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Letter dated 17 May 1985 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to attach herewith a letter dated 17 May 1985 addressed to you by Mr. Özer Koray, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, under agenda item 42, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Korkmaz HAKTANIR
Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

A/39/902
S/17198
English
Page 2

ANNEX

Letter dated 17 May 1985 from Mr. Özer Koray to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a letter dated 17 May 1985 addressed to Your Excellency by His Excellency Mr. M. Necati Münir Ertekün, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, in reply to the Greek Cypriot allegations contained in document A/39/893-S/17150 of 3 May 1985.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, under agenda item 42, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Özer KORAY
Representative of the Turkish
Republic of Northern Cyprus

APPENDIX

Letter dated 17 May 1985 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs
and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to the letter dated 3 May 1985, addressed to you by Mr. George Iacovou, the "Minister for Foreign Affairs" of the Greek Cypriot administration, and its attachments, circulated as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council (A/39/893-S/17150).

The said letter, addressed to you on the eve of the constitutional referendum recently held in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 5 May 1985, levels unfounded and unwarranted accusations against the Turkish Cypriot side, and attempts to discredit, in the eyes of the world public opinion, the internal democratic processes which are taking place in North Cyprus. These Greek Cypriot charges include, among other things, the alleged "illegality" of our internal actions and in fact put particular emphasis on this unfounded claim. It is ironic that the Greek Cypriot administration should bring up this subject at all, as it is clearly the least eligible institution to question the legality of others, both with its past record and present standing.

It is evident that the Greek Cypriots never had and still do not have any constitutional, legal or legitimate right whatsoever to claim to represent the Turkish Cypriot people. All attempts to the contrary are devoid of any legitimacy or legality. It is also evident that, in the absence of a joint federal government, the Turkish Cypriot people can only be represented by the authorities and organs elected freely by themselves.

In this connection, I wish to reiterate to Your Excellency, once more, that the Greek Cypriot administration's claim to be the sole and legitimate "Government of Cyprus" is incompatible with:

- (a) The 1960 Constitution of Cyprus, which provided for the participation of both peoples of Cyprus in the governmental process and the entire state machinery, and which has been abrogated and utterly destroyed by the Greek Cypriots themselves since 1963, for the purpose of annexing Cyprus to Greece;
- (b) The existence, after 1963, of two separate, autonomous administrations in the island, following the expulsion by force of arms, of the Turkish Cypriot element from the legitimate bi-national Cyprus Government;
- (c) The Geneva Declaration of 30 July 1974, made jointly by Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom (the three guarantors of Cyprus' independence), which recognized the existence of two separate, autonomous administrations in the island;
- (d) The summit agreements of 1977 and 1979, reached between the leaders of the two peoples, which envisage the establishment in the island of an independent, bi-communal, bi-zonal federal republic;

(e) The present realities prevailing in Cyprus, i.e., the existence of two separate, independent states, each exercising control and jurisdiction over its own people and in its own territory in the island, pending the establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal republic.

The Turkish Cypriot side is not only committed to the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, within the above framework, but it has also demonstrated its sincerity and good will in this respect, again, most recently at the 17-20 January summit held in New York under Your Excellency's auspices. I would like to reiterate here, that this commitment of the Turkish Cypriot side to a bi-communal, bi-zonal, federal solution in Cyprus has not changed.

It is unfortunate, however, that the sincerity and good will demonstrated by the Turkish Cypriot side in regard to a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal solution, has not been reciprocated by the Greek Cypriot side, as it has also become very clear from the internal political crisis which has developed on the Greek Cypriot side following the New York summit. Although the internal political developments which are taking place on the Greek Cypriot side are not the concern of the Turkish Cypriot side, it appears that Mr. Kyprianou has lost the confidence and support of the political parties which represent the vast majority of the Greek Cypriot people in the Greek Cypriot "House of Representatives". Naturally, this raises questions as to whether Mr. Kyprianou or, for that matter, anybody else on the Greek Cypriot side, has the authority or the competence to represent the Greek Cypriot people vis-à-vis the Turkish Cypriot side.

On the other hand, in Greece, the Government of Prime Minister Papandreou has decided on early elections, citing the Cyprus issue as the reason. Replying to Mr. Papandreou's letter asking for the dissolution of the Greek Parliament and the holding of general elections, the Greek President, Mr. Sartzetakis, is reported to have said that the renewal of the popular mandate would serve the more effective advancement of their "national positions on the Cyprus issue" which was of vital significance for "the future of Hellenism".

At a time when the internal political climate on the Greek Cypriot side is in a state of confusion and uncertainty, it is difficult to understand why the Greek Cypriot administration, instead of trying to put its own house in order, tries to raise question about the internal democratic processes that are taking place on the Turkish Cypriot side. What the Turkish Cypriot people are currently engaged in, is no more than an internal matter for them, of electing the people who will be authorized to represent them in all matters of state, including the negotiations aimed at finding a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. As Your Excellency is well aware, the right of each community in Cyprus to hold separate elections was provided for even by the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, and is, therefore, not a new phenomenon in Cyprus. Both communities have exercised this right separately, before and after 1974. As far as the Turkish Cypriot side is concerned, this right was exercised twice before 1974, once in 1960 and once in 1970, and twice after 1974, once in 1976 and once in 1981, in presidential as well as general elections. In addition, a constitutional referendum was held on the Constitution of the then "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" in 1975.

I would like to point out that, if the Greek Cypriot side insists, via third parties, on interfering with these internal democratic procedures in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, it only lends more weight to questions about whether there is anyone on the Greek Cypriot side with the full mandate of the Greek Cypriot people to enter into negotiations with the Turkish Cypriots, with a view to finding a solution to the Cyprus problem. Indeed, questions raised by the political and constitutional turmoil which exists on the Greek Cypriot side have also been expressed by the world press. For example, The Times of London, in its issue of 4 May 1985, has dealt with this subject in an article entitled "One Island, Two Constitutions", stating that the "Greek Cypriots, in any case, are ill-placed to criticize the draft (Constitution of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) since on their side of the island the Constitution has produced political deadlock".

In spite of the above, and the internationally acknowledged fact that it was Mr. Kyprianou who was solely responsible for the breakdown of the 17 January summit and the squandering of a historic opportunity for a solution in Cyprus, the temptation, on the part of the Greek Cypriot side, to push ahead with its international campaign of deceitful propaganda appears to be too difficult to resist. This is evidenced by the references in Mr. Iacovou's above-mentioned letter, among others, to the alleged "separatist independence" and "tacit moratorium" as well as by his paying lip-service to the "high-level agreements" of 1977 and 1979 and to Your Excellency's mission of good offices. It was Mr. Kyprianou himself, who prevented the reconfirmation of the 1977 and 1979 summit agreements and the creation of an atmosphere of "political truce" between the two sides, together with all other aspects of the "draft agreement", by rejecting this agreement in toto at the summit meeting of 17 January. It was also he who hindered and undermined the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General, which the Secretary-General has undertaken within the framework of the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council.

Now, Mr. Kyprianou, just because he feels it is politically convenient for him, is trying to separate certain elements of the "draft agreement", which was an integrated whole, from that indivisible whole and use them against the Turkish Cypriot side. These and the other factors which I have explained above clearly show that Mr. Kyprianou has not at all recovered from the malady which has afflicted him all along, namely, his preference for international propaganda rather than serious dialogue. In fact, in a revealing statement to the "Tanjug" press agency of Yugoslavia, reported by the Greek Cypriot press on 11 February 1985, Mr. Kyprianou attempted to justify his rejection of the "draft agreement" in January by pointing out that his acceptance would have diminished and weakened Greek Cypriot propaganda.

The Greek Cypriot side has to make a choice between honesty and false propaganda. It cannot go on exploiting the Cyprus question, as it has been doing, and continues to do, in the international forums such as the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, European Commission on Human Rights and the non-aligned meetings, and still claim that it is the Turkish Cypriot side which is harming the atmosphere between the two peoples of Cyprus. It cannot continue to enforce its inhuman

A/39/902

S/17198

English

Page 6

economic and political embargo on the Turkish Cypriot side, under its false and pretentious title, as the "Government" of the whole Cyprus, and still pretend that it is seeking rapprochement and ultimately a federal solution with the Turkish Cypriots. This short-sighted and self-destructive policy removes any vestiges of trust and confidence between the two communities and does not at all enhance prospects for a final solution.

As I had also amply explained in my letter dated 30 January 1985, addressed to Your Excellency (attachment 1), the democratic institutionalization process currently taking place in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus does not hinder, but rather enhances prospects for a bi-zonal federal solution in Cyprus. As a concrete manifestation of this reality, the Constituent Assembly of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 12 March 1985, the very same day that it had adopted the new draft constitution, had simultaneously passed a resolution stressing that the new draft constitution left the door open to a bi-zonal federal solution (attachment 2). The Turkish Cypriot side's firm commitment to a bi-zonal federal solution in Cyprus has also been repeatedly stressed at the highest level, by the statements made by President Rauf Denктаş on numerous occasions, and has, therefore, been reconfirmed as the official policy of the Turkish Cypriot side.

I should be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, under agenda item 42, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Necati Münir ERTEKÜN
Minister for Foreign Affairs
and Defence

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Attachment 1

Letter dated 30 January 1985 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs
and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to the
Secretary-General

It is reported in the local Greek Cypriot press that in a recent letter he addressed to you, Mr. George Iacovou, the Spokesman for Foreign Affairs of the Greek Cypriot administration, has referred to the decision for the holding of elections in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in June 1985, and appealed to you to "take all necessary steps" so that this decision is withheld. It is also reported that the Greek Cypriot administration has made similar appeals to foreign Governments and other diplomatic circles in this regard.

I wish to emphasize that the decision concerning the holding of elections in North Cyprus was a unanimous one, taken at the meeting of the Turkish Cypriot political party leaders with President Rauf Denktaş on 25 January 1985, which decision was unanimously adopted by the Turkish Cypriot Constituent Assembly on 29 January 1985, and is purely an internal matter for the Turkish Cypriots.

As you know, the right of each community to hold separate elections was provided for even by the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot people have exercised this right as part of a democratic process, both before and after 1974.

It should be noted that in the past 11 years, two general and two Presidential elections as well as elections for local authorities have been held in North Cyprus. Similarly, elections have been held in the Greek Cypriot South Cyprus in the past years. Reference is made to elections on both sides in paragraph 43 of the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council (S/14490 of 27 May 1981).

The holding of elections in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus does not in any way hinder efforts in the search for a federal solution in the island. This point has been clearly stressed by President Denktaş on numerous occasions. These democratic procedures will stabilize the internal political structure of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and, by doing so, will enhance and strengthen the constructive role of the Turkish Cypriot side at the negotiations aimed at finding a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. This, in turn, will contribute favourably to such a solution in the island.

We fail to see the rationale behind the Greek Cypriot side's demand that the Turkish Cypriot side should live in an internal political vacuum, allegedly in order not to hurt the chances for a solution, while they themselves undertake every political action, both internally and externally, including elections, changes in the cabinet, which took place recently and which are unconstitutional even under the 1960 Constitution (which they claim to be still valid when it suits them) and on all matters relating to the unilateral representation of Cyprus abroad. It is this latter pretention, i.e. the Greek Cypriot side's claim to be the sole and legitimate "Government of Cyprus" at home and abroad, together with the economic

A/39/902
S/17198
English
Page 8

and political embargo they have imposed on North Cyprus, and not the internal political actions of the Turkish Cypriot people, that are damaging the chances for a solution and consolidating division in the island.

I am sure you will remember that President Denktash had conveyed to you in the presence of Mr. Kyprianou, that the holding of elections was unavoidable and that this would not in any way affect or prejudice a negotiated settlement. It was then hinted by you that Mr. Kyprianou had a similar problem facing him regarding his mandate and elections.

I am confident that Your Excellency will evaluate the Greek Cypriot appeal to you in the light of the above, and will disregard it as a mere political ploy, designed to divert attention from the fact that they have deliberately undermined the New York summit with their intransigence and bad faith.

(Signed) M. Necati MÜNİR ERTEKÜN
Minister for Foreign Affairs and
Defence of the Turkish Republic
of Northern Cyprus

Attachment 2

Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Turkish
Republic of Northern Cyprus on 12 March 1985

The Constituent Assembly:

Taking note of the Declaration of Independence of 15 November 1983, expressing the legitimate and irrepressible will of the Turkish Cypriot people and declaring before the world and before history, the establishment of the Independent State of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, paragraph (B) of article 22 of which declared that the proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus did not hinder the two equal peoples and their administrations from establishing a new partnership within the framework of a genuine federation and that, on the contrary, such a proclamation would facilitate efforts in this direction by fulfilling the necessary requisites for the establishment of a federation,

Declares that, as stated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which it has approved, does not hinder the establishment of a partnership within the framework of a bi-communal and bi-zonal, genuine federation.
