

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

**Historical review and analysis
of latest developments**

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SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

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Introduction

The Cyprus problem, simple in its essence, has been complicated through foreign intervention and has grown into a major dispute endangering peace in the sensitive Middle East region with its repercussions felt almost all over the world.

The Cyprus problem has been in the international foreground for a long time, occupying the United Nations and other international forums almost without pause for the last eleven years. During this period the world organisation has been actively involved in peace operations and mediation efforts. Regretfully, existing procedures have proved unable to tackle effectively the dispute, and restore peace and order in this small but sorely-tried island whose only concern is the welfare and progress of its people, a failure due to the inability to impress on Turkey, the main party responsible for the continuous aggravation of the dispute, the need to comply with U.N. resolutions. On the other hand the Great Powers do not press Turkey sufficiently so that she might end her aggressive policy against a small state.

Recent developments in Cyprus and in particular the Turkish invasion of July and August 1974, and the subsequent occupation of 40 per cent of the island's territory, resulting in the displacement of 200,000 Greek Cypriots and the destruction of the country's prosperity and development prospects indicate that humanity cannot afford to let the Cyprus problem drag on unresolved for much longer. Most countries, through the United Nations, have taken a stand demanding implementation of the U.N. resolutions and have agreed at the Security Council and the General Assembly that foreign intervention and foreign military presence must cease and Cyprus must be left alone to settle its own problems. But Turkey has been turning a deaf ear to all these calls, ignoring both resolutions and principles.

Moreover, in defiance of all internationally accepted principles and in violation of all concepts about human rights, the Turkish authorities have been systematically expelling the remaining Greek Cypriot population in the occupied area, while Turks from the mainland are imported in order to settle in the occupied area and change the demographic structure of the island, as a first step to partition and eventual annexation.

Historical Background

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean with an area of 3,572 square miles. It lies in the north eastern corner of the east Mediterranean basin, at the meeting point of three continents—Europe, Asia and Africa—and this fact added considerably to the island's importance and development.

The island has a population of 650,000 (mid 1973) of which 530,000 (82 per cent) are Greeks and 120,000 (18 per cent) are Turks. The language of the overwhelming Greek Cypriot majority is Greek and their religion Greek Orthodox. They belong to the autocephalous Church of

Cyprus, which has played a leading role in the island's liberation struggles. The language of the Turkish Cypriot community is Turkish and its religion Moslem.

Since early times Cyprus has had an eventful history which was mostly the result of its geographical position. It appeared for the first time in the history of civilisation in the 6th millennium B.C. during the Neolithic Period. This period which occupied three millenniums, is followed by the Bronze Age which lasted until 1500 B.C. when for the first time the Mycenaean Greeks came to Cyprus as merchants and immigrants. In the 13th century B.C. the Achaean Greeks arrived and settled in Cyprus. They introduced the Greek language and culture both of which have been preserved to this day. At the end of the 4th century B.C. Cyprus became part of the Kingdom of Alexander the Great. During the first century B.C. it became a province of the Great Roman Empire and remained as such until the 4th century A.D. when it was attributed to the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. This marks the beginning of the Byzantine Period, which lasted until the 12th century A.D. when, during the crusades, King Richard, Coeur de Lion, conquered the island. But he soon handed it over to Guy de Lusignan who established a French dynasty which lasted until the 15th century. In 1480 Cyprus became part of the Republic of Venice and in 1571 it was conquered by the Ottomans.

Cyprus was under Ottoman rule together with the Greek mainland and the other Greek islands. However, after the 1821 Greek uprising and the liberation struggle, the various parts of Greece gradually attained independence. Cyprus also participated in the Greek War of independence and a large number of Cypriots had fought and fallen during this war, particularly in the battle of Athens in 1828. (At the beginning of Greece's War of Independence a number of Bishops in Cyprus were hanged by the Turkish occupation authorities having been accused of supporting the revolution). The question of the incorporation of Cyprus in the Greek State was raised soon after 1830, but it had not become possible and Cyprus remained under Ottoman rule until 1878.

In that year the expansionist policy of Tsarist Russia caused the Turks to cede Cyprus to Britain which promised to help Turkey in the event of an attack by Russia on certain bordering provinces. The Turco-British agreement was concluded in complete disregard of the wishes and interests of the Cypriot people, who demanded incorporation of their island into the rest of the Greek trunk.

At the outbreak of the First World War, Cyprus was annexed to the British Empire, and in 1925 it was formally declared a British Crown Colony. By that time, Turkey had, under the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Article 16, renounced all claim to Cyprus and by Article 27 of the same Treaty divested itself of the exercise of any power or jurisdiction in political, legislative, or administrative matters over the nationals of Cyprus. When Cyprus was declared a British Crown Colony, the Turkish population of the island—descendants of members of the Turkish occupation force and expatriates from Turkey—had been invited to choose between repatriation to Turkey or permanent settlement in Cyprus and a number of them had elected to remain in Cyprus. At that time it had never been intended or expected that the Turkish minority would become the arbiters of the country's destiny. From 1878, when Cyprus was handed over to Britain until

April 1955, when the struggle for liberation from British rule was started by the Greeks, the Turks in Cyprus had intermingled with the Greek Cypriot people and lived in peace and harmony with them.

Anti-Colonial Struggle

In 1955, after a long but unsuccessful struggle to attain their freedom by peaceful means, the people of Cyprus took up arms against the colonial power. The British Government, in its attempt to thwart the Cyprus people's aspirations for self-determination, exploited the presence in Cyprus of the Turkish Cypriot minority, and sought assistance from Turkey in obstructing the natural trend of events in Cyprus. After some hesitation the Turkish Government accepted the invitation to intervene in Cyprus, in defiance of its solemn undertaking under the Treaty of Lausanne; and a certain section of the Turkish Cypriot minority in Cyprus became the instrument both of British colonialism and of a new expansionist tendency in Turkey. The British Government, which in 1954 had declared that Cyprus would «never» attain independence changed tactics and threatened that if self-determination were ever to be achieved in Cyprus the result would be the partition of the island, since the Turkish Cypriot minority would be offered the right to self-determination separately. That threat might have been intended to discourage the Cypriot people's struggle for freedom, but its consequences were quite different. Instead the partition of Cyprus had become an objective of Turkish foreign policy and a number of Turkish Cypriots took up arms against the Cypriot freedom fighters while the so-called Turkish Cypriot leadership advocated either partition or the continuation of British colonial rule.

Zurich and London Agreements—The Constitution—The Treaties

At the conclusion of a conference in Zurich on 11 February 1959, agreement was reached between Greece, Turkey and Great Britain on a plan for a settlement. On 19 February, following a conference in London attended by the representatives of Greece, Turkey, Great Britain and the two Cypriot communities, an agreement was signed for the final settlement of the Cyprus dispute.

On the basis of the Zurich and London Agreements, which were practically imposed on the people of Cyprus, a Constitution was drafted and Cyprus was proclaimed an independent State on 16 August, 1960. It has often been asserted that the Zurich and London Agreements were freely signed by the representatives of the Cypriot people; but the only reason the Cypriot people's representatives had signed them was because the sole alternative would have been the continued denial of independence and freedom, continued bloodshed and, possibly, the forced partition of Cyprus.

The Constitution provided for under the Agreements had divided the people into two communities on the basis of ethnic origin and the Turkish Cypriot minority was given rights disproportionate to its size. The President had to be a Greek Cypriot elected by the Greek Cypriots and the Vice-President, a Turkish Cypriot elected by the Turkish Cypriots. The Vice-President was granted the right of a final veto on fundamental laws passed by the House of Representatives and on decisions of the Council of Ministers which was composed of ten Ministers, three of whom had to be Turkish Cypriots (although only 18 per cent of the population) and be nominated for appointment by the Vice-President.

In the House of Representatives, the Turkish Cypriots were elected separately by their own community. The House could never modify the Constitution in any respect in so far as it concerned its Basic Articles, and any other modification required a majority of two-thirds of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot members. Any modification of the Electoral Law and the adoption of any law relating to municipalities or any fiscal laws required separate simple majorities of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the House. Thus 8 Turkish Cypriot members of the House could defeat a bill voted by 35 Greek Cypriot members and 7 Turkish Cypriot. In fact in 1963, when the fiscal laws according to Article 78 of the Constitution expired, the 15 Turkish Cypriot members defeated an Income Tax Bill voted by the 35 Greek Cypriot members thus depriving the State of one of its main sources of income.

The highest judicial organs, the Supreme Constitutional Court and the High Court of Justice had to be presided over by neutral Presidents - neither Greek Cypriot nor Turkish Cypriot - who by virtue of their casting votes were supposed to maintain the balance between the Greek and Turkish members of the Courts. Whereas under the colonial regime Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot judges tried all cases irrespective of the origin of the litigants without any complaint ever having been made, the above Agreements provided that disputes among Turkish Cypriots were to be tried by Turkish Cypriot judges only, disputes among Greek Cypriots by Greek Cypriot judges only and disputes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots by mixed courts composed of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot judges. Thus for a petty offence which involved a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot citizen, two judges had to sit and try the case. This procedure, apart from being unnecessarily expensive, was conducive to creating a biased judiciary.

In addition to the above provisions which proved to be both unreasonable and impracticable, separate Greek and Turkish Communal Chambers were created with legislative and administrative powers in regard to educational, religious, cultural, sporting and charitable matters, co-operative and credit societies, and questions of personal status.

Separate municipalities were provided for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the five largest towns of the island. Such separation, apart from being impracticable as the population and properties in many places were inter mixed, made their functioning disproportionately expensive for small towns such as those of Cyprus.

The Turkish Cypriots also held 30 per cent of the posts in the Civil Service and composed 40 per cent of the Police Force and Army.

But apart from the Zurich and London Agreements, two Treaties were also signed which constituted an infringement on the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and which became part and parcel of the package deal agreed upon in Zurich. These were :

- (1) The Treaty of Guarantee between Cyprus on the one hand and Greece, Britain, and Turkey on the other, whereby the said three powers were given the right of joint or even unilateral intervention for the purpose of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the Zurich and London Agreements, and
- (2) the Treaty of Alliance between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey entitling Greece and Turkey to station contingents of their own forces

on the island. It should be noted, however, that these Treaties were never presented to the House of Representatives for ratification as the House would not have ratified them and an impasse would have been created from the early days of the birth of the Republic.

As a result of the Zurich and London Agreements, the proper functioning of the State became virtually impossible through a constitutional structure conceived at a time of tension and suspicion, and based on notions aiming at division rather than co-operation and unity.

The Zurich and London Agreements had been in direct conflict with the basic principles of International Law and morality, with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with the right of every State to full sovereignty and independence. They had authorized foreign powers to intervene to an unprecedented degree in the domestic affairs of an independent State and member of United Nations ; and they had violated the internationally accepted principles of democratic government, majority rule and equality among citizens. The United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, Dr Galo Plaza, in paragraph 163 of his report to the U.N. Secretary-General in March 1965, had described the 1960 Constitution, created by the Zurich and London Agreements, as "a constitutional oddity"; and in paragraph 129 he stated that difficulties in implementing the Treaties signed on the basis of those Agreements had begun almost immediately after independence.

Nevertheless, the people of Cyprus did their best to ensure the smooth functioning of the new State, but their efforts were doomed to failure. In November 1963 the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, in a sincere desire to improve the situation, suggested thirteen amendments to the Constitution — amendments not involving any radical changes but designed rather to remove some of the more obvious causes of friction. Those amendments were submitted to the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot minority in Cyprus, but before they had a chance to consider them, the Turkish Government—to which they had been communicated simply for information—said they were unacceptable, thus compelling the Turkish Cypriot leadership to follow suit.

Partition, the old Aim

In December 1963, there was a more ominous reaction from the Turkish Government—the rebellion against the State launched by T.M.T., the Turkish terrorist organization in Cyprus, and threats of invasion and acts of aggression by Turkey itself, which used the President's proposals for amending the Constitution as an excuse for putting into effect its long-prepared plan for the partition of Cyprus.

The Vice-President publicly declared that the Republic of Cyprus had ceased to exist, and along with the three Turkish Cypriot Ministers the Turkish Cypriot members of the House as well as the Turkish Cypriot civil servants, withdrew from the Government. On the false pretext that the Government of Cyprus and its forces were about to annihilate the Turkish Cypriot minority, the agents of Turkey in Cyprus, controlled by Turkish officers from Turkey, resorted to the forcible movement of sections of the Turkish Cypriot population—not for their protection as alleged at the time, but in order to create compact Turkish areas and bring about a geographical separation of the Turkish Cypriot minority from the Cypriot people. The Turkish contin-

gent, stationed in Cyprus under the Treaty of Alliance, assisted the rebels by moving out of its barracks and illegally deploying the northern part of Nicosia in hostile occupation of Cyprus territory.

That the underlying reason for obstructing the Constitution was to further Ankara's partitionist plans was openly admitted by the Turks themselves. Following are some of their statements on the subject, together with press reports :

N.Y. Times, 31.12.1963

"Vice-President Fazil Kutchuk said today that the Cyprus Constitution no longer existed because there was 'no possibility' of the Turkish and Greek communities living together on the island. Dr. Kutchuk, leader of the Turkish-Cypriots, declared : ' The Cyprus Constitution is dead'....".

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 31.12.1963

"The Cyprus Constitution is dead", Dr. Kutchuk, the leader of the Island Republic's Turkish community, told reporters. Asked if he wanted Cyprus partitioned between the Turkish minority and Greek majority, he replied : "Call it partition if you like".

Special News Bulletin, 5.1.1964 (Issued by the Turkish Cypriot leadership)

Dr. Kutchuk : "I am a Vice-President elected by the Turks of Cyprus and I shall continue to perform my duties towards them. It is out of the question to collaborate any longer with a Government responsible....".

Public statement by Kemal Satir, former Vice President of Turkey, 1964:

"Cyprus will be divided into two sections, one of which will join Turkey".

Statement by F.C. Erkin the then Foreign Minister of Turkey to an Athens newspaper in June 1964 :

"The radical solution.... would be to cede one part of Cyprus to Greece and the other closest to the Turkish Asiatic coast, to Turkey".

Address by the then Prime Minister of Turkey, Ismet Inonu, before the Turkish National Assembly, with reference to the Geneva talks of that year :

"Officially, we promoted the federation concept, rather than the partition thesis so as to remain within the provisions of the treaty".

It is worth noting that the Agenda of the Council of Ministers was continuously sent to the Turkish Cypriot Vice President and the Turkish Cypriot Ministers many months after the 1963 incidents, but they obstinately refused to attend the meetings, in order to prove that the State no longer existed.

The Turkish Terrorist Organisation T.M.T.

The first intercommunal violence in the recent history of Cyprus was, in fact, caused by T.M.T. This was the result of a policy of hate cultivated by the Turkish Cypriot leadership and it aimed at persuading world public opinion that Turkish Cypriots could not co-exist with Greek Cypriots and, therefore, partition in one form or another was necessary. More specifically, on 12 June 1958 eight innocent and unarmed Greek Cypriot civilians from Kondemenos village were murdered by T.M.T terrorists near the village of Geunyeli. That was the first incident involving human lives. According to the findings of the "Commission of Inquiry into the Incidents at Geunyeli"

(appointed by the British colonial administration), which were also included in the official report of Sir Paget Bourke, Chief Justice of Cyprus, " for some days prior to 12 June, in fact from the 7 June, intercommunal feeling was running very high in the island and there had been many instances of attacks by Turks, particularly in Nicosia, upon members of the Greek Community and upon Greek property". There is no reference of attacks upon Turkish Cypriots as there were no such attacks. The T.M.T. terrorists attacked again in 1963. This is evidenced by the fact that they were found in possession of vast quantities of arms. Moreover, Turkish intentions were revealed in the 'Deniz' incident when a Turkish ship full of arms was sent to Cyprus as early as 1959, after the conclusion of the Agreements on Cyprus.

And to quote 'The New York Times' of 27.12.1963 :

"Most of the fighting centered on a police station occupied by Turks in Nicosia, and on family appartments in the suburb of Omorphita. These were overrun and occupied by Turks who chased off Greek families. They were reported to have killed an unspecified number of women and children".

London Conference

In January, 1964, in view of the serious situation resulting from the fighting in Cyprus, the threats and acts of intervention and aggression from outside, and the forcible movement of population, the British Government convened a conference in London to deal with the problem. But a few days after the conference had started it became clear that its purpose was to persuade the Cyprus Government to agree a) to the dispatch to Cyprus of troops from various countries friendly and allied to Britain and Turkey for the ostensible purpose of maintaining law and order, and b) to the establishment of an intergovernmental committee, with the participation of Governments supplying contingents, to issue directives to the troops. Whatever might have been the motives and intentions of the various countries submitting that proposal, the representatives of Cyprus had realised that acceptance of that proposal would inevitably result in the occupation of Cyprus by foreign troops and in the replacement of the authority of the Cyprus Government by that of the so-called intergovernmental committee, which would have made it easier for the Turks to pursue their plans for the geographical separation of the Turkish Cypriot minority. In fact, that was precisely what the Turkish representatives had demanded at the opening of the London Conference ; but the representatives of Cyprus opposed that plan and all similar plans submitted to them, and the Cyprus Government, finally brought the matter before the United Nations. To do so, it had had to resist pressure brought to bear from several quarters. At one point, it had even been told that an appeal to the Security Council would be sufficient reason for Turkey to invade Cyprus. During the entire period the threat of a Turkish invasion was constant. Turkish military aircraft flew over Cyprus, and Turkish war equipment and trained officers and men clandestinely landed on the island. All this culminated in the bombing by Turkish jets of Cypriot villages and towns in August, 1964. About 100 Greek Cypriots—mainly civilians—were killed and a large number were injured.

Following Turkish threats to invade the island, the Cyprus Government brought the matter before the United Nations.

U.N. Mediation

The United Nations has been continuously involved in the Cyprus problem since 1964 both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. In March 1964, under Security Council Resolution 186 (1964)*, a U.N. Peace Force was sent to the island (originally for three months, but following separate extensions, it is still on the island), to help restore peace and normal conditions. A Mediator, originally Mr. Tuomioya of Finland and later Dr. Galo Plaza of Equator, were appointed by the the U.N. Secretary-General to study the question and make suggestions regarding its solution. The report of Dr. Plaza was submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General in March, 1965.

In his report, the Mediator stated that the problem of Cyprus could not be resolved by attempting to restore the situation which existed before December, 1963, but that a new solution had to be found which would be consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In particular, he recommended that the solution should satisfy the wishes of the majority of the population and at the same time provide for the adequate protection of the legitimate rights of all the people. This report, which could have formed a reasonable basis for the solution of the problem, was rejected by Turkey and Dr. Plaza's mediation efforts came to an end.

Drawbacks of Separatist System of Government

The T.M.T. leaders, at the instigation of Turkey, were all along trying to promote a "solution" to the problem aiming ultimately at the island's division. Proposals were put forward for direct partition or for federation envisaging removal of populations and the setting up of two distinct administrations for the purpose of creating separate national and racial areas.

The idea of federation in Cyprus was examined in 1956, when the island was still a British Colony, by the eminent constitutional expert, Lord Radcliffe, who, in his "Constitutional Proposals for Cyprus" said the following on the subject :

"It would be natural enough to accord to members of a federation equality of representation in the federal body, regardless of the numerical proportions of the populations of the territories they represent. But can Cyprus be organised as a federation in this way? I do not think so. There is no pattern of territorial separation between the two communities and, apart from other objections, federation of communities which does not involve also federation of territories seems to me a very difficult constitutional form".

"The United Nations Mediator, Dr. Galo Plaza, was of the same opinion. In his report he said :

"To my mind the objections raised (against federation) also on economic, social and moral grounds are in themselves serious obstacles to the proposition. It seems to require a compulsory movement of the people concerned—many thousands on both sides—contrary to all enlightened principles of the present time, including those set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" ...

* Appendix I

"It is essential to be clear what this proposal implies. To refer to it simply as 'federation' is to oversimplify the matter. What is involved is not merely to establish a federation form of government but also to secure the geographical separation of the two communities. The establishment of a federal regime required a territorial basis and this basis does not exist. In an earlier part of this report I explained the island-wide intermingling in normal times of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot populations. The events since December, 1963, have not basically altered this characteristic ; even the enclaves where numbers of Turkish Cypriots concentrated following the troubles are widely scattered over the island, while thousands of other Turkish Cypriots have remained in mixed villages."

Elsewhere in his report Dr. Plaza stated :

"In fact the arguments for the geographical separation of the two communities under a federal system of government have not convinced me that it would not inevitably lead to partition."

"Again, if the purpose of a settlement of the Cyprus question is to the preservation rather than the destruction of the State and if it is to foster rather than to militate against the development of a peacefully united people, I cannot help wondering whether the physical division of the minority from the majority should not be considered a desperate step in the wrong direction. I am reluctant to believe, as the Turkish Cypriot leadership claims, in the 'impossibility' of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots learning to live together again in peace. In those parts of the country where movement controls have been relaxed and tensions reduced they are already proving otherwise."

Cyprus at the United Nations

The United Nations, being directly involved in the Cyprus problem and concerned about the Turkish threat to Cyprus' sovereignty and independence, passed a resolution* on 18 December 1965 in which it inter alia, said :

"The General Assembly

Takes cognizance of the fact that the Republic of Cyprus as an equal member of the United Nations, is, in accordance with the Charter, entitled to and should enjoy full sovereignty and complete independence without any foreign intervention or interference :

Calls upon all States, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter, and in particular article 2, paragraphs 1 and 4, to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from any intervention directed against it ;

Recommends to the Security Council the continuation of the United Nations mediation work in conformity with the Resolution of 4 March, 1964 (S/5575)."....

In June, 1968, following recommendations by the U.N. Secretary-General, talks started between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, but as the Turkish aim was the promotion of the island's partition, no progress was achieved at the intercommunal talks.

* Appendix II

The holding of the talks had become possible on account mainly of the unilateral normalisation measures taken by the Government in 1968 in spite of the fact that innocent Greek Cypriots (including 4 monks) had been murdered by T.M.T. terrorists in 1967, and that a so-called Turkish Cypriot Provisional Administration had been set up that year in order to promote partition or the creation of a separate state.

The Government lifted all restrictions and abolished all check points, which had been set up following the 1963—1964 clashes. In this way the Turkish Cypriots were completely free to circulate in all parts of the island. But the T.M.T. leadership did not respond to these measures. Moreover, Greek Cypriots were prohibited from entering certain areas and obstacles were continuously created in the way of cooperation between the whole population of Cyprus.

Meanwhile the intercommunal talks were carried out on the understanding that the two sides would try to find a settlement based on a unitary, independent and sovereign state. This was also stressed by the U.N. Secretary - General and it was repeatedly declared at U.N. sessions.

The sequence of events, however, proved that while at the beginning Turkey seemed to agree to the principle of an independent, sovereign and unitary state, she had all the time been working and preparing plans for the partition of the island and was waiting for the opportune moment.

Turkey's intentions came into the open in February, 1974, when following a long Government crisis after the general elections in the autumn, the Turkish Coalition Government of the Republican People's Party with the National Salvation Party, under Premier Bulent Ecevit, signed a protocol in which it declared that only federation could be accepted in Cyprus. Following this official statement, which ruined all prospects for a settlement in accordance with previously accepted principles, Turkey set the invasion machine in motion.

Turkish Aggression

Using as a pretext the coup of July, 15, 1974, Turkey invaded Cyprus allegedly as a 'guarantor' of the island's independence but with the sole aim of destroying it. On 20 July, 1974, forty thousand Turkish troops, landed on the island assisted by Turkish air and naval forces, in violation of the Charter of the U.N. and all principles governing international relations. On 14 August Turkey launched a second invasion in violation of the Security Council Resolutions*¹ calling for a cease-fire and troop withdrawal and of the agreements it signed in Geneva*². As a result, approximately 40% of the total territory of the Republic of Cyprus, which in economic terms is much more significant than its size (accounting for 70% of the economic potential) came under Turkish military occupation and 40% of the total Greek Cypriot population was displaced. Moreover thousands of people, including civilians, were killed or ill-treated and many more disappeared without trace.*³

*¹ Appendix III

*² Appendix IV

*³ Addendum I and Addendum II

Recourse to General Assembly Session XXIX

During its 29th Session, in November 1974, the U.N. General Assembly adopted unanimously Resolution 3212 which provided the framework for a solution to the Cyprus problem. In its key provisions it calls for the respect of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment*¹ of the Republic of Cyprus, for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic, the cessation of all foreign interference, and for the taking of urgent measures for the return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

The resolution of the General Assembly was endorsed by the Security Council in its Resolution 361/1974 of 13 December, 1974, and, thus its implementation was made mandatory.

Turkey, however, although one of the countries voting for the resolution, refused to comply with any of its provisions.

Meanwhile, on 10 February 1975 the Greek Cypriot side, in an effort to enter into meaningful negotiations with the Turkish Cypriot side in order to find a peaceful and viable solution to the Cyprus problem, sent to the Turkish Cypriot side proposals for a Cyprus settlement based on the U.N. resolutions.

The Greek Cypriot proposals aimed at safeguarding the interests—political and economic—and safety of both communities and the inalienable right of all refugees to return to their homes in safety, without resorting to an artificial geographical division of the island with all the adverse effects which such a division would have on the economy and lives of the people.*²

The Turkish reply to these was a statement on 13 February, 1975, announcing the establishment of "the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus", an action denounced by almost the entire world community. This Turkish move proved once more the insistence on the predetermined goal of Ankara for partition and eventual annexation.

Partition Plans Furthered

In furtherance of its plans for partition, and in violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and its international obligations regarding respect for Human Rights and all relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which it had itself endorsed or voted for, Turkey organized on 8 June, 1975, in collaboration with the Turkish Cypriot leadership, a 'referendum' in the occupied part of the Republic. This so-called "referendum" is of course null and void. A 'referendum' in an area where 80% of the population has been forcibly expelled by a foreign occupying country is inconceivable. According to basic theory and logic a 'referendum' is a democratic process and not a tool for racial discrimination against the overwhelming majority of the population. This action is not only against the Greek Cypriots who have been living in this island for thousands of years, but also against the real interests of the Turkish Cypriot community, which has been used by Turkey in the last decade or so as its tool against the independence of Cyprus.

The provisions of the "Constitution" of the so-called "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" are eloquent. As stated in its preamble the "Turkish

*¹ Appendix V

*² Appendix VI

Cypriot community constitutes the inseparable part of the Great Turkish Nation". That the "Constitution" aims at linking the occupied part with Turkey becomes also clear from the affirmation of the "members of the Assembly" to respect the "principles of Ataturk" and not the principles of the Constitution of Cyprus. It should be noted that the "Constitution", in all relevant provisions, refers to the members of the Turkish Cypriot community as "Turkish citizens" so as to enable Turks from Turkey to colonize Cyprus without being distinguished from the indigenous Turkish population.

Another feature of the above "Constitution" is the fact that all the enclaved Greek Cypriots as well as the non-Turkish communities in the territory under occupation by Turkey, are defined as "aliens". They are deprived of their fundamental human and political rights, and their rights are determined by a "special law" for "aliens". Moreover, the Greek Cypriots' right to ownership is not protected. On the contrary, the "Constitution" contains provisions whose application presupposes the expropriation of property belonging to Greek Cypriot displaced persons, such as houses, fields, factories, hotels etc, and their allocation to Turkish Cypriots and Turks from Turkey. An outrageous act of the Turkish Cypriot leadership was also the enactment of a "Law" for the distribution of Greek Cypriot property to the Turks.

In March 1975 the Security Council adopted Resolution 367 calling, inter alia, for the urgent and effective implementation of Resolution 3212 of the General Assembly.*¹ Turkey ignored this resolution and her own solemn undertaking once again.

The Enclaved

Towards the end of June, 1975, there was a wave of unlawful and inhuman expulsion of the indigenous Greek Cypriot people who were enclaved in the occupied area. Thousands of Greek Cypriot inhabitants were thus uprooted and expelled from their homes and properties in violation of International Law, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, the U.N. resolutions on Cyprus, and the Non-Aligned and Commonwealth resolutions.

Hardly a few hours notice was given to these uprooted people, who were not even allowed to take with them any of their personal belongings except a small bag. It is indicative of Turkey's expulsion policy that an old lady, who was forced to leave in spite of her poor health, died on the way. At present (July 1980) only 1,266 Greek Cypriots and 570 Maronites remain in the occupied area compared to a total of 20,000 in September 1974.

The reason they were forced to leave was to make room for the Turks who were imported in implementation of Turkey's plan to change the demographic structure of the occupied region, as a first step to eventual annexation. While world public opinion was urging the parties in the Cyprus dispute to abstain from any action likely to prejudice the efforts to reach a settlement, Ankara launched and consequently intensified its plan for the colonisation of the occupied areas with settlers from the Turkish mainland. Turkey's plans in this respect provide for the transfer of 200,000 people from the poor provinces of Anatolia and the Black Sea coastal areas to the occupied areas of Cyprus. To date it is estimated that there are over 50,000 settlers in the occupied area*².

*¹ Appendix VII

*² Appendix XVII

Thus, not only is the island's long historic continuity being defaced but the total number of Greek Cypriot refugees, as stated in U.N. reports, has increased instead of diminished. Turkey neither took into consideration the relevant resolution of ECOSOC nor the recourse of Cyprus to the European Commission of Human Rights, which was declared admissible by the Commission despite Ankara's objection, who alleged that the complaint was lodged by an "unlawful" Government.

Turkey's tactics were also manifest in its attitude towards the intercommunal talks, held under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary - General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, in pursuance of Security Council Resolution 362 (1975). Three rounds of talks were held in Vienna between 28 April and 3 May, 5 and 7 June, and 31 July and 2 August, 1975. The Turkish side followed dilatory tactics and refused to put forward clear-cut proposals on all aspects of the Cyprus problem, which could facilitate discussion and the search for a settlement as her aim was the consolidation with the lapse of time, of her position and the Turkification of the occupied territory.

At the third round of the talks in Vienna the Turkish Cypriot negotiator agreed to submit comprehensive proposals before the next round, which was scheduled to take place in New York on 8 and 9 September.

But the Turkish Cypriot side failed to submit the proposals it promised and in an attempt to turn world attention away from its commitments continued instead to demand the establishment of a transitional government in an effort to deprive the Cyprus Government of its world recognition and deviate from the scheduled route of the negotiations.

Turkey also made it abundantly clear in New York that it was against any meaningful negotiations and tried to prolong the talks in order to consolidate the faits accomplis created through the use of armed force against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It must be pointed out here that Turkey's actions were also contrary to her contractual obligations. Turkey guaranteed the status of Cyprus through international treaties, the validity and the provisions of which she invoked when she invaded Cyprus in July - August, 1974.

In view of the impasse created by the negative stand of the Turkish Cypriot side at the talks and Ankara's implementation of its colonisation plans, the Cyprus Government once again had recourse to the U.N. General Assembly. After hearing the views of the two sides, the General Assembly demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops without further delay.*

In putting forward its case before the United Nations the Cyprus Government expressed its desire that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots live together in peace as they had done for many years in the past, and enjoy the benefits of progress and prosperity in their country. Moreover, it stressed that the forcible movement of Greek Cypriots and seizure of their properties were inhuman acts and would be to the detriment of both sides.

The Cyprus Government also declared that past experience has taught that if a settlement is to last it should be under wide and effective international guarantees.

* Appendix VIII

As President Makarios emphasized in his address before the General Assembly "in an independent, non-aligned Cyprus free from the threats of force and all outside interference, its people, Greek and Turkish Cypriots, can live together in harmony with mutual respect of their legitimate rights. In these circumstances, there will be neither need nor purpose for the existence of any armies". The Cypriot President announced that "the Government of Cyprus supports a fully demilitarised state of Cyprus and to this end is prepared to disband completely its armed forces".

In December 1975 the U.N. Secretary-General told the Security Council that he would be in contact with the parties "with a view to the resumption of the talks at the earliest possible time."

Fifth Round of Talks

As a result of the Secretary-General's efforts the fifth round of the intercommunal talks was held in Vienna from 17 to 20 February, 1976. The Greek Cypriot side again participated in a spirit of goodwill and was ready for a constructive discussion of the two main issues of the problem - the territorial and the constitutional. It was agreed that an exchange of written proposals on both the territorial and constitutional aspect should take place in Cyprus within six weeks through the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and to hold a new round of talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General again in Vienna, in May.

The Greek Cypriot side submitted, within the six weeks specified, detailed proposals on the constitutional aspect and proposals on the territorial aspect, indicating the areas in the occupied areas which should be returned to the Greek Cypriot side. The Turkish Cypriot side limited itself to submitting general principles on the constitutional aspect which in fact envisaged a confederation instead of a federation, and on the territorial aspect the Turkish Cypriot side carefully avoided making any proposals, concrete or otherwise, in violation of the agreement reached.

The Turkish Cypriot side demonstrated once more that it had never intended to submit any proposals or to enter into meaningful negotiations. It showed rather that it merely wished to use the procedure of the talks as a cover to gain time in order to further the *faits accomplis*.

Furthermore when the Greek Cypriot proposals were received by the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. R. Denktash, he demanded that the section on the territorial aspect be substantially modified. This attitude of Mr. Denktash showed that the Turkish Cypriot side wanted to dictate to the Greek Cypriot side not only the format of the talks but also the content of the Greek Cypriot proposals. This is certainly contrary to the principle of free negotiation. In view of the negative attitude of the Turkish Cypriot side the talks inevitably came to a standstill.

The Greek Cypriot side, however, continued to express its belief in the talks as the most appropriate procedure for achieving a peaceful and lasting settlement. On the other hand the Turkish Cypriot side insisted on acceptance by the Greek Cypriot side of the "new realities" created by the invasion and the forcible expulsion of the indigenous population as the basis for any settlement, indeed as a basis and prerequisite for negotiations.

At the same time the Turkish Cypriot "authorities" stepped up the expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the occupied area, in violation of the

agreement on the living conditions of the enclaved, reached at the third round of talks in Vienna.*¹ They also used all kinds of direct and indirect pressure to speed up the process. In a report, dated 30 October, 1979, the U.N. Secretary-General expressed serious concern about the condition of the Greek Cypriots in the occupied area. He said that they continued to be restricted to their respective villages and immediate surroundings. Medical, educational and religious facilities declined. There were no Greek Cypriot physicians practising in the Turkish-held region. The Greek Cypriot elementary schools did not reopen after the summer holidays, and secondary schools have remained closed since 1974.

New Recourse to the United Nations

The Cyprus Government had no other alternative but to have new recourse to the U.N. General Assembly. The debate on Cyprus was held in November 1976.

The General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted a resolution reiterating full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and calling for cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs. The General Assembly also expressed the hope that the Security Council would consider appropriate steps for the implementation of previous U.N. resolutions.

The General Assembly dealt again with the Cyprus problem in 1977 and on 9 November adopted a resolution*² calling for urgent and effective implementation of Resolution 3212 and for urgent resumption in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities to be conducted freely on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals of the parties concerned with a view to reaching as early as possible a mutually acceptable agreement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights. The General Assembly recommended that the Security Council should keep the question of Cyprus under constant review and adopt all practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant resolutions in all their respects.

Sixth Round of Talks

In view of the Turkish Cypriot side's refusal to honour the commitment it had formally undertaken at the 5th round of the Vienna talks to submit concrete proposals on all aspects of the Cyprus problem and since, in the absence of these proposals, no substantive and meaningful talks could take place, the U.N. Secretary-General was reluctant to convene a new round of talks.

In January 1977 Mr. Denktash asked to meet the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, in his capacity as leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. The President of the Republic, in his earnest desire to find a peaceful solution agreed to such a meeting under the auspices of the United Nations.

The first meeting took place on 27 January, 1977, in the presence of the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. De Cuellar, and a discussion was held during which it was ascertained that on basic points serious differences existed.

*¹Appendix XVIII

**Appendix IX

A second meeting took place on 12 February, 1977 in the presence of the U.N. Secretary-General who came to Cyprus for the purpose. During the meeting it was agreed that the intercommunal talks would resume in Vienna at the end of March, 1977 under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

Guidelines were also agreed containing, as the U.N. Secretary-General said, the basic elements for meaningful negotiations on the territorial and constitutional issues.

The guidelines provided that the aim would be :

- "1. An independent, non-aligned, bicomunal Federal Republic.
2. The territory under the administration of each community should be discussed in the light of economic viability and productivity and land ownership.
3. Questions of principle like freedom of movement, freedom of settlement, the right of property and other specific matters are open for discussion taking into consideration the fundamental basis for a bicomunal federal system and certain practical difficulties which may arise for the Turkish Cypriot community.
4. The powers and functions of the Central Federal Government will be such as to safeguard the unity of the country, having regard to the bicomunal character of the State."

In the meantime the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General in Cyprus held consultations with the two sides regarding the next round of talks. During these consultations assurances were given by the Turkish Cypriot side that "at Vienna the Turkish side would not limit itself at merely commenting on Greek Cypriot proposals on the territorial issue but they would meaningfully negotiate any proposals".

The sixth round of intercommunal talks was held in Vienna between 31 March and 7 April, 1977. But again, despite its undertaking, the Turkish Cypriot side limited itself to re-reading the same document which Mr. Denktash read at the 5th round of talks in Vienna in February, 1976 and which contains merely general and nebulous principles and comments. No substantive negotiations on specific areas or percentage of territory were carried out. The Turkish Cypriot side failed once again to submit any proposals that would form a basis for a settlement.

On the other hand the Greek Cypriot side went to Vienna fully prepared for negotiations. It put forward comprehensive proposals on the territorial issue, accompanied by a map, as well as on the constitutional aspect, envisaging the setting up of a federal state under which the Turkish Cypriot side would be entitled, within the federal laws, to administer its own affairs under federal concepts.

Considering there were serious misgivings about federation, particularly in view of Dr. Plaza's report in which he had excluded this form of Government as a solution to the Cyprus problem, acceptance of a federal system was a major and painful concession.

The Turkish Cypriot side not only rejected the Greek Cypriot proposals on the territorial aspect but refused to submit any proposals of its own, limiting itself to merely repeating the vague principles of the past. Moreover the Turkish Cypriot proposals on the constitutional aspect were contrary to the Makarios and Denktash guidelines since they were not

compatible with the concept of a federal state, but aimed at destroying the unity of the country with provisions for division in all aspects of life, including economic planning and monetary policy.

Following the negative attitude of the Turkish Cypriot side the intercommunal talks remained in abeyance for almost a year. In January 1978, the U.N. Secretary-General had consultations with the two sides in Cyprus and with Ankara and it was agreed that the Turkish Cypriot side would submit concrete and substantive proposals to him on both the constitutional and territorial aspects and the U.N. Secretary-General, after consulting with the parties, would then decide whether the proposals could form a basis for negotiations and would convene a new round of talks.

The long-awaited proposals were submitted by the Turkish Cypriot side after a delay of three months, in April 1978. However, they did not afford any basis for meaningful and substantive negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus problem as envisaged by the U.N. resolutions on Cyprus.

On the constitutional aspect the Turkish proposals were contrary to the obligation to submit proposals for the establishment of a federal state. The documents submitted by the Turkish Cypriot side provided for partition instead of the creation of a Federal Republic.

They emphasised the setting up of two separate states with the right to sign separate treaties with other countries. Each state would also have its own legislative assembly, central bank and defence force. On the other hand, the Federal Assembly, which would be equally represented by both communities, would have very limited powers.

On the territorial aspect the Turkish proposals contained no commitment for giving up any area occupied by the Turkish forces. They only suggested certain areas from which the Turkish occupation forces could withdraw and these amounted to just a little over 1% of the whole area of the island. For propaganda purposes they also suggested that the buffer zones come under the control of the Greek Cypriot side. As regards Varosha, the new town of Famagusta, it was made clear that it would remain under Turkish Cypriot control and only a small number of Famagusta hotel owners and other businessmen - not exceeding five thousand - would be allowed to return to an enclaved area of the town to operate their businesses. The aim of the Turkish Cypriot side was to use Greek Cypriot expertise and know-how for operation of the town's tourist industry. These people could easily be expelled when they served their purpose. It would certainly be another case of enclaved Greek Cypriots.

The Turkish proposals were thus rejected by the Greek Cypriot side and the U.N. Secretary-General confirmed in a statement that the gap between the two sides as to the basis for the talks was still very wide.

In the meantime, as a further contribution to peace efforts, the President of the Republic, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, proposed the total demilitarization and disarmament of the island, and the setting up of a joint Greek and Turkish Cypriot police force on the basis of the population ratio, under the direction and control of an international police force of the United Nations.

Informally putting forward this proposal, President Kyprianou told the U.N. General Assembly Session on Disarmament on May 24, 1978, that this offer was Cyprus's offer to its people and to the world and that it aimed at

removing the causes of the island's drama and of a hotbed of tension in the interests of world peace.

Although this proposal was applauded throughout the world, the Turkish Cypriot leadership not only failed to respond but threatened, a few months later, to declare UDI in spite of the strong reaction this had provoked among the Turkish Cypriots. As a result the Cyprus problem reached an impasse and Turkish intransigence continued to be the stumbling-block to a settlement.

Seventh Round of Talks

After a two-year break in the intercommunal talks, President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash met under the chairmanship of the UN Secretary-General on May 18 and 19, 1979, and reached agreement on a 10-point programme outlining the procedure for fresh negotiations.

The key element in the agreement was that the basis for talks would be the Makarios-Denktash guidelines of February 1977 and the U.N. resolutions on Cyprus. Under the accord, the two sides also agreed to give priority to the resettlement of Varosha under U.N. auspices. Talks on the planned resettlement would begin simultaneously with discussions on constitutional and territorial problems.

Moreover, resettlement was to occur without waiting for agreement on other aspects of the Cyprus problem. The 10-point plan envisaged the "demilitarization of Cyprus" and stipulated that any matters (e.g. security) relating to this issue would be discussed. Another provision was that negotiations would be "carried out in a continuing and sustained manner".*

But soon after the talks opened on June 15 the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor demanded that the Greek Cypriot side accept in advance the idea of a "bizonal state", in spite of the fact that the four guidelines agreements, to which Mr. Denktash had put his signature, envisages a "bicomunal federal system".

The Greek Cypriot negotiator, in a show of good will, said he was prepared to discuss the term provided this was done at the conference table, but the Turkish Cypriot side was adamant. It insisted on the acceptance of a "bizonal" state prior to negotiations. Meanwhile, the Turkish Cypriot side had already indicated that as far as it was concerned "bizonality" was synonymous with "partition".

In an interview with the Turkish Cypriot magazine Olay (16/7/79), Mr. Denktash gave his definition of the term "bizonal". He said: "The meaning of bizonal is that I am a state that has territory as one of the two federated states. I am sovereign on many things within this territory. My sovereignty is absolute, no one can take it away from me".

The "security of the Turkish Cypriot community" was another nebulous term which the Turkish Cypriot leadership insisted that the Greek Cypriot side accept outside the prescribed sphere of the talks.

The Greek Cypriot side pointed out that the question of security should be raised during discussion of the clause on the total demilitarization of Cyprus as originally agreed.

This would permit discussion not only of the legitimate security of the Turkish Cypriots but also of the Greek Cypriots who, under the circumstances, had every reason to want guarantees for their security.

* Appendix X

The 10-point agreement was again violated by the Turkish Cypriot side when its negotiator refused to give priority to the Varosha issue.

The talks were further sabotaged by EVKAF, a Turkish Cypriot religious trust which claimed that most of Greek-owned Varosha belonged to the Pashas during ottoman rule and was subsequently inherited by EVKAF. Following a suit filed by EVKAF against the "TFSC", the "Famagusta District Court" ruled that EVKAF "property" in Varosha be protected and that Varosha should not be discussed at the talks until the "court" hearing was finalised.

The Turkish mainland paper AYDINLIK (18.6.79) termed the EVKAF claim "a formula to torpedo the intercommunal talks" and made the following pertinent remark:

"One wonders to which Pashas Athens, Salonika, Belgrade, and Budapest belong. If they also belong to some Pashas, then we could reach again the gates of Vienna."

In view of the Turkish Cypriot side's refusal to abide by the 10-point agreement, the talks foundered after only four sessions.

In an effort to break the ensuing deadlock, the U.N. Secretary-General proposed various alternative "formulas" for the resumption of the talks. On June 6, 1980, the two sides finally agreed that the talks would resume with an opening statement outlining the U.N. Secretary-General's assessment of the common ground between the two parties. As a concession to the Turkish Cypriot side the statement would contain references to "bizonality". It would also refer to the question of security and each side would be allowed to give its own explanation of what it understood by these terms.

But the next day Mr Denktash made a typical *volte face* and withdrew his earlier endorsement of the U.N. proposal. The U.N. Under Secretary-General, Mr. de Cuellar, who had specially flown to Cyprus for the purpose of reviving the stalled intercommunal talks, indicated in a public statement that the Turkish Cypriot side was clearly to blame for the impasse.

Libyan Mediation

It is generally acknowledged that the Cyprus problem is a serious threat to peace in the region. Libya, a non-aligned, friendly country in the Mediterranean, proposed an alternative approach to the problem in the hope that this might lead to a break in the deadlock and thus reduce tension in the area. It suggested that President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash discuss the Cyprus problem outside home territory, in Tripoli.

On July 13 the Libyan Foreign Secretary, Dr. Al-Treiki arrived in Cyprus to sound out the two sides on this matter. President Kyprianou agreed to the proposal, saying he was prepared to meet Mr. Denktash in Tripoli "within the mission of good offices and under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General and when the Secretary-General considers it appropriate".

Mr. Denktash also accepted the proposal and Dr. Al-Treiki announced that the meeting would be held when the parties and the Secretary-General agreed on a suitable date. He added that the talks would be based on the Makarios-Denktash guidelines and the Kyprianou-Denktash agreement, and would be held without preconditions.

But no sooner had Dr. Al-Treiki left, than Mr. Denktash, acting as always on behalf of Turkey, publicly declared that two independent states exist in Cyprus (News Bulletin 26.7.80). Mr. Denktash's statement was contrary to what was agreed with the Libyan Foreign Secretary and, moreover, showed that he had no desire to negotiate a settlement.

Eighth Round of Talks

In July the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Hugo Gobbi, held an intensive round of consultations with both sides with the express purpose of reconvening the intercommunal talks.

The two sides eventually agreed to resume the talks without advance commitments or preconditions and to explain their positions on all issues at the conference table. It was also agreed that the meaning of controversial terms such as "bizonality" and "security" would be determined during the detailed discussions to follow.

The interlocutors—Mr. George Ioannides for the Greek Cypriot side and Mr. Umit Onan for the Turkish Cypriot community—met under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus on August 9.

Mr. Ioannides had, in the meantime, pledged that the Greek Cypriot side would attend the talks in a spirit of goodwill and was ready and willing to discuss "constructively, meaningfully and substantively all the aspects of the Cyprus problem".

At the inaugural meeting, Mr. Gobbi read a statement by the U.N. Secretary-General outlining the latter's understanding of the common ground between the two sides and setting out the subjects to be discussed. These include the resettlement of Varosha by its Greek Cypriot inhabitants under U.N. auspices, practical measures to promote goodwill and mutual confidence, and constitutional and territorial issues.

The U.N. Secretary-General's statement also stressed that the talks were being resumed on the basis of the high-level agreements of February 1977 and May 1979. His understanding, he said, was that both parties supported a "federal solution of the constitutional aspect and a bizonal solution of the territorial aspect."*

Upon entering into negotiations the Greek Cypriot side stressed that the procedure of the talks should on no account be construed as a modification of the two high-level agreements. It stressed further that it is seeking a federal solution of the Cyprus problem in all its aspects as envisaged in the February 1977 and May 1979 agreements.

The federal state will comprise two, as opposed to many, constituent areas—one to be administered by the Greek Cypriots and the other by the Turkish Cypriots—in accordance with the accepted constitutional principles of federalism. Like all federations there must be no borders between the regions and the Central Government must have enough powers to ensure its unity.

Originally the Greek Cypriot side had advocated a multi-regional federation but as a further concession to Turkish Cypriot demands accepted a federation composed of only two regions. The term "bizonal" was

* Appendix XIV

subsequently used by the Cyprus Government or the Greek Cypriot side as a synonym for "biregional" and in contradistinction to "multi-regional".

Initially, the Turkish Cypriot side had also used the term to define two regions or areas as opposed to more than two. Professor Soysal, the Turkish constitutional expert who had drawn up the Turkish Cypriot proposals of 1978, confirmed in a speech on 18 October 1979 that the words "bizonal" and "biregional" were interchangeable. He said: "At the beginning the leaders of both communities used the term biregional but later the Turkish side began to use the word bizonal. At first both connoted the same concept but presently they have gained different meanings."

It was only after the Greek Cypriot side announced that it had accepted a biregional as opposed to a multiregional federation, thereby reviving what had hitherto been professed by the Turkish Cypriot leadership to be the main obstacle to a solution of the Cyprus problem, that the Turkish Cypriot side invested the word with a new meaning. In redefining the term, it revealed that it ascribed to it a meaning associated with "confederation" or "two independent states" despite the fact that such concepts run counter to the two high-level agreements.* In fact this was also verified by Professor Soysal who said in a statement to the Turkish daily *Aydinlik* (10.8.1980) the very day the talks resumed that the concept of "bizonal" implies the existence of a "border".

Clearly the aim of the Turkish Cypriot side is to divide the island into two distinct parts. For if it is really willing to negotiate a settlement envisaging a federal solution of the Cyprus problem, it will have to demonstrate this in practical terms by producing concrete and comprehensive proposals on the substance—namely the territorial and constitutional aspects—and stop insisting on partition or the creation of two separate states.

Turkish Expansionism

The continued military occupation of 40% of Cyprus territory and Turkey's persistent refusal to allow the return of the refugees to their homes - all in defiance of the United Nations resolutions - must have by now convinced even those who had found some excuse for the first phase of the invasion, that the aims of Turkey with regard to Cyprus have nothing to do with the safety and welfare of the Turkish Cypriot community. Turkey's approach to the Cyprus problem together with the creation of faits accomplis—such as the unilateral declaration of a separate Turkish Cypriot State—and the delaying tactics so far followed by the Turkish Cypriot side at the intercommunal talks are designed to prejudice the solution of the Cyprus problem in favour of Turkey's objective—namely the de facto partition of the island under the guise of a loose confederation. This would enable her at first to exercise political and military control of the whole of Cyprus and at the same time would lay the foundations for the annexation of the island at some future opportune moment, when the international situation permits it.

In fact Turkey's actions are motivated by its expansionist policy for geopolitical and strategic considerations and the Turkish Cypriots are only pawns in this unsavoury game.

This was disclosed as far back as 1964 when the then Foreign Minister of Turkey, Mr. F.C. Erkin, at the London Conference on Cyprus, said that the island is of "vital importance" to Turkey "on account of its geopolitical

* See Mr. Denktash's definition of bizonal, page 20

bearing". He also added that "Cyprus was geographically a continuation of the Anatolian peninsula" and that "because of the island's geo-strategic position, Cyprus's and Turkey's defence has to be considered together".

Turkey's plans for territorial expansion were reconfirmed recently by Mr. Turan Gunes, who was Turkish Foreign Minister at the time of the invasion. He openly admitted that Turkey invaded Cyprus not, as Turkish officials allege "to restore constitutional order" or "to protect the Turkish Cypriot community" but to further Turkey's expansionist aims.

In a statement published in 8-Gun, the weekly supplement of the Turkish daily Hurriyet (20/7/80), Mr. Gunes made the following revealing remarks:

"Cyprus is valuable as a right arm for a country interested in its defence or for its expansionist aims if it harbours such aims... Without keeping in mind this strategic importance of Cyprus one cannot understand the July 20 peace operation, or rather it is impossible to understand the whole Cyprus crisis... Many states to a certain extent, because it suits their interest, want to see the Cyprus problem merely as our desire to protect the Turkish community in the island. Whereas the actual problem is the security of the 45 million Turks in the motherland together with the Turks in the island and the maintenance of the balance in the Middle East".

Solidarity with Cyprus

The Turkish invasion was regarded throughout the world as a brazen violation of Cyprus's sovereignty, integrity and independence and provoked widespread condemnation and outrage.

International support and sympathy for the injured party was reflected in the U.N. General Assembly resolution on Cyprus passed by unanimous vote on 1 November 1974.

But international concern did not end there. Various international organizations participated in an International Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus, convened in London in May 1975. It was at this Conference that the idea of setting up an International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus (I.C.S.C.) was conceived.

A few months later the idea was translated into a reality. The Committee's principle objective was to coordinate the efforts of numerous international organizations, groups, and individuals who were aligned with Cyprus, and to work for the implementation of the U.N. resolutions and a peaceful settlement.

The full strength of international support for Cyprus is evidenced by the size of the committee itself. Organizations from 60 countries and some 30 international organizations are now members. These organizations represent the whole spectrum of political, ideological and religious beliefs but they are bound together by a single, unifying vision—Justice for Cyprus. Moreover, they all stand for peace, national independence, democracy and human rights and in this respect they reflect the will of millions of people the world over who uphold the decisions of the United Nations.

Since the Committee's inception in 1975, there were three major international conferences of solidarity with Cyprus. At each conference a plan of action was drawn up, outlining the Committee's objectives and it is

thanks largely to its efforts that there is growing support for the Cyprus cause.

But quite apart from the activities of the I.C.S.C. there are many other international, regional and national initiatives in support of the Cypriot people.

In the U.S.A., Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland and many other European countries there are "Friends of Cyprus" committees composed of leading political figures, journalists and personalities. They are politically active on behalf of Cyprus and have succeeded in mustering public support for the Cyprus cause by informing their countrymen of the situation on the island through their respective news media, lectures, seminars, gatherings and various other activities.

Major international conferences also make a point of voicing their support for Cyprus. The most recent instances of such support were the Commonwealth Summit Meeting in Zambia and the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Cuba (both held in 1979) which passed resolutions expressing solidarity with Cyprus and demanding the immediate implementation of the U.N. resolutions.*1

It is owing to growing international support that each year the U.N. General Assembly adopts stronger resolutions on Cyprus. In November 1979 it adopted by an overwhelming majority its strongest resolution yet. This resolution contains a number of positive elements and proposes more concrete measures for the implementation of previous U.N. resolutions*2. International support, in fact, has proved to be a vital weapon in countering Turkish aggression.

*1 Appendix XI and Appendix XII

*2 Appendix XIII

The Refugees

Some 200,000 people, making up 40% of the entire Greek Cypriot population, were dislodged from their homes and lands by the advancing Turkish troops. The refugees streamed to the Government-controlled area, homeless and destitute, and most of them had to sleep in the open for several weeks before they were given shelter in tented camps.

As a result of this massive shift of population the established fabric of society inevitably crumbled. While the Turks looted and appropriated Greek Cypriot property, factories and businesses running into billions of pounds, the Government, with its remaining meagre resources plus international relief aid, had to help the displaced families to survive.

But more important than the material losses is the psychological drama of these people whose lives were shattered in literally a day. Cut off from their lands and roots, they have been unable to overcome their sense of disorientation and to come to terms with the radical change in their traditional pattern of life.

But, in violation of the Charter of Human Rights, and the U.N. resolutions on Cyprus Turkish troops, stationed along the military demarcation line, prevent the refugees from returning to their homes and prohibit their freedom of movement.

Missing Persons

The fate of the missing persons in Cyprus could perhaps be described as the most painful issue of all. About 2,000 Greek Cypriots—including civilians, women, children and old people—who were alive and in the hands of the Turks well after the cessation of hostilities, have since disappeared without trace.

Considering that the Greek Cypriot population at the time numbered only 530,000, this figure is excessively large. By comparison, only 800 American servicemen were listed as missing during eight years of fighting in Vietnam.

There is indisputable evidence that most of those who never returned were detained by Turkish soldiers or armed Turkish Cypriot civilians after the invasion was over. Evidence that Greek Cypriots were captured and held in concentration camps was even undisputed by the Turkish side. The Turkish authorities themselves had issued lists of Greek Cypriot prisoners-of-war but subsequently some of these people were never released and no explanation on the part of Turkey has been forthcoming.

There were also people who were listed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (I.C.R.C.) as prisoners-of-war or as enclaved persons in the Turkish-controlled areas but who never came back. Greek Cypriot prisoners who had sent messages to their families over the illegal Turkish Cypriot radio "Bayrak" are still missing. Other missing persons were identified in photographs in Turkish newspapers.

The 1975 U.N. Resolution on Missing Persons "reaffirms the basic human need of families to be informed about missing relatives".*¹ Turkey, however, has persistently refused to cooperate in this purely humanitarian matter and rejected suggested procedures for the tracing of missing persons through independent and impartial organisations such as the I.C.R.C.*²

Meanwhile, the anguish and distress of the relatives of the missing continues and the problem remains unresolved.

*Appendix XV

*² Appendix XVI

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF 4 MARCH 1964

The first session of the United Nations Security Council on the substance of the Cyprus question commenced on 18 February, 1964, and went on until 4 March, when the following resolution was adopted, unanimously :

"The Security Council,

Noting that the present situation with regard to Cyprus is likely to threaten international peace and security and may further deteriorate unless additional measures are promptly taken to maintain peace and to seek out a durable solution ;

Considering the positions taken by the parties in relation to the Treaties signed at Nicosia on 16 August, 1960 ;

Having in mind the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and its Article 2, para 4, which reads : "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" ;

1. *Calls upon* all Member-States, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, or to endanger international peace ;

2. *Asks* the Government of Cyprus, which has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order, to take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus ;

3. *Calls upon* the communities in Cyprus and their leaders to act with the utmost restraint ;

4. *Recommends* the creation, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, of a United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. The composition and size of the Force shall be established by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. The Commander of the Force shall be appointed by the Secretary-General and report to him. The Secretary-General, who shall keep the Governments providing the Force fully informed, shall report periodically to the Security Council on its operation ;

5. *Recommends* that the function of the Force should be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and return to normal conditions.

6. *Recommends* that the stationing of the Force shall be for a period of three months, all costs pertaining to it being met, in a manner to be agreed upon by them, by the Governments providing the contingents and by the Government of Cyprus. The Secretary-General may also accept voluntary contributions for that purpose ;

7. *Recommends* further that the Secretary-General designate, in agreement with the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, a mediator, who shall use his best endeavours with the representatives of the communities and also with the aforesaid four Governments, for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security. The mediator shall report periodically to the Secretary-General on his efforts ;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide, from funds of the United Nations, as appropriate, for the remuneration and expenses of the mediator and his staff."

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 18 DECEMBER 1965

Following is the text of the draft resolution tabled before the First Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on 18 November, 1965, by twenty-three member-countries and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December, 1965 :

"The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Recalling the Security Council resolution (S/5575 of 4 March, 1964, S/5603 of March, 1964, C/5778 of 20 June, 1964, C/5868 of 5 August, 1964, S/5987 of 25 September, 1964, S/6121 of 18 December, 1964, S/RES/201 of 19 March, 1965 and S/RES/207 of 10 August, 1965 and consensus (11 August, 1964) adopted with regard to Cyprus.

Recalling the declaration adopted by the conference of heads of state or Government of non-aligned countries held in Cairo, on 10 October, 1964, regarding the question of Cyprus (A/5763),

Noting the report of the United Nations mediator on Cyprus submitted to the Secretary-General on March 26, 1965 (A/6017),

Noting further that the Government of Cyprus is committed through its declaration of intent and memorandum (A/6039) to :

- A. The full application of human rights to all citizens of Cyprus, irrespective of race or religion,
- B. The ensuring of minority rights, and
- C. The safeguarding of the above rights as contained in the said declaration and memorandum,

1. *Takes cognizance* of the fact that the Republic of Cyprus, as an equal member of the United Nations, is, in accordance with the Charter, entitled to and should enjoy full sovereignty and complete independence without any foreign intervention or interference ;

2. *Calls upon* all states, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter, and in particular article 2, paragraphs 1 and 4, to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from any intervention directed against it ;

3. *Recommends* to the Security Council the continuation of the United Nations mediation work in conformity with the resolution of 4 March, 1964 (S/5575)."

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF 20 JULY 1974

Following is the text of Resolution No. 353 adopted by the U.N Security Council at its 1779th meeting on 20 July, 1974 :

"The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General at its 1779th meeting about the recent developments in Cyprus,

Having heard the statements made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the statements by the Representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and other member countries.

Having considered at its present meeting further developments in the island,

Deeply deploring the outbreak of conflict and continuing bloodshed,

Gravely concerned about the situation which led to a serious threat to international peace and security and which created a most explosive situation in the whole Eastern Mediterranean area,

Equally concerned about the necessity to restore the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus established and guaranteed by the International Agreements,

Recalling Security Council Resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March, 1964, and subsequent resolutions of the Security Council on this matter,

Consequent of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus ;

2. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing and requests all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation ;

3. *Demands* an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of operative paragraph 1 ;

4. *Requests* the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of International Agreements including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July, 1974 ;

5. *Calls upon* Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus and to keep the Secretary-General informed ;

Calls upon all parties to co-operate fully with UNFICYP to enable it to carry out its mandate ;

7. *Decides* to keep the situation under constant review and asks the Secretary-General to report as appropriate with a view to adopting further measures in order to ensure that peaceful conditions are restored as soon as possible."

GENEVA DECLARATION ON CYPRUS

Following is the text of the Declaration on Cyprus signed at Geneva on 30 July, 1974, by the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Turkey and Greece :

1. The Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom held negotiations in Geneva from 25—30 July, 1974. They recognized the importance of setting in train, as a matter of urgency, measures to adjust and to regularize within a reasonable period of time the situation in the Republic of Cyprus on a lasting basis, having regard to the international agreement signed at Nicosia on 16 August, 1960, and to resolution 353 of the Security Council of the United Nations. They were, however, agreed on the need to decide first on certain immediate measures.

2. The three Foreign Ministers declared that in order to stabilize the situation, the areas in the Republic of Cyprus controlled by opposing armed forces on 30 July, 1974 at 2200 hours Geneva time should not be extended. They called on all forces, including irregular forces, to desist from all offensive or hostile activities.

3. The three Foreign Ministers also concluded that the following measures should be put into immediate effect :

A—A security zone of sizes to be determined by representatives of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom in consultation with the United Nations Peace Keeping Forces on Cyprus (UNFICYP) should be established at the limit of the areas occupied by the Turkish armed forces at the time specific in paragraph 2 above. This zone should be entered by no forces other than those of UNFICYP, which should supervise the prohibition of entry. Pending the determination of the size and character of the security zone, the existing area between the two forces should be entered by no forces.

B—All the Turkish enclaves occupied by Greek or Greek Cypriot forces should be immediately evacuated. These enclaves will continue to be protected by UNFICYP and to have their previous security arrangements.

Other Turkish enclaves outside the area controlled by the Turkish armed forces shall continue to be protected by an UNFICYP security zone and may, as before, maintain their own police and security forces.

C—In mixed villages the functions of security and police will be carried out by UNFICYP.

D—Military personnel and civilians detained as a result of the recent hostilities shall be either exchanged or released under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross within the shortest time possible.

4. The three Foreign Ministers, reaffirming that resolution 353 of the Security Council should be implemented in the shortest possible time, agreed that within the framework of a just and lasting solution acceptable to all parties concerned and as peace, security and mutual confidence are established in the Republic of Cyprus, measures should be elaborated which will lead to the timely and phased reduction of the number of armed forces and the amounts of armaments, ammunitions and other war material in the Republic of Cyprus.

5. Deeply conscious of their responsibilities as regards the maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, the three Foreign Ministers agreed that negotiations, as provided for in resolution 353 of the Security Council, should be carried on with the least possible delay to secure (a) the restoration of peace in the area, and (b) the re-establishment of constitutional government in Cyprus.

To this end they agreed that further talks should begin on 8 August, 1974, at Geneva. They also agreed that representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish

Cypriot Communities should, at an early stage, participate in the talks relating to the constitution.

Among the constitutional questions to be discussed should be that of an immediate return to constitutional legitimacy, the Vice President assuming the functions provided for under the 1960 constitution.

The Ministers noted the existence in practice in the Republic of Cyprus of two autonomous administrations, that of the Greek Cypriot Community and that of the Turkish Cypriot Community.

Without any prejudice to the conclusions to be drawn from this situation, the Ministers agreed to consider at their next meeting the problems raised by their existence.

6. The three Foreign Ministers agreed to convey the contents of this declaration to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to invite him to take appropriate action in the light of it.

They also expressed their conviction of the necessity that the fullest co-operation should be extended by all concerned in the Republic of Cyprus in carrying out its terms."

Statement by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and Britain :

The Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland made it clear that the adherence of their Governments to the Declaration of today's date in no way prejudiced their respective views on the interpretation or application of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee or their rights and obligations under that Treaty.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 1 NOVEMBER 1974

The United Nations General Assembly adopted on 1 November, 1974, Resolution 3212 (XXIX) by 117 votes in favour, none against and no abstentions.

The Resolution reads as follows :

"The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Gravely concerned about the continuation of the Cyprus crisis, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Mindful of the need to solve this crisis without delay by peaceful means, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Having heard the statements in the debate and taking note of the Report of the Special Political Committee on the question of Cyprus,

1. *Calls* upon all states to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it ;

2. *Urges* the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs ;

3. *Considers* that the constitutional system of the Republic of Cyprus concerns the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities ;

4. *Commends* the contacts and negotiations taking place on an equal footing, with the good offices of the Secretary-General, between the representatives of the two communities and calls for their continuation with a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement, based on their fundamental and legitimate rights ;

5. *Considers* that all the refugees should return to their homes in safety and calls upon the parties concerned to undertake urgent measures to that end ;

6. *Expresses* the hope that, if necessary, further efforts including negotiations can take place, within the framework of the United Nations, for the purpose of implementing the provisions of the present resolution, thus ensuring to the Republic of Cyprus its fundamental right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide United Nations humanitarian assistance to all parts of the population of Cyprus and calls upon all states to contribute to that effort ;

8. *Calls* upon all parties to continue to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, which may be strengthened if necessary ;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to lend his good offices to the parties concerned ;

10. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to bring the present resolution to the attention of the Security Council."

CYPRUS GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS TO THE TURKS

Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the House of Representatives, and Greek Cypriot negotiator at the intercommunal talks, in his capacity as Head of the Cyprus Delegation at the United Nations Security Session, disclosed in his statement the proposals he had handed to the Turkish Cypriot side, on 10 February, 1975 setting out the views of the Cyprus Government for a Cyprus settlement.

The proposals are as follows :

The Greek Cypriot representative at the Cyprus talks proposes that the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus shall be based on the following principles :

- (1) Cyprus shall be an independent sovereign Republic.
- (2) The Constitution shall be that of a bi-communal multiregional federal state.
- (3) The areas to be administered by the Turkish Cypriots may include a substantial area in the north extending on both sides of the Nicosia—Kyrenia axis to the sea.
- (4) Other areas under Turkish Cypriot administration shall be formed where Turkish Cypriot villages are mainly concentrated.
- (5) The total extent of areas to be under Turkish Cypriot administration shall correspond approximately to the present ratio of the Greek and Turkish population in the island.
- (6) Should there be need, for purposes of administration, of a substantial Turkish-Cypriot majority in areas to be under Turkish-Cypriot administration, the Republic will undertake the financial responsibility of the cost of building houses for Turkish Cypriots in Turkish villages, who finally may wish to be settled in areas which will come under Turkish-Cypriot administration.
- (7) The Central Government of the Federal State shall have substantial powers.
- (8) The legal status of Greek-Cypriots, who will be living in areas under Turkish-Cypriot administration, and that of Turkish-Cypriots, who will live in areas under Greek-Cypriot administration, shall be defined and entrenched.
- (9) Human rights shall be entrenched in the Constitution, including the right of freedom of movement throughout the island, the existing rights of property and the right to acquire, own, possess, use and enjoy property in any area or place in Cyprus.

The proposals do not affect the provisions of resolution 3212 of the United Nations General Assembly and, in particular, those regarding the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Cyprus and the return of all refugees to their homes, which should be implemented.

NOTE : These proposals do not deal with the question of guarantees, which should be wide and effective.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF 12 MARCH 1975

Following is the text of Resolution 367 adopted by the U.N. Security Council on Cyprus on 12 March, 1975.

"The Security Council,

having considered the situation in Cyprus in response to the complaint submitted by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus,

having heard the report of the Secretary-General and the statements made by the parties concerned,

deeply concerned at the continuation of the crisis in Cyprus,

recalling its previous resolutions, in particular resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December, 1974, by which it endorsed General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) adopted unanimously on 1 November, 1974,

noting the absence of progress towards the implementation of its resolution,

1. *Calls* once more on all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and urgently requests them, as well as the parties concerned, to refrain from any action which might prejudice that sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment, as well as from any attempt at partition of the island or its unification with any other country.

2. *Regrets* the unilateral decision of 13 February, 1975, declaring that a part of the Republic of Cyprus would become 'a federated Turkish state' as, *inter alia*, tending to compromise the continuation of negotiations between the representatives of the two communities on an equal footing, the objective of which must continue to be to reach freely a solution providing for a political settlement and the establishment of a mutually acceptable constitutional arrangement, and expresses its concern over all unilateral actions by the parties which have compromised or may compromise the implementation of the relevant United Nations Resolutions.

3. *Affirms* that the decision referred to in paragraph 2 above does not prejudice the final political settlement of the problem of Cyprus and takes note of the declaration that this was not its intention,

4. *Calls* for the urgent and effective implementation of all parts and provisions of General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) endorsed by Security Council Resolution 365 (1974),

5. *Considers* that new efforts should be undertaken to assist the resumption of the negotiations referred to in paragraph 4 of General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) between the representatives of the two communities,

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General accordingly to undertake a new mission of good offices and to that end to convene the parties under new agreed procedures and place himself personally at their disposal, so that the resumption, the intensification and the progress of comprehensive negotiations, carried out in a reciprocal spirit of understanding and of moderation under his personal auspices and with his direction as appropriate, might thereby be facilitated,

7. *Calls* on the representatives of the two communities to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General in the discharge of his new mission of good offices and asks them to accord personally a high priority to their negotiations,

8. *Calls* on all the parties concerned to refrain from any action which might jeopardize the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities and to take steps which will facilitate the creation of the climate necessary for the success of those negotiations,

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed of the progress made towards the implementation of Resolution 365 (1974) and of this resolution and to report to it whenever he considers it appropriate and, in any case, before 15 June, 1975.

10. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter."

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 20 NOVEMBER 1975

The General Assembly, following the Cyprus Debate, on 20 November, 1975, adopted Resolution 3395 (XXX) by 117 votes in favour and one against (Turkey). The resolution which had been sponsored by Algeria, Argentina, Guyana, India, Mali and Yugoslavia, reads as follows :

"The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Having heard the statements in the debate and taking note of the report of the Special Political Committee,

Noting with concern that four rounds of talks between the representatives of the two communities in pursuance of Security Council resolution 367 (1975) have not yet led to a mutually acceptable settlement.

Deeply concerned at the continuation of the crisis in Cyprus.

Mindful of the need to solve the Cyprus crisis without further delay by peaceful means, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

1. *Reaffirms* the urgent need for continued efforts for the effective implementation in all its parts of its resolution 3212 (XXIX) endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974) and to that end,

2. *Calls* once again upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it,

3. *Demands* the withdrawal without further delay of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.

4. *Calls* upon the parties concerned to undertake urgent measures to facilitate the voluntary return of all refugees to their homes in safety, and to settle all other aspects of the refugee problem.

5. *Calls* for the immediate resumption in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to be conducted freely on an equal footing with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.

6. *Urges* all parties to refrain from unilateral actions in contravention of its resolution 3212 (XXIX), including changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus,

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue his role in the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities,

8. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the attention of the Security Council and to report on its implementation, as soon as appropriate, and not later than 31st March, 1976,

9. *Calls upon* all parties to continue to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace keeping Force in Cyprus,

10. *Decides* to remain seized of this question."

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 9 NOVEMBER 1977

The General Assembly, at its meeting on 9 November, 1977, adopted Resolution 35/15 on Cyprus. The vote was 116 in favour to 6 against with 20 abstentions. The countries which voted against were : Turkey, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan and Uganda.

Following is the text of the Resolution :

"The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Gravely concerned over the prolongation of the Cyprus crisis, which endangers international peace and security.

Recalling its Resolutions 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November 1974, 3395 (XXX) of 20 November 1975 and 31/12 of 12 November 1976,

Deeply regretting that the Resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus have not yet been implemented,

Expressing concern over the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks,

Mindful of the need to solve the question of Cyprus without further delay by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls* for the urgent and effective implementation of Resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in its Resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, as the valid framework for the solution of the problem of Cyprus ;

2. *Reiterates* its call upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to cease any form of interference in its internal affairs ;

3. *Calls* for the urgent resumption in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the Representatives of the two communities, to be conducted freely on an equal footing on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals of the parties concerned with a view to reaching as early as possible a mutually acceptable agreement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights ;

4. *Demands* that the parties concerned refrain from any unilateral actions which might adversely affect the prospects of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus by peaceful means ;

5. *Recommends* that the Security Council should keep the question of Cyprus under constant review and adopt all practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant Resolutions in all their aspects ;

6. *Calls* upon the parties concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the performance of his tasks under the relevant Resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council as well as with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus ;

7. *Decides* to include the item entitled 'Question of Cyprus' in the provisional Agenda of its Thirty-Third Session and requests the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of the present Resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the Session".

Separate Vote on Paragraph 5.

A separate vote was taken on operative paragraph 5, above which was approved by 82 votes in favour, to 9 against with 48 abstentions.

THE 10—POINT AGREEMENT OF 19 MAY 1979

Following is the text of the agreement between the President of the Republic, Mr Kyprianou, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr Denktash, concluded on 19 May during a meeting under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim :

1. *It was agreed to resume the intercommunal talks on 15 June, 1979.*
2. *The basis for the talks will be the Makarios/Denktash guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the U.N. resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.*
3. *There should be respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of all citizens of the Republic.*
4. *The talks will deal with all territorial and constitutional aspects.*
5. *Priority will be given to reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under U.N. auspices simultaneously with the beginning of the consideration by the interlocutors of the constitutional and territorial aspects of a comprehensive settlement. After agreement on Varosha has been reached it will be implemented without awaiting the outcome of the discussion on other aspects of the Cyprus problem.*
6. *It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote good will, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions.*
7. *The demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus is envisaged, and matters relating thereto will be discussed.*
8. *The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic should be adequately guaranteed against union in whole or in part with any other country and against any form of partition or secession.*
9. *The intercommunal talks will be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay.*
10. *The intercommunal talks will take place in Nicosia."*

EXTRACT ON CYPRUS FROM THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE 1979 COMMONWEALTH SUMMIT MEETING

The Joint Communique of the Commonwealth Summit Meeting, held in Lusaka, Zambia, in August 1979, makes extensive reference to the Cyprus problem. The full text of the extract on Cyprus is as follows :

1. *Reviewing developments concerning Cyprus the Commonwealth Meeting of Heads of Government noted with satisfaction and endorsed the Kyprianou—Denktash agreement of the 19th May 1979, under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General, but expressed their grave concern at the failure to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.*
2. *They regretted the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks which should be based on the said agreement and expressed the hope that these talks could be resumed at the earliest possible date with a view to reaching a just and lasting solution, on the basis of the U.N. resolutions relevant to the question of Cyprus and in accordance with the Kyprianou—Denktash agreement of 19th May 1979.*
3. *The Heads of Government also regretted the non-implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus. They called once more for the urgent implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212, as endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 of 1974, which together with subsequent United Nations resolutions were to form the basis of settling the Cyprus question.*
4. *They expressed concern at the fact that foreign troops still occupied part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and stressed the urgent need for the voluntary return of displaced persons to their homes in safety, respect for the human rights of all Cypriots, including the need to trace and account for those missing on both sides, and the need of non-interference in the demographic structure of the Republic of Cyprus.*
5. *They noted the proposal of the President of the Republic of Cyprus—as presented at the 10th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament—for the total demilitarisation and disarmament of the Republic of Cyprus, which was put forward as a significant contribution to the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem.*
6. *They reaffirmed their solidarity with the Government and people of Cyprus and in this respect reiterated their determination to help in the achievement of a political settlement based on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.*
7. *The Heads of Government, believing further that the Commonwealth Committee on Cyprus established in 1975 at their meeting in Kingston, could play a more constructive role in the achievement of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus, decided to ask the Commonwealth Secretary-General to convene the Committee at ministerial level wherever appropriate under the same terms of reference."*

DECLARATION ON CYPRUS OF THE 1979 NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The Final Declaration approved by the plenary session of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference held in Havana, Cuba, on 9 September 1979, refers also to the Cyprus problem.

The extract on Cyprus is as follows :

"The Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, a founding member of the Non-aligned Movement and demands the immediate implementation of the U.N. resolutions on the question of Cyprus, especially resolution 3212, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365.

The Conference expresses its support for the 10-point agreement, reached in Nicosia on 19 May 1979 between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr Kyprianou, and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr Denktash, under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General and calls for the immediate resumption of the talks between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner, to be conducted without any foreign interference and on an equal footing, on the basis of the above-mentioned agreement and in accordance with the principles and the resolutions of the United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement.

The Heads of State and/or Government deplore that part of Cyprus still remains under foreign occupation, call on all states to deeply respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and demand the cessation of all foreign interference in its internal affairs as well as the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and every other military presence from the Republic of Cyprus.

The Conference deplores the arbitrary and unilateral measures that have been taken in the occupied part of Cyprus with the aim to change the century-old demographic character of Cyprus.

At the same time, it is indicated that the de facto situation, brought about by such actions and with the force of arms, should not be allowed to influence the solution of the problem.

In this regard the Conference urged that effective and immediate measures be taken to guarantee the human rights of all Cypriots, the safe return of all refugees to their homes as well as the tracing and accounting of those who are missing.

The Conference reaffirms the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective sovereignty and control over the occupied area of Cyprus and its natural and other resources and calls upon all states to support and help the Government of Cyprus to exercise the above-mentioned right.

The Conference reaffirms its support for the U.N. resolutions on the question of Cyprus and stresses that the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council should consider taking all appropriate and practical measures, provided under the U.N. Charter, to ensure speedy and effective implementation of their resolutions on Cyprus.

The Conference reaffirms the declarations adopted so far by the non-aligned gatherings on the question of Cyprus and, in particular, in Belgrade in December, 1978.

The proposal of the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the total demilitarisation and disarmament of Cyprus was welcomed as a significant contribution to the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem and the Heads of State and/or Government express the hope that the necessary steps will be taken for the realisation of this proposal.

The Conference noted the constructive role the Contact Group of the non-aligned countries continues to play, particularly at the United Nations and the renewal of the invitation from the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to the Contact Group to visit the Republic for an on the spot assessment of the situation, should developments warrant it."

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 34/30

Following is the text of General Assembly Resolution 34/30 on Cyprus adopted on November 20, 1979 by a vote of 99 to 5 with 35 abstentions.

"The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Recalling its Resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November, 1974 and its subsequent Resolutions,

Mindful of the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force,

Recalling the idea of holding an International Conference on Cyprus,

Greatly concerned over the prolongation of the Cyprus crisis, which poses a serious threat to international peace and security,

Deeply regretting that the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus have not yet been implemented,

Welcoming the 10-point Agreement of 19 May 1979,

Expressing deep concern over the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks,

Deploring the continued presence of the foreign armed forces and foreign military personnel on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and the fact that part of its territory is still occupied by foreign forces,

Deploring also all unilateral actions that change the demographic structure of Cyprus,

Mindful of the need to settle the question of Cyprus without further delay by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant United Nations Resolutions,

1. **Reiterates** its full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and calls once again for the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.

2. **Expresses** its support for the 10 point Agreement of 19 May, 1979, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

3. **Affirms** the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people to full and effective sovereignty and control over the entire territory of Cyprus and its natural and other resources and calls upon all states to support and help the Government of Cyprus to exercise the above-mentioned rights.

4. **Demands** the immediate and effective implementation of Resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by the Security Council in its Resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December, 1974, and of the subsequent Resolutions of the Assembly and the Council on Cyprus, which provide the valid basis for the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

5. **Demands** the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus.

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to continue to provide his good offices for the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities.

7. **Calls** for respect of the human rights of all Cypriots and the instituting of urgent measures for the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

8. **Calls** for the urgent resumption in a meaningful, result-oriented and constructive manner of the negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General between the representatives of the two communities to be conducted freely on an equal footing on the basis of the 19th May 1979 Agreement with a view to reaching, as early as possible, a mutually acceptable Agreement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights.

9. **Calls** upon the parties concerned to refrain from any unilateral action which might adversely affect the prospects of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus by peaceful means and to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the performance of his task under the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council as well as with the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus.

10. **Welcomes** the proposal for the total demilitarization of Cyprus.

11. **Reiterates** its recommendation that the Security Council should examine the question of the implementation, within a specified time-frame of its relevant resolutions and consider and adopt thereafter, if necessary, all appropriate and practical measures under the Charter of the United Nations for ensuring the speedy and effective implementation of the Resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus.

12. **Requests** the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly by 31 March, 1980 on the progress achieved in the negotiations between the two communities on the basis of the Agreement of 19.5.1979.

13. **Authorizes** the President of the 34th Session of the General Assembly, in the event that the Secretary-General reports lack of progress in the above-mentioned negotiations, to appoint an ad hoc Committee composed of no more than seven members.

14. **Requests** the ad hoc Committee to maintain contact with the Secretary-General in his task of facilitating the successful conclusion of the negotiations between the two Communities.

15. **Further Requests** the ad hoc Committee in consultation with the Secretary-General to recommend steps for and promote the implementation of all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on Cyprus.

16. **Decides** to include the item entitled "Question of Cyprus" in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fifth Session and requests the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of the present resolution and to report on all its aspects to the General Assembly at that Session."

THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S OPENING STATEMENT ON 9 AUGUST 1980

I note that both parties have indicated their readiness to resume the intercommunal talks, which were recessed in consultation with the parties on 22 June 1979, and to do so within the framework of the good offices mission entrusted to me by the Security Council and on the basis of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 and 19 May 1979.

Both parties have in this regard, signified their intention to carry out the resumed talks in a continuing and sustained manner, to get down to concrete negotiations, discussing constructively, and giving full consideration to all aspects of the Cyprus problem. In this connection I should like to outline the Secretary-General's understanding of the common ground that was worked out in the course of consultations which took place over the past several months.

(a) Both parties have reaffirmed the validity of the high-level agreements of 12 February, 1977, and 19 May, 1979.

(b) Both parties have reaffirmed their support for a federal solution of the constitutional aspect and a bizonal solution of the territorial aspect of the Cyprus problem.

(c) Both parties have indicated that the matter of security can be raised and discussed in the intercommunal talks. It is understood that this matter will be discussed, having regard to certain practical difficulties which may arise for the Turkish Cypriot community, as well as to the security of Cyprus as a whole.

(d) Both parties have appealed to the Secretary-General for the continuation of the intercommunal talks.

The practical implementation of the concepts in (b) and (c) above will be dealt with in the context of the substantive consideration of the constitutional and territorial aspects and will be reflected in the substantive positions and proposals of the parties concerning the various items on the agenda.

Concerning the matters to be discussed the Secretary-General understands, on the basis of the 19 May agreement, that these will include the following subjects:

(a) Reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under United Nations auspices, in accordance with the provisions of Point 5 of the 19 May agreement.

(b) Initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions, in accordance with the provisions of Point 6, which states that special importance will be given to this matter.

(c) Constitutional aspects.

(d) Territorial aspects.

Concerning procedure it is understood that the four items above should be dealt with concurrently in rotation at consecutive meetings. At an appropriate early stage committees or working groups will be set up by the interlocutors.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3450 ON THE QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS

"The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 3212 (XXIX),

Noting resolution 4 (XXI) of the Commission on Human Rights,

Gravely concerned about the fate of a considerable number of Cypriots who are missing as a result of armed conflict in Cyprus.

Appreciating the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross in this field,

Reaffirming the basic human need of families in Cyprus to be informed about missing relatives,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to exert every effort in close cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross in assisting the tracing and accounting for missing persons as a result of armed conflict in Cyprus ;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-second session with information relevant to the implementation of the present resolution."

1978 RESOLUTION ON MISSING PERSONS

The following resolution on missing persons was passed on 12 December 1978 by the U.N. General Assembly Third Committee.

The resolution was passed with 67 votes in favour and five against. A number of countries abstained from voting.

The five countries which voted against were Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Morocco and Bangladesh.

"The General Assembly,

Reaffirming its resolutions 3450 (XXX) and 32/128 on the missing persons in Cyprus,

Regretting the delay in the implementation of these resolutions,

1. Urges the establishment of the Investigatory Body, under the chairmanship of a Representative of the Secretary-General, with the cooperation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which would be in a position to function impartially, effectively and speedily so as to resolve the problem without undue delay. The Representative of the Secretary-General shall be empowered, in case of disagreement, to reach a binding independent opinion, which shall be implemented.

2. Calls upon the parties to cooperate fully with the Investigatory Body and, to this effect, to appoint their representatives thereto forthwith.

3. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide his good offices, through his Special Representative in Cyprus to support the establishment of the Investigatory Body".

COLONISATION

Extract from the semi-official Turkish bulletin "Pulse" (19.8.1975):

"The Turkish Cypriot population will reach 200,000 by the end of the year and time will see to the population equalisation process. What is more, another twelve years will not be required. Months will suffice, and the size of the area will determine the percentage in the Federal Republic of Cyprus, not vice versa".

Extract from article on colonization in the Turkish Aydinlik (27.8.1979).

"Following the military intervention of 1974, Turkish settlers were brought from the mainland and settled in the villages, workshops, fields and houses abandoned by the Greeks. The Turkish Legation in Nicosia organised and implemented such things as where the settlers would be settled, how much land they would get, how much credit each would be given, etc".

"As seen from the document we publish, the number of Turkish mainland families who settled in Cyprus up to March 1977 was 5,182. The total number of settlers was 23,603. At the moment this number exceeds 50,000. The settlement policy still continues and everyday new Turkish mainland settlers are being settled in the Turkish part of Cyprus. If one takes into consideration the fact that before the 1974 intervention the number of Turks living in Cyprus was 120,000 then one can see the enormity of the number of settlers. It is evident that such a large number of settlers will open the way to major changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus.

"The settlement of the Varosha region is also continuing. Varosha—whose return to the Greeks is the subject of discussions and talks—has been settled by Turks from Mersin and Antalya. This place is already named as the region of "Mersinites" and the "Antalyans". In the event of an agreement these settlers will face migration for a second time".

EXTRACT FROM PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF 2 AUGUST 1975

Following is an extract from the press communique released after the third round of intercommunal talks which took place in Vienna under United Nations auspices from 31 July — 2 August, 1975 :

"Mr Denktash reaffirmed, and it was agreed, that the Greek Cypriots at present in the North of the Island are free to stay and that they will be given every help to lead a normal life, including facilities for education and for the practice of their religion, as well as medical care by their own doctors and freedom of movement in the North."

