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LETTER DATED 8 FEBRUARY 1964 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USSR
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the message sent by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on 7 February 1964 to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President of the United States, the President of France, the Prime Minister of Turkey and the Prime Minister of Greece.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this message to be circulated as an official Security Council document.

(Signed) N. FEDORENKO

MESSAGE

FROM MR. N.S. KHRUSHCHEV TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE, THE PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF CYPRUS

On 7 February, Mr. A.A. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, received the Ambassadors of the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Turkey and Greece and handed them the text of a message from Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom; Mr. Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States; Mr. Charles de Gaulle, the President of France; Mr. Ismet Inönü, the Prime Minister of Turkey, and Mr. Ioannis Paraskevopoulos, the Prime Minister of Greece, concerning the situation developing in the eastern Mediterranean area in connexion with Cyprus.

Following is the full text of the message from Mr. N.S. Khrushchev to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom:

"Sir,

"I find it necessary to address you on behalf of the Soviet Government in view of the fact that the situation relating to the Republic of Cyprus has grown increasingly acute of late, creating the danger of serious international complications in the Mediterranean area. The causes of the present tension are well known: the discord long fomented from outside between the two communities in Cyprus - the Greek, which constitutes a majority of the population, and the Turkish - is being used as a pretext for open interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, which is a sovereign, independent State and a Member of the United Nations.

"Certain Powers, flouting the principles of the United Nations Charter and the accepted standards of international law, are at present attempting to impose on the people and Government of Cyprus a solution of those Powers' own choosing to problems which affect only the Cypriot people; at the same time, they would have it believed that only foreign bayonets can bring Cyprus a solution of these internal problems.

"Although various alternative 'solutions' are being discussed, such as the dispatch of NATO troops or troops from individual NATO countries to Cyprus, the purpose of all these alternative plans is basically the same: the de facto occupation by NATO armed forces of the Republic of Cyprus, which is pursuing a policy of non-alignment with military blocs. In other words, what we are witnessing is crude encroachment on the sovereignty, independence and freedom of the Republic of Cyprus and an attempt to bring this small neutral State under NATO military control.

"All those who are concerned with preserving peace, and with ensuring that all States - large and small, powerful and weak - can shape their national existence in accordance with their own interests and aspirations, ask the question: if the sovereignty of States is more than empty words in the United Nations Charter and if the right to freedom and independence is really a sacred right of all peoples and all States, why is an attempt being made to exclude the Republic of Cyprus from those who are permitted to enjoy the blessings of sovereignty and shape their national existence without outside interference? Is the view being taken that only the strong are entitled to sovereignty and that genuine independence is the exclusive privilege of those who have powerful armed forces?

"Is it thus being contended that small States like the Republic of Cyprus, which have neither nuclear weapons nor large armed forces, are States of a special kind whose sovereignty and rights can be disregarded?

"If the Governments of the major Powers, and especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, were guided by them in their international relations, such views could pose a serious threat to world peace and become a source of international complications fraught with grave consequences for all peoples.

"It is sometimes argued, in order to justify the plans to send NATO troops to Cyprus, that the Cypriots themselves are unable to solve their internal problems and agree on how the Greek and Turkish communities can go on living together within the same State. But who is in a better position than the Cypriots themselves - who, led by their Government and by President Makarios, are gallantly and steadfastly upholding the sovereignty of their Republic and defending their national independence and rights - to know whether they can surmount their internal difficulties independently, without outside interference of any kind?

"Can anyone be expected to believe that the internal problems of Cyprus can be dealt with more readily in the capitals of other States? Nor is it a secret that NATO circles are even discussing whether to send officers and men of the West German Bundeswehr to Cyprus as part of a so-called 'NATO force', despite the fact that memories are still very much alive there of the steel-helmeted officers and men of the Wehrmacht who brought death and destruction to the Mediterranean area as well during the Second World War.

"We are certain that the people of Cyprus are fully capable of handling their own internal affairs, as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has repeatedly stated, and of solving their problems in the manner that best serves their national interests. At the same time, we recognize that other States may take a different approach to this question and may feel that in the present situation the people of Cyprus genuinely need help in overcoming their international difficulties. However, even if that should be the case, the most that could be done would be to give the people of Cyprus sound advice if they requested it; there could certainly be no interference in their internal affairs.

"If there is any question of considering the question of Cyprus in an international forum, does there not exist an agreement among all States, embodied in the United Nations Charter, on where and in what international bodies such matters are to be considered and on how that is to be done without violating the sovereignty of States? Yet, every effort is now being made to prevent discussion of the question of Cyprus in the Security Council, before which it has been placed at the request of the Government of Cyprus. This is being done, moreover, even though the Security Council is the very body which is responsible under the United Nations Charter for safeguarding international peace and security.

"Everything conceivable is now being done to prevent further consideration of the question of Cyprus in the Security Council. The Government of Cyprus is being subjected to persuasion, pressure and threats; a show of military force is being made off the shores of Cyprus, and the bogey of a naval blockade is being raised. At the same time, every attempt is being made to prevent a new appeal to the Security Council by the Government of Cyprus.

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"Everything indicates that those involved prefer to deal with the question of Cyprus at closed conferences, where they hope to substitute arbitrary procedures for the United Nations Charter and break the resistance of a small State, the Republic of Cyprus, by means of outside pressure.

"Taking account of all the circumstances relating to the plans for military intervention against the Republic of Cyprus, I should like to state that the Soviet Government condemns these plans, just as it condemns any resort to such methods in international relations. The Soviet Government urges all the States concerned, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, which bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security - including the United States and the United Kingdom - to exercise restraint, to consider realistically and fully all the possible consequences of an armed invasion of Cyprus, and to respect the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

"I am prompted to make this appeal not only by concern with maintaining and strengthening peace and with safeguarding the rights of peoples but also by the fact that the Soviet Union, although it has no common frontier with the Republic of Cyprus, cannot remain indifferent to the situation developing in the eastern Mediterranean area - an area not very distant from the southern borders of the USSR, especially when one considers how the concept of distance has changed in our time.

"I think it is not only in the interest of the Cypriot people but also in our common interest that no action should be taken which might aggravate the situation in the eastern Mediterranean area and infringe upon the Cypriot people's legitimate right to freedom and independence. Indeed, the leaders of the major Powers have reportedly stated that they are striving for a relaxation of international tension, whether as regards Central Europe, the Mediterranean area or any other region.

"If that is the case, it seems to me that the leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, as well as those of Turkey and Greece, which are neighbours of Cyprus, should now exert all their weight, all their international authority and influence to prevent further aggravation of the situation relating to Cyprus, to extinguish the passions which are being stirred from outside and which have already had such an adverse effect on the situation, and to help thereby to strengthen peace in this important area.

"I should like to express the hope that your Government will correctly interpret the motives that prompt the Soviet Government to raise its voice once again in defence of the just cause of the Republic of Cyprus and that it will give due consideration to the foregoing observations.

"I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) N. KHRUSHCHEV
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR

The Kremlin, Moscow, 7 February 1964

His Excellency Sir Alec Douglas-Home,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,
London."

The messages sent to the President of the United States, the President of France, the Prime Minister of Turkey and the Prime Minister of Greece are similar in content to that sent to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

The Ambassadors of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Turkey and the acting Chargé d'Affairs of Greece stated that they would immediately transmit Mr. Khrushchev's message to the persons to whom it was addressed.
