8338) the Government is preparing a charter of rights of Turkish-Cypriots which will be constitutionally entrenched.

We hope and trust that a spirit of genuine understanding may prevail so that a democratic and enduring solution of the problem within the principles of the Charter will be sought and found in the common interest of all concerned and in that of international peace and security in this troubled area.

Your Excellency is kindly requested to have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council and distributed to all Members of the United Nations.

Please accept, etc.

(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Cyprus
to the United Nations
