

04 SA 1066, Kapitel 23



TURKEY

AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE

- 1 — Text of Prime Minister Demirel's Press Conference in Istanbul
- 2 — Text of the Speech Delivered in Helsinki by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Süleyman Demirel
- 3 — Text of the Formal Reservation by the Turkish Government regarding the State of Cyprus at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

August, 1975



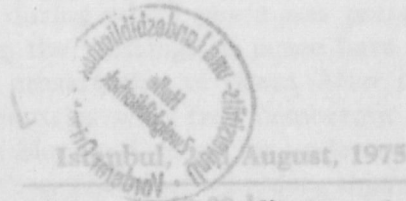




TURKEY AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE

Text of Prime Minister Demirel's

Press Conference in Istanbul



- 1 — Text of Prime Minister Demirel's Press Conference in Istanbul
- 2 — Text of the Speech Delivered in Helsinki by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Süleyman Demirel
- 3 — Text of the Formal Reservation by the Turkish Government regarding the State of Cyprus at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF PRESS AND INFORMATION





TURKEY AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE



- 045A 1066(23)
- 1 — Text of Prime Minister Demirel's Press Conference in Istanbul
 - 2 — Text of the Speech Delivered in Helsinki by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Süleyman Demirel
 - 3 — Text of the Formal Reservation by the Turkish Government regarding the State of Cyprus at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF PRESS AND INFORMATION





Distinguished Member of the Press :
I would like to give you some information after returning from the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

First, I would like to provide some information concerning the Conference itself : — I —

We have entered the last quarter of the 20th Century. The first quarter of this Century witnessed the First World War, and the second quarter the Second World War. These wars started in Europe and destroyed Europe. The third quarter, from 1945 to 1975, was a period during which peace was preserved. All nations acknowledging the blessings of peace have showed a special care over the preservation of peace. After the Second World War, those countries with free democratic administrations united in one bloc, and those with communist regimes united in another. Peace has been maintained for many years by different ways and means have been sought for «Peaceful Co-Existence».

World War II, which destroyed Europe was replaced by the cold war; itself being replaced by detente. Detente has been viewed as a hope for the preservation of peace. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a result of these developments. The idea of such a conference, which would include the European States, the United States of America and Canada, was suggested several years ago. Finally, almost three years ago, on the 22nd of November, 1972, the representatives of those States who attended this Conference met at the invitation of the Government of Finland.

This Conference is the most important international conference after the San Francisco Conference, which founded the United Nations. Moreover, this is the most important international conference for the last 30 years.





TURKEY AT THE CONFERENCE ON
SECURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE

— 1 —

Text of Prime Minister Demirel's
Press Conference in Istanbul



Istanbul, 2nd August, 1975

1 - Text of the Press Conference in Istanbul
13:00 hrs. (2) 4604 A.S. 90
2 - Text of the Speech Delivered in Istanbul by the Prime Minister
of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Süleyman Demirel
3 - Text of the Formal Reception by the Turkish Government
regarding the issue of Turkey at the Conference on Security and
Cooperation in Europe

GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF PRESS AND INFORMATION



Distinguished Members of the Press :

I would like to give some information after returning from the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

First, I would like to provide some information concerning the Conference itself :

We have entered the last quarter of the 20th Century. The first quarter of this Century witnessed the First World War, and the second quarter, the Second World War. These wars started in Europe and destroyed Europe. The third quarter, from 1950 to 1975, witnessed the Cold War; but this was a period during which peace was preserved. All nations acknowledging the blessings of peace have showed a special care over the preservation of peace. After the Second World War those countries with free democratic administrations united in one bloc, and countries under communist regimes united in another. Therefore, the blocs thus created have been maintained for many years, and subsequently ways and means have been sought for «Peaceful Co-Existence».

World War II, which destroyed Europe was replaced by the cold war; itself being replaced by detente. Detente has been viewed as a hope for the preservation of peace. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a result of these developments. The idea of such a conference, which would include the European States, the United States of America and Canada, was suggested several years ago. Finally, almost three years ago, on the 22 nd of November, 1972, the representatives of those States who attended this Conference met at the invitation of the Government of Finland.

This Conference is the most important international conference after the San Francisco Conference, which founded the United Nations. Moreover, this is the most important international conference for the last 30 years.

The preparations for this Conference have taken three years; and they have been finalized in three stages.

I would like to point out that the Conference we have attended is a result of three years' work. All the States which signed the Document of the Conference yesterday, the 1st of August, 1975, have taken part in these preparations for three years.

THE AIM AND THE RESULT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE

The nature of the document signed in Helsinki yesterday is not a Peace Agreement. It is a declaration of goodwill aiming for the preservation of peace. The document consists of ten basic principles. The signatories of the document register their adherence to these principles as a political declaration. In fact, these principles are a natural affirmation of the Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. They are also the natural requisites of the United Nations Agreement of which we are a signatory. Therefore, with the signing of the document in Helsinki, our country has re-confirmed the obligations she has shouldered at various international conferences after the Second World War.

A necessity to re-confirm the pre-established principles for the preservation of peace in Europe has emerged. The basic principles of the Conference agreed upon are the equal sovereignty of states, the abstention from the use of threats or force, the inviolability of frontiers, the territorial integrity of states, the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, the non-interference of states in each other's domestic issues, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, the equal rights of nations and their right to self-determination, cooperation among the states, and the fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law. Each state has made a political declaration concerning its adherence to these principles in its relations with other states. The Conference

has been dominated by the hope and the belief that peace can be preserved if these principles are adhered to.

This is the prime aim and result of the Helsinki Conference.

WHAT WE SAID IN HELSINKI

The Republic of Turkey, from the day of its establishment, has essentially pursued a policy of peace. The Republic of Turkey has fully supported any and every effort which will enhance peace. Therefore, since 1972, the Republic of Turkey, along with other European States has attended these preparations, been present at the final stage of the Conference and has signed the resultant documents.

In the speech I made on this occasion on behalf of my government, I explained once more Turkey's intention to constructively contribute to peace and cooperation in Europe. Furthermore, I pointed out that the principles should be applied not only in word but also in spirit. I stated that political security is completed by military security and that peaceful endeavors in this area are being carefully and meticulously pursued by us. I also pointed out that apart from all this, and due to our ties with those Mediterranean countries not attending the Conference, European Security closely interests the Mediterranean countries. I reiterated the fact that peace cannot be isolated from welfare and the necessity that all nations should join in providing equal social and economic rights and in fighting the war against poverty.

Ever since 1972, when the preparations for this Conference began, Cyprus, a member of the United Nations and the Council of Europe has taken its place among European States and has joined in the Conference preparations.

During the final stage of the Conference, the subject of Cyprus's representation was pointed out by us. In fact, we called attention to the status of Cyprus during the second stage of the Conference.

In our speech we declared that Cyprus's representation by Makarios is not considered either legal or legitimate by us and that we do not consider the provisions of the Final Act as binding regarding relations with the State of Cyprus. Our view was delivered to all the participating states by the Executive Secretariat of the Conference.

Upon the accusations directed against Turkey by the Greek Prime Minister, we clearly exposed how the independence of Cyprus, the Cyprus Constitution and the Treaties establishing the State of Cyprus have been violated by them.

We clearly pointed out that Turkey is not an invader in Cyprus, but that she has fulfilled her obligations deriving from her rights embodied in the Agreements. We explained once more that the Turkish Community on Cyprus has been subjected to massacre, torture and inhuman treatment for many years.

We stated that Turkey asks for an independent Cyprus, where the national Turkish community will live in security.

We clearly demonstrated that we agree to all the decisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, BUT since the constitutional order in the State of Cyprus has been openly and continuously violated by the Greek community ever since 1963, and since this order has been totally eradicated by the coup of the 15th of July, 1974, it is legally impossible for one community, in the bi-communal State of Cyprus, to represent the whole State without the consent of the other community; and, therefore, the representation of the State of Cyprus at this Conference is illegitimate, and as a result of this the provisions contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will not be binding for Turkey in its relations with the State of Cyprus, and that they will have no effect until such time that a government, which will legitimately represent the two national communities on Cyprus, is formed.

The necessary reaction has been shown concerning the representation of Cyprus at this Conference. We did not

believe that our country would gain anything by not participating in the Conference. In fact, to show such reaction in the final stage of the Conference, in the preparatory work of which we have participated during the last three years, would have served no purpose other than leaving the floor to our adversaries.

CONTACTS MADE DURING THE THREE DAYS IN HELSINKI

Members of the Press, during this 3-day meeting, I have had the opportunity of making various contacts. My friend the Foreign Minister, Ihsan Sabri Çağlayangil, also found the opportunity to make various contacts. I. Held discussions with President Ford of the United States of America; with Mr. Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Socialist Republic President Giscard d'Estaing of France, Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain, President Ceaucescu of Rumania, President Jivkov of Bulgaria, Prime Minister Moro of Italy, Prime Minister Arias of Spain, and United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. We discussed bi-lateral relations and international problems at these meetings.

DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD

Upon his request I met with President Ford of the United States of America on Thursday, 21st July.

At this meeting we discussed the situation created by the decision of the US Congress to continue the arms embargo against Turkey. President Ford stated the factors which have affected the Congressional decision and the concerted efforts exerted by the American Administration to prevent the passing of such a measure, and he expressed his deep regret for the present situation, which has emerged as a result of the failure of these efforts. President Ford furthermore, re-affirmed the great importance that the American Government attaches to Turkish friendship and the continu-

ation of security relations with Turkey, and stated that he will continue his efforts to lift the embargo in Congress. On this occasion he stated that as a manifestation of the goodwill of the American Administration, and if we should so desire, there was a possibility of giving Turkey \$ 50 million worth of military grant-in-aid from the «Presidency Fund».

This proposal did not alter the decision of Congress regarding the embargo, but constituted an exceptional means of giving grant-in-aid to Turkey for a year within the framework of the President's personal authority. After thanking President Ford for the good intentions he has displayed, I stated that the situation created after the Congressional embargo decision far exceeds the question of grants or aid, but becomes one concerning the future of Turkish American relations. I informed him that the Turkish nation, which is dedicated to the preservation of its dignity is very sensitive over this issue, and that for this reason the embargo problem has become a question of honour and prestige for Turkey. I added that so long as the embargo decision, resulting from a confusion of other unrelated matters with Turkish-American relations continued, I did not think it possible to compensate for the negative effects of this decision with palliative measures. Moreover, I emphasized that we are not after aid but wish to know who our friends are, and feel the need to establish whether the U. S. is one of our friends or not. Thus, with these in mind, I concluded that we cannot accept such a proposal.

GOVERNMENT'S DECISIONS MISINTERPRETED

To turn to another subject:

I regret to note that the decision of our Government, concerning the termination of the activities at the joint defence installations in Turkey, is being misinterpreted by certain

political circles in Turkey, and that efforts are being made to misrepresent the question to the public. This attitude is either deliberate or stems from a lack of full insight to the question. I shall not make an evaluation concerning the situation. I only wish to fully clarify the problem. Information regarding the decision of the American Congress to continue the embargo on the 24th of July was conveyed to me by the Foreign Minister after midnight, due to time difference. The Government met the next day, that is, on the 25th of July, and took the following decisions :

1 — The Defence Cooperation Agreement dated the 3rd of July, 1969 and regulating joint defence cooperation between Turkey and the United States and all other relative agreements are no longer legally valid.

2 — Under these circumstances, the activities of all joint defence installations in Turkey, with the exception of the obligations toward NATO of the Incirlik joint defence installation, have been terminated, as of tomorrow, the 26th of July.

3 — All installations, the activities of which have been terminated will be turned over to the full control and supervision of the Turkish Armed Forces.

This decision of the Ministerial Council was conveyed to the United States Administration in the evening of the 25th July and as of the 26th July activities of all the joint defence installations in Turkey have actually stopped. This situation was formally communicated to the Turkish Foreign Ministry by the American Ambassador on the same day.

Under the guidance of the pre-determined plan on this subject, Turkish command teams were formed to actually provide full control and supervision of the installations and all communication systems in the name of the Turkish Armed Forces. The transfer of these commanders and their personnel to the installations in question has been completed.



SITUATION AFTER THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION

I shall now explain the situation created as a result of our Government's decision :

As you know, according to Article 3 of the NATO Agreement, the member countries have undertaken to join efforts for the common defence of security and peace, to help one another and to strengthen their resistance either individually or collectively against an armed attack. Based on this 3rd Article in the NATO Agreement, the Agreement for Cooperation on Joint Defence was signed in 1969 between Turkey and the United States of America. A special provision concerning mutual commitments is present in this agreement. According to this provision, the United States of America has undertaken the commitment to aid Turkish defence efforts on a requested level. As can be understood from this explanation, Turkey and the United States have been placed under definite contractual commitments by the Agreement for Joint Defence Cooperation. Upon the decision of the American Congress on the 24th of July to continue the arms embargo against Turkey, it has been exposed, without doubt, that the American administration has come to a situation in which it will no longer be able to fulfill its contractual commitments to Turkey within the framework of bilateral defence and cooperation. Therefore, we communicated to the Americans that the Defence Cooperation Agreement dated the 3rd of July, 1969, and regulating joint defence and cooperation between Turkey and the United States has lost its legal validity. The meaning of this is as follows :

This agreement is legally dead. The provisions of the Agreement about notification of abolition and liquidation are also no longer valid. In fact, when terminating military aid to Turkey, these provisions of the Agreement have not been adhered to by the United States either.

Under these conditions, there are two ways before us :

First, negotiations may ensue concerning the possibility of a new cooperation, the conditions of which should be acceptable to Turkey. This is the first stage. If it becomes clear that no agreement will be reached concerning this subject, negotiations will lead to liquidation. This is the second stage. Right here I would like to point out the following : So long as the embargo continues, it is meaningless for us to negotiate new agreement for cooperation.

THE STATUS OF THE INSTALLATIONS

A question may now arise : What will be the status of the installations during the said negotiations or liquidation discussions? The Turkish Government has established this status out of its own will and has communicated it to the United States of America.

Accordingly :

— Duties and activities of all the common defence installations, which have been permitted to function on the territory of the Republic of Turkey, have been terminated. The only exception are the obligations to NATO at the Incirlik joint defence installation.

— Communication systems in all the installations, the activities of which have been halted have been placed under the full control and supervision of the Turkish Armed Forces.

— In the name of the Turkish Armed Forces, Turkish commanders will take the command of these installations and systems.

— Only the Turkish flag will be flown at the defence installations.

— All tax exemptions provided at the installations by the agreements have been cancelled.

— No other American, except for the U. S. personnel already in each installation, or third-country national will enter these installations, whatever the reason, without the permission of the Turkish military authorities.

— For these installations, the activities of which have been terminated, no permission will be given to import material, equipment, arms ammunition or other supply materials.

—The necessary importation of the basic requirements of the US personnel and supply goods will be carried out in accordance with the NATO «Forces Status Convention», and after obtaining permission from the Turkish authorities.

— Certain entry and exit ports and airports have been designated for the import and export of such permitted materials.

— All construction activities on the installations have been halted. Repair Work for the daily needs of the personnel in the installations is subject to the prior permission of the Turkish Armed Forces.

— Flights of American military aircraft over Turkey or their landing or take off at certain airports will be subject to the same procedure of permission applied to the military aircraft of other NATO member countries.

— Flights of those military aircraft, which after entering Turkey will fly on to another airport, and of all US aircraft already in Turkey, including helicopters, are subject to the permission of the Turkish authorities.

— Now I come to the situation at the Incirlik joint defence installation: The installation has a two-sided activity. One is the liaison and communication activities under the 1969 Agreement and the other is activities stemming from obligations towards the NATO Agreement. Of these, the activities which have to do with the 1969 Agreement have been stopped. But permission has been given to continue with the activities of NATO, of which we are still a member. I would like to point out something important here: The NATO activities which

will be continued at the Incirlik installation are, as always, restricted to the geographical area delineated in the NATO Agreement.

GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY AIMS

Esteemed Members of the Press;

On this occasion I would like to state that the foreign policy pursued by our Government is fully in accordance with the principles set down in our Government Programme.

When foreign policy issues were analysed in the Programme we laid down three targets :

— To take every measure and precaution to ensure the security of our country.

— To seek the possibilities of economic and technical cooperation with the countries of the world, while at the same time developing domestic resources for the welfare and happiness of our nation.

— To take all necessary measures to encircle Turkey with a ring of friendship by developing relationships with neighboring countries.

Although we have been in power for less than four months, we have taken great strides in reaching these goals by our constructive and continuous effort.

RELATIONS WITH IRAN

First of all we exerted efforts to develop our present relationships with our neighbors and other countries in the region, and we have achieved positive results. We put Turkish-Iranian relations, which for years had not exceeded emotional limits, on to a course which will be for the good of both countries, and in accordance with the conditions existing in the modern world. The new agreements we have

signed with Iran will realize the cooperation desired for years.

RELATIONS WITH IRAQ

We are happy to see that new opportunities for cooperation have emerged with our Southern neighbor Iraq. Turkey and Iraq both know the benefits of developing close relationships between countries both in the field of politics and economics and they exert efforts in this direction. The Turkish-Iraqi oil pipeline, which we started some time ago, is a sign of this understanding. We believe in increasing such cooperation.

RELATIONS WITH THE GULF STATES

Our Foreign Minister's visit to the Gulf States carries an important meaning within the framework of our Government's policy of developing relations with the countries of the region. It is a fact that relations with these countries, with which we have historic and traditional ties, have been neglected for long years. During the visit, we have thoroughly explained to the leaders of these countries our views concerning Cyprus in particular, and views on various international problems, and some hopeful economic and commercial opportunities have been created.

RELATIONS WITH LIBYA

Our relations with Libya have started bearing concrete results. Both sides are making great efforts to develop economic and commercial relations and, especially, to put into application, within the shortest possible time, cooperation on defence production. Our Foreign Minister will go to Libya next week and will discuss the possibilities for making these efforts reach the desired results within the shortest possible time.



THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

We have attended the Conference of Islamic Countries this year on the Foreign Ministers level. Compared to former years, the Conference which convened at Jiddah, met with far more interest. Forty-two countries attended the meeting. It is clearly understood that the solidarity among Islamic States should be moved from a platonic realm into a concrete and constructive one. An example of this can be seen concerning the Cyprus question. For the first time the leader of the Turkish Cypriot Community, Mr. Rauf Denктаş, found an occasion to address the Conference and explain the Cyprus problem in detail. There is something which I would like to note very happily here: Mr. Denктаş has returned with very good impressions and feelings from his trip to the friendly Arab States. We are sure that these friends of ours now understand the Cyprus problem thoroughly. The fact that the next Islamic Conference will meet in Istanbul is another point to note with pleasure.

POLICY TOWARDS THE ARAB STATES

As a result of this explanation I would like to point out the following observations:

The realization that Turkey is a great friend, and that she will be a very important factor in helping the Arab cause, is now strengthening among the neighboring Arab countries. After our 4 months' efforts, they have now a better understanding of the sincere intentions of Turkey and that Turkey continues in her determination to be a dependable state. We shall continue with this policy of ours. We shall continue with our efforts to attain the highest levels of cooperation with all Arab States. I do not have any doubts that our efforts will be reciprocated in the same manner.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

I would also like to mention our relations with other neighbors. Our interests shared with the Soviet Union con-

tinue to maintain their importance. In accordance with our Government Programme, we have achieved noteworthy and satisfying progress in our economic and commercial relations with this country. Reciprocal trade is increasingly developing. The recently signed economic cooperation agreement is an important document which will contribute to our developmental strides.

The agreement reached with Bulgaria in the field of energy transfer is a new sign of Turkey's policy in the direction of cooperation with the Balkan countries. Turkey, bearing in mind the mutual benefits, will continue her policy of developing every sort of cooperation with the Balkan countries.

DIIALOGUE WITH GREECE

Despite all the conflict between us, it has been during my Government's period of office that a dialogue has started between Turkey and Greece. In our government programme we state that all our disputes with this country should be solved through peaceful means, that is, through the medium of negotiations. The meeting in Rome of our Foreign Minister with the Greek Foreign Minister and my meeting in Brussels with the Greek Premier, Mr. Karamanlis, have opened this way. Negotiations are continuing concerning the Aegean air space. Next month we will have a meeting of experts during which the question of the continental shelf will be handled. If the other side has the same attitude of understanding and goodwill, we hope to take positive steps in the direction of solving this problem. Other problems we have with Greece, we also wish to resolve through negotiations.

OUR CYPRUS POLICY IS CLEAR AND OPEN

Our policy on Cyprus is clear and open. Whatever we have said in our government programme, we are still reiterating the same things. The only solution for Cyprus is a two-

region federation. If there has been no progress on the Cyprus question up to the present, the one responsible for this is not Turkey. The Turkish nation and the Turkish community on Cyprus will, as always, continue to make every effort, in an attitude of good intent and understanding, for the achievement through negotiations, of a satisfactory political solution to the Cyprus problem.

Esteemed Members of the Press :

Turkey is a great state. She is a state that loves peace. She has always remained loyal to her commitments. She does not owe her existence to anybody. She is a friend to her friends. She is the guardian of democracy, freedom and human rights. Her foreign policy is open and worthy of trust. Moreover, it will continue to be that way.

Once again I greet you all with respect.

Mr. Süleyman Demirel

Helsinki, July 31, 1975

15:25 Hrs.

region federation. If there has been no progress on the Cyprus question up to the present, the one responsible for this is not Turkey. The Turkish nation and the Turkish community on Cyprus will, as always, continue to make every effort in an attitude of good intent and understanding for the settlement through negotiations, of a satisfactory political solution to the Cyprus problem.

The agreement reached with Turkey is in the field of energy transfer is a new step in the direction of cooperation with the Balkan countries. Turkey is a great state. She is a state that loves peace. She has always remained loyal to her commitments. She does not owe her existence to anybody. She is a friend to her friends. She is the guardian of democracy, freedom and human rights. Her foreign policy is open and worthy of trust. More over it will continue to be that way.

Despite all the difficulties, since the beginning of our Government's period of office that a dialogue has started between Turkey and Greece. In our government programme we state that all our disputes with this country should be solved through peaceful means, that is, through the medium of negotiations. The meeting in Rome of our Foreign Minister with the Greek Foreign Minister and my meeting in Brussels with the Greek Premier, Mr. Karamanlis, have opened this way. Negotiations are continuing concerning the Aegean air space. Next month we will have a meeting of experts during which the question of the continental shelf will be handled. If the other side has the same attitude of understanding and goodwill, we hope to take positive steps in the direction of solving this problem. Other problems we have with Greece, we also wish to resolve through negotiations.

OUR CYPRUS POLICY IS CLEAR AND OPEN

Our policy on Cyprus is clear and open. Whatever we have said in our government programme, we are still reiterating the same things. The only solution for Cyprus is a two-



Mr. Chairman,

It is a great pleasure to express my deep appreciation and thanks to President Kekkonen and to the Government of Finland for the efforts they have deployed towards the realisation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. My Delegation is impressed by the excellent arrangements made by the Finnish Authorities to host this final stage of the Conference.



— II —

I was eagerly looking forward to come to Helsinki. The very short time I have enjoyed here among the friendly Finns has been most enjoyable. I am equally happy to extend our gratitude to the Swiss authorities for the excellent arrangements made by them to host this final stage of the Conference. I think that the well-known Swiss hospitality and dedication to international cooperation and hence to all efforts for peace also significantly contributed to the satisfactory conclusion of the second stage of the conference.

**Text of the Speech delivered in Helsinki by the
Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey,
Mr. Süleyman Demirel**

Helsinki, July 31, 1975

15:25 Hrs.

We have now assembled at a summit conference of unprecedented importance of this event unprecedented in the modern history of Europe and which was even unthinkable a decade ago. Is there any justification for it? My answer is an emphatic «Yes». Its justification lies not only in the results achieved by the Conference as such, but in the determination of all European countries, as well as the United States of America and Canada, to contribute to détente and their resolve to make détente a lasting process. But if we are to achieve this aim, each and every one of the countries represented here, without exception, must strive to adapt their actions to the process which has thus been set in motion.

Turkey, on its part, has, from the beginning of the Conference, considered that the meeting of all European count-



— II —

Text of the Speech delivered in Helsinki by the
Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey,
Mr. Süleyman Demirel

Helsinki, July 31, 1975

12:25 Hrs.



Mr. Chairman,

It is a great pleasure for me to express my deep appreciation and thanks to President Kekkonen and to the Government of Finland for the historic efforts they have deployed towards the realisation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I also wish to express how much my Delegation is impressed by the excellent arrangements made by the Finnish Authorities to host this final stage of the Conference.

I was eagerly looking forward to come to Helsinki. The very short time I have enjoyed here among the friendly Finnish people, who have a special place in the hearts of the Turks, their warm hospitality and dedication to the cause of peace, have more than fulfilled my expectations.

I am equally happy to have this opportunity to extend our gratitude to the Federal Government of Switzerland. I think that the well-known Swiss hospitality and dedication to international cooperation and hence to all efforts for peace also significantly contributed to the satisfactory conclusion of the second stage of the conference.

We have now assembled at summit level in Helsinki. I am happy to observe that we are all conscious of the importance of this event unprecedented in the modern history of Europe and which was even unthinkable a decade ago. Is there any justification for it? My answer is an emphatic «Yes». Its justification lies not only in the results achieved by the Conference as such, but in the determination of all European countries, as well as the United States of America and Canada, to contribute to détente and their resolve to make détente a lasting process. But if we are to achieve this aim, each and every one of the countries represented here, without exception, must strive to adapt their actions to the process which has thus been set in motion.

Turkey, on its part, has, from the beginning of the Conference, considered that the meeting of all European count-

ries, regardless of their social and economic systems was an important step forward and a major event in itself. Subsequently, she played an active role in all the phases of the conference and strived to reconcile differing points of view so that a common understanding can be reached and a successful conclusion of the Conference can be achieved. In doing so, we attached great importance to the harmonization of our own national interests with those of the broader context of détente in Europe. In other words like all other participants of the Conference, we tried to adapt today's short- and middle-term political requirements to the long-term and universal policy of progress towards lasting peace, to which my country has always devoted all her efforts. We are then adhering to all the decisions of the Conference. Our only reservation concerns the representation of Cyprus. As only the Greek Cypriot Community is represented here, and as it is legally impossible in the bi-communal state of Cyprus for either community to represent the other, the representation of the State of Cyprus in the Conference cannot be considered legal or, therefore, legitimate. Consequently Turkey, cannot consider the provisions of the Final Act as binding regarding relations with the State of Cyprus. Our view on this matter is embodied in a formal communication, delivered today to the Executive Secretariat of the Conference, to be duly registered and circulated to all the participants.

I had come to this Conference with the intention of refraining from mentioning the injustices and the wrong-doings which have been committed in Cyprus against the Turkish Community and attempts to destroy the independence of the State of Cyprus, for the sake of not disturbing the atmosphere of this most auspicious Conference and for the sake of preserving the spirit of détente.

But I am indeed greatly disappointed to observe once more that the goodwill of my country has been abused. Under these circumstances, Mr. Chairman, I feel sure that all the distinguished Delegates will understand that I have a

moral obligation to my nation and to the world at large to correct the record.

May I ask you which country violated the independence of Cyprus, interfered in its internal affairs and used force for the purpose of annexing it?

The country which bears responsibility for all these acts and which has grossly violated the principles embodied in the Final Act of this Conference is no other than the country whose representative yesterday from this very rostrum directed false accusations against my country.

Isn't it this very same Country which engineered a coup in Cyprus through its army officers, aimed to destroy the independence of Cyprus and declared a Hellenic Republic?

It is the same Country which continuously violated one of the most sacred principles enunciated in the Final Act, namely the fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

The participating States at this Conference recognize the universal significance and paramount importance of human rights and fundamental freedoms as an essential factor for peace. This cardinal principle was abused and violated by the Greek Cypriots with the support of the same neighbouring country.

As a matter of fact for more than a decade the Cypriot Turks were massacred and tortured, deprived of their most elementary rights, reduced from the status of partners to the status of second class citizens, abused, insulted and imprisoned in their own country.

In spite of all these circumstances Turkey acted with great patience and moderation for many years. But on July 15, 1974 a coup was mounted in Cyprus aiming at the annexation of the Island to the neighbouring country in question and envisaging the annihilation of the Turkish Cypriots. It is to prevent these designs that Turkey was forced to intervene in the island, exercising her rights on the Treaty of Guarantee.



I leave it to the conscience and judgement of all the honourable statesmen present here to decide whether any other Government, faced with the same conditions could have refrained from doing so.

The representative of the neighbouring country directed accusations on us as if none of these events which I explained did occur and qualified the Turkish intervention as invasion. My answer to him would be that we were not the initiator of all these events. We were dragged into them, we were forced to act.

As I said a little while ago I did not have the slightest intention to make such remarks. I am indeed very sorry to take the time of the Conference by such remarks. But I am sure you would understand that I was forced to make such an intervention.

I declare before you honourable Delegates, that Turkey is for a truly independent Cyprus, wherein the Turkish Cypriot Community can live side by side with the Greek Community in peace and security, without further friction and bloodshed. We are for a Cyprus in which neither Community will oppress and dominate the other.

Mr. Chairman,

I would like to stress once more that Turkey attaches great importance and value to the principles stated in the Final Act. In the regrettable absence of the Turkish Cypriot representative at this Conference, I feel it to be my duty to assert that the Turkish Cypriot Community shares the same feelings. If the neighbouring Country in question and the Greek Cypriot Community attach the same importance and value to these principles, not only in word, but also in spirit, I see no obstacle for finding a just and durable solution to the problem of Cyprus.

I would now like to make some brief comments on the contents of the Final Act.



Firstly, the nature of the commitments: These commitments are explicitly described in the texts as being of a political nature. To our mind the fact that they are so defined does certainly add to the results of the Conference. I believe, all of us, of our own free will, will realize how vital it is that we should make the most of this opportunity for strengthening the foundations of peace in Europe.

Secondly, questions relating to Security in Europe: This part of the document deals mainly with the political aspect of the problem. I stress this point, because for me, the concept of security is too complex a problem to be treated in isolation. Our approach to this problem has always been realistic. It is certainly true that to the extent that we carefully respect, both in its letter and in its spirit, each principle embodied in the document —and this is entirely the intention of my Government— to that extent we shall increase trust between the nations. On the other hand, the general meaning of those principles will be reinforced only by their strict and faithful implementation. However, the question is whether this is enough. It is true cautious attempts have been made during the second stage of the Conference to elaborate what are purposefully described as confidence-building measures. But this touches only the fringe of the basic questions of military security in Europe. In another place, an attempt is being made to tackle the question of force levels in Europe. In this connection, I would like to repeat what we have always maintained, namely, that no country's or region's security must be prejudiced as a result of such attempts. With this in mind, I sincerely hope that the achievements of this Conference will be supplemented in due course with similar satisfactory results in the on-going multilateral negotiations on force reductions and disarmament.

Thirdly, the document on the Mediterranean: Here, I feel bound to say that any step made towards strengthening the links between this region and Europe is most welcome to my Government. It will be remembered that my government was one of the first to stress the special links which exist

between Europe and the region of the Mediterranean. My belief regarding this problem is very firm: It is in the best interest of all of us to ensure that any strengthening of approachment among our nations that we achieve as a result of this Conference, should be tangibly reflected in the Mediterranean region, so long afflicted by intractable disputes. We are of the opinion that the security and cooperation in Europe is very closely linked with those in the Mediterranean region and can hardly be realized in this Continent without the concordance of all the Mediterranean countries. Although the steps which the Conference has taken towards achieving this aim are less concrete than what we have defended during the relevant meetings of this Conference, I nevertheless welcome them as a move in the right direction. However, I very much hope that the provisions of this Chapter of the Final Act will be so interpreted and implemented as to provide a true improvement in the actual North-South relationship in order to achieve adequate and satisfactory realization of the intentions declared therein in the shortest possible future.

These observations bring us to a most important concept, namely that of the indivisibility of détente. The results of this Conference are applicable in Europe. However, our relations with the other regions of the world should be guided by the same philosophy of cooperation and understanding, for security in Europe can only exist in the broader context of world security and a continuing and lasting peace is only meaningful in its global conception. I am happy to observe that we are all fully aware of the moral duty and political necessity of pursuing détente not only in Europe, but throughout the world. As for Turkey, she will take full advantage of her geopolitical situation and her social and historicities with other countries in the regions adjacent to Europe, for contributing with all her efforts to the achievement of this noble broader aim.

I now come to the problem dealt with under the heading of cooperation: Cooperation in the field of economics, as well as in humanitarian and other fields. I propose to tackle

these two items under one heading, that is to say, under the title of «cooperation.» I do so intentionally, for our Conference in my judgement goes beyond the relations among states and is concerned mainly with the well-being and the prosperity of our nations and the strengthening of trust between them. Turkey has a wide experience of multilateral and bilateral Cooperation in commercial, economic and cultural fields with all countries represented here, regardless of their social and economic systems and hence she is fully conscious of the positive contribution of such cooperation in creating a better understanding and closer relationship among the States and their people. This Conference has now, through its Final Act, identified a wider range of possibilities for the strengthening of various aspects of cooperation in the field of economics as well as in humanitarian and other fields. I sincerely hope that we shall take full advantage of these possibilities so that our nations may realize how much this Conference has achieved for their welfare and happiness.

I will now turn my attention to the «follow-up»: The document we are about to adopt defines existing areas of political common ground and also offers us new possibilities of even wider understanding. It is therefore logical to expect that a new political climate will emerge as a result of this Conference. This is why I feel it to be so important that we should not lose the momentum so far generated, once the Conference is over. I believe that the chapter on the «follow-up» takes due account of this consideration.

On one hand, it is realistic inasmuch as it is designed to facilitate the full implementation of our resolutions, by referring to the full and reasonable utilization of existing procedure and institutions. On the other hand, it keeps a wide range of options open for the future. It is up to us to see to it that the opportunities thus offered are fully explored.

Broader political understanding and increasing reliance on peaceful negotiations are in our view important messages which this Conference conveys to all of us.

With this in mind we must move with vigour and determination into a new era, gradually eliminating all the remnants of the cold war, and embarking on a new chapter of closer cooperation among States and nations.

Before concluding I would like to say that mankind aspires for peace, justice and prosperity. A strong link and interdependence exist among these aims. As there would be no peace without justice, equally there would be no prosperity without peace. You would concede that this is true both on the national and on the international level. The corollary of what I have said is that we should both nationally and internationally fight against poverty and want, endeavour for a just and equitable economic and social order and strive for the realisation of harmony and peace.

We have high expectations that this Conference will lead to the elimination of suspicion, mistrust and insecurity among nations. In our view when these would be replaced with confidence, trust and cooperation then the Conference would attain its historical and lofty mission.

Such a development would be conducive to the generation of an international milieu where the dignity of men and human rights in their true sense would be preserved.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Republic of Turkey adheres to all the provisions adopted at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. However, as the representation of the State of Cyprus in the Conference cannot be considered legal and therefore legitimate, Turkey deems it necessary to register its reserve as to the validity and applicability of these provisions so far as that particular State is concerned, on the following grounds:



Turkey,

CONSIDERING that the Constitution of the State of Cyprus being an integral part of the International Treaties by which the State was bound is based upon two distinct national communities have flagrantly and continuously been violated by one of the communities since 1963 and to

— III —

Text of the Reservation by the Turkish Government

regarding the State of Cyprus at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

NO factor administrations in Cyprus have been clearly recognised by the United Kingdom - responsible for the constitutional order in Cyprus, by their declaration in Geneva on 30th July, 1974.

REGISTERING that intercommunal talks are taking place between the two communities **Helsinki, 31st July, 1975** for the purpose of reconciling their legitimate rights and for finding a political solution acceptable for both sides,

RECORDING that in the bi-communal State of Cyprus, it is legally impossible for either community to represent the whole State without the consent of the other,

REFERRING to the statement of the Turkish Cypriot Community that the provisions adopted at this Conference will not be binding on them since neither the presence of their representatives nor their consent for representation has been sought for this Conference,

STRESSING therefore that the representation of Cyprus at this Conference is deprived of any legal ground,

With this in mind we must move with vigour and determination into a new era, gradually eliminating all the remnants of the cold war, and embarking on a new chapter of closer cooperation among States and nations.

Before concluding I would like to say that mankind aspires for peace, justice and prosperity. A strong link and interdependence exist among these things, as there would be no peace without justice, equality and freedom, and no prosperity without peace. You would agree that this is true both on the national and on the international level. The corollary of what I have said is that we should both nationally and internationally fight against poverty and want, endeavour for a just and equitable economic order and strive for the realisation of harmony and peace.

We have high expectations that this Conference will lead to the elimination of suspicion, mistrust and insecurity among nations. In order to achieve these ends we must proceed with confidence, trust and cooperation. The Conference would be a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Such a development would be conducive to the generation of an international milieu where the dignity of men and human rights in their true sense would be preserved.

Chairman, Helsinki, 31st July 1975



The Republic of Turkey adheres to all the provisions adopted at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. However, as the representation of the State of Cyprus in the Conference cannot be considered legal and therefore legitimate, Turkey deems it necessary to register its reserve as to the validity and applicability of these provisions so far as that particular State is concerned, on the following grounds :

Turkey,

CONSIDERING that the Constitution of the State of Cyprus being an integral part of the International Treaties by which the State was established is based upon two distinct national communities have flagrantly and continuously been violated by one of the communities since 1963 and totally collapsed by the coup of 15th July, 1974,

NOTING that the existence of the two communal «de facto» administrations in Cyprus have been clearly recognised by the three Guarantor States - Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom - responsible for the constitutional order in Cyprus, by their declaration in Geneva on 30th July, 1974,

REGISTERING that intercommunal talks are taking place between the two communities on an «equal footing» for the purpose of reconciling their legitimate rights and for finding a political solution acceptable for both sides,

RECORDING that in the bi-communal State of Cyprus, it is legally impossible for either community to represent the whole State without the consent of the other,

REFERRING to the statement of the Turkish Cypriot Community that the provisions adopted at this Conference will not be binding on them since neither the presence of their representatives nor their consent for representation has been sought for this Conference,

STRESSING therefore that the representation of Cyprus at this Conference is deprived of any legal ground,

CONCLUDING thereby that for the reasons given above, the State of Cyprus is not legitimately represented at the Conference,

STATES that the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to which Turkey will become a party by its signature are not valid as regards relations with the State of Cyprus, and consequently will have no effects until such time that a government legitimately representing the two national communities is established in Cyprus.

CONSIDERING that the Constitution of the State of Cyprus being an integral part of the International Treaties by which the State was established is based upon two distinct national communities have separately and continuously been violated by one of the communities since 1963 and to tally collapsed by the coup of 15th July, 1974.

NOTING that the existence of the two communal «de facto» administrations in Cyprus have been clearly recognised by the three Guarantor States - Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom - responsible for the constitutional order in Cyprus, by their declaration in Geneva on 30th July, 1974.

REGISTERING that intercommunal talks are taking place between the two communities on an «equal footing» for the purpose of reconciling their legitimate rights and for finding a political solution acceptable for both sides.

RECORDING that in the bi-communal State of Cyprus, it is legally impossible for either community to represent the whole State without the consent of the other.

REFERRING to the statement of the Turkish Cypriot Community that the provisions adopted at this Conference will not be binding on them since neither the presence of their representatives nor their consent for representation has been sought for this Conference.

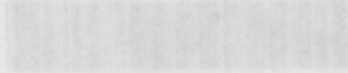
STRESSING therefore that the representation of Cyprus at this Conference is deprived of any legal ground.



0054-1366 (72)

ULB Halle

000 457 012



CONCLUDING thereby that for the reasons given above, the State of Cyprus is not legitimately represented at the Conference,

STATES that the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to which Turkey will become a party by its signature are not valid as regards relations with the State of Cyprus, and consequently will have no effects until such time that a government legitimately representing the two national communities is established in Cyprus.



04SA 1066(23)

ULB Halle

3/1

000 457 612



BAŞBAKANLIK BASIMEVİ
1975 — ANKARA

