

K. C.
C. B. MUAVINLIĞI



Lefkoşa, KIBRIS.

No. 59/60

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Dear Archbishop,

Our Republic has just completed its first year during which I have watched the situation with patience and, in my sincere desire to afford a chance to the Republic to take its first steps without any hindrance, have on occasions suffered, without complaining, humiliation and insubordination. The purpose of this letter is to record the main incidents which have caused me great anxiety and concern, and to solicit Your Beatitude's assistance in order to avoid the recurrence of similar incidents.

In the first place, I have to mention the unnecessarily long discussions which usually take place at the meetings of the Council of Ministers between Greek and Turkish Ministers. It is indeed disappointing and discouraging to observe that whenever any matter affecting, however remotely and indirectly, one particular community comes up for discussion the Council is automatically splitted into two factions - Greek members on one side and Turkish members on the other. Furthermore, the antagonistic attitude adopted by certain Ministers during such discussions and the tone of their conversation leave much to be desired and indicate

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His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios,
President of the Republic
of Cyprus.

that some of us have not yet realised or appreciated the necessity of working in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. For example, during the consideration of the 1961 Estimates, I was very much disappointed that Greek Ministers objected to almost every Turkish project which it was proposed to include in the lists of works to be executed in 1961. They showed their reluctance and indeed their indignation at having to agree even on Your Beatitude's recommendation to the inclusion in the Estimates of any development project which would benefit Turkish villages or inhabitants. The minutes of the meetings of Council of Ministers are full of such examples.

Secondly, it has become apparent that matters referred to the Council of Ministers are first discussed at a meeting of Greek Ministers who come to the meeting already decided on the line of action that they, who constitute the majority, will adopt at the full meeting of the Council. In this way the Turkish Ministers have been given the impression that their presence at the meetings of the Council of Ministers is for the sake of formality only. In fact their presence serves only one purpose: that is, they are given an opportunity to express their points of view on controversial matters and to record their vote of ^{yes} discussion.

Thirdly, certain policy matters are dealt with without consulting and even informing the Vice-President and Turkish Ministers. On many occasions I have come to know of decisions taken, even in respect of matters over which we have the right of veto, from the news columns of local press. The most recent example is the inclusion of Messrs. Rossides and Kranidiotis in the Cyprus Delegation at the Belgrade Conference.

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Fourthly, the Public Service Commission has failed to discharge its duty. Now that we know the mentality of the members of this Commission it is futile to expect that the same Commission will be able to implement the 70:30 ratio in the public service. It is therefore a matter for serious consideration whether it would not be lawful for us to terminate the appointment of certain members of this Commission who have been impeding the work of the Commission rather than making any contribution to it.

Fifthly, it is indeed very discouraging and disappointing to see that -

- (a) our Ministers, Ambassadors and other persons of high authority make statements every now and then to the following effect -

The Cyprus people "raises its voice in international organisations whose declared aim is to serve justice, freedom and self-determination. No justice is however done to its struggles and its voice remains unanswered".

"This struggle which was carried out by the entire (as one body) people of Cyprus under the leadership of Archbishop Makarios and General Grivas did not unfortunately lead to the predetermined object and the desired national goal. Adverse international conditions produced a new state of affairs".

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"These achievements are not of course absolute, but the present reality does not completely close the circle of our pursuits".

"The realisation of our hopes and aspirations is not complete under the Zurich and London Agreements".

"We have acquired a bastion and starting point for peaceful campaigns".

"From these bastions we shall continue the struggle with a view to consummating victory".

"One of the reasons that I am a Minister is because I believe that from this position I can serve better the interests of the fighters". (The "Fighters" refer to an Association of ex-EOKA members who have reorganised themselves with the object of continuing with the struggle for union with Greece).

- (b) the number of persons who openly condemn the Zurich and London Agreements and our Constitution is increasing from day to day; the activities of these persons are unconstitutional as they are not in the interests of the security of the Republic or the constitutional order, but yet they are not prosecuted;

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(c) though it is known that in Cyprus the principle of "Self-determination" will create feelings of distrust and animosity between the two communities and will revive the old demands for "union" and "partition", yet it has been turned into a general topic for discussion. In other words, though "the integral or partial union of Cyprus with any other State or the separatist independence" is excluded by our Constitution, activities to the contrary are fostered by men in authority;

(d) there is a general tendency, especially amongst Government circles, to disregard certain provisions of our Constitution if experience showed that they are against the interest of the majority, and to find ways and means so as to render ineffective such decisions of the Supreme Constitutional Court as are against Government policy.

Lastly, it is a matter of deep regret for me to have to cite the following examples which indicate that some attempts have been made to foil our authority (especially that of the Vice-President of the Republic) during the year under review:-

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- (a) The Minister of Foreign Affairs, for reasons of his own, has not yet implemented our agreement regarding the arrangements at Washington and New York. He has not complied with the Council's decision that he should submit to the Council reports on foreign affairs received from Mr. Rossides and other Ambassadors, nor has he complied with my request that he should supply to me copies of correspondence emanating from his office and having a bearing on foreign affairs. Despite my repeated requests to him he has refrained from allocating duties to Turkish officials posted to his Ministry. An impartial investigation into the affairs in this Ministry will reveal that discrimination against Turks and anything that is Turkish is, I regret to say, very prevalent. His activities in the Ministerial Committee of the Tripartite Agreement are not known to me and to the Turkish Ministers despite the fact that one of them is the Minister of Defence who should be kept fully informed of all the matters relating to the Tripartite Headquarters.
- (b) The position in other Ministries headed by Greek Ministers is not very much different. Turkish officials, however well qualified and experienced they may be, have gradually been turned into dormant officials. The

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most recent example of this is the transfer of a Turkish Executive Engineer from the Office of the Divisional Engineer, Nicosia, to the office of the Senior Architect, Headquarters, P.W.D. Another glaring example is the nature of the duties assigned to the Economic Officer in the Ministry of Finance, the Assistant Director, Public Information Office, and the Administrative Officer in the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance.

- (c) Letters written on my behalf concerning complaints and representations made by Turkish citizens remain unanswered for an unduly long time and my requests for redress of injustice done to Turkish citizens are usually turned down with stereotyped replies.
- (d) My requests to certain Ministers for the preparation of certain submissions to Council of Ministers are not complied with.
- (e) The Director-General of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation has refused to give me an assurance that he will do his best to ensure that there will be no discrimination between Greek and Turkish programmes.

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In view of all the above and other reasons which I need not mention here I have begun to doubt whether we have been acting correctly and constitutionally by allowing our Ministers, who hold office at our pleasure, to disregard our advice, wishes and directions and to take decisions contrary to them. I am afraid that the tendency on the part of the Ministers to disregard the President and the Vice-President of the Republic will wreck the very spirit of our Constitution. I think that the time has come for us to take a firm stand against those Ministers who will continue to disregard our advice and instructions. As you know executive power is to be ensured by us through the Ministers appointed by us. We have the power to terminate at any time the appointment of any Minister; there is no doubt, therefore, that we have the means with which to ensure that the executive power is exercised in accordance with our wishes and instructions. In my view the Ministers must realize that they are to act in accordance with the directions given to them by the President and Vice-President jointly. They are of course at liberty to consider the matters on the agenda of the meetings of the Council of Ministers and to take decisions thereon but when the President and Vice-President are agreed on any matter it is very improper on their part not to act in accordance with the wishes of the President and the Vice-President. I therefore take strong exception to certain Ministers, who are in the habit of defying the authority of the President and the Vice-President and referring to them at the meetings of the Council as persons without a vote.

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As you know it is not my wish to be difficult, but I am afraid that if we want to run our Republic in accordance with the spirit of our Constitution we have to act very firmly and must not allow our own Ministers (i.e. our Agents) to act contrary to our directions. I would, therefore, suggest that from now on we must not let the Ministers waste time by discussing in vain controversial matters. When we come across such matters we two should first discuss them and, if we agree, we should issue directions to that effect to our respective Ministers in the Council asking them to decide and act accordingly. By this way we should only leave such matter to the vote of the Council on which we two, who are in a better position to judge the issues and who carry the political responsibility of the Government vis-a-vis the electorate, cannot agree despite all our sincere efforts to co-operate!

I should be grateful if you will afford me an opportunity to discuss the contents of this letter with you after you have studied and formed your opinion about them.

Yours sincerely,

(Dr. F. Kutchuk).