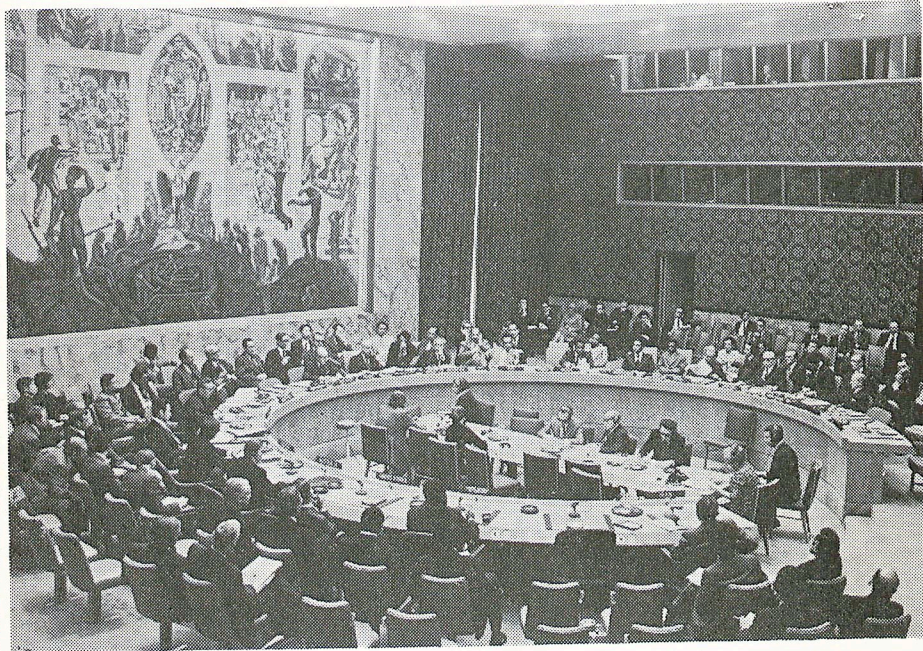


A DEBATE AT THE U. N.



**DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF
PRESS AND INFORMATION**

a
D E B A T E
at the
U. N.



03SA 8000 (13)

Ayyıldız Matbaası A.Ş. - Ankara



IS IT THE DESTINY OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY TO
SUFFER AND TO BE ACCUSED ?

THIS INTERESTING DEBATE AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
BETWEEN THE TWO WELL — KNOWN REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE TURKISH AND GREEK COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS IS MOST
REVEALING TO ENLIGHTEN WHO IS THE INSTIGATOR, THE
MALEFACTOR.

AFTER READING THE DEBATE WHICH IS BASED ON U.N.
RECORDS, IT IS UP TO YOU TO DECIDE.

«FAITS ACCOMPLIS»

Mr. CLERIDES :

«... Does the unilateral and arbitrary creation of **faits accomplis** by one of the parties during the process of negotiations, prejudging thus the issue of the negotiations, constitute a proper negotiation to arrive freely at a mutually acceptable solution... The Turkish side was perfectly free to have its views on the nature of the solution of the Cyprus problem. It could have come to the negotiations and put its views for discussion. But it had no right to impose those views by declaring a **separate** state in the areas under Turkish military occupation by Turkish forces...»

(Security Council, 4.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1818, p. 44-46)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... The problem of Cyprus... started as a result of **faits accomplis**, negotiations continued despite **faits accomplis** - **faits accomplis** by the Greek side, **faits accomplis** to violate the Constitution, **faits accomplis** to establish secret armies, **faits accomplis** to invite to Cyprus whole armies from Greece with a view to destroying the very independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non - alignment of Cyprus and to uniting it to Greece... But despite all these **faits accomplis** we continued to negotiate and never run to New York to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council. We continued to negotiate despite statements by Makarios that he would not accept federation, that he would not accept multi-cantonal solutions, that he would not grant us even local autonomy... We did not run away from the negotiation table, despite the fact that even Mr. Clerides, as negotiator for the Greek-Cypriot side, made provocative statements... Any solution which effectively closed the door to **enosis** could not therefore be accepted by the Greek side... It appears now that the Greek side will not accept a solution which grants the Turkish community an equal status and does not reduce us to a simple minority on the island.»

(Security Council, 5.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1819, p. 52-55)

«TURKISH — CYPRIOT CITIZENSHIP»

Mr. CLERIDES :

«The Turkish side,... has purported to enact a law by virtue of which the 40.000 Turkish forces of occupation can settle permanently in Cyprus, bringing also their families...»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813 p. 22)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... the bill under reference does not purport to give Turkish Cypriot citizenship to any soldier. What the bill aims to give is more psychological than real. It is meant as a token appreciation for the families of those who fell fighting for the independence of Cyprus. It is an honorary title for those concerned... We are not a separate country. Therefore, there should not be, I presume, a separate Turkish - Cypriot citizenship... Incidentally, and for the information of the Council, I should like to put on record that a similar law, with a wider coverage, has been enacted by the Greek-Cypriot House of Representatives, in the absence of Turkish members, granting Cypriot citizenship to mainland Greeks and Greek mainland army personnel. This has been verified by the dual nationality identity cards discovered on Greek mainland soldiers caught during the July and August fighting of last year... There are more Turkish Cypriots abroad who either have Cypriot nationality or can acquire Cypriot citizenship under the Constitution as it stands than we can possibly accomodate on the island. There is no need to draw on Turkish mainland nationals...»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 76)

**«THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS IS NOT A PROBLEM OF MAJORITIES
AND MINORITIES»**

Mr. CLERIDES :

«... I ask you, is that the way in which minorities have been treated ? Or have we gone beyond that and reached the point where we are no longer taking into consideration the actual size of the Turkish minority - which is only 18 % of the population of Cyprus - but, for the sake of good faith, of peace, of security and of stability in our area, are offering far beyond what an 18 % minority deserves ? »

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 21)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... I should like to place on record once more that the problem of Cyprus is not a problem of majorities and minorities. Minorities can only exist within a nation, and as there is no Cypriot nation-and we have it from one of the highest authorities on the matter, the Archbishop himself-there can be no minority community in Cyprus. The fact is that we have in Cyprus two distinct national communities, which are equal partners and co-founders in the independence of Cyprus, and this has also been confirmed by General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) ... This problem is too serious to be degenerated by reduction to simple arithmetical figures. The Turkish Cypriot community cannot be offered 18 % of this right, 18 % of that right. It needs an equal right to live and to exist, it needs an equal right to prosper economically; it insists on equal rights in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the island. These basic fundamental rights cannot and shall not be reduced to simple numerical proportions.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 43)

«MISSING PERSONS»

Mr. CLERIDES :

«...the Turkish side... has failed to provide the facilities and continues to refuse to do so. This refusal, apart from **everything** else makes difficult any effort to trace and rescue 2700 Greek Cypriots who have been missing since August 1974, without any information, as to their fate.»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 23)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... Which missing persons — the thousands of people who were brutally murdered during the coup of 15 July 1974 by the Greek National Guard, by the Greek mainland officers, by EOKA-B, and by Sampson's armed bandits?... During the statement he made before the Security Council on 19 July 1974, Makarios said: «The coup caused much bloodshed and took a great toll of human lives, I am afraid that the number of casualties is large and that the material destruction is heavy.» Immediately after the coup the Greek Cypriot press unanimously rated the number of Greek Cypriots killed during the coup to be as high as 3.000 to 4.000. But now, unfortunately, as usual, the various factions within the Greek community have once more joined forces to blackmail the Turkish side and they are trying to attribute their losses to the Turkish armed forces...»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 61)

«... I have also been instructed and authorized to state officially in this Council that there are no Greek Cypriot prisoners of war and/or civilian detainees held by the Turkish side. Mr. Denktash has more than once informed Mr. Clerides officially of this, and offered to make an official statement to that effect, but Mr. Clerides requested him not to do so, because, he said, it would have political implications for him... Can Mr. Clerides make a statement, here and now, to the effect that no Turkish - Cypriot prisoners of war and/or civilian detainees are being held by the Greek - Cypriot administration.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 41 - 42)

«THE POLICY OF NON - ALIGNMENT»

Mr. CLERIDES :

«I do not think I shall be misstating the facts if I say that the Turkish side has never been in favour of non - alignment. Indeed, I can establish that that is the position by referring to the concrete action taken by the then Vice - President of the Republic, Mr. Kucuk, when the Archbishop decided, as President of the Republic of Cyprus, to participate in the first non - aligned Conference, which took place in Belgrade Mr. Kucuk threatened to use, and he actually did use, his right of veto on foreign policy to prevent the participation of Cyprus in the non - aligned group.»

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 16 - 17)

Mr. ÇELİK :

Dr. Kucuk's alleged opposition to Cyprus's participation in the first Non - Aligned Conference, which took place in Belgrade, was not an opposition in principle to non - alignment but a protestation against the violation of the constitutional rights of the Turkish - Cypriot community by the Makarios régime. According to our Constitution, the Vice - President should have been consulted on all foreign matters, and he was not. The protestation was made on legal and constitutional grounds and had nothing to do with the Turkish - Cypriot community's dedication to the policy of non - alignment. The Turkish - Cypriot community's devotion to non - alignment is clear both from official statements and from our dealings and relations with non - aligned countries. Although we were ousted from Government since 1963 and were not allowed to participate and officially raise our voice in international forum and conferences, we constantly applied for observer status for non - aligned conferences and, although we could not get it for obvious reasons, we attended the conferences even in an unofficial capacity.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 38 - 39)

«THE REAL DEFENDER OF THE INDEPENDENCE»

Mr. ÇELİK :

«They are here seeking support for the maintenance for the independence of Cyprus, but they are unique in the world as a so-called Government which has armed itself to the teeth not to protect but to destroy that independence and to unite with another country. It is the Turkish Cypriot Community which is... the real defender of the independence of Cyprus. Had it not been for the Turkish-Cypriot Community there would be no independent Cyprus today.»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 72 - 73)

Mr. CLERIDES :

Mr. Celik attempted to convince us that the Turkish-Cypriots were the co-founders of the independence of Cyprus and that in fact they are the defenders of that independence now. Let me refresh his memory. It is a fact... that the struggle of the Cypriot people in 1955, which is known as the EOKA struggle, was waged for the purpose of obtaining independence and the union of Cyprus with Greece. It is a fact also... that the Turkish position was that the colonial status should be maintained or that if the British were to leave, Cyprus must be partitioned. So I fail to see the difference between our position regarding union with Greece and their position regarding partition or, as the best alternative, remaining under colonial rule.»

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 16)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«As regards Mr. Clerides's objection to my claim that the Turkish Cypriot community is the real defender of the independence, territorial integrity... of Cyprus, I shall only ask Mr. Clerides one question: had it not been for the Turkish Cypriot community, would there be an independent Cyprus today and would he be here to represent it, or would he be a member from southern Greece in the Greek delegation to the United Nations?»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 41)

That we did not favour colonial rule is obvious from the fight we put up against the British and the number of people we lost during the 1957-1959 crisis. As regards the Turkish Cypriot position concerning partition, it has always been frank and crystal clear. For us partition was the antidote to enosis, an enosis which all — I repeat, all — the Greek-Cypriots wanted, President, leadership and people. This has been placed on record many times, and it has been placed on record by the Greek-Cypriots themselves with the publication of their infamous Akritas Plan. The plan, published on 21 April 1966 by the Greek-Cypriot daily *Patris*, which was the organ of General Grivas, provides incriminating evidence against Archbishop Makarios, who as Head of State is shown to have set up armies and plotted for the destruction of the State of Cyprus. According to the Akritas plan, Makarios, who took up the task of military preparation, entrusted his then Minister of Interior, the late Mr. Yorgadjis, who took up the code name Akritas with the task of establishing the organization. His Minister of Labour, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos a member of the Greek-Cypriot delegation here today, was appointed as deputy Chief of the organizations and Mr. Glafcos Clerides became Chief of Operations. The authenticity of this plan... has never been challenged by the Greek-Cypriot leadership.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 38)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«In order to establish... that the Greek-Cypriots are opposed to independence and are working for its destruction the representative of Turkey quoted out of context certain statements of President Makarios made to the press, to the effect that he preferred enosis to independence, in answering the representative of Turkey and Mr. Celik, I maintained that the Turkish-Cypriots were opposed to independence and non-alignment and that they were always, prior to and after the independence, in favour of the partition and double annexation of Cyprus, and I quoted statements by Turkish leaders from which their preference for and their commitment to partition could be clearly established.»

(Security Council, 4.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1818, p. 36 - 37)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... Partition... has always been considered as an antidote to enosis, in fact partition is double enosis. For years the Greek side tried to achieve enosis through self-determination. There being no Cypriot nation, as there are two national communities in Cyprus... we always demanded that if the right of self-determination was to be applied it should be applied equally to both communities... It is only when enosis agitation was high, or it loomed imminent, that partition was thought of by the Turkish side... In an effort to accuse the Turkish side for having pursued a policy of partition Mr. Clerides, in his statement before the Council yesterday, read an extract from a recent edition of the Turkish Cypriot daily newspaper Halkın Sesi. If we were to quote the Greek Cypriot press on enosis it would take us whole months, if not years, to complete...»

(Security Council, 5.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1819, p. 43)

«The Greek side is against biregional federation not because it will destroy the independence of the island, but because, as can be seen from the various quotations just cited, Cyprus cannot any longer be united to Greece «whole and undivided.» In fact, not even a part of it can be annexed by Greece. This must be the main source of uneasiness for them.»

(Security Council, 5.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1819, p. 51)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«It is futile to repeat out of context statements made from time to time by various Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot leaders trying to establish that either the Greek-Cypriots or even the Turkish-Cypriots are opposed to independence. It is a fact that independence came to Cyprus and that both the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots were very reluctant to accept it.»

(Security Council, 5.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1819, p. 57)

THE EXPULSION OF THE TURKISH — CYPRIOT MINISTERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. ÇELİK :

«Was it not Makarios who forcibly ousted the Turkish Cypriots by armed forces from all branches of Government in 1963 and never allowed them to return ? Was it not Makarios who insistently refused 1964 and 1965 proposals by Mr. Kucuk the then Turkish - Cypriot Vice - President for joint meetings of the Turkish - Cypriot and Greek - Cypriot Ministers to discuss normalization with a view to rectifying the anomalous situation existing on the island ? »

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 52)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«Mr. Celik alleged that in 1963, we had expelled the Turkish members from the Government. That is far from the true situation. In 1963 there was regrettable intercommunal violence. As a result of that violence, the Turkish members of the Government, including, the then Vice - President, Mr. Kucuk, left the Government. Mr. Kucuk himself publicly proclaimed that he was no longer Vice - President of the Republic of Cyprus but the President of the Turkish Community and its administration. Therefore it is quite clear that Mr. Kucuk, the Vice - President, and his ministers were not expelled by the Cyprus Government.»

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 11-12)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«Mr. Clerides rejected my statement that the Turkish members had been expelled from the Government in December 1963 and claimed that His Excellency Dr. Kucuk, the then Vice - President, had left the Government of his own accord and proclaimed that he was no longer the Vice - President of the Republic of Cyprus. That this is not so is obvious from the very records of this Council. Mr. Kucuk

continued to be the Vice - President of the Republic of Cyprus until February 1973, he was known and recognised as such by the Secretary - General, by the Special Representative of the Secretary - General in Cyprus and by the Commander and officers of UNFICYP, as well as by foreign Governments which continued to have official dealings with him in his capacity as the Vice - President of the Republic of Cyprus until he retired on 28 February 1973.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p. 29-31)

WHY THE TURKISH — CYPRIOT MEMBERS WERE KEPT AWAY FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ?

Mr. ÇELİK :

«... Was it not the Greek side that refused permission to the Turkish-Cypriot Members of Parliament, elected representatives of the community, to attend the meetings of the House? The Turkish representatives were presented with an ultimatum to the effect that, unless they agreed to the abrogation of the Constitution and endorsed the unconstitutional laws enacted in their absence by their Greek-Cypriot counterparts, their return would be prevented by the use of physical force. This incident was related in the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council in document S/6569 of 29 July 1965.»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813 p.52 - 53)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«... Furthermore, it has been alleged that the Greek-Cypriot members of the House of Representatives expelled the Turkish members and that they had laid down conditions for their return that were unacceptable because they were in fact expected not to observe the 1960 Constitution. The fact is that the Turkish members of House of Representatives left it of their own free will. As soon as the fighting ceased and a peace-keeping force was established, one of the first things I did as President of the House of Representatives was to invite the Turkish members to a meeting in the presence of the Commander of the Peace-keeping force, the late General Thimayya, and at that meeting the following arrangement was arrived at. First, the Turkish members would for safety reasons be escorted to the House of Representatives by the U.N. Peace-Keeping Force. Secondly, while they were within the precincts of the House of Representatives I and the Greek members of the House of Representatives would accept full responsibility and take necessary measures for their protection.»

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 12)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«As a matter of fact, Mr. Clerides confirmed me in my statement that the Turkish members were kept away from the House of Representatives. ... It is obvious from this statement that the Turkish members could not, for a period of time, go to the House of Representatives for fear of their lives. At this point I should like to remind the members of the Security Council that these were the dark days of early 1964 when the Turkish-Cypriots were being shot at sight. The security risk involved becomes all the more obvious by Mr. Clerides' confirmation that the lives of the Turkish members were in danger even within the precincts of the House, and that he had undertaken to take «special security measures» for them. That was the situation prevailing during the period that the Turkish members stayed away. ... When, however, later on, things seemed to be relatively more quiet and the Turkish members thought they should take the chance and return to the House, Mr. Clerides - in my first statement I avoided mentioning his name, to save embarrassment - as the President of the House of Representatives refused to allow them to do so, and presented them with an ultimatum that «unless they agreed to the abrogation of the Constitution and endorsed the unconstitutional laws enacted in their absence, by their Greek-Cypriot counterparts, their return to the House would be prevented by physical force». This incident was related in the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council in document S/6569 of 29 July 1965.»

(Security Council, 24.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1815, p.31-32)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«The representative of Turkey and Mr. Celik contend that it was the Greek-Cypriot side that, in a coup in 1963, ousted the Turkish Ministers from the Government and the Turkish members from Parliament. We contend that it was the Vice-President and the Turkish ministers who deliberately left the Government - and the same applies to the Turkish members of the House of Representatives - after some intercommunal friction and violence, in order to create the necessary preconditions for a *de facto* separation that would lead to the partition of the island.»

(Security Council, 4.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1818, p. 37)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«Mr. Clerides again repeated the allegation that the Vice-President, the Turkish Ministers and the Turkish members of the House of Representatives had left the Government and the House respectively of their own accord, and went as far as to say that the Turkish seats in the House of Representatives are still kept vacant for the Turkish members. May I, Mr. President, ask one question of Mr. Clerides: Why has Cyprus not participated in the deliberations of the Parliament of the Council of Europe since 1964 ? ... In 1964, Mr. Clerides attempted to participate in the deliberations of the said Council without Turkish-Cypriot members, and when he was told by the Council that the Cypriot Parliamentary Committee had to consist of representatives of both communities, and despite the expressed readiness by the Turkish side to conform to this, rather than take the Turkish members with him, he preferred not to participate in the **deliberations** of the Council at all. Cyprus today is still not represented at the Parliament of the European Council. This, I think, will suffice to disprove what Mr. Clerides has said.»

(Security Council, 5.3.1975)

(S/PV. 1819, p. 51)

**CAN THE GREEK - CYPRIOT COMMUNITY REPRESENT CYPRUS
AS A WHOLE ?**

Mr. ÇELİK :

«The fact that I have been allowed to speak is in itself proof that the Turkish side is not being represented by the so-called Cypriot delegation which spoke before me.» (S/PV. 1813, p. 52)

«... Contrary to the Constitution of the island, there is not a single Turk in the Cabinet.»

(Security Council, 20.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1813, p. 66)

Mr. CLERIDES :

«I should like to remind representatives that Mr. Celik was allowed to speak under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, which gives any person the right to speak if invited by the Security Council...» (S/PV. 1814, p.8)

«Mr. Celik objected also that even now, at this moment, there are no Turkish-Cypriots in the Government of Cyprus... As soon as the Sampson Government was forced to resign I asked Ambassador Weckmann-Munoz... to accompany me to the house of Mr. Denktash... while firing was still continuing in the Nicosia area... At that time I was the Acting President of the Republic - and made the following offer to him : that, together, we should form a government, consisting of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, to occupy ministries with the provisions of the 1960 Constitution. Mr. Denktash... informed me... that this was a matter on which he would have to consult with Turkey. He told me that he was flying to Turkey... and that I would have the reply on his return. And indeed I got the reply on his return : that what I was proposing was not possible for the time being.»

(Security Council, 21.2.1975)

(S/PV. 1814, p. 15-16)

Mr. ÇELİK :

«Mr. Clerides started his statement by repeating the well-known Greek-Cypriot claim that the Greek-Cypriot delegation to the U.N. can and does represent Cyprus as a whole. But Mr. Clerides, as an able lawyer, should know better. The 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus... contains express and entrenched provisions for the participation of both communities in the administration of the State and in all its organs and at all levels. Ever since the Turkish-Cypriot partners in the binational Republic of Cyprus were ousted from the administration of the State by force of arms on 21 December 1963; the so-called Cyprus Government has been comprised of Greek Cypriots only. Article 46 of the 1960 Constitution provides, *inter alia*, that the Council of Ministers... shall be composed of seven Greek ministers and three Turkish ministers. It follows therefore that, in the absence of the three Turkish Ministers the Greek-Cypriot Council of Ministers has not for this reason alone been constituted and could not be regarded as functioning since 21 December 1963 as the Council of Ministers of the Republic... therefore, in the absence of a constitutional Council of Ministers... the Greek-Cypriot delegation cannot under any circumstances represent the Republic of Cyprus as a whole and in particular the Turkish-Cypriot community. As regards the title under which I take the floor, let it suffice to remind Mr. Clerides that this has been decided by the General Assembly and has been acted upon.» (S/PV. 1815, p. 27-28)

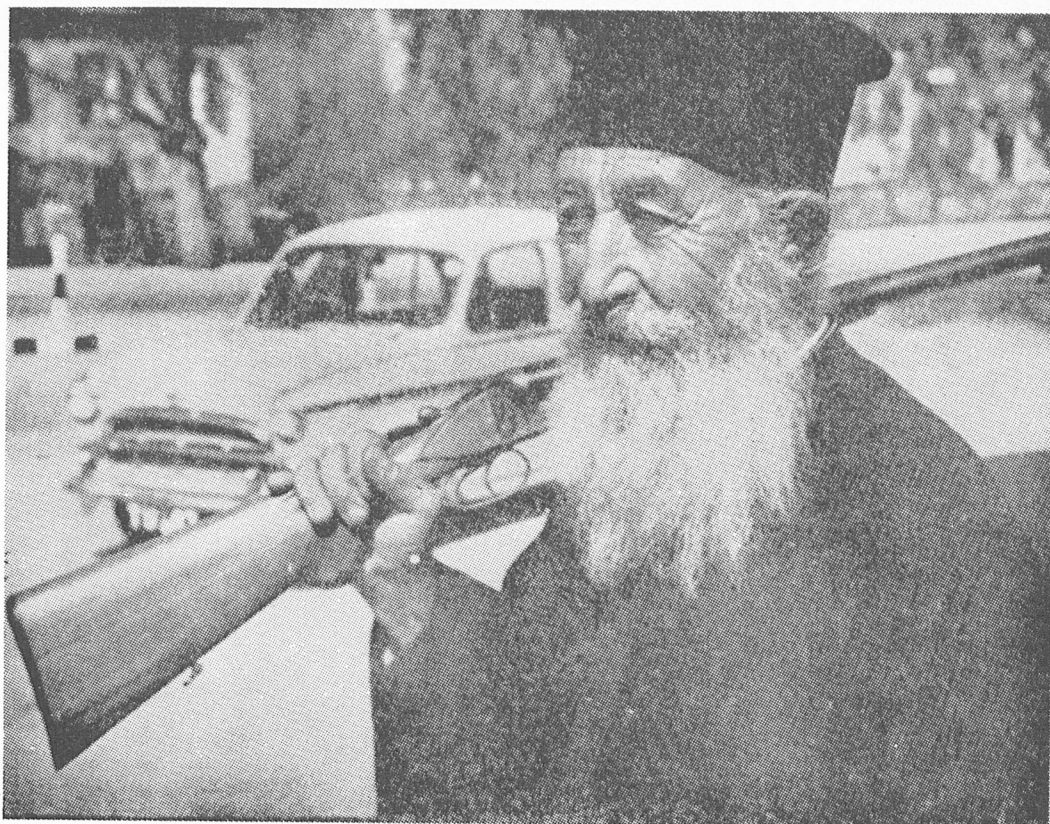
«In response to my statement that there was not a single Turk in Makarios' recently reconstituted Cabinet, Mr. Clerides said» that Mr. Denktash... after consultations with Turkey had informed him that the proposition «was not possible for the time being»... The following are the true facts... first... the visit took place at a time when fighting was still going on in Nicosia, and it will be appreciated that a time of fighting is not the most opportune time to set up a joint Government between two communities which have been separated and in a state of conflict for the past 12 years. Secondly... I must recall that it was not the Sampson Government but Sampson personally who resigned. Sampson's Cabinet, which was appointed by the junta remained in office, and it was this same Cabinet that Mr. Clerides headed. Thirdly, and most important, we had serious doubts about Mr. Clerides' position as President, because, although he said in his statement that he was then the Acting President, things were not all that clear. Mr. Clerides, upon Sampson's

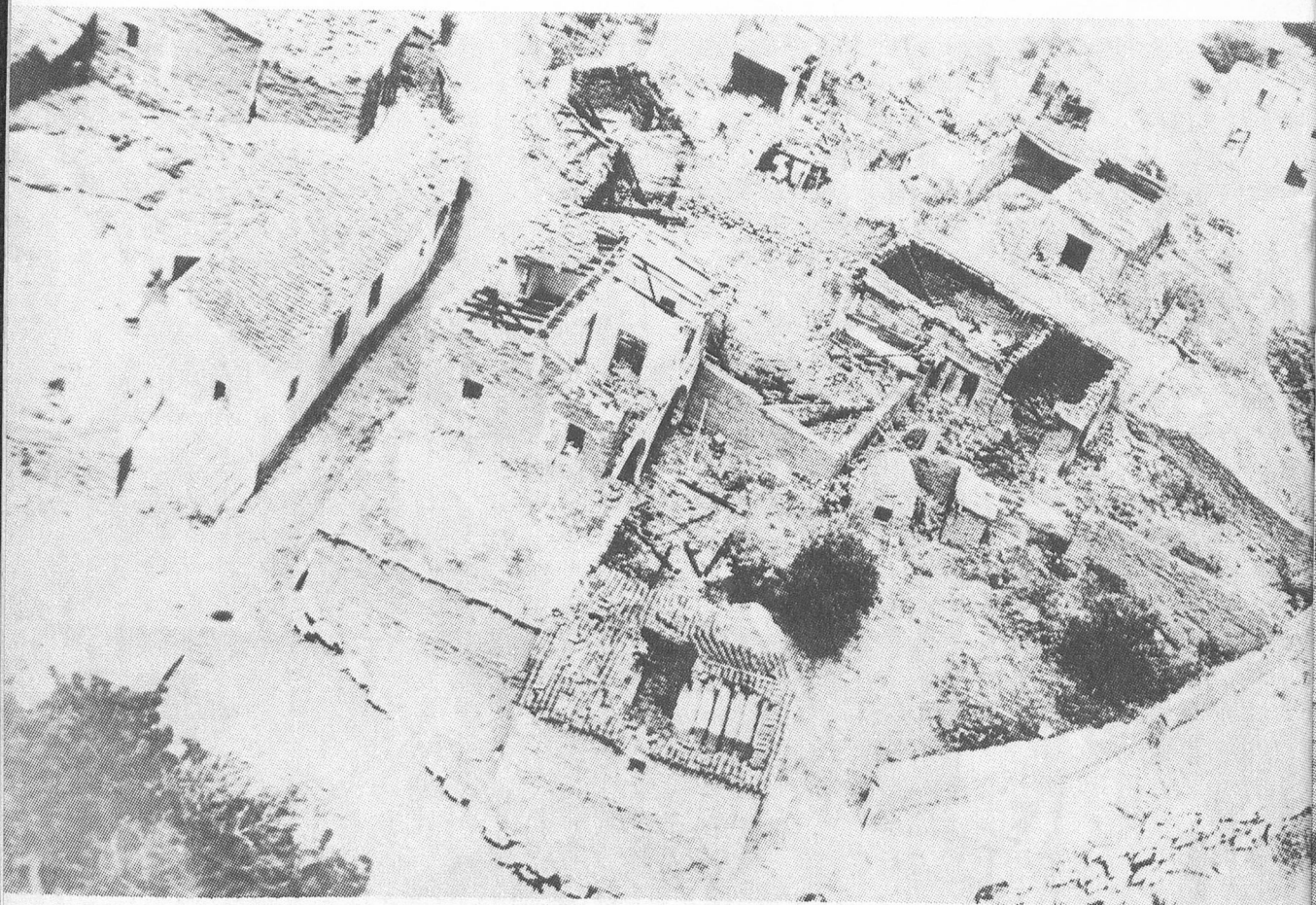
resignation, was sworn in as President by a bishop who, incidentally, had previously been deposed by Archbishop Makarios but who had been reinstated by the junta after the coup, perhaps for this particular purpose. The ceremony did not even take place at the House of Representatives, where it normally should. Had Mr. Clerides been Acting President, as he says he was, there was no reason for him to be sworn in as President. All indications were that the junta, under pressure, dismissed Sampson, who proved to be unacceptable to everybody both within and outside Cyprus, and called in Mr. Clerides to fill his place as the head of the same Cabinet... It was decided not to respond to his proposals for the time being.»

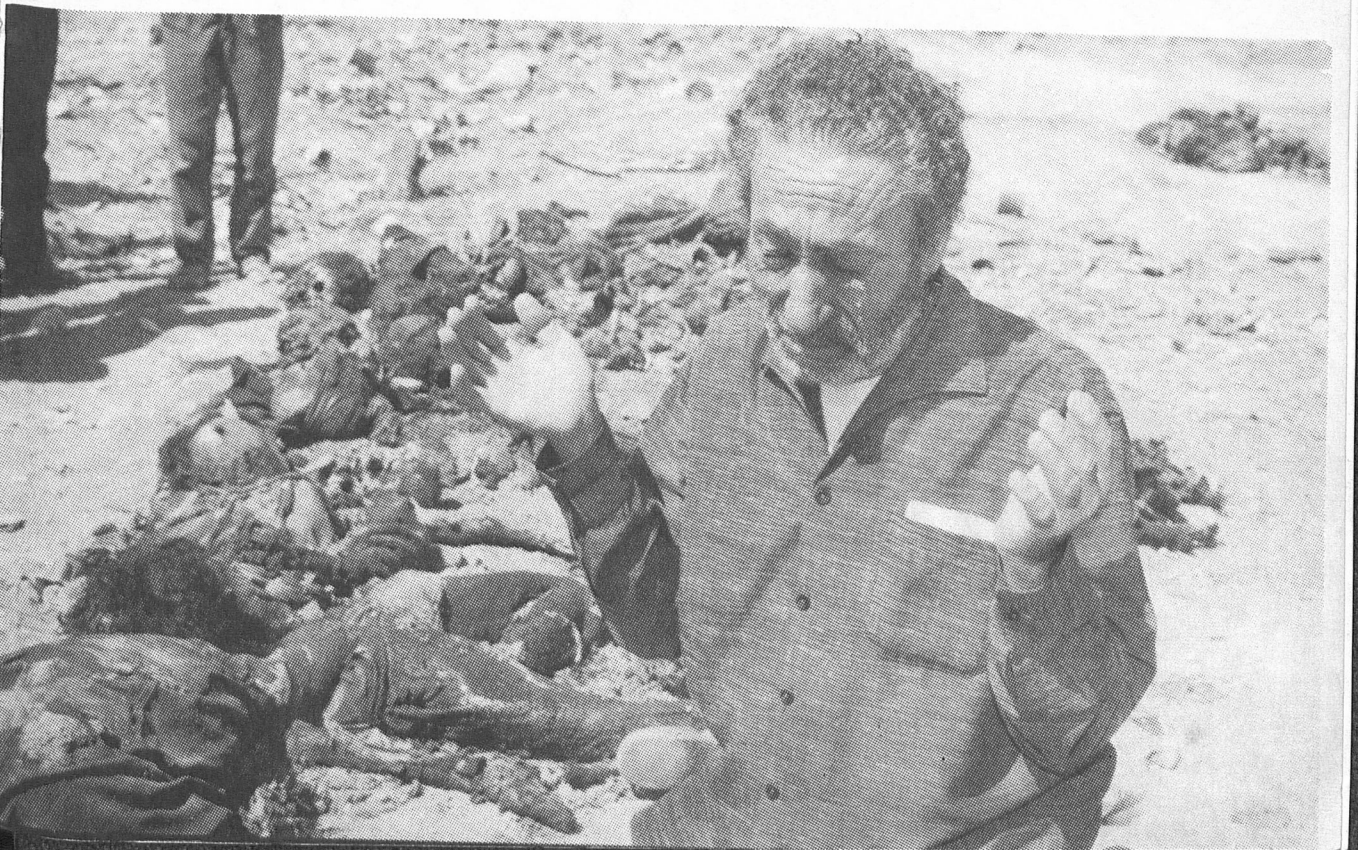
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PRINTED AT AYYILDIZ PRESS, ANKARA, TURKEY

