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LETTER DATED 25 AUGUST 1964 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
OF CYPRUS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, copy of  
..... a letter which I have today addressed to His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-  
General.

Your Excellency is kindly requested to have this letter circulated  
as a document of the Security Council.

Please accept, etc.

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

With reference to the letter dated 18 August 1964, and addressed to Your Excellency by the representative of Turkey (S/5902), I have the honour to make the following observations:

1. Mr. Eralp writes of the "Greek Cypriot aggressors" in the Kokkina-Mansoura area. This is a deliberate misrepresentation. The clashes in that area were between the government security forces and the Turkish rebels, holding strongholds filled with rebel fighters and soldiery smuggled from Turkey - the latter estimated by UNFICYP at about 500 men.

The military operation by a government in its own territory, to contain rebellion against the State, cannot obviously be termed aggression. It is in essence a struggle between the forces of law and order under established authority on the one hand, and rebellious anarchy on the other.

That the Government of Cyprus is the established authority recognized by the United Nations and every Member State thereof, is undisputed. That under the Security Council resolution of 4 March and subsequent resolutions it is recognized as having the primary responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of law and order - the UNFICYP having the duty to contribute thereto - is on record by the resolution, and cannot be denied. The clearing up of pockets of rebellious resistance to established law and order is a legitimate government operation whether in the Congo or in Cyprus or elsewhere.

The Cyprus Government, in its desire to co-operate with UNFICYP, deferred taking military action against the rebels in order to allow time for the UNFICYP efforts to normalize the situation by peaceful means. Its responsibility, however, to protect the population, to open communication roads blocked by the rebels and maintain law and order, remains intact.

In the present case of Mansoura the government forces have, moreover, been compelled to action by the provocative pushing forward of the rebel positions, and particularly by a surprise attack on 6 August by which four national guardsmen were killed. A counter-attack naturally followed and in the ensuing battle the rebels retreated to the position they now hold. The Government of Cyprus being in duty bound to confine the rebellion, any suggestion of withdrawal of the security forces would be as arbitrary and absurd as is the misnomer of

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"aggression" in respect of legitimate government operation against rebellion. The object of such misuse of the term "aggression" is to blur the issue and detract attention from the atrocity of real aggression by waves of jet fighters from Turkey for three days (8 through 10 August) which spread agonizing death from chemical burns by napalm bombs and by other weapons to innocent inhabitants of undefended towns, including many women and children. The propaganda lie in the reversal of the role is a well-known method that invariably followed the Nazi atrocities, and is faithfully copied by Turkish tactics.

2. The representative of Turkey speaks of the unsatisfactory situation of Turkish Cypriots who "have been driven out of their homes" and now live under conditions "comparable to those existing in concentration camps". What is pertinent here is who "drove them out of their homes". It is the Turkish terrorists who have done this, under directions from Ankara, in a preconceived plan of forcibly shifting populations in order artificially to create a pattern of geographic separation as a means to partition. This has been going on since last January. Details of the methods of intimidation and pressure used on the Turkish inhabitants of mixed villages to force them out of their homes for the aforesaid purpose, have been fully described in my delegation's Press Release No. 4, dated 24 January 1964, and in my letters circulated as Security Council documents (S/5529, S/5545, S/5737, S/5747, S/5831), dated 3 February, 15 February, 2 June, 5 June and 27 July 1964 respectively.

3. With reference to the so-called blockade of fuel and supplies directed against the Turkish Cypriots, I wish to draw attention to the fact that this only refers to those within the rebel-held fortified positions and sections and not to the rest of the Turkish inhabitants of the island. On 18 August 1964, the Government, in a demonstration of goodwill, offered, in co-operation with the United Nations Civilian and Military Command, to work out practical arrangements in regard to necessary supplies - but not for military stock-piling purposes - without prejudice to the normal security requirements. This agreement is in fact being implemented on the part of the Government.

It must, however, be noted that, while the Government's attitude, in the circumstances, has been generous, the rebels stubbornly and unreasonably cling to

their refusal to open to civilian traffic the roads under their control, and particularly the Nicosia-Kyrenia road, which they still hold, with the assistance of the illegally deployed Turkish army contingent, thereby impeding communications and causing great hardship to the people. Attention has therefore been drawn by the Government to the situation that may arise should the rebels persist in this negative attitude, rendering arrangements made in this respect unworkable.

4. Regarding the loud protestations of the representative of Turkey concerning the cutting off of the water supply from the Turkish Cypriot sector in Ktima-Paphos, it should be emphasized that this action refers only to the small Turkish quarter in Ktima and to no other Turkish sector in Cyprus. Further it should be made clear that such action is the normal procedure under the municipal rules in Cyprus, as elsewhere, in case of persistent refusal or failure to pay the prescribed municipal dues. In Paphos, the refusal to pay was instigated by extremists as part of the rebellion. It might be useful to quote in this respect from the United Nations communique reporting the agreement reached between the Government and UNFICYP (CYP/120):

"President Makarios explained the reasons why the normal water supply to Ktima-Paphos had been cut off. He said that in spite of the fact that payments in arrears were not to be collected and the usual charges were to be paid from now on, the Turkish Cypriot community still refused to pay. The Cypriot Government, however, agreed to immediately re-establish the water supply after the Secretary-General's representative undertook the responsibility to find a way for the settlement of the bill for future water consumption."

5. A number of instances of alleged attacks by Government forces against Turkish Cypriots were cited in Mr. Eralp's letter. It is interesting to note that these instances are not mentioned in the Secretary-General's note issued on 15 August 1964 (S/5898). Moreover, Mr. Eralp conveniently chooses to ignore what does not suit his Government, such as the instances given in the said note where Turkish Cypriots fired at Government positions. Moreover, the fact that on the night of 12-13 August, a Turkish patrol boat again violated Cyprus territorial waters by landing supplies at Kokkina, is conspicuously absent, even though this fact is explicitly stated in the Secretary-General's note mentioned above regarding the observance of the cease-fire.

6. As far as the Turkish complaints over the alleged blocking by the Government of Red Crescent supplies, the true facts of the Government's position on the point have been set out and fully clarified in my letter to Your Excellency dated 27 July 1964 (S/5831), and therefore no additional comment is called for.

7. Furthermore, it should be recalled that the Government of Cyprus has always worked harmoniously with UNFICYP, regarding the discharge of the latter's function as defined in the Security Council's resolution of 4 March 1964, and this co-operation has been acknowledged as late as 20 August by the Secretary-General himself during his press conference of that date.

8. Finally, with regard to the Turkish request that the UNFICYP be provided with "wide authority" to "alleviate the tragic condition of the Turks in Cyprus", it must be stressed that the only way this can be done is by protecting the bulk of the Turkish Cypriots kept in camps who wish to return to their homes and resume their normal life in mixed villages, but are forcibly prevented by the Turkish terrorist organization T.M.T. The appeals of responsible Turkish Cypriot leaders, such as Dr. Ihsan Ali and Mr. Dervis Kavazoglou, the well-known trade union leader, for the liberation of the Turkish Cypriots from the terrorist yoke, should not be disregarded.

Dr. Ihsan Ali, addressing himself in a letter written about 10 July to General Thimayya on the plight of the Turks under Turkish terrorist rule, wrote:

"Your Excellency is shouldering the heavy duty of saving the Turkish community from these inhuman and merciless terrorists."

And in an article entitled "Greeks and Turks to Shake Hands", published on 18 August, Mr. Kavazoglou wrote:

"Recently, the thousands of Turco-Cypriots who are imprisoned in concentration camps by the hordes of Denktash, were ready to rise against the terrorists ...

A large segment of the Turkish Cypriots are ready to return to their villages."

The UNFICYP could afford protection "to alleviate the Turks" from the terrorism described above, particularly having regard that under the Security Council resolution of 4 March, one of the main tasks of the UNFICYP is to contribute to the maintenance of law and order and a return to normal conditions.

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This aspect of its duties is of no less importance than that of preventing the recurrence of fighting, for unless the continuous threat to, and disturbance of, peace from the Turkish terrorist organization is removed the situation in the island cannot be constructively improved.

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(Signed) Zenon ROSSIDES  
Permanent Representative of Cyprus  
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