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REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS  
OPERATION IN CYPRUS

(For the period 10 September to 12 December 1964)

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## INTRODUCTION

1. I have the honour to submit to the Security Council my report on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, covering developments from 10 September to 12 December 1964, and bringing up to date the record of United Nations activities under the mandate entrusted to me by the Security Council in its resolutions of 4 March, 13 March, 20 June, 9 August and 25 September 1964.<sup>1/</sup> In its resolution of 4 March, the Council recommended "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 a return to normal conditions".
2. The problems faced by the United Nations in fulfilling this assignment have been many and complex. My last report<sup>2/</sup> stressed the serious difficulties encountered in the conduct of the Operation. For almost six months, UNFICYP's major effort was focused on the task of stopping the shooting. It was clear that the end of fighting was a prerequisite to solution of the island's basic problems. During that period, UNFICYP laid the groundwork for dealing with the problem of the return to normal conditions. During the period covered in this report, there have been some encouraging improvements in local conditions, although the basic problems are unresolved.
3. Since the Security Council resolution of 9 August and its consensus of 11 August, the fighting has virtually ceased on the island, and the military situation in general, owing to UNFICYP's steady efforts and the restraint of the parties, has from that time been kept quiet. Also, in the period under review, the Government of Cyprus, as indicated in President Makario's message to the Secretary-General of 15 September 1964 (S/5950/Add.2), took steps to ease the severe economic restrictions which had been imposed upon the Turkish-Cypriot community. These developments enabled UNFICYP in this period to concentrate its activities on promoting a return to normal conditions.
4. The first step towards the return to normal conditions - removing in the process a serious source of tension and danger to the peace - was taken under the

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1/ Documents S/5575, S/5603, S/5778, S/5868 and S/5987.

2/ Document S/5950 and Corr.1 and Add.1-2.

agreement reached with the Governments of Cyprus and Turkey for the rotation of the Turkish national contingent and the reopening of the Kyrenia road under UNFICYP control. The Security Council was informed of this agreement on 25 September; arrangements for implementing it, however, took one month to negotiate, and implementation took place only on 26 October. The details are given in chapter I.

5. On 27 October, an Aide-mémoire was submitted to President Makarios listing certain aspects of the problem of a return to normal conditions, which in our view were ready for solution, and suggesting ways of approaching solutions, with UNFICYP assistance as suitable. Following President Makarios' reply of 12 November, a parallel Aide-mémoire was submitted to Vice-President Kuchuk, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, whose reply was contained in an Aide-mémoire dated 6 December and a subsequent letter dated 10 December. Developments in this sphere, including measures taken to implement certain proposals for normalization, are dealt with in chapter II.

6. Chapter III deals with the military situation and with UNFICYP activities in connexion with the observance of the cease-fire and the maintenance of law and order in Cyprus. Chapter IV gives a round-up of the situation in various parts of the island, since it is helpful to an understanding of the problem to realize that conditions differ from district to district. The financial aspects of the Operation and the mediation effort are dealt with in chapters V and VI, respectively. Some conclusions are set forth in the final chapter.

I. THE RE-OPENING OF THE NICOSIA-KYRENIA ROAD UNDER UNFICYP CONTROL  
AND THE ROTATION OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL CONTINGENT

7. In my report to the Council of 10 September 1964 (S/5950, para. 227), the Council was informed of the discussions that had taken place with the Governments of Cyprus and Turkey on matters relating to the rotation of the Turkish national contingent stationed in Cyprus, which had been originally scheduled for the end of August 1964, and the re-opening of the Nicosia-Kyrenia road under UNFICYP control. A solution had not been found at the time of the submission of the September report, but the Council was advised that the effort would continue.

8. On 25 September 1964, I informed the Council about the outcome of my continued search for a satisfactory solution of the problems concerning the projected rotation of the Turkish contingent. I stated that the parties concerned had agreed in principle to the proposal which I had submitted to them whereby the Kyrenia road, which was under the control of Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot armed personnel, would be placed under the exclusive control of UNFICYP; no armed personnel or armed posts other than those of the United Nations Force would be allowed on the road; traffic on the road would be free for all civilians. The proposal also provided for the withdrawal of any positions of the Turkish national contingent that were within 100 yards of the Kyrenia road, with the exception of a limited number of houses in Guenyeli required by the contingent for offices, accommodations for officers, and for the maintenance and repair of vehicles. The detailed implementation of this arrangement was to be entrusted to General K.S. Thimayya, the Commander of the Force. The Government of Cyprus, without prejudice to its position on the question of the Turkish contingent's presence in Cyprus, would not interfere with the projected rotation of the contingent. UNFICYP would observe in the usual manner the movement of the outgoing and incoming elements involved in the rotation.

9. In arranging for the detailed implementation of the foregoing agreement, certain difficulties were encountered by the Force Commander, General Thimayya, and my newly appointed Special Representative, Mr. Carlos Alfredo Bernardes, who had arrived in Cyprus on 30 September 1964. The negotiations in Cyprus involved of necessity the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, headed by Vice-President Kuchuk, which was alone in a position to exercise direct authority over the Turkish-Cypriot armed elements,

fighters and policemen, who were physically in control of the road. Without the full co-operation of the Turkish Cypriots, UNFICYP could not undertake implementation of the agreement. However, it appears that the Turkish-Cypriot leaders had not been adequately informed about the terms of the agreement. They were initially apprehensive that their military position vis-à-vis the Government armed forces might be jeopardized by its implementation, especially with regard to the provisions for the exclusive control of the road by UNFICYP and for the banning of armed personnel other than UNFICYP from it. The Turkish-Cypriot leadership would have preferred the re-opening of the road to be interpreted as an arrangement under which unarmed Greek Cypriots would be able to travel on the road by means of UNFICYP convoys, without there being any UNFICYP controls or restrictions on the use of the road by Turkish-Cypriot armed personnel or on the activities of the Turkish-Cypriot policemen on it. Agreement could be achieved only through extended negotiations on the spot and discussions at Headquarters between the Secretary-General and the Permanent Representative of Turkey.

10. The Government of Cyprus was kept fully informed of the progress of the discussions relating to implementation of the agreement.

11. On 3 October, the Special Representative and the Force Commander handed to President Makarios, to Vice-President Kuchuk and to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in Nicosia identical copies of an aide-mémoire on the implementation of the agreement concerning the re-opening of the Kyrenia road. The aide-mémoire, which set forth the pre-conditions necessary for the implementation of the agreement and a detailed plan of implementation, is reproduced in annex I to the present report.

12. The Special Representative and the Force Commander held detailed discussions with the parties concerned about the aide-mémoire with a view to elucidating its meaning and the exact manner in which UNFICYP intended to carry out its provisions. The aide-mémoire, having been formulated after discussions, was not open to negotiation, as it was considered to be only an elaboration of the terms of the agreement.

13. Accordingly, discussions were held in Nicosia with the President and with Mr. Clerides, the President of the House of Representatives, who was Acting President in Archbishop Makarios' absence. During these discussions, an understanding was arrived at concerning the implementation of the Secretary-General's proposal as elaborated in the aide-mémoire of 3 October.

14. On 6 October, Mr. Clerides addressed a letter to the Special Representative stating that the Government, in its desire to bring about conditions of normality, was prepared to consider favourably practical measures for the re-opening of the Kyrenia road. It reserved its position of principle, however, in regard to the validity of the Treaty of Alliance, the status of the Turkish-Cypriot leadership and police, and related matters. It also presented observations regarding aspects of the procedure for implementation set forth in the aide-mémoire chiefly with regard to the proposed operation of UNFICYP controls on the road.

15. In his reply of 10 October 1964, the Special Representative referred to the firm understanding, in the light of the discussions of the preceding week, that the Government had accepted the Secretary-General's proposal as elaborated in the aide-mémoire. He also took note that the Government had reserved its position of principle and had presented observations as indicated above. Concerning practical procedures, the Special Representative indicated that the Force Commander would take all possible measures to enforce the provisions of the aide-mémoire, including the manning of check-points on a round-the-clock basis to the extent found necessary, and the maintenance of frequent mobile patrols. Adequate measures would be taken, to the fullest possible extent, for the protection and security of the members of the public using the road, as well as all possible precautions and measures to ensure effective control of the road where it passed through villages.

16. With this exchange of communications, the discussions with the Cyprus Government for implementation of the agreement were successfully concluded. At about the same time, the Permanent Representative of Turkey reported that his Government accepted the interpretation of the agreement as set forth in the aide-mémoire of 3 October. On the other hand, the Special Representative and the Force Commander were still encountering serious difficulties in their discussions with the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, whose co-operation, as previously stated, was essential for carrying out the aide-mémoire but who pointed out that they were not a party to the original agreement.

17. These difficulties were eventually surmounted through intensive negotiations with Dr. Kuchuk and his associates. On 21 October, the Vice-President officially informed the Special Representative that he accepted the arrangements set out in the aide-mémoire. He then put forward certain views as to the manner in which, in his submission, that document should be understood; these referred, in particular, to the



problem of the maintenance of law and order in the area adjacent to the road, and to the operation of UNFICYP check-points on it. The Special Representative noted Dr. Kuchuk's acceptance of the arrangements set forth in the aide-mémoire. As for the various points raised by the Vice-President, the Special Representative gave a number of explanations about the aide-mémoire and about the way in which its terms would in fact be carried out. On the understanding that full compliance by the Turkish Cypriots with its principles and provisions would be ensured, the Special Representative assured Dr. Kuchuk that UNFICYP would take no action that would be unreasonable or vexatious or amount to an impairment of the rights and interests of the Turkish community. UNFICYP would not seek to assert its control over activities off the road.

18. The President of the Republic was informed on 21 October about the successful conclusion of the discussions which had led to the acceptance of the aide-mémoire by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership. On 22 October the President of the House of Representatives informed UNFICYP that his Government wished to observe and check the forthcoming rotation of the Turkish contingent. On the 23rd, the Acting Foreign Minister, Mr. Araouzos, addressed a letter to the Special Representative restating his Government's position on the proposed rotation of units of the Turkish contingent. He added that, bearing in mind the resolutions of the Security Council and wishing to avoid any action likely to increase tension in the area, his Government did not propose to take military measures to prevent the rotation from taking place.

19. By a letter dated 24 October, the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in Nicosia formally requested the United Nations to extend its good offices to facilitate the necessary arrangements for the rotation operation. He had also requested orally that UNFICYP should assist by providing transportation for that operation, since the necessary facilities were not available to the Turkish contingent.

20. The Force Commander and the Special Representative, upon approaching the Government of Cyprus on this question, were assured that the Turkish ship bringing in the Turkish troops could dock at Famagusta without impediment, and that no customs clearance would be required for stores being brought in by those troops, which would be unloaded on UNFICYP responsibility. The Cyprus Government raised objections, however, to the import of certain items of Turkish military equipment or to the

quantities specified by the Turkish Government. These items, which included certain types of ammunition and signal equipment, were initially placed in UNFICYP custody. The ammunition disapproved by the Government was returned to Turkey on 26 October. Detailed negotiations were held concerning the signal equipment, UNFICYP lending its good offices at the request of the parties. On 5 December the signal stores approved by the Government were delivered to the Turkish contingent and the remaining material was shipped back to Turkey.

21. On 26 October, the Special Representative and the Force Commander reported that the Kyrenia road had been re-opened under exclusive UNFICYP control and that the rotation of the Turkish contingent had been carried out on schedule with the assistance and under the observation of UNFICYP. Details of these well-planned operations, which went smoothly, are presented in chapter III, sections B and C.

II. ACTIVITIES TOWARD A RETURN TO NORMAL CONDITIONS  
AND THE RELAXATION OF ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS

A. UNFICYP's aide-memoire of 27 October 1964  
and subsequent developments

22. The fact that relative calm has prevailed in Cyprus during the period of this report has placed UNFICYP in a better position in its efforts to implement the Security Council's mandate concerning the return to normal conditions. The programme of action outlined in my report to the Council of 29 April 1964 (S/5671) has continued to serve as a guideline for these efforts.

23. That report pointed out that "ultimate responsibility for a return to normal conditions in Cyprus must, obviously, rest primarily with the authorities and people of Cyprus themselves, since normality can come about only as a result of a determination by the two communities ... to lay down their arms and seek to live again in peace" (S/5671, para. 2). This hope has not yet been fulfilled. Pending the forthcoming debate on the Cyprus problem in the General Assembly and the further efforts made by the Mediator to find a permanent solution, it would seem that the two communities see at present little advantage in abandoning or modifying their fundamental positions and that the solution of many issues is made dependent on a final political settlement. As a result, some of the objectives which were outlined in the action programme of 29 April 1964 are not likely to be attained under the circumstances prevailing at the moment. This applies particularly to the proposed efforts to facilitate the return of Turkish Cypriot officials and civil servants to their positions in Government service and to reintegrate the Turkish Cypriot policemen into the Cyprus police force.

24. Thus, while UNFICYP is able to render much assistance in the amelioration of day-to-day administrative, economic, social or judicial difficulties arising from the division of the two communities, it must be recognized that this assistance is reaching its limits and that little further advance on some of the unresolved issues can be expected pending a final over-all settlement. UNFICYP, of course, continues to ascertain the positions of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and endeavours to reconcile opposing viewpoints and reach workable solutions to the extent possible. In this respect, as may be seen from Chapter IV of this report, conditions and developments in the various areas of Cyprus are often quite different and may allow more progress in one region than in another.

25. During the period under review, UNFICYP searched diligently for ways of bringing about a return to normal conditions and the achievement of a more peaceful atmosphere. In addition to the numerous efforts pursued on particular issues in all regions and at all levels, it was felt, after the successful completion of the negotiations and arrangements for the reopening of the Kyrenia road and for the rotation of the Turkish contingent, that a further across-the-board effort should be made vis-à-vis both communities in order to review the most fundamental unresolved issues and to seek agreed solutions for them. Such action seemed particularly desirable in the face of an approaching winter likely to add considerably to the suffering and hardship of the Turkish Cypriot refugees.

26. Since the most far-reaching and most urgent action by the Government of Cyprus was called for, UNFICYP first communicated with President Makarios in an aide-memoire of 27 October 1964. In this aide-memoire, the text of which appears in Annex II to this report, UNFICYP made a number of suggestions for the restoration of freedom of movement on roads throughout the country, the easing of economic restrictions, the resettlement of displaced persons, the restoration of postal services and the improvement of medical facilities for Turkish Cypriots. On 30 October, in view of certain limitations which had been placed by the Government of Cyprus on a new shipment of Red Crescent supplies for Turkish Cypriot refugees, the Special Representative further addressed an urgent appeal to President Makarios for a review of the Government's position on this matter.

27. President Makarios answered UNFICYP's aide-memoire and the Special Representative's appeal in a letter of 12 November in which favourable action was announced on a number of issues, especially those of a humanitarian character. This letter is reproduced in Annex III.

28. Following the receipt of the 12 November letter, the Special Representative, on the basis of President Makarios' agreement with UNFICYP's suggestion that police roadblocks should be restricted to a minimum with a view to their progressive elimination, submitted to the President on 30 November a memorandum of implementation outlining the steps that could be taken toward that end. This memorandum is reproduced in Annex IV.

29. Also, having ascertained the views of the Government on its aide-memoire of 27 October, UNFICYP addressed to Vice-President Kuchuk an aide-memoire of 23 November, outlining the steps which could be taken by the Turkish Cypriot community in order to contribute to a return to normal conditions. The Vice-

President gave his detailed views on UNFICYP's suggestions in an aide-memoire dated 7 December and a subsequent letter dated 10 December. UNFICYP's aide-memoire and the Vice-President's reply appear in Annexes V and VI, respectively.

30. The exchange of communications between UNFICYP, the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership during the period under review have served to clarify the positions of the parties on the broad range of problems which will have to be dealt with if a return to normal conditions, as called for in the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, is to be achieved. UNFICYP will continue urging the Government to eliminate the remaining restrictions and difficulties which have affected Turkish Cypriots in the greater part of the Republic under Government control. Government measures in this regard continue to be limited by security considerations and by the military situation arising from the existence on the Island of areas to which the Government's control does not at present extend. Furthermore, the Government has appeared reluctant to make concessions to Turkish Cypriots which might be construed as restoring the position under the Zurich and London Agreements, to recognize official status for Turkish Cypriot officials who do not follow Government instructions, and so on. This in turn tends to limit the scope of UNFICYP's action in the direction of a return to normality.

31. The aide-memoire dated 6 December from Dr. Kuchuk and his associates and the Vice-President's letter of 10 December raise certain complex problems regarding the work of UNFICYP under the normalization aspect of its mandate. It had been known (S/5950, para. 218) that it was the view of the Turkish Cypriot leadership that UNFICYP should contribute to a return to normal conditions in Cyprus by effecting a reinstatement of the provisions of the 1960 constitution which for some time the Government has regarded as inoperative and which have in part been superseded by legislation passed without Turkish Cypriot participation. However, UNFICYP had been proceeding on the assumption that this would not prevent Turkish Cypriots from agreeing to, and co-operating in the implementation of, measures designed to improve the situation of the Island and to relieve the plight of the Turkish Cypriot population in particular without affecting the constitutional position either way. The proposals in the UNFICYP aide-memoire of 23 November concerning freedom of movement for civilians, restoration of economic activity, resettlement of refugees and the like were put forward on this basis. It now

appears, however, that, in the view of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, even these measures would, if implemented, prejudice the Turkish Cypriot case with regard to a final settlement, since they might either constitute an acknowledgement that normal life is acceptable for the Turkish Cypriot community without a restoration of its rights under the constitution, or else tend to consolidate irrevocably the allegedly illegal situation created by the Government. This would seem to leave the door open only for marginal actions to relieve specific cases of distress. It might be added that, in the Turkish Cypriot view, measures to enable Greek and Turkish Cypriots to live and work together in peace are also unacceptable for security reasons, since UNFICYP protection would in any case disappear once the United Nations peace-keeping force would be withdrawn from Cyprus.

32. The situation is further complicated by evidence made available to UNFICYP that certain non-normal conditions are being kept in existence by measures applied by one community to its own members. The Government contends that the Turkish Cypriot leadership in various areas has occasionally resorted to "forceful persuasion" or "strong-arm" methods to prevent refugees from resettling, to keep to a minimum personal or business contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to prevent travel by Turkish Cypriots in Government controlled areas unless absolutely necessary, etc. The Turkish Cypriot leadership explains that this self-segregation policy is made necessary by the record of past acts of violence committed by Greek Cypriots, since the leadership is responsible for the safety of members of its community.

33. As of the time of writing of this report, the positions of the Government and the Turkish Cypriot community limit the possibility of further efforts by UNFICYP to contribute to a return to normal conditions in so far as this would require the consent of both sides. The Special Representative and the Force Commander will continue to explore the possibility of further agreed measures for normalization. They will also urge either side to take unilateral measures which would be likely to ease tension and relieve the distress of Cypriots who are the innocent victims of the political impasse.

34. The progress made in the return to normal conditions both before and after the exchange of messages mentioned above is summarized in Section B below, which also refers to the most important problems encountered by UNFICYP.

B. Developments relating to points raised in the aide-memoire  
of 27 October and in the Special Representative's appeal  
of 30 October 1964

(i) Freedom of movement of the population

35. Restrictions on the free movement of civilians have been one of the major features of the situation in Cyprus since the early stages of the disturbances; these restrictions have inflicted considerable hardship on the population, especially the Turkish Cypriot community, and have kept tension high. In pursuance of its mandate to seek to return to normal conditions, UNFICYP has exerted its best efforts at various levels to solve this problem, which is a key factor in many other aspects of UNFICYP's activities. In response to UNFICYP's constant representations to the parties to restore full freedom of movement on all roads throughout the country and to dismantle roadblocks, a substantial improvement in the situation has in fact been noted during recent weeks, though the goal of unrestricted movement for all civilians is still far from fulfilment.

36. The main impetus in the direction of liberalization was provided by the reopening on 26 October 1964, of the Nicosia-Kyrenia road under exclusive UNFICYP control, thus enabling Greek Cypriot civilians, for the first time since the beginning of the inter-communal conflict, to travel through the main Turkish Cypriot-controlled area of the Island - albeit initially in UNFICYP-escorted convoys. With this exception, however, access by Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriot-controlled areas has continued to be barred almost completely, both in practice and as a matter of policy, by the Turkish Cypriot community. This position was reaffirmed by Dr. Kuchuk and his associates in their answer of 6 December 1964 to UNFICYP's aide-memoire of 23 November (see Annex VI, para 3). The leadership of that community contends that, with few exceptions, such as businessmen owning property behind the Turkish lines, Greek Cypriots are not directly affected by restrictions on access to Turkish Cypriot-controlled territory, while Turkish Cypriots suffer grave disabilities on account of Government-imposed restrictions; these are applicable to the greater part of the Island, including many Turkish Cypriot inhabited localities scattered in the various districts.

37. It is true that in Government-controlled areas, in practice Turkish Cypriots still encounter many difficulties, but this was much more the case at the

beginning than at the end of the period under review. However, the Government's policy appears to favour a gradual easing of these restrictions, and, as indicated earlier in this report, a number of measures to that end were adopted or promised by the Government following the UNFICYP aide-memoire of 27 October; some of these have in fact been implemented. There are good hopes that further progress may soon be achieved, with UNFICYP assistance where appropriate. Progress, however, is not uniform, and occasionally new measures are instituted - such as mobile patrols to replace roadblocks - in lieu of restrictions which have been removed.

38. Naturally, restrictions on the movement of civilians were felt most keenly, and were enforced most strictly, near the perimeters of the several enclaves under Turkish Cypriot control - i.e. the area from Nicosia north to the edge of Kyrenia; Lefka; and the Limnitis and Kokkina bridgeheads. These areas are guarded by Turkish Cypriot roadblocks and fortifications, and are in turn ringed by similar Government (National Guard or police) structures. In addition, the Government has maintained roadblocks and checkpoints on all main roads, for purposes of control over the movement of the Turkish Cypriots and of enforcement of economic restrictions on them. Turkish Cypriots have claimed, not without basis, that they have been subjected to harassment, delays, humiliation, excessive searches and arbitrary arrest by Government personnel manning such posts. On the other hand, cases of abduction and the taking of hostages have virtually ceased. To put the matter in balance, it should be noted that even during the period when restrictions in and around the main Turkish Cypriot areas were at their severest, there was often almost free movement (at least for Turkish Cypriots in areas controlled by the Government) in other parts of the Island, and especially in Famagusta, Larnaca and Limassol. Greek Cypriots would usually avoid places largely inhabited by Turkish Cypriots.

39. Early in September 1964, UNFICYP secured the removal of the main Turkish Cypriot roadblocks in the Limnitis bridgehead and undertook to escort Greek Cypriots wishing to cross the bridgehead in regular UNFICYP convoys. The Government thereupon removed restrictions on the movement of Turkish Cypriot civilians into Limnitis. Freedom of movement continued to be denied to Greek Cypriots in the Kokkina bridgehead and through Lefka, though in the latter case the denial has been said to spring from the unwillingness of Greek Cypriots to submit to checking by Turkish Cypriot policemen manning the roadblocks. The situation in the case of



Lefka was aggravated by the detention there of two National Guard officers and a soldier, captured in Ambelikou on 20 August. They were released at the end of September and the restrictions on freedom of movement eastwards from Lefka were lifted, though movement westwards towards the bridgeheads continued to be restricted until the end of November.

40. The restrictions were most keenly felt in Nicosia. During September, the Government authorities enforced a complete ban on the movement of all persons into and out of the city. An exception was made for the drivers of supply trucks; it was originally stipulated that these had to be over 55 years of age, but this requirement was later dropped as impracticable. The restrictions were further modified to permit entry and exit by sick and elderly persons. Throughout the period the enforcement of the regulations was haphazard; sick people and octogenarians might be turned away, while people of military age might be allowed to enter, at times only on foot, or after changing vehicles.

41. In his reply of 12 November to the Special Representative's aide-memoire of 27 October, the President agreed with UNFICYP's suggestion that Turkish Cypriots should be free to move in and out of Nicosia and promised that measures would be considered for the implementation of that suggestion. By 20-21 November, UNFICYP reports indicated that restrictions on the movement of Turkish Cypriots in and out of the capital were no longer being enforced. Vehicles owned by Turkish Cypriots could circulate freely if they were properly registered, taxed and insured and the driver was licensed. Turkish Cypriots travelling by road would still be subject, in all areas, to the minimum necessary checking for security reasons. At the same time it was announced that the checkpoints outside Nicosia on the Limassol, Larnaca and old and new Famagusta roads had been withdrawn, though two of these were almost immediately restored. An amnesty was announced, applicable to all Turkish Cypriots returning to their homes; as for those travelling otherwise, they were still subject to detention if there was prima facie evidence implicating them in criminal activity, in which case they could be arrested only by a uniformed policeman. UNFICYP considered that the latter provision tended to defeat the purpose of the measure, and urged full implementation of its proposal, which had been approved by the President, that Cypriots should not be arbitrarily arrested on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances since December 1963.

42. When the restrictions on freedom of movement to and from Nicosia were being strictly applied, it is estimated that only some ten to twenty Turkish Cypriots a day could enter the Turkish sector, whereas on an average day about the same number were reported as having been turned away; no complete figures are available but it is certain that travel was very much restricted. The effect of the lifting of the restrictions can be gauged by the following figures for movement of Turkish Cypriots into Nicosia for the first ten days after the lifting of the restrictions:

Monday, 23 November	495
Tuesday, 24 "	119
Wednesday, 25 "	414
Thursday, 26 "	259
Friday, 27 "	333
Saturday, 28 "	379
Sunday, 29 "	40
Monday, 30 "	347
Tuesday, 1 December	501
Wednesday, 2 "	367

43. President Makarios' letter to the Special Representative also agreed to UNFICYP's suggestion concerning freedom of movement in and out of Lefka, not only east but also west to Limnitis. The President specified that there would thus be no difficulty for children from neighbouring villages attending schools in Lefka. On 16 November, UNFICYP reported that about 200 school children from the Turkish Cypriot communities of Limnitis, Ghaziveran, Angolemi, Elea, Kalakhorio and Ambelikou had returned to Lefka to attend the secondary school there for the first time since December 1963. The necessary arrangements were made by the Command of UNFICYP's Paphos Zone, which arranged to have the children gathered from the different villages in private buses and escorted to Lefka on 15 November. It was decided initially to continue UNFICYP escorts for the children from Lefka to their villages and back every week-end; the children would board at Lefka during the week. At the same time it was reported that the authorities in the area had authorized Turkish Cypriot teachers to go to their schools outside Lefka, and miners from the district to return to the mines where they were employed. It should be noted that the Government had been reluctant to ease the restrictions on the travel of male students and teachers because it maintained that they had

all had weapons training and were potential if not actual fighters. The recent easing of restrictions is also expected to reduce difficulties in the redistribution of supplies sent to Nicosia and Lefka from the ports, and in the animal immunization campaigns carried out in the various zones.

44. As indicated in the report of 10 September, UNFICYP has endeavoured, within its mandate, to alleviate the difficulties arising from the restrictions on freedom of movement both centrally and at the local level, and will continue to do so as long as restrictions remain in effect. It has observed the operation of roadblocks by stationing UNFICYP personnel at most of such posts; their very presence has tended to curb abuses and excesses. It has continued to run frequent patrols through sensitive areas to prevent illicit interference with freedom of movement and abductions. The recent improvement in the situation has made it possible to reduce to a minimum such UNFICYP activities as the escorting of travellers. The normal practice when UNFICYP assistance is requested is to inform the Cyprus police in advance of the travel of Turkish Cypriots so that all necessary clearances may be arranged. This usually results in unimpeded movement. Escorts and transport are still occasionally provided by UNFICYP for seriously ill persons requiring rapid transport to hospitals. As has been indicated earlier in this report, UNFICYP is making intensive efforts with the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to secure the elimination of practically all roadblocks throughout the Island, with a view to securing completely free movement for civilians, subject only to minimum checks to prevent the transport of arms.

(ii) Measures to assist refugees and other distressed persons

45. According to the 1960 census, there were 103,809 Turkish Cypriots living in 235 villages and suburbs in either purely Turkish or mixed communities. Following the events of December 1963, approximately 25,000 Turkish Cypriots moved to other places of residence. As a result, ninety-four villages were partially or fully evacuated by Turkish Cypriots. Approximately 21,000 persons were given homes in larger Turkish Cypriot communities, while approximately 4,000 persons found temporary shelter in refugee camps. By far the largest segment of the Turkish Cypriot population, however, has remained where it was.

46. UNFICYP's efforts in this sphere during the period covered by this report continued to centre on the alleviation of the most immediate hardships of the refugees, especially by facilitating the further shipment and proper distribution of Red Crescent supplies and by obtaining an end to restrictions on certain essential goods. UNFICYP also continued to exercise concern for the resettlement of the refugees and made certain proposals to that end.

(a) Red Crescent shipments

47. Since the events of December 1963, the Red Crescent Society of Turkey, every two or three months, has sent shipments of relief goods for Turkish Cypriot displaced persons and unemployed in need of assistance. By 17 September, seven ships carrying relief supplies of various sorts had been thus sent to Cyprus. Import duties on these shipments were waived by the Government of Cyprus, which, however, maintained that such imports should come through a normal Cyprus port under normal import procedures.

48. In the addendum to the report of 10 September (S/5950/Add.2, paras. 1-9) the Security Council was informed of the developments relating to the situation in the Kokkina area. In view of the emergency situation there, the Turkish Government decided, on 14 September, to send a shipment of food and other essential supplies on condition that UNFICYP would supervise their unloading and transport. With the agreement of the President, 300 tons of food, clothing and other supplies were unloaded duty-free at Famagusta on 18 September under UNFICYP supervision, and were gradually **redistributed** to refugees in Kokkina and elsewhere in the Island. The last 90 tons were moved from Famagusta to Nicosia on 5 November.

49. On 7 October, the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus that it wished to send a further shipment with approximately 950 tons of additional Red Crescent relief supplies. The cargo was to include approximately 650 tons of food and 300 tons of different items, mainly clothing and footwear. The Cyprus Government stated that it had no objection to the entry of the Red Crescent relief shipment on the following conditions: (a) only certain goods, mainly pulses, margarine and rice would be allowed to be imported free of duty; (b) items such as sugar, tea, jam, shoes for children and blankets would be allowed to be imported subject to payment of customs duty in accordance with the Customs Tariff Laws of the Republic; (c) certain items of wearing apparel would be allowed to be imported subject to payment of customs duty if more details regarding

their type and use were submitted; and (d) flour, macaroni, olive oil, tinned vegetables, olives, shoes and rubber shoes for men and women, and rubber boots for men were not allowed to be imported "because they are produced in sufficient quantities and can be purchased locally".

50. The senior delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Cyprus was also notified about the contents of the reply given to the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the beginning of October it was realized that the distribution of the previous relief shipment would come to an end and a new Red Crescent shipment of relief supplies would probably be needed. The senior delegate of the ICRC, therefore, took up the matter with the Minister of the Cyprus Government concerned. On 15 October, the ICRC representative approached UNFICYP and asked for its good-offices and assistance in obtaining clearance for the scheduled Red Crescent shipment.

51. On 26, 28 and 30 October, the Special Representative and members of his staff visited refugee camps and villages where Turkish Cypriots had taken refuge during and after the events of December 1963. As a result of the visits, the Special Representative felt that the 3,000 persons in tents at Hamid Mandres, just north of Nicosia, and many of the 800 refugees in Kokkina who had made their homes in caves or holes in the hillside were in need of relief in the form of basic foodstuffs and clothing. Their conditions presented a health hazard in the approaching winter. The Special Representative therefore appealed to President Makarios, in a letter of 30 October 1964, to grant permission for a Red Crescent shipment to enter duty-free, without prejudice to the Government's position on supplies from foreign sources.

52. In his letter of 12 November to the Special Representative, President Makarios agreed that the shipment that was due to arrive at the beginning of November would be unloaded without delay and would be exempted from duty.

53. Late in November, the Chargé d'Affaires of Turkey in Nicosia informed the Special Representative that the Red Crescent Society of Turkey wished to include additional items, among which were tents, clothing and footwear, in the relief shipment which the Government had already agreed could enter Cyprus free of duty. The Special Representative confirmed to the Chargé d'Affaires that woollen clothing, tents and tent material had been removed from the list of prohibited materials and that the question of additional items might be more appropriately taken up with the Government directly, in accordance with previous practice. On 2 December, the ICRC representative in Cyprus was informed of the Government's consent to the inclusion

of additional items in the shipment. The shipment arrived at Famagusta port on 3 December.

54. In the meantime UNFICYP prepared detailed plans for the storage, transportation and distribution under UNFICYP supervision of the incoming Red Crescent supplies. UNFICYP also conducted an island-wide relief survey.

55. The results of the survey as well as the operational instructions for UNFICYP military units were discussed with the representatives of the Relief Commissions of the Turkish Communal Chamber. Since supervision by UNFICYP of all aspects of storage and distribution had been a requirement for the entry of the shipment, it was agreed upon that UNFICYP would supervise the entire operation: the movement of the goods from the ship to final delivery to village Mukhtars; the storing of the goods in the central and District Zone warehouses; the distribution of the relief supplies based on figures and requirements as established by the UNFICYP survey. UNFICYP would provide transportation or escort in accordance with a scheduled programme and agreed scales of issue. Labour, on the other hand, would be provided in each phase of the operation by the Turkish Communal Chamber.

(b) Woollen clothing, tents and tent material

56. UNFICYP always has been particularly concerned with the lifting of restrictions on woollen clothing, tents and tent materials for refugees. Those items were included in the Government's list of prohibited materials. UNFICYP, of course, realized the force of the Government's contention that some of those materials could indirectly have military significance, but at the same time it knew them to be essential to the relief of the distressed persons, and was confident that their removal from the restricted list would do no harm to the interests of the Government while taking a step toward a return to normal conditions.

57. In his letter of 12 November 1964, the President accepted the suggestion in UNFICYP's aide-memoire of 27 October that woollen clothing of all kinds and tents and tent materials should be completely removed from the list of prohibited materials. Accordingly, UNFICYP was able to send to Kokkina on 24 November, from Red Crescent stores, sixty tents, woollen clothing, footwear and other items previously prohibited to Turkish Cypriots.

(c) Resettlement

58. Resettlement of the displaced persons has been all along of great concern to the representatives of the ICRC and to UNFICYP. UNFICYP's approach to the issue has been based on paragraph 5 of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 and on humanitarian grounds. Initiatives by UNFICYP were designed to further the return of normal conditions in Cyprus and to help relieve the hardships of Turkish Cypriot refugees.

59. It was in this spirit that UNFICYP offered its assistance and good offices in its aide-memoires of 27 October and 23 November 1964 to President Makarios and to the Vice-President, Dr. Kuchuk. UNFICYP was prepared to assist in the prompt return of as many displaced persons as possible to their home localities by suggesting a number of measures which were outlined in the aide-memoires (see Annex II, para. 19, and Annex V, paras 10 and 11).

60. On 4 November, Dr. Kuchuk sent a letter and a memorandum to President Makarios concerning the question of displaced persons. The letter recalled President Makarios' message of 15 September 1964 to the Secretary-General in which it had been stated that the Government of Cyprus was ready to assist financially and to afford protection to the Turkish Cypriots desiring to be resettled. Dr. Kuchuk suggested that President Makarios should agree to call a meeting of the Council of Ministers, including its Turkish Cypriot members as provided under the Constitution, at a neutral place in Nicosia under the protection of UNFICYP, to consider the whole matter from all its aspects, including especially security and financial requirements, and to determine the steps to be taken for solving the refugee problem in Cyprus. The memorandum elaborated on the steps which, according to the Vice-President, should be taken for the implementation of an over-all resettlement plan based on the principles outlined. The memorandum made the following points:

- (a) Resettlement and rehabilitation of Turkish Cypriot refugees should be tackled most urgently, with the assistance and co-operation of the United Nations experts;
- (b) UNFICYP should assist in securing evacuation of all Turkish Cypriot houses and properties and occupied by Greek Cypriots;
- (c) Any plan for the resettlement of displaced Turkish Cypriots and for their financial compensation should cover the whole Island, but priority should be given to densely populated areas such as Omorphita and Ktima;

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(d) Any resettlement plan should accord full protection to Turkish Cypriots, with UNFICYP assistance;

(e) In order to command the displaced persons support and confidence, the preparation and implementation of a resettlement plan would require the participation of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

61. Copies of Dr. Kuchuk's letter and memorandum were sent on 9 November to the Special Representative from Dr. Kuchuk's office with a covering note requesting him to take the initiative for easing the situation of the Turkish Cypriot refugees. In his reply to Dr. Kuchuk, the Special Representative indicated the action UNFICYP had undertaken in the resettlement problem.

62. In his letter of 12 November 1964 to the Special Representative, President Makarios reiterated his Government's policy and confirmed that it was willing to do everything possible to facilitate the return of displaced persons to their home localities. He welcomed the suggestions made by UNFICYP in the aide-memoire of 27 October but pointed out that in the Government's view, evidence showed that the Turkish leadership did not really wish Turkish Cypriots to return to their villages (see Annex III, section III). Dr. Kuchuk's communication of 6 December (see Annex VI, part I, paras. 7 and 8) said that it was futile to request the Turkish Cypriots to live among their persecutors, and reiterated the points made in his letter of 4 November to the President (see para. 60 above). As regards UNFICYP's suggestions, Dr. Kuchuk pointed out that these would require United Nations troops to remain in Cyprus permanently, which was unlikely to be the case.

(iii) Efforts to restore normal economic activities

63. As indicated in previous reports, the Turkish Cypriots have suffered, since the outbreak of violence on 21 December 1963, from a variety of economic and other restrictions which at different times have been imposed upon them. These were, in addition to the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community, its lack of communications, the disruption of its normal economic activities and the loss of sources of income in agriculture, industry, commerce, public and private employment.



64. Economic restrictions became particularly severe between mid-July and the end of August, when for some time all movement of supplies into the areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia, Lefka, Limnitis and Kokkina was cut and a list of materials prohibited to the Turkish Cypriots was drawn up by the Government. Since then, however, progress has been made toward the abolition or relaxation of some of these measures.

(a) Movement of commercial supplies

65. Following the urgent talks held with the Government in August and early September 1964, following the Tylliria fighting in early August, the movement of supplies into the areas controlled by the Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia, Lefka, Limnitis and Kokkina was restored. However, as indicated in the last report (see S/5950/Add.2), disagreement arose about the quantities of essential food and other items that should be sent to Kokkina. This difficulty was surmounted only after elaborate discussions with the Government. On 13 September, as previously reported, 4,000 lbs. of food from UNFICYP's own stores were flown to Kokkina by two UNFICYP helicopters; blankets and clothing were sent by lorry.

66. On 15 September, UNFICYP was informed that the Government had decided to send food supplies to Kokkina from its own stores. Approximately seven tons of supplies, consisting of flour, dry vegetables, potatoes, meat and milk powder were handed over by the Government to UNFICYP and were immediately shipped to Kokkina. The local Turkish Cypriot leaders, however, refused to accept the relief supplies donated by the Government. As a result, the supplies were unloaded by UNFICYP by the wayside, where they remained untouched for several weeks. After long negotiations, agreement was finally reached in mid-October on the amount to be paid by the Turkish Cypriots and only then were the supplies accepted. In the meantime, several items had spoiled and had to be destroyed.

67. Commercial supplies were still subject to frequent inspections at checkpoints. The Turkish Cypriots often reported that searches were unduly severe and caused damage. The governmental authorities gave assurances that, although searches for arms and strategic materials could not be abandoned, the police had instructions to expedite matters as much as possible. UNFICYP remained vigilant to make sure that there were no undue obstructions to the movement of supplies. Nevertheless, the frequency of the searches and the fear of arrest

discouraged many Turkish Cypriots from moving through Greek Cypriot areas and caused them to appeal to UNFICYP for escorts of commercial supplies, especially in Nicosia and Paphos districts. The tendency, however, is toward a discontinuance of such escorts.

68. UNFICYP used its good offices to expedite the clearing through customs at Famagusta and other ports of commodities imported by Turkish Cypriot merchants. Since mid-October, commodities not on the list of prohibited materials have been cleared without serious hindrance. However, the Government still does not allow the import of some goods held in customs warehouses which, although on the prohibited list, are meant to be used for non-military purposes and were bought and paid for by Turkish Cypriots before they were prohibited. Negotiations on these special cases continue.

69. A modest volume of trade continued to be carried on between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot merchants in Nicosia and in the other main centres. UNFICYP received assurances from the competent authorities that this trade would not be subject to restrictions, except when it involves prohibited materials.

(b) Easing of restrictions on strategic materials

70. Following President Makarios' message of 15 September 1964 (see S/5950/Add.2, annex), in which it was announced that it had been decided "to remove any economic restrictions", UNFICYP suggested reconsideration by the Government of the list of materials which were prohibited to the Turkish Cypriots, and of which UNFICYP had been informed on 17 July. A new list of prohibited materials, issued by the Government on 7 October, maintained, on the whole, the previous restrictions. As indicated earlier, the Government subsequently de-restricted woollen clothing, tents and tent materials, in response to UNFICYP's aide-memoire of 27 October.

71. At present the list of prohibited materials contains some thirty items (see Annex II, appendix), some of which have a direct military application while others - mainly fuel, spare parts, tyres, batteries and building materials - although having some strategic significance, affect primarily the return to economic normality. This being the case, UNFICYP strongly recommended that the latter be removed from the list. After extensive discussions, the Government consented to take certain steps toward liberalization.
72. An understanding was reached in October for the release of adequate quantities of gasoil and lubricants for ploughing and sowing in Turkish Cypriot areas. Requests for fuel oil (mazout) have been honoured practically in every case since the beginning of November. Kerosene has been removed from the restricted list. Concerning the complaint made by Turkish Cypriot leadership in its communication of 6 December (see Annex VI, Part I, paras. 4 and 5), that the supply of fuel depended on arbitrary decisions of Greek Cypriot officials and of the guards manning checkpoints, UNFICYP felt that while the needs of the Turkish Cypriot population would best be served by the de-restriction of fuel, and this objective should be further pursued, the present arrangements worked nevertheless in a fairly satisfactory way.
73. The restrictions on the supply of petrol to Turkish Cypriot areas are, on the other hand, still in force. UNFICYP has proposed that reasonable quantities be delivered to such areas. It has at the same time called the attention of the Turkish Cypriot leadership to the importance of complying with legal requirements relating to the licensing of vehicles and drivers and third-party insurance. It has stated its willingness to assist the Turkish Cypriot vehicle owners to comply with such requirements. However, Mr. Kuchuk's communication of 6 December indicated that the leadership would not encourage Turkish Cypriots to do so until full freedom of movement was restored.
74. As to spare parts, tyres and batteries, the Government decided to allow the Turkish Cypriot owners of tractors, farm implements and agricultural machinery to obtain such items through normal commercial channels, provided UNFICYP would oversee such transactions.
75. No progress has been made on the de-restriction of building materials (cement, iron rods, timber, gravel, crushed stone and sand), the Government insisting that these were sensitive items extensively used by the Turkish Cypriots

to erect military fortifications. In his communication of 6 December, Dr. Kuchuk turned down UNFICYP's suggestion, contained in its aide-mémoire of 23 November, for an island-wide de-fortification programme, asserting that the fortifications, which were defensive, would be kept as long as a large army hostile to the Turkish Cypriots was maintained and the Constitution continued to be disregarded (see Annex VI, Part I, para. 6). Nevertheless, in those parts of the Island where more progress has been made toward a return to normality, the Turkish Cypriots are able to buy these materials for repairs and other civil construction works.

(iv) Postal services

76. The Government's reply to the UNFICYP proposals, which had not been received at the time of the last report, was delivered on 8 September, with a covering letter from the Minister of Communications and Works, stating that the Council of Ministers considered the return of the whole of the stocks of stamps, stamped stationery, postal orders and postal parcels to be of vital importance in any agreement for the resumption of full postal services. The return of these stocks had already been agreed to in principle by the Turkish Cypriot leaders. The main differences between the Government's text and that of the Turkish Cypriots was that the former made no provision for the payment of back salaries to postal employees, or the preservation of their acquired rights. There was also substantial disagreement concerning the number of Turkish Cypriot postal employees who should be re-employed under the interim arrangement proposed by UNFICYP.

77. The two texts were discussed with the two sides and in view of the substantial area of agreement between them a new set of proposals was drafted by UNFICYP in an attempt to devise a text acceptable to both sides. This was sent to the Minister of Communications and Works on 23 October 1964 and was also communicated to the Turkish Cypriot leaders. At the time of submission of this report the area of disagreement concerning the above points had not narrowed. UNFICYP considered, however, that the two main conditions outlined in President Makarios' answer of 12 November to UNFICYP's aide-mémoire (see Annex II, para. 20) had been met by the Turkish Cypriot leadership, which had agreed, inter alia, to acknowledge the authority of the Government's Postal Administration. Accordingly, the various administrative points raised by the Turkish Cypriot leadership should in due course be taken up directly with the Director of the Department of Posts of the Ministry

of Communications and Works, without prejudice to the position of principle of the Turkish Cypriot community, which was understood to be reserved pending a political settlement. In the meantime, however, the Turkish Cypriot population should not continue to be deprived of postal services on account of differences which did not basically affect the arrangements proposed by UNFICYP; these should therefore be put into effect without delay.

78. UNFICYP also continued negotiations for the restoration of full telecommunication services throughout the Island. In its view this could be achieved only if the most difficult issues, such as the re-employment and the emoluments and wages of the Turkish Cypriot officials, employees and workers of the Cyprus Telecommunications Authority, were separated from those which could be solved without delay in a businesslike manner. On this basis, UNFICYP made proposals for restoring those telephone services which have been discontinued since the disturbances in December 1963. Although the positions of the parties concerned are still far apart, efforts to bridge the gap are continuing.

### C. Developments In Other Fields

#### (i) Agriculture

79. Considering the difficulties that the Turkish Cypriot farmers, and in some sensitive areas also the Greek Cypriot farmers, have had to face since the events of December 1963, the agricultural situation can be considered fairly satisfactory.

80. Ploughing and the sowing of wheat and barley in Turkish Cypriot and sensitive areas was the main agricultural problem to which UNFICYP had to devote its attention during the period under review. It was clearly desirable that there should be no obstacles to the sowing of cereal grains, and therefore there was applause for the statement in the reply of President Makarios of 12 November 1964 that "there is no intention on the part of the Government to create any difficulties which may adversely affect the ploughing of agricultural land".

81. As practical steps, UNFICYP promoted meetings between representatives of Greek and Turkish Cypriot agricultural co-operatives to discuss arrangements for the supply of fertilizers to Turkish Cypriot farmers. As a result, the latter have received adequate quantities to cover their needs, at least until the end of the year. Furthermore, UNFICYP negotiated with the competent authorities of the Republic for the release of adequate quantities of gasoil and lubricants for tractors, based on the areas to be ploughed. With regard to ploughing and sowing in the sensitive areas (i.e. areas where the fields of one community are located near or inside an area controlled by the other community), UNFICYP announced that it was prepared, under certain arrangements, to provide protection to Greek and Turkish Cypriot farmers who required it. An agreement has now been reached with the Government and it is hoped that these areas will be sown before winter sets in. As to the areas around the villages abandoned by the Turkish Cypriots, UNFICYP informed the competent authorities of the Republic that it was prepared to extend its protection for ploughing and sowing in such areas, in the same way as for the 1964 harvesting. As an alternative, UNFICYP recommended that the Government should assist the Turkish Cypriot farmers to lease their land to Greek Cypriot farmers on an annual basis. The Government has not yet replied to these suggestions.

82. The harvesting of grapes and olives in adjoining, mixed or abandoned areas was completed with UNFICYP's assistance, which was provided on the basis of the arrangements already described in the report of 10 September (S/5950, paras. 160-162). The arrangements on the whole worked in a fairly satisfactory way, but there was some unlawful harvesting in areas abandoned by the Turkish Cypriots.

83. Assistance for the maintenance of citrus orchards in abandoned and sensitive areas continued to be given in accordance with arrangements previously made by UNFICYP and FAO experts, as described in the report of 10 September (S/5950, para. 163). As a result of the co-operative efforts of UNFICYP and FAO experts, practically all such citrus orchards have been saved, and UNFICYP is now negotiating arrangements with the Government representatives for their harvesting. In some limited areas the orchards will not bear fruit this year owing to insufficient irrigation.

(ii) Local and export markets

84. No agreement was reached between the representatives of the Grain Commission and the Turkish Cypriot co-operative societies for the delivery of the 1964 wheat and barley crops, in spite of long negotiations in which UNFICYP representatives participated. The consequence of this lack of agreement was twofold: the Turkish Cypriot farmers were obliged to sell their crops through commercial channels at a price somewhat lower than the Government subsidized price; and the Turkish Cypriot co-operatives' debt to the Grain Commission in respect of 1963 crop deliveries remained unpaid.

85. As to the marketing of grapes, the Turkish Cypriot growers complained that they did not receive the Government subsidy which is paid on grapes delivered to wine factories. The Government claimed that as there was an annual over-production of grapes far above the storage capacity of factories, quotas for each village and dates and priorities of delivery had in the past been fixed by local committees composed of government officials, representatives of co-operative societies, and district administrators. Under present conditions it was impossible to maintain a system of quotas based on goodwill on all sides and in which district administrators played a mediating role, since the latter had not been allowed to visit many Turkish Cypriot and mixed villages for months.

86. No great difficulties were encountered by the Turkish Cypriot farmers in the marketing of carobs, olives and tobacco. As to citrus fruits, UNFICYP is negotiating special arrangements for the local marketing and export of Turkish Cypriot crops.

(iii) Industry

87. As indicated in the report of 10 September (S/5950, paras. 172 to 176) the disturbed situation in the Island and the restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of persons and goods have affected adversely the industrial enterprises of the Turkish Cypriots. Some of these industries are in Greek Cypriot areas and have been inactive since December 1963, while others are suffering from a shortage or total lack of raw materials. Most of the others have been unable to operate at full capacity in the present unfavourable conditions.

88. UNFICYP has used its good offices wherever possible to keep such enterprises operating, and thus improve the general conditions of the population. Thus, UNFICYP is trying to negotiate an increase in the monthly allocation of wheat to the Turkish Cypriot flour mill in Nicosia; it obtained the release of significant quantities of fuel oil for the Turkish Cypriot dairy co-operative near Nicosia, as well as for several lime kilns in Ambelikou (Paphos district); and it facilitated contacts between Government representatives and representatives of the Turkish tobacco company in Nicosia in order to work out temporary arrangements for the operation of the company. In general, it tried to remove obstacles to the resumption or expansion of activities.

89. Concerning the Greek Cypriot industries located in Turkish Cypriot areas, UNFICYP has urged that, wherever possible, the lawful owners should be enabled to reactivate such industries or should not be prevented from removing or otherwise disposing of their properties. For example, UNFICYP is negotiating for the reopening of two Greek Cypriot lime kilns in the Kyrenia area and for the removal of machinery from some Greek Cypriot plants in the Turkish Cypriot sector of Nicosia which could not possibly be reactivated under present circumstances.

(iv) Public Utilities

90. There were no difficulties concerning the supply of electricity and water to the Turkish Cypriot controlled areas in Nicosia district and elsewhere; UNFICYP has occasionally arranged for the inspection of power lines passing through such areas. UNFICYP was able to arrange further talks between Greek and Turkish Cypriot members of the Board of Directors of the Electricity Authority of Cyprus (EAC) on matters pending since the outbreak of violence in December 1963. The subjects discussed included re-employment of Turkish Cypriot personnel of EAC and the payment of arrears of salary, but no significant progress was made. The money collected from Turkish Cypriot consumers in Nicosia has still remained credited in a "frozen" account and has not been made available to EAC. This is not the only case where charges for electricity, and also water, remain unsettled under the present circumstances.



91. In the town of Larnaca, the water system, which was formerly controlled by the Turkish Cypriot community (having been bequeathed to it in the eighteenth century by a local Pasha on the condition that water should be supplied to both communities without discrimination), has now been taken over by the Greek Cypriot administration. In compensation, the Turkish Cypriots are not asked to pay for the supply of electricity.

(v) Government Properties

92. The use of the stores and administrative offices situated in and just outside the northern (Turkish-Cypriot) part of Nicosia Walled City continues to be denied to the Government; there was further deterioration in the condition of some of the buildings and their contents, and more thefts of property occurred. Despite UNFICYP's efforts, no progress was made towards devising any scheme to restore the buildings or their contents to use. It appears more and more as though no such arrangement will be possible unless there is, at the very least, agreement on creating a buffer zone on either side of the Green Line, since the "blue-shaded area", in which these properties lie, is still regarded as a very sensitive zone. The position of the two sides remained, nevertheless, so far apart (see Annex III and Annex VI) that there was little prospect of finding a solution in the near future.

(vi) Missing persons

93. In the report of 10 September, it was indicated that as of 1 September 232 Turkish Cypriots were missing, according to the list compiled by the Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons Bureau. Since that date, UNFICYP was informed that twenty-three Turkish Cypriots have been accounted for and their names have been deleted from the list of missing persons; this leaves 209 Turkish Cypriots still missing. Efforts to trace those missing will be continued by ICRC and UNFICYP, but there seems to be little prospect of finding them alive.

94. As stated in the same report, the figures given to ICRC by the Cyprus Government show that there were forty-three missing persons as of 1 September, of whom thirty-eight were Greek Cypriots, four United Kingdom nationals and one German. Since then, one of the four United Kingdom nationals was found to have returned to

the United Kingdom, reducing the figure to three missing. On 20 October, the Force Commander was informed by the President of the Civil Servants Association of Cyprus that a prison warder disappeared on 15 October. UNFICYP immediately notified the ICRC representative and raised the matter at the political liaison meeting of 21 October. UNFICYP Civilian Police made an investigation on the following day. UNCIVPOL's findings were inconclusive and the Turkish Cypriot liaison officer reported no knowledge of the matter.

(vii) The functioning of the Law Courts and the administration of justice

(a) The functioning of the Courts

Nicosia

95. Three months have elapsed since the Courts in Nicosia began to function in a new Law Courts building in the Greek Cypriot sector of the city, close to the "Green Line". Although judges of both communities have been regularly attending the Courts to perform their professional duties, the expected return to normality has not been realized to any appreciable extent. Assurances have been given by the Commander that, whenever requested, UNFICYP protection and escort will be provided for Turkish Cypriot lawyers, Court staff and witnesses who wish to come to the new Courts building. The Government has issued instructions to the police that Turkish Cypriot counsel, parties and witnesses to proceedings before the Supreme Court and the District Court of Nicosia are not to be arrested for any past offences while proceeding to and from Court to attend the proceedings in question or while in Court attending such proceedings without a judicial warrant. There has been as yet, however, no response from the Turkish Cypriot community.

96. At the beginning of the period under review, four Turkish Cypriot members of the Court staff (a Registrar, an assistant Registrar, a Librarian and a bailiff) came to the Court building and performed their duties for a few days without let or hindrance. There was no inter-communal incident nor threat of any kind whatsoever to their lives or personal safety by either the Greek Cypriot authorities or the Greek Cypriot population. It was hoped that this number would progressively increase until all the Turkish Cypriot members of the Court staff returned to their former employment. However, not only was there no increase in this number but after the first few days three of these four stopped coming to work. This development is

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regrettable in that the Law Courts had been rightly regarded by all concerned as an area of institutional activity in which a gradual return to normal conditions could have been started with a reasonable hope of its spreading to other departments and eventually to the entire civil service. The Government, on the recommendation of the Supreme Court, has agreed, in a gesture of goodwill and as an earnest of its desire to do everything possible to normalize conditions in the Island, to continue to pay the salaries of the three staff members who have ceased to turn up for work, but continue to function in the old Law Courts building in the Turkish Cypriot sector, provided they function under the directions of the Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court. Of the twenty-four Turkish Cypriots on the staff of the Nicosia Courts only one is functioning at present in the new Law Courts building.

97. With the non-attendance of Turkish Cypriot Court staff, litigants, and witnesses, the work of the Courts in Nicosia has been confined for the most part to entirely Greek Cypriot cases. The hearing and adjudication of some of even these cases, however, has been considerably impeded by the refusal of the Turkish Cypriot leadership to transfer the Court records at present housed in the old Law Courts building in the Turkish sector. The practice which had gradually been growing up of specific files or records relating to matters which come up before the Courts being brought, through UNFICYP good offices, from the old Law Courts building (see S/5950, para. 124), has been terminated by the Turkish Cypriot leadership, and no files or records are being transmitted any more. The same applies to the Library, and judges have not been able to obtain any books from the Judges' Library still housed in the old Law Courts building. UNFICYP efforts to facilitate the gradual transfer of the Court records and the Library to the new Law Courts building have yielded no results so far. The practical results which were being gradually achieved, through UNFICYP good offices, in a return to the normal functioning of the Law Courts in Nicosia have thus been frustrated and the headway which UNFICYP had been progressively making during the last few months with the co-operation of the Minister of Justice and the Supreme Court of the Republic has been stalled, although it is hoped only temporarily.

98. The question of the status of Turkish Cypriot Police personnel who refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Ministry of the Interior continues to remain a

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serious problem. In view, however, of the other difficulties which have now arisen and which have been enumerated above, this problem has become merely one of several factors contributing to a delay in an early return to the normal functioning of the Courts and does not by itself constitute the principal issue.

#### The rest of the Island

99. The progress described in the last report towards a return to the normal functioning of the Law Courts in the other towns of the Island has continued. The Turkish Cypriot District Judges are now functioning in all the districts and most of the cases are being dealt with. The Assizes have functioned normally and accused persons who had been held in custody on serious offences pending trial have now had the uncertainty of their guilt conclusively resolved one way or the other, according to law. The Assize Courts everywhere have been composed of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot judges in accordance with the provisions of the new Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law, 1964, enacted last July over the strong protest of the Turkish Cypriot leadership which, inter alia, eliminated the requirement that the composition of the Courts be determined by the community to which the parties to the proceedings belong. Although difficulties still exist regarding attendance by Turkish Cypriots at courts situated within Greek Cypriot sectors of some of the towns, the Court authorities as well as the Police have been doing, and are continuing to do, everything possible to facilitate such attendance and to ensure the personal safety of those Turkish Cypriots coming to Court on business.

100. In the provincial towns there still has not been any return to work by Turkish Cypriot members of the Court staff. None of the eighteen Turkish Cypriots who were attached to the Court staffs in the towns of Limassol, Famagusta, Paphos, Larnaca, and Kyrenia have begun to participate in the work of the Courts. This has created serious administrative problems which have in turn affected the work of the judges. The continued absence of these staff members may necessitate the filling of these vacancies by new appointments.

#### General observations

101. An important development in the functioning of the Law Courts during the last three-month period has been the regular sitting of the Supreme Court of Justice

created under the Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law, 1964, by a merger of the former Supreme Constitutional Court and High Court of Justice. The new Supreme Court, consisting of the three Greek Cypriot Judges and the two Turkish Cypriot Judges of the two previous Courts, has carried on its work, both administrative and judicial, without publicity and without political interference. In accordance with article 3 (4) of that Law, which provides that the senior member of the Court shall be the first President of the Court, one of the two Turkish Cypriot members of the Court is now functioning as its President. Both he and the other Turkish Cypriot member of the Supreme Court have been performing their judicial functions under the new Law, subject, however, to certain reservations of principle.

102. The practical arrangements which had been worked out between UNFICYP, the Supreme Court and the Ministry of the Interior to ensure the complete freedom of movement of all judges of the Republic throughout the Island without let or hindrance have achieved success. Throughout the last three months there has been no reported instance of any Turkish Cypriot judge being stopped or sought to be searched by the Police anywhere on the roads in the Island. UNFICYP escorts for Judges have as a result been progressively discontinued without any untoward results.

103. As indicated in Annex VI, the Turkish Cypriot leadership has referred to an appeal made by the Vice-President to President Makarios on the subject of the position of Turkish Cypriot judges, and of the alleged unconstitutionality of the Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law of 1964. The continued performance by Turkish Cypriot judges of their judicial functions was not, so far as is known to UNFICYP, based on any conditions other than the assurance of their personal safety and security and the protection and preservation of the dignity of their office while travelling about the Island in the performance of their duties. The Vice-President's appeal was made on 28 September. Turkish Cypriot judges had been attending their courts and performing their functions for a considerable period of time prior to that date. Indeed, earlier reports to the Council, and more particularly the last one, made specific reference to this fact. Furthermore, the Vice-President's appeal to the President was on a specific matter - the repeal of the Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law of 1964 on the grounds

that it was unconstitutional. The enactment, as the preamble itself makes clear, is of a temporary nature and was, as publicly stated by the Government, necessitated by the abnormal conditions in the country which prevented the proper administration of justice under the existing procedure based on communal considerations. In the Government's view, the Turkish Cypriot leadership's request for a repeal of the new law would, if acceded to, directly affect the Government's stated political position on the question of the Zurich and London agreements. Any attempt by UNFICYP, therefore, to influence the Government on such lines would be tantamount to action affecting a final political solution. This is beyond the mandate given to the Force by the Security Council.

104. The aide-mémoire of the Turkish Cypriot leadership (Annex VI, Part I, paragraph 12) refers to the order of the Minister of Justice in September 1964 under which the law courts building, situated in the Turkish sector of Nicosia, ceased to be a court building. It is recalled, in this connexion, that the Turkish Cypriot leadership refused, as a matter of policy, to permit any Greek Cypriots to enter the Turkish Cypriot sector of Nicosia. As stated in the report of 15 June 1964 (S/5764), the administration of justice had as a result been brought almost to a complete standstill. In the circumstances, the Minister of Justice, acting under the powers vested in her under the courts of justice law of 1960, designated another building, a few yards from the "Green Line", so as to facilitate attendance to both Greek and Turkish Cypriot judges, lawyers, court staff, litigants, witnesses and public. The Government, therefore, felt that it had no alternative after nine months of waiting for any sign that the Turkish Cypriot leadership might consider the possibility of free access by Greek Cypriots to the law courts building. As elaborated earlier in this report, the Government has taken certain measures to ensure freedom of movement to, and freedom from arbitrary arrests of, Turkish Cypriots coming to the courts in Nicosia.

(b) Administration of justice

105. Justice, according to law, continues to be administered throughout the Island by the Courts in so far as the practical difficulties confronting the Courts, and referred to above, have permitted. This qualified return to normality has been more discernible in the provinces than in Nicosia. One of the more serious

difficulties relates to the trial of "mixed" criminal cases which had arisen prior to the events of 21 December 1963, and which still cannot be taken up for hearing by reason of the non-attendance in Courts of Turkish Cypriot police personnel and witnesses. Criminal cases where these practical difficulties do not arise have been taken up and disposed of by the Assize Courts.

106. It is gratifying to record that there has been a marked improvement regarding the practice that had been growing up on both sides of arbitrary arrests motivated by non-legal considerations. The Government, by a series of instructions to the Police, has taken concrete steps towards the elimination of arbitrary arrests of Turkish Cypriots on the mere suspicion of having had some connexion or other with the disturbances in the Island consequent upon the events of December 1963. In several cases the Courts have been a useful corrective in this field and have discharged Turkish Cypriots arrested and produced before them by the Police. There is reason to believe that this satisfactory trend will continue, particularly after the President's assurance that all Turkish Cypriots will be free to travel on the roads without fear of arbitrary arrest or detention on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963. Where arrests have been made, as in a few cases recently, those arrested have been produced before Courts under due process of law, and the Courts have in these cases vindicated their reputation for the impartial administration of justice, irrespective of communal considerations.

107. Another serious drawback to the proper administration of justice in the present circumstances in the Island springs from the inability of the Government to exercise effective authority in certain limited areas inhabited entirely by Turkish Cypriots. Since the Cyprus Police do not function in such areas, and since the Turkish Cypriot police personnel have not behind them the sanction of the proper legal organs of the State (such as the Law Courts, the Attorney-General's officers, prisons, etc.), Turkish Cypriots who commit serious crimes against other Turkish Cypriots now do so with impunity. There have been in the recent past several cases where Turkish Cypriots have committed serious crimes against fellow Turkish Cypriots where the machinery of the law has not been invoked because of the present conditions.

### III. MILITARY SITUATION

#### A. The United Nations Peace-Keeping Force

##### (i) Composition and Deployment

108. The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is composed of military contingents placed at the disposal of the United Nations by Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The Force also includes a civilian police element the personnel of which are provided by Australia, Austria, Denmark, New Zealand and Sweden.

109. At the beginning of the period under review, the strength of the Force was 5,987 military personnel and 173 civilian police. On 4 December 1964, the numerical composition of the Force was as follows:

##### Military

Austria (medical unit)	48
Canada	1,146
Denmark	996
Finland	962
Ireland	1,060
Sweden	844
United Kingdom	<u>1,049</u>
TOTAL	<u>6,105</u>

##### Civilian police

Australia	40
Austria	34
Denmark	40
New Zealand	20
Sweden	<u>40</u>
TOTAL	<u>174</u>
TOTAL UNFICYP	6,279



110. The following changes took place during the intervening period:

(a) Austria: Between 30 October and 25 November 1964, there was a rotation of about 80 per cent of the staff of the Austrian Field Hospital.

(b) Canada: The 1st Battalion Canadian Guards and the Reconnaissance Squadron of armoured cars, Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians), arrived between 29 September and 6 October 1964 to relieve respectively the 1st Battalion, the Royal 22e Regiment and the Reconnaissance Squadron Royal Canadian Dragoons. This resulted in a slight increase in strength of this Contingent from 1,091 to 1,148.

(c) Denmark: There was also a rotation of the Danish Contingent from DANCON 1 to DANCON 2. 952 all ranks arrived in Cyprus between 15 and 23 November 1964 in United Kingdom aircraft of the Royal Air Force Transport Command, while 865 all ranks were repatriated to Denmark during the same period.

(d) Finland: The Finnish Contingent was similarly rotated between 10 and 26 October 1964, in aircraft of the United States Air Force, 621 all ranks were repatriated to Finland whereas 631 arrived in Cyprus to form a practically new battalion, YKSP 2.

(e) Ireland: The 41st Irish Battalion (strength 681) relieved the 40th Irish Battalion (strength 627) during the period 13-15 October 1964. Transport was by the United States Air Force. During the same period the 3rd Infantry Group was strengthened by 50 men.

(f) Sweden: The rotation of the Swedish Contingent began in September and was completed on 29 October, but the major part was effected on 13 and 14 October, when 406 men were brought in and 487 taken out in Italian Air Force C-119 aircraft.

(g) United Kingdom: With the exception of its officers and men at UNFICYP Headquarters, all elements of the original United Kingdom Contingent have also been rotated as follows:

1st Battalion The XXIIInd (Cheshire) Regiment relieved 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers between 29 September and 10 October.

A Squadron The Life Guards gave place to AJAX Squadron 2nd Royal Tank Regiment between 25 October and 4 November. The Supplies and Transport detachment was rotated during the period 5-9 October; the Workshop detachment from 6-19 October and the Ordnance Detachment between 10 and 19 November. The air support elements rotated on 11/12 August (No. 3 Flight Army Air Corps) and 22/23 November (230 Squadron Royal Air Force).

111. For most of the period under review, the Force was deployed as follows:  
(see attached map 1)

Nicosia Zone

HQ UNFICYP (International)

HQ Nicosia Zone (Basic organization Canadian, with representative staff drawn from contingents under command)

Austrian Field Hospital and Austrian Civilian Police

Canadian Contingent

Danish Contingent and Danish Civilian Police

Finnish Contingent

Paphos Zone

Swedish Contingent and Swedish Civilian Police

Famagusta District

41st Irish Battalion, Irish Contingent

Australian Civilian Police (one section)

Larnaca District

3rd Infantry Group - Irish Contingent

Australian Civilian Police (one section)

Limassol District

United Kingdom Contingent

New Zealand Civilian Police

112. However, a redeployment of the Force took place between 7-10 December. This redeployment was rendered necessary by a reorganization of zones and districts to secure a better use of the troops available in relation to the terrain and military requirements. The reorganization has involved the division of the area previously

known as Paphos Zone into two military districts: Paphos District, with Headquarters in Ktima, and Morphou District, with Headquarters in Skouriotissa. The former military districts of Famagusta and Larnaca were merged into one zone, Famagusta Zone, with Headquarters In Famagusta. (See map 2).

113. The principal aim in the reorganization was to afford easier control over the former Paphos Zone. This was a very large area, divided by the Troodos Mountains into two separate regions where the problems faced by the Force are quite different. Furthermore, the broken nature of the country makes all communication, in particular by wireless, most difficult.

114. With these problems and requirements in mind, and taking into consideration the present strength of personnel of different contingents serving with UNFICYP, the Force Commander decided to redeploy the Irish Contingent, which consists of two organizationally separate units, each with their respective headquarters staff, in the two new districts of Morphou and Paphos.

115. The Swedish Contingent assumed responsibility for the new Famagusta Zone.

116. The present deployment of the Force is (map 2):

Nicosia Zone

Limassol District

as described in para. 4 above.

Famagusta Zone

Swedish Contingent and Swedish Police

Morphou District

41st Irish Battalion, Irish Contingent

Australian Civilian Police (one section)

Paphos District

3rd Infantry Group, Irish Contingent

Australian Civilian Police (one section)

(ii) Function and Guiding Principles

117. The function of the United Nations Force in Cyprus is to implement the objectives defined in the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 and reaffirmed in its resolutions of 13 March, 20 June, 9 August and 25 September. As defined in

the 4 March resolution, UNFICYP's function is, "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 a return to normal conditions". Moreover, after the Tylliria fighting, the Security Council adopted its resolution of 9 August 1964 calling for an immediate cease-fire by all concerned and the Council members in their consensus of 11 August requested the Commander to supervise the cease-fire and to reinforce the units of the Force in the zones which were the sphere of recent military operations, so as to ensure the safety of the inhabitants. In carrying out its task, the Force avoids any action likely to influence the political situation in Cyprus, except through contributing an improved climate in which political solutions may be sought.

118. The guiding principles governing the operation of the Force remain as summarized in the last report (S/5950, para. 7). These refer to the exclusive control and command of the Force by the United Nations; the use of arms only for self-defence in discharge of the function of the Force including defence of UNFICYP posts and personnel subjected to armed attack; restraint and complete impartiality towards members of both communities, and close contact with the appropriate officials of the Cyprus Government.

119. The deployment of the Force, and the methods used by it in carrying out its duties are discussed elsewhere in this chapter. During the period under review, the peace-keeping function proper was almost identical with the function of supervising the cease-fire, and included interposition, fixed posts and frequent patrols, intervention on the spot to prevent shooting incidents from snowballing into serious fighting, and demarcation of cease-fire lines where appropriate. With the institution of exclusive UNFICYP control over the Nicosia-Kyrenia road on 26 October 1964, functions in this connexion were assumed and positions taken over by the United Nations Force. The performance of additional functions relating to the effort to return the country to normal conditions is discussed in Chapter II.

120. In implementing that part of the mandate which entrusts to the Force the function of contributing to the maintenance of law and order, UNFICYP is assisted by a Civilian Police unit (UNCIVPOL) which forms an integral part of the Force.

The main duties of this police element have been carried out as stated in the report of 2 May 1964 (S/5679, para. 4). UNCIVPOL has co-operated with the International Committee of the Red Cross in conducting inquiries for missing persons. UNCIVPOL elements man two sensitive posts, one in Nicosia Zone and the other in Larnaca District. They are also responsible for appropriate searches at certain check points on the Kyrenia Road in the exercise of UNFICYP's control over that road.

121. Regarding its investigations of incidents in which the aspect of inter-communal strife may be of significance, UNCIVPOL always bears in mind the fact that the Government has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order in the country. Accordingly, UNCIVPOL endeavours, wherever possible, to carry out its functions under the Mandate, in co-operation with the local police, with a view to assisting in reaching objective conclusions. It should be noted that, with a few exceptions, the state of general insecurity and constant fear to which large parts of the country's population were exposed during the early stages of the Operation has become a less and less significant factor of the situation during the period under review here.

122. It should be on record, moreover, that there has been a substantial improvement in the relations between the members of the Force and the fighting elements on both sides. The UNFICYP commanders in the various zones and districts have generally succeeded in establishing good relations with the National Guard and Turkish Cypriot commanders; both sides seem to have realized that UNFICYP remains fair and impartial and is the friend of all Cypriots as long as they do not engage in provocative actions, attempt to breach the cease-fire or act in a manner otherwise inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations mandate. When, on the other hand, transgressions occur, UNFICYP has acted swiftly, in keeping with its mandate, undeterred by threats or hostile gestures.

123. Members of the Force have conducted themselves with commendable self-discipline, often in trying circumstances. Officers and men alike have continued to carry out their multifarious duties as international personnel under the authority of the United Nations, discharging their functions with integrity and impartiality with the interest of only the United Nations in view. Despite several

attempts by individuals of both communities to seek to influence members of the Force in favour of their respective interests, there has been only one serious instance of members of the Force succumbing to such persuasions. Two officers of the Swedish Contingent were detected on 24 September 1964 in an attempt at transporting 2 1/2 tons of arms and ammunition in UNFICYP vehicles from Kokkina to Lefka, both localities under Turkish Cypriot control. Both UNFICYP and the Swedish authorities acted promptly. The Commander convened a Board of Enquiry of three senior military officers of his Headquarters staff to make a thorough investigation into the circumstances of this case, and he has submitted, with his comments, the report of that Board. The appropriate authorities in Sweden instituted legal proceedings against them and at present the punishment awarded by the Court is subject of appeal.

124. Since September 1964, no members of the Force have died or been wounded in action in the performance of their duties. Two members of the Force have died and three have been seriously wounded from accidental, natural or other causes.

(iii) Freedom of Movement of the United Nations Force

125. On 6 August 1964, the President of the Republic of Cyprus gave assurance in a message (S/5855) that the United Nations Force in Cyprus would enjoy full freedom of movement throughout the territory of the Republic except for certain localities connected with the defence of the State; access to the latter might be arranged after consultation between the Government and the Force Commander. Nevertheless, UNFICYP, during the early part of the period under review experienced many difficulties in regard to freedom of movement. There were frequent cases when patrols were hindered or stopped by Cypriot police or the Cyprus National Guard. There were also a few occasions when the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish National Contingent prevented patrols from moving freely.

126. It became evident that the situation was deteriorating and the Force Commander represented his concern over this matter to the President and General Grivas. Their attitude was that they were legitimately entitled to place any area out of bounds in the interest of national security. This applied particularly to coastal defences, training areas and permanent camp sites.

127. To clarify the position, a map had been prepared by the Government, on which all such restricted areas were marked. The Force Commander, with whom the President discussed that map on 5 and 7 September, found it unacceptable, as there were a number of areas placed out of bounds to all members of the Force and an excessively large number of areas which might only be visited by the Force Commander. After detailed negotiation, agreement was reached on 10 November. The whole of the Island is now free to UNFICYP with the exception of certain stipulated areas; these are:

(a) Twenty-three areas, mostly round the coast, which may be visited by the Force Commander only after consultation with General Grivas. These cover 45 square miles (1.25 per cent of the total area of the country).

(b) Sixty-three areas, scattered throughout the Island, which may be inspected by UNFICYP Zone or District Commanders, not below the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, if prior notice is given to the local National Guard Commander. These areas cover 15 square miles (0.4 per cent of the total area of the country).

These restrictions do not apply to twelve bathing beaches situated inside the areas referred to in (a) and (b) above.

128. There have been no significant obstructions of freedom of movement since the agreement was reached and the restrictions referred to in paragraph 20 above have been applied in a reasonable manner.

129. In the last report, reference was made to the serious restrictions initially imposed by the Government on the free movement of UNFICYP personnel and vehicles at and near the Limassol docks. These restrictions had caused unfortunate incidents whenever UNFICYP patrols sought to carry out their duty of observing the unloading of shipments of military equipment and stores at the docks. A solution of this problem was devised on 10 September, when the Force Commander negotiated an agreement with the Government whereby the local authorities would inform the headquarters of UNFICYP Limassol District whenever a shipment of stores was expected at the harbour. The UNFICYP District Headquarters in turn would arrange for the New Zealand civilian police section stationed in the District to

be present at the docks at the time of unloading. By and large this agreement has worked satisfactorily whenever the advance notification has been forthcoming as had been agreed upon, which was usually the case.

130. A related problem was occasioned by recurrent attempts on the part of zealous members of the Cyprus armed forces or the police manning road-blocks to search UNFICYP vehicles or personnel. Following a number of such incidents, the Force Commander approached General Grivas indicating that these searches were not permissible. General Grivas agreed, and on 5 November UNFICYP was informed by the Ministry of the Interior that all members of the Cyprus Security Forces had been ordered with immediate effect to refrain from searches of United Nations vehicles or personnel, on whatever grounds. If there were reasons to believe that a member of UNFICYP might be involved in illegal activity, the Cypriot local commander was to contact the commander of the nearest UNFICYP post. The necessary check would then be carried out by members of UNFICYP. This arrangement has worked satisfactorily.

#### B. Armed Forces in Cyprus other than UNFICYP

##### (i) Government Armed Forces

131. During the past three months, the Cyprus National Guard has become increasingly professional, and there has been a reduction of its irregular elements. This has resulted in improved standards of discipline among the Cypriot troops, and has also contributed to a general improvement in security conditions and the maintenance of law and order. The call-up of four age groups, 19 to 22, was completed in October 1964. The total number of the conscript element of the National Guard, according to official figures made public on 10 December, is now 11,200.

132. Before the introduction of conscription, the National Guard was composed almost exclusively of volunteers. Together with the Cyprus Police, these volunteers had formed the Security Forces of the Republic since April and had been responsible for internal security in both towns and rural areas. As conscripted operational units were put in their place, their numbers decreased, and in early



November the Government discharged the last volunteer force of about 3,000 men in the towns. These have reverted to a reserve (Home Guard) status; their functions have now been assumed by regular National Guard units. Volunteer units, however, are still responsible for security in the rural areas. Their members carry on normal civilian occupations, but have weapons and other military equipment and undergo weekly training. The first groups of conscripts were due to be released in mid-December, but the Council of Ministers on 10 December decided that their service should be extended for another six months so as to avoid a substantial numerical weakening of the National Guard at this time.

133. The estimated strength of the police has remained at 5,000. Starting in October 1964, both officers and constables of the police have undergone short periods of military training together with the National Guard.

134. It is believed that some of the estimated 5,000 military personnel believed to have come to Cyprus from Greece (excluding the Greek National Contingent) have now returned to the mainland, although significant numbers still remain.

135. The developments referred to above are considered to have resulted in a net reduction in numbers of the National Guard, although it may well be the case that it is now a more effective military arm of the Government than before. Demobilized irregulars are, of course, readily available for service should the Government consider it necessary. General George Grivas-Dighenis continues as Supreme Commander of the Cyprus armed forces; General E. Prokkos is the Commander of the National Guard. General Menelaos Pantelides commands the Cyprus Army proper, which is a cadre of about 600 officers and non-commissioned officers responsible for training and related activities.

(ii) Turkish Cypriot armed elements

136. No accurate figures are available as to the strength of the Turkish Cypriot armed elements, but it is estimated that their numbers have not undergone substantial change during the period under review, and therefore remain at approximately 12,000. Similarly, their organization and leadership remain unchanged. As regards deployment, there are fighting elements in almost every Turkish Cypriot community on the Island, and standing forces are maintained in all

areas administered by the Turkish Cypriot leadership (see section C (ii) below). These consist of fighters from nearby villages who serve on a roster system. The influence of the extremist Turk Mudafaa Tesdati, or TMT (Turkish Defence Organization), remains paramount.

137. There is no clear evidence that the fighting elements have received weapons or other categories of military equipment from outside since September. Consequently, their armaments are still limited to conventional types of light and heavy infantry weapons. Training is carried out periodically. In view of their sketchy logistic base, it may be assumed that the Turkish Cypriot fighters are less well equipped for the winter season than their National Guard counterparts, and will suffer hardship.

#### (iii) The Greek and Turkish National Contingents

138. The two National Contingents, maintained on the Island under the provisions of the Treaty of Alliance of 16 August 1960, have been kept at their authorized strengths of 950 Greek and 650 Turkish officers and other ranks. The Greek contingent has been located in its permanent camp on the outskirts of Nicosia, moving out only for occasional training exercises. The members of the Turkish contingent have remained deployed in the villages of Orta Keuy and Geunyely, astride the Kyrenia Road north of the capital. Under the agreement announced in the Security Council of 25 September 1964, their positions, with certain stated minor exceptions, are situated at least 100 yards away from the road, which is now under exclusive UNFICYP control (see Chapter I).

139. The agreement, as previously indicated, provided for the rotation of part of the Turkish contingent. In accepting the arrangements for the implementation of the agreement, the Government of Cyprus, which had unilaterally denounced the Treaty of Alliance in April of this year, reserved its position of principle as regards the right of the Turkish contingent to be stationed in Cyprus and as to alleged breaches of the Treaty by Turkey. On 23 October, the Acting Foreign Minister of Cyprus informed UNFICYP that his Government, desirous of avoiding any action likely to increase tension in the area, did not propose to take military measures to prevent the rotation.

140. The relief of part of the Turkish contingent on 26 October meant the arrival of 63 officers and 276 other ranks; these took the place of 62 officers and 274 other ranks, bringing the total on the Island to 648 all ranks. The rotation operation on the Island was carried out by UNFICYP under arrangements previously cleared with the Cyprus Government, and in co-ordination with the simultaneous assumption of control by UNFICYP over the Kyrenia Road. UNFICYP provided transport of both outgoing and incoming drafts and their stores between Nicosia and Famagusta, escorted the convoys, verified the troops' identity, ensured that they were unarmed, and checked outgoing and incoming stores. More than eighty UNFICYP lorries were utilized, since the Turkish contingent had no transport of its own. The operation was completed without hitch and on schedule.

### C. Military Activities

#### (i) General Assessment of the Military Situation

141. The Island has been quiet throughout the entire period under review and there have been no major incidents. Nevertheless, tension remains high in areas where the two sides face each other. Fortifications have been improved and the only substantial reduction in forces has been the discharge to the reserve of a number of the irregular units of the National Guard. The men from these units are still available as Home Guards in their villages.

142. It is considered that although the situation is quiet, it remains so largely because of the sobering influence of UNFICYP, which remains deployed in all the potential trouble spots of the Republic.

#### (ii) Positions occupied by the Government and Turkish Cypriot Forces

143. In the period under review, there has been little change in the disposition of Government and Turkish Cypriot forces from the positions which they occupied at the time of the report of 10 September 1964. The Turkish Cypriots continue in control of several widely scattered areas, which include the northern part of Nicosia City, its north-western suburbs and the region to the east and west of Kyrenia road up to the southern edge of the town of Kyrenia; the town of Louroujina; the Turkish quarters of Famagusta and Larnaca; an enclave comprising Lefka, another around Kalyvakia, and the two beach-heads at Kokkina and Limnitis.

These areas are administered by the Turkish Cypriot community, under the authority of the Vice-President's office, and are defended by positions manned by Turkish Cypriot fighters. In the aggregate, these Turkish Cypriot areas cover approximately 54 square miles, or 1 1/2 per cent of the total area of the country, with a population of about 59,000, including 13,600 refugees. Access to them is effectively interdicted to Greek Cypriots in general, and to Government troops, police and administrative agents in particular, except for travel on the Kyrenia Road and across Limnitis bridgehead under UNFICYP escort. Roadblocks, trenches, fortified posts, and sandbag emplacements on the ground or behind windows or on the roofs of buildings, are the visible marks of this situation.

144. The Government fortifications and roadblocks are generally situated in a line parallel to the Turkish Cypriot ones. In this manner, something in the nature of front lines may be said to exist in certain parts of the Island; they include the well-known "Green Lines" of Nicosia and Larnaca, parallel crestlines on hills around Kokkina and in the Kyrenia mountains and houses on either side of the sixteenth century walls of Famagusta. UNFICYP endeavours to be present or to interpose in all such places with a view to minimizing the danger of incidents inherent in this situation. Thus, UNFICYP is deployed in strength along the Green Lines; it occupies hills between the opposing forces at Kokkina and in the Kyrenia range; and its troops are stationed on the Famagusta ramparts and walk the rounds on the ancient battlements to keep the peace between Cypriot and Cypriot. But it is clear that the portion of the mandate calling on UNFICYP to prevent the recurrence of fighting can be deemed to have been fully implemented only when these front lines have all been abolished, the opposing troops on either side withdrawn, and the positions in question placed initially under UNFICYP control. Proposals to this effect are discussed in another section of this chapter.

145. Turkish Cypriot fighters and TMT members in many villages throughout the Island inhabited by Turkish Cypriots maintain quasi-military positions and roadblocks of varying size and importance, presumably for defence against possible attack by Greek Cypriots from villages in the vicinity. Greek Cypriot villagers, of course, reciprocate, though on a slightly smaller scale since they

have the advantage of numbers. These positions cannot be regarded as having any intrinsic military significance, although they continue to be a nuisance and contribute to tension on the Island.

146. It should be noted that there are substantial Turkish Cypriot communities in such places as Ktima and Limassol, as well as a number of Turkish Cypriot villages, which are under the military, police, and administrative control of the Government. Some of these, notably Ktima (occupied on 4-7 March) were militarily subdued by the Government forces during the disturbances which took place prior to the establishment of UNFICYP. These should not be counted among the areas under actual control of the Turkish Cypriot leadership in Nicosia, although in practice the Turkish Cypriot community leaders in such places follow the political line of their compatriots in Nicosia, while Greek Cypriot civilians prefer to avoid straying into them.

147. The one significant change in positions occupied during the period under review occurred in connexion with the placing of the Nicosia-Kyrenia Road under exclusive UNFICYP control. An account of the negotiations leading to the implementation of the agreement on this subject is given in Chapter I of this report. UNFICYP's assumption of control over the road was affected on 26 October, in conjunction with the simultaneous rotation of part of the Turkish national contingent. The convoy escorts had instructions to return fire if fired upon and to use the minimum amount of force necessary for the safety of the convoy in the event it were to be impeded. UNFICYP checked travellers to ensure that no arms were carried, and warned all users of the road to refrain from provocative behaviour.

148. The use of the Kyrenia Road under UNFICYP escort has been rising slowly but steadily as Greek Cypriots realize that the arrangements are effective, and that the safety of travellers is ensured. During the week beginning 26 October, UNFICYP convoyed 238 vehicles carrying 723 passengers on the road. During the week from 29 November to 5 December there were 348 vehicles and 1,085 passengers. During the first month of UNFICYP control (26 October-25 November) a total of 1,305 vehicles carrying 3,723 civilian passengers travelled on the road in UNFICYP escorted convoys. In exercise of its functions, UNFICYP operates seven checkpoints on the road, as well as mobile patrols, to ensure that the relevant provisions of the agreement on the reopening of the road are fully complied with.

(iii) Observance of the cease-fire; shooting and other incidents

149. From June to September 1964, the "front lines" referred to in the preceding section, as well as the more imaginary lines separating the Cypriot communities elsewhere in Cyprus, were the scenes of high tension, frequent shooting incidents, and on several occasions, deadly fighting. From September to December these lines were mostly quiet, and UNFICYP was largely successful in supervising the observance of the Security Council resolution of 9 August 1964 calling for an immediate cease-fire and of the consensus of the Council members of 11 August. There were no serious breaches of the cease-fire during the period under review, and not many of even a minor nature, but there were a considerable number of shooting incidents. Most of these have been attributed to accidental discharges, shots at birds or shots fired for no apparent reason. It would be wrong to say that UNFICYP was alone responsible for the apparent realization of each of the parties that it cannot hope to force a solution on the other by military means. It is clear, however, that UNFICYP played a major role in making it possible to translate that realization into action.

150. As an aftermath of the fighting in Tylliria in August which was terminated by the cease-fire, UNFICYP in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross arranged for an exchange of captives. The arrangement was negotiated by the chief delegate in Cyprus of the International Committee of the Red Cross and by the Force Commander with the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The exchange was carried out on 26 September at UNFICYP Zone Headquarters in Nicosia. Eight Turkish Cypriots were released; seven prisoners were handed over to the Government representatives. Some, but not all, of these men had been captured during the fighting near Kokkina.

151. The table below shows the number of confirmed incidents which took place during the period from 9 September to 8 December 1964 in the various zones and districts of Cyprus:

<u>Zone/District</u>	<u>Shooting Incidents</u>	<u>Other Incidents</u>
Nicosia Zone	124	30
Famagusta Zone	16	6
Morphou District	10	7
Paphos District	4	3
Limassol District	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	160	47

The casualties incurred in these incidents were as follows:

	<u>Greek Cypriots</u>	<u>Turkish Cypriots</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Killed:</u>			
Murders	1	2	3
Accidental discharge	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	2	2	4
<u>Wounded:</u>			
Murder attempts	3	11	14
Accidental discharge or explosions	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	4	14	18

152. Twenty-two of the shooting incidents constituted breaches of the cease-fire. Seventeen occurred in Nicosia Zone, three in Morphou District, one in Larnaca District and one in Paphos District. In six of the breaches, both National Guardsmen and Turkish Cypriots fired at each other; on eight occasions only the Greek Cypriots fired; on seven occasions only the Turkish Cypriots fired.

Appropriate protests were filed by UNFICYP in each case of breach of cease-fire. It should be added that on 12 September a Super Sabre Jet fighter, identified as Turkish, flew over Xeros at between 3,000 to 6,000 feet, circled Skouriotissa at the same height and departed to the south-west. The aircraft was accompanied over Skouriotissa by another jet, but this was not positively identified as Turkish. This was the only significant case of overflight during the period covered.

153. While the general situation on the Island may thus fairly be described as quiet, the underlying tensions and conflict between the communities continue virtually unabated; the calm is uneasy and fragile; and UNFICYP's task is never done.

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154. An account of one of the few important shooting affrays which occurred during the period under review gives an illustration of the fragility of the present quiet. The incident occurred during the night of 9 November near Louroujina, when Turkish Cypriots opened fire with rifles and light machine-guns at what they thought was a Government patrol approaching their position. Their firing provoked Government troops in nearby posts into opening fire on the Turkish Cypriot positions. An UNFICYP detachment was in the vicinity and its Commander succeeded in persuading both sides to stop firing after about an hour, by which time it is estimated that between 500 and 700 shots had been exchanged, fortunately without any casualties. A thorough search of the area was made by UNFICYP, but no evidence could be found that there had been any patrols in the area.

155. On another occasion, when troops of both sides sought to advance beyond the cease-fire line around Kokkina, different measures had to be devised by UNFICYP. When the cease-fire agreement was concluded on 9 August, no physical line had been drawn on the ground round the Kokkina bridgehead demarcating the front lines of both sides. However, a map was marked by UNFICYP and given both to the Government and the Turkish Cypriots. Initially, the absence of a definite line proved no handicap, but in early October several disputes occurred over the exact whereabouts of the cease-fire line and UNFICYP had considerable difficulty in persuading both sides to return to their original positions behind the line.

156. There was a repetition of this sort of trouble during the first few days of November, and the Force Commander decided that, in spite of the mountainous country, which rendered the task most difficult, it was essential that the front lines should be marked in a permanent manner.

157. The project was started on 7 November and was completed on 10 November, but not without incident. Several times UNFICYP troops were obstructed in their task; obstacles were placed in their path, attempts were made to erase the marking paint, and troops refused to vacate positions. On one occasion, the occupants of a post refused to move out and adopted a most belligerent attitude. The UNFICYP marking team was obliged to call for reinforcements which were quickly deployed.

Fortunately, this show of force was sufficient to resolve the argument.

158. In spite of all these hindrances, the task was carried out with great speed, resolution and initiative. The front lines of both sides are now clearly marked



at intervals with white paint on large immovable rocks. In addition, to avoid any further argument, an accurate survey has been carried out and the exact location of all markers has been marked on a map. UNFICYP troops have occupied disputed positions as well as remaining in their original interposed observation posts which had been established in August.

(iv) Erection and removal of fortifications

159. As stated in the preceding section, the Government's National Guard and the Turkish Cypriot armed elements on the perimeter of Turkish Cypriot controlled areas have erected lines of fortifications, some of them elaborately contrived, others fairly primitive. Since fortifications by their very nature contribute to a state of tension wherever they are situated, UNFICYP has endeavoured to persuade both the Government forces and the Turkish Cypriots to take them down and to rely for their security on the interposed UNFICYP troops.

160. These efforts have met with very limited success during the period under review, except in Limassol District, where a joint Defortification Committee, comprising a local Government official and a representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, under the chairmanship of an UNFICYP officer, has been established and has achieved some results. Elsewhere, neither side is prepared to reduce its fortifications. The National Guard has in fact improved its coastal and related positions for defence of the country against external attack. In Famagusta, Government posts have recently been increased in number, despite UNFICYP representations. It should be noted, however, that there have been some indications lately of a possible readiness by the Government to withdraw its forces from some of the inland fortified positions, on condition that UNFICYP would guarantee their security.

161. The Turkish Cypriot fighters, who are substantially outnumbered and outgunned by the National Guard, have been opposed to giving up fortified positions on two main grounds: they control little territory and have therefore no place to withdraw; moreover, they contend that UNFICYP has not the capability to resist an organized attack, if such an attack were mounted by the Government on interposed

UNFICYP positions. If these positions were to be overrun, the situation of the Turkish Cypriots might become well nigh untenable. The Turkish Cypriots have therefore insisted on maintaining their fortified posts and have even extended some of their fortifications in Nicosia.

162. Locally, UNFICYP commanders are constantly engaged in observing the activities of the opposing forces, and they try, where possible, to negotiate the removal of fortifications. More forceful action, however, is occasionally needed, but only where fortified posts are considered a direct threat to UNFICYP's own positions, or where new positions set up by one side are considered to pose a threat to the other side and are therefore judged by UNFICYP to be provocative. In such cases, UNFICYP is prepared to take more positive action, such as dismantling the offending positions with its own resources.

163. An illuminating example of the problems faced by UNFICYP in this endeavour is provided by a recent incident in Trakhonas, a northern suburb of Nicosia inhabited by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. On 19 September, Turkish Cypriots in Trakhonas began construction of a substantial earth and barrel wall across a road facing the Green Line. The stated purpose of this wall was to enable householders to cross the road without risk of being shot at from the nearest Government post, some three hundred yards away. In the opinion of the local UNFICYP commander, while the wall would undoubtedly afford protection for the householders, it would also make an admirable firing position directly overlooking the Greek Cypriot houses on the other side of the Green Line.

164. Accordingly, the UNFICYP Commander asked the local Turkish Cypriot spokesman to have the wall demolished. The Turkish Cypriot leader refused, and in a short space of time the UNFICYP troops on the scene found themselves belaboured by a hostile crowd of Turkish Cypriot women. The UNFICYP troops were withdrawn to prevent casualties, but not before a number of them had been hit by flying stones, earth and sticks. Negotiations were resumed and eventually, after the Force Commander had personally intervened, the Turkish Cypriots were persuaded to stop work and to build a subway (underpass) in place of the wall. This subway was completed in mid-November, and the wall has now been demolished by the Turkish Cypriots.

(v) Build-up of military personnel and equipment

165. In the last report, reference was made to the build-up of military strength in Cyprus, which, bearing in mind the objectives laid down in the resolution of the Security Council of 4 March, was considered to be a cause for concern. It now appears that during the period under review, the influx of arms and military equipment destined for the Government forces has been on a much reduced scale. As indicated in Section B of this chapter, the number of men under arms has been reduced.

166. There has been no evidence of any build-up of Turkish Cypriot military strength.

(vi) Proposals for the elimination of remaining areas of military tension

167. As indicated in Section C (ii) above, the scattered Turkish Cypriot controlled enclaves on the Island are surrounded by parallel lines of Turkish Cypriot and National Guard fortifications. UNFICYP positions are usually interposed, and UNFICYP patrols move through the no man's land to keep a precarious peace in such areas. It is clear, however, that there can be no meaningful return to normal conditions until these foci of tension and potential conflict have been eliminated - all the more so as they serve no useful purpose except to keep members of one community out of areas controlled by the other. The Command of the United Nations Force had therefore been preparing for some time plans to demilitarize some of the "front lines" by placing them initially under UNFICYP control and eliminating the spectacle of armed Cypriots confronting one another with hostile intent. It was clear that if the main areas of tension were eliminated, others should follow readily.

168. In his letter of 12 November 1964, replying to the UNFICYP aide-memoire of 27 October, President Makarios indicated that, in his Government's view, return to normality could be achieved if UNFICYP ensured, inter alia, the removal of all fortifications and armed posts in the Kyrenia range, and the abolition of the Green Line.

169. On 2 December, the Force Commander submitted to the President for his consideration UNFICYP's plans to that effect; these will also be submitted in due

course to the Turkish Cypriot leadership. A third plan, calling for the demilitarization, with UNFICYP assistance, of the positions of both sides around Kokkina bridgehead and the resettlement of refugees in the area was submitted on 7 December.

170. The plan for the Kyrenia mountains submitted to the President may be summarized as follows:

(a) The ultimate objective is the complete demilitarization of the area between Nicosia and Kyrenia, involving, as a first stage, the removal of all Government and Turkish Cypriot posts in the Kyrenia Range.

(b) The plan envisages the withdrawal of all forces and warlike stores from the area. It is intended to allow present defensive works to remain intact, but unmanned. This will allow a return to the current positions should the agreement be abrogated by either side.

(c) It is intended that UNFICYP will control this area by means of static observation posts, and vehicle and air patrols. In addition, a mobile reserve will be maintained to provide quick reaction to any situation which might arise. UNFICYP will also maintain surveillance in the security zone which will surround the main demilitarized area.

171. In the past, various plans have been suggested for the establishment of a defortified free zone within the walled city of Nicosia (see S/5950, para. 33). Despite lengthy negotiations, none of these plans has been accepted in full by either side. There are a variety of reasons for non-acceptance; for example, each side would insist on holding certain key tactical positions in strength, and both sides felt suspicion and fear at the thought of having existing defences demolished. In addition, none of these plans gave UNFICYP the right to search, inspect or detain suspects temporarily. The new plan devised by UNFICYP is designed to eliminate the Green Line in Nicosia and thereby contribute greatly to a reduction in tension. It envisages:

(a) A phased withdrawal by both sides to a distance of between 500 - 1,000 yards from the present Green Line. This would not be restricted to the Walled City nor does it propose immediate defortification. Powers of arrest would continue to be vested in the appropriate police.

(b) After the withdrawal, UNFICYP would take over the positions which have been vacated and would guarantee that they remain intact. In addition, joint UNFICYP/Police patrols would visit vacated areas and would have powers to apprehend armed intruders. The only persons allowed to visit the areas must be unarmed.

(c) It is anticipated that, in the early stages, there would be no freedom to cross the Green Line without the permission of both sides. Only after some time has elapsed and freedom to cross the old Green Line has been restored would the question of defortification be reviewed, in consultation with the parties.

172. The third plan would apply to the Kokkina bridgehead in the Tylliria area, which was the scene of the fighting of early August 1964. Eight hundred refugees from neighbouring Turkish Cypriot villages occupied by the National Guard since that time now live in the small bridgehead, half of them in caves in the mountainside. The UNFICYP plan is in three phases, as follows:

(a) Withdrawal of the National Guard from their present positions overlooking the bridgehead to concentration areas some distance away. UNFICYP would establish posts in Turkish Cypriot villages vacated in the process;

(b) Withdrawal of all Turkish Cypriot fighters in the bridgehead under UNFICYP control into Kokkina village, UNFICYP taking over the positions now held by the fighters on the perimeter of the bridgehead;

(c) Resettlement of Turkish Cypriot refugees now in Kokkina in their home villages, and establishment of United Nations Civilian Police posts on those villages.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF LOCAL SITUATIONS  
AS OF 8 DECEMBER 1964

173. At the time of completion of this section of the report, the over-all military and security situation in the Island is calm, but tension continues to prevail in areas of direct confrontation. With a few exceptions, existing fortifications continue to be manned and neither side appears to be considering demobilization. Nicosia and the area to the north and northwest of the Island (especially Kokkina) remain the most important areas of potential trouble. The rest of the Island is quiet.

174. Against this military background, and despite the many problems created by the present tension and division, the Island has continued to enjoy rather good economic conditions, except for the Turkish Cypriot communities living in isolation. Even with the decline of tourism and of some exports, the country has had so far no balance of payments problems. However, the gross domestic product, which had increased at one of the highest rates in the region prior to the disturbances (9 per cent in the years 1961 to 1963), is almost certain to decline in 1964. The present economic situation is fraught with dangers. The maintenance of many men under arms and the consequent expenditures, the prolonged absence of the tourist trade which is vital for the country, and the continued division between the two segments of the population are all elements which bear heavily on the Island's economy.

175. The day-to-day life of the population varies considerably from one region to another. With the return of more freedom of movement and reduced fear, large areas of the Island, especially in the south, live under close to normal conditions. There are also many mixed villages throughout the country which have not been evacuated by the Turkish Cypriot population. In other parts, basic military situations still prevail, with all their consequences for the daily life of the inhabitants. This is the case particularly in the Nicosia area and Kokkina. But there are also many other towns and villages militarily guarded by Turkish Cypriot armed men, where the population lives more or less in isolation. One of the most serious aspects of this situation is the breakdown of law and order and of the normal administration of the country. Many examples are given in the earlier part of this report of UNFICYP's action to promote a return to normality. The examples relating to police matters, to the administration

of justice, to the non-functioning of postal services, to the absenteeism of Turkish Cypriot employees from their administrations, central and local, and to the division of the agricultural co-operatives are particularly significant. One basic set of obstacles stands in the way of the solution of such problems: the claim by the Government, on the one side, that Turkish Cypriots should submit to its authority and to the law; the position of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, on the other side, that, pending a final settlement or a return to the constitution, the authority of the present Administration ought not be recognized by members of its community.

176. In these circumstances daily life continues as best it can, adapted to the varying local conditions as they are. In mixed localities, the Turkish Cypriots will recognize the local government administration and police. If a Turkish Cypriot is in need of identification papers in order to move through Greek Cypriot roadblocks, he will go to the local District Officer and obtain such papers, even if the Turkish Cypriot leadership considers them illegal.<sup>1/</sup> In other areas, towns or villages, Turkish Cypriots live with little or no contact with the Greek Cypriot population. As a result, the law and administration of the Government are not recognized and local Turkish Cypriot services have sprung up in order to provide for a minimum of administration of these communities. Many refugees live in such pure Turkish Cypriot localities or areas. These refugees either do not wish to return to their villages, or if they do - since time is getting long - they are more often than not persuaded by their compatriots or leadership not to return pending a final settlement providing for their security.

177. A picture of the situation as it stands at the present moment would not be complete without at least some indication of the variety of conditions prevailing in various parts of the Island. This is the object of the following paragraphs, which describe briefly the main military and other conditions in each UNFICYP zone or district.

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<sup>1/</sup> According to information submitted to the Political Liaison Committee by the Cyprus Registration Office, during the first 26 days of November, a total of 280 identity cards were issued or renewed for Turkish Cypriots who had presented themselves to the Registration Office in Nicosia or to district offices.

Nicosia Zone

178. In Nicosia Zone, no major changes in the military deployment of either side have taken place. Both sides have strengthened their positions. The Government's forces remain largely unchanged and there has been little alteration in the Turkish Cypriot forces which remain a para-military force, their discipline being maintained by the situation rather than by military organization.

179. During this relatively static period, attitudes and animosities appear to have hardened. Despite frequent attempts by the military command of the Zone to bring the two parties together, they are not desirous of meeting at any level or of seeking a rapprochement. The co-operation between UNFICYP and each side, however, is good. The Turkish Cypriots have co-operated fully in the opening of the Kyrenia Road and on other matters. The same co-operation is forthcoming from the National Guard.

180. The acknowledgement of Government institutions is generally rejected by Turkish Cypriots, even when their services may be to the advantage of their community. For example, Turkish Cypriot farmers may refuse to complete applications in order to obtain diesel fuel simply because they are addressed to the Government's District Officer. On the other hand, acceptance of aid from UNFICYP or through UNFICYP is not considered an acknowledgement of Government institutions. It follows that as long as UNFICYP continues in this role, the need for turning to the Government may not seem to be very strong in the eyes of the Turkish Cypriot community. This may be pondered over.

181. An UNFICYP political liaison committee, chaired by the Assistant Chief of Staff and attended by UNFICYP political and economic officers, meets separately with the Government and Turkish Cypriot political liaison officers in Nicosia. Since its establishment in March 1964, the Committee has held 255 meetings with both sides. It is, perhaps, a sign of the lessening of tension in the Island that it was possible recently to reduce the frequency of meetings from three times a week to twice a week with each side. The Committee's main function is to provide a means by which the two sides may communicate with each other, and it is therefore mainly concerned with military and economic matters, freedom of movement, and so on. However, as there is still regrettably little co-operation between the two sides in every-day practical matters, the Committee has also been a means by which UNFICYP assistance is solicited in a wide variety of matters.



182. The progress made on freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots in and out of Nicosia has been reported elsewhere in this report. Most of the Turkish Cypriots who take advantage of this relaxation come from outlying districts. Generally the Turkish Cypriots of Nicosia do not move out of their area. Greek Cypriots are restricted from movement in the Turkish Cypriot controlled areas except for the UNFICYP escorted convoys on the Kyrenia Road.

183. The restrictions imposed on certain materials are an obstacle to a return to normal economic activities in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia. There exists also a shortage of money due to unemployment. Foodstuffs are available in almost normal supply. Agricultural products from outlying districts enter the city freely.

184. Public services and utilities in the main are available to the Turkish sector of the city and to the region north of it, with the exception of postal services. Only a few telephones are connected. Schools are operating in most of the Turkish localities, but there is a shortage of teachers and supplies. There are no regular visits by doctors or dentists in the Turkish Cypriot communities. Emergencies are often cared for by UNFICYP medical officers or by way of assistance in bringing patients to the Turkish clinics in Nicosia.

185. Nicosia zone has the largest number of refugees (7,239, according to Turkish Cypriot data). From 2,000 to 3,000 of those live in a camp at Hamid Mandres. There is a desire by all parties concerned to ease the plight of the refugees, as reported in Chapter II above. However, there is such wide disagreement as to the manner in which refugees should be resettled that their basic plight remains unchanged. The living conditions of the refugees, however, have been improved and cases of extreme distress relieved.

#### Morphou District

186. The western part of this district remains a militarily sensitive area (Limnitis, Lefka and Kokkina). Since the demarcation of the cease-fire line around the Kokkina bridgehead, the military situation has remained calm. However, Government forces are still improving their defences, particularly around the coast. On the Turkish Cypriot side, military training is carried out several days each week in Kokkina and Lefka. So far, all attempts by UNFICYP to demilitarize part of the District have gained no success.

187. Freedom of movement, which until recently had been completely restricted by both sides in the western area of the District, has registered some improvement lately. UNFICYP opened the Limnitis area to Greek Cypriots who travel in convoys with UNFICYP protection under arrangements similar to those of the Kyrenia Road. Restrictions on freedom of movement in and out of Lefka have been relaxed recently and the permission to let children go back to their schools in Lefka has made for a much improved atmosphere.

188. There is little recognition of governmental authority in the area. Instances of Turkish Cypriots proceeding to the district office or to the police authorities for the completion of administrative procedures are few and take place generally under UNFICYP escort. Efforts by UNFICYP to arrange for meetings between the local District Officer and a liaison officer with the Turkish Cypriot community have failed.

189. Except in Kokkina, the food supply of Turkish Cypriots in the area presents no problems. Convoys are organized weekly under UNFICYP escort between Nicosia and Lefka. Postal services do not function and telephones are not re-connected. Other public utilities are satisfactory. The western area of the District is one of the areas of the Island where arrangements for the cultivation of land and harvesting were most limited in view of the military situation and the consequent restrictions on freedom of movement.

190. The District has an important refugee problem. Most of the 3,000 refugees are in Lefka, accommodated in houses and school buildings. In Kokkina there are from 600 to 800 refugees from five neighbouring villages. Four hundred of them live in caves in most unhealthy conditions. During the first rains in November, their situation became extremely bad. Fortunately, as a result of the de-restrictions, woollen clothing and tents could be brought into the bridgehead. The resettlement of these refugees is prevented by the positions of the two sides on the problem: the Turkish Cypriot leadership insists that Greek Cypriot military positions on the hilltops around the evacuated villages should be removed; the Government considers these positions essential as long as the Turkish Cypriot fighters remain in the bridgehead.

Famagusta Zone

(i) Famagusta District

191. Government forces in Famagusta have recently been changed over from a "volunteer" basis to that of "regular" soldiers. This has resulted in the improvement of and in some cases addition to defensive positions. It has, however, also resulted in improved discipline amongst the Government forces. While, for the present, Turkish Cypriots display no aggressive intent, nevertheless, the recent build-up of Government forces and subsequent deployment, for example in the immediate vicinity of the main Turkish Cypriot population area of Famagusta, is causing concern to the Turkish Cypriots.

192. Turkish Cypriots move on the whole freely in the District, but must submit to searches. According to the District Administration, about 50 per cent of the Turkish Cypriot population have free contacts with Greek Cypriots.

Three hundred Turkish Cypriot dockers come out of the walled city every day and proceed to their work without difficulty. In theory, the authority of Government institutions is not acknowledged. In practice, if use can be made of them, the Turkish Cypriots will seek it, often through the medium of UNFICYP.

193. The Turkish Cypriot part of the District is administered generally by the former Turkish Cypriot District Officer. Famagusta walled city is administered directly by him and the remainder of the area has a rather loose system whereby local Mukhtars handle immediate problems, and consult with the Turkish Cypriot leader in Famagusta on other more important ones. Efforts by UNFICYP to arrange for regular meetings between the Turkish Cypriot leader and the Government's District Officer have so far failed. According to the Turkish Cypriot leaders there is a wide compliance with legal and administrative requirements. All vehicles are said to be duly licensed and insured.

194. Agricultural activities in the District involve no major problems. The supply situation of the Turkish Cypriot population is satisfactory, except for restricted items. Public utilities function normally. Mail is received from everywhere except from Turkey, from Nicosia and from other Turkish Cypriot towns where postal services have not been re-established. Telephones are re-connected.

195. A number of Turkish Cypriot villages are abandoned. Most of the displaced persons (total of between 800 and 900) live with friends or relatives in other

Turkish Cypriot villages. The only ones who could be described as refugees are living in the walled city at Famagusta. These displaced persons are reluctant to move back to their homes for the moment, until the political situation clears.

(ii) Larnaca District

196. The area around Larnaca has been calm and the only incidents have been of a very minor nature. Neither leadership appears anxious to take any military initiative and the maintenance and deployment of the respective forces is based purely on defensive and security grounds.

197. Relations at the top level between the two communities, though still strained because of the general political differences of opinion, are probably better than in most other Districts and Zones. The local District Officer and Turkish Cypriot leader meet once weekly under the chairmanship of the UNFICYP Commander. At these meetings problems are discussed and they have been instrumental in resolving many points of difference. In the event of emergency, this liaison readily facilitates the bringing together of both parties when the particular problem can be discussed and their co-operation obtained for the purpose of achieving a solution. The Turkish Cypriots, however, generally do not recognize the authority of the Government institutions.

198. The two communities at the village level are generally tolerant in their relations though hostility is still evident in some instances.

199. The authorities state that there is complete freedom of movement for Turkish Cypriots throughout the District. The Turkish Cypriots do not accept this statement and substantiate their view by emphasizing the existence of the Cypriot police road check points on the outskirts of Larnaca. It would in fact appear that, apart from the road check points which exist merely to prevent the passage of "strategic materials" and non bona fide travellers, freedom of movement exists for Turkish Cypriots, but they are unwilling fully to exercise this right.

200. On the other hand, freedom of movement for Greek Cypriots does not exist through the two Turkish sectors of Larnaca and the principal Turkish Cypriot villages of the District. The Turkish Cypriot leaders do not deny this but justify the exclusion of Greek Cypriots from these areas on grounds of military security.

201. The only economic restrictions which apply to this District are the over-all Government restrictions on "strategic materials". There is, of course, the further natural economic restriction caused by unemployment in certain Turkish Cypriot villages. This applies particularly in the case of refugees; the consequent lack of purchasing power makes such families dependent on local charity and the Red Crescent Relief supplies.

202. The supply situation is quite satisfactory and shortages exist only in the places where money is not available to effect the necessary purchases.

203. There has been no denial of essential public services and utilities to Turkish Cypriots. Water and public lighting are provided to the Turkish Cypriots by the authorities even though, in the case of Larnaca town, the Turkish Cypriots do not pay the appropriate rates. Greek Cypriots, in turn, do not pay water dues to the Turkish Evcaf. Turkish Cypriot telephones are connected. Postal services do not function satisfactorily.

204. Primary school education presents no basic difficulty despite shortages of school equipment and texts. The main difficulty has arisen in relation to high school and secondary education, which was formerly carried out in Nicosia.

UNFICYP has taken steps to meet this problem.

205. The public health situation is anything but satisfactory. There are only three Turkish Cypriot doctors practising in the District.

206. Social welfare benefits have ceased to be paid to Turkish Cypriots and their continuance will not be entertained in so far as the local Social Welfare Office is concerned until the Turkish Cypriot staff members formerly employed in this office return to their place of employment.

207. There are about 2,000 refugees in the District, mostly in villages. They are not well accommodated but their situation is far better than that of those in some other parts of the Island. Food requirements are met by Red Crescent supplies.

208. The British bases continue to provide a substantial source of income for the Turkish Cypriot workers of Larnaca.

#### Limassol District

209. From the military and security point of view the situation is calm.

210. The relations between the two communities are good and are maintained by frequent meetings between the District Officer, the Turkish Cypriot leader and the UNFICYP District Commander. At a lower level, relations are reasonable, although both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots tend to keep within their own communities. However, there are certain mixed villages throughout the District. There is also good liaison between the police, UNFICYP and Turkish Cypriot police elements. Both communities readily accept UNFICYP's help in solving problems.
211. A defortification committee consisting of an UNFICYP officer, a local Cypriot official and a Turkish Cypriot has been operating in the District and has dismantled practically all fortified and sandbag positions. The Committee visits villages and ensures the dismantling of any new positions.
212. Considering the past troubles, there are few administrative problems. As far as possible, the Turkish Cypriots try to run a separate community and, for example, have their own medical clinic in Limassol, where operations are carried out. Licences, gas, water, electricity and other dues are paid to the proper authorities in order to secure the continuation of the particular services. Public utilities present no problem in the District. Telephones are and remain connected as long as fees are paid regularly. Postal services function but are considered by the Turkish Cypriot leadership to be useless, since no letters are delivered to and received from Nicosia and often remain undelivered in other areas.
213. The population mixes freely in Limassol. There is no Green Line. The District Officer is reviewing the number of manned Police or National Guard posts in the town, with a view to their early reduction. The close economic ties between the two communities are one of the main reasons for the good atmosphere in the District: The Greek Cypriot wine merchants and industrialists depend on the Turkish Cypriot wine growers and vice-versa.
214. Economic restrictions are enforced liberally. As distinct from other Districts (e.g. Nicosia), whenever prohibited goods are confiscated an inquiry is made to determine who on the Greek Cypriot side sold the goods and the Turkish Cypriot purchaser is reimbursed. The UNFICYP Commander believes that economic restrictions are no longer a valid argument for maintaining roadblocks and check points: since no prohibited goods can be delivered to Turkish Cypriots from abroad, a general prohibition to Greek Cypriot merchants to sell the restricted goods to Turkish Cypriots would be sufficient.

215. There is no shortage of foodstuffs in the villages or in the city. The Turkish Cypriots work freely on the Greek Cypriot side. Turkish Cypriot public employees have not resumed their work. No social insurance benefits are paid to Turkish Cypriots.

216. The refugee problem in the District is not a large one. The bulk of the refugees come from the wine growing district of Mallia. These refugees have been absorbed in Limassol and the Turkish Cypriot village near the British Sovereign Base area. Their condition is not really bad although some families live in tents. An effort is being made to encourage the Mallia refugees to return to their villages to tend the vines and till the soil. This is having a minor success. Nearly forty Turkish Cypriots are now living in the village, although the women and children, with very few exceptions, have remained in the refugee areas.

#### Paphos District

217. Although some Government forces are deployed in the area, it is considered that they are only there to provide a military presence. The Turkish Cypriots have no military forces and the District is calm.

218. Since the middle of October, Turkish Cypriots have begun to move in and out of the Turkish quarter of Ktima. Attempts toward improved relations between the two communities are often frustrated by arrests for past offences. Some Turkish Cypriots visit the District Office and the police authorities to comply with administrative procedures.

219. Movements between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot localities remain limited. Turkish Cypriots tend to remain in their localities. Greek Cypriots are not allowed to pass through most Turkish Cypriot villages.

220. No regular meetings could be arranged by UNFICYP between the District Officer and the Turkish Cypriot leadership. A first attempt was recently made to organize meetings between the Mukhtars of a few Turkish Cypriot villages, a representative of the local Cyprus administration and an UNFICYP officer in order to review problems of common concern. UNFICYP will continue to encourage such meetings.

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221. Most of the land belonging to Greek Cypriots in the neighbourhood of Turkish Cypriot villages and vice-versa is not tilled. UNFICYP arrangements for escorting are not taken advantage of.

222. Water and electricity services operate normally now. Postal services are considered unsatisfactory by the Turkish Cypriot leadership in Ktima town, since mail must be deposited in the Greek Cypriot sector and taken at the Greek Cypriot post office.

223. The public health situation is acute on account of a shortage of Turkish Cypriot doctors. About thirty Turkish Cypriot schoolmasters are also needed in the District.

224. Turkish Cypriots had difficulties with their grain and grape deliveries. There are many unemployed in the towns of the District. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot workers are employed together in the mines east of Polis. An UNFICYP post is situated nearby.

225. There are about 3,000 refugees in the area, of whom 1,200 are in the Turkish Cypriot sector of Ktima and 1,800 in the rest of the area. A small number still live in tents. The refugees live on Red Crescent supplies. Very few refugees have returned to their villages.



V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

226. The Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, in which the Council recommended the creation and stationing of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus for a period of three months provided, in operative paragraph 6, that all costs pertaining to the Force should be met in a manner to be agreed upon by the Governments providing the contingents and by the Government of Cyprus, and also provided that the Secretary-General was authorized to accept voluntary contributions for that purpose. These arrangements for financing the costs of the Force have been continued under the Council's resolutions of 20 June 1964 and 25 September 1964, which extended the period during which the Force shall be stationed in Cyprus, in the first instance to 26 September, and then to 26 December 1964.

227. To date, pledges of voluntary contributions have been made by thirty-one Governments. These pledges, which in the main represent cash contributions but also include amounts to be applied as off-sets against claims of Governments on the Organization in respect of UNFICYP expenses, total \$15,845,745.

228. In previous reports to the Council on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, it has been indicated that estimates of the amounts required to be paid by the Organization for the maintenance and operation of the Force were \$5,430,000 for the first three-month period, \$7,300,000 for the second such period, and \$7,050,000 for the third period ending 26 December. Following a recent review of these estimated costs for the entire nine-month period, in which it has been possible to estimate with greater precision than previously the amounts to be claimed by Governments providing contingents and police units to the Force, it has been possible to reduce previous estimates by about \$4,000,000, thus bringing them into approximate balance with the total amount pledged to date. This reduced estimate, however, would not cover in full the expenses of repatriating the entire Force by 26 December 1964, should that eventuate.

229. If it is decided to extend the period during which the Force is to be stationed in Cyprus by a further three months as from 26 December 1964, the additional costs to the Organization are estimated at \$6,175,000. This estimate

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assumes that the Force would remain at its present strength and composition, that the Organization's responsibility for paying the repatriation costs of contingents and police units at the end of the period would not exceed \$900,000, and that existing arrangements concerning all other costs to be claimed as reimbursement from the Organization by Governments providing contingents and units would remain unchanged.

VI. THE MEDIATION EFFORT

230. On 16 September 1964, following the untimely death of Ambassador Sakari Tuomioja, I designated Mr. Galo Plaza to succeed him as United Nations Mediator on Cyprus. In accordance with the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, this action was taken in agreement with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

231. The function of the Mediator on Cyprus, in the terms of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, is to use his best endeavours with the representatives of the communities and also with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, "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".

232. Mr. Plaza, who until designated as Mediator had been serving as the Special Representative in Cyprus, took up his new duties on 28 September in Nicosia, establishing there the Headquarters of his mission of mediation, which he used as the base for his visits to the countries of the other parties referred to in the resolution of the Security Council. During the period under review he conducted two series of consultations. In the first, he remained in Nicosia from 28 September to 7 October, and then visited Ankara from 7 to 9 October, Athens from 14 to 16 October and London from 26 to 28 October. His second series of consultations occupied him first in Nicosia (10 - 16 November), then in Athens (16 - 18 November) and Ankara (19 - 21 November), again in Nicosia (23 - 26 November) and afterwards in London (26 - 28 November).

233. In Nicosia the Mediator had frequent meetings with the President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and their advisers. He also had discussions with other leaders, both official and unofficial, of the two communities in Cyprus, including members of the Council of Ministers, Members of the House of Representatives and of the Greek and Turkish Communal Chambers as well as persons concerned with commercial, professional and other interests. In the case of the three external Governments referred to in the resolution of

the Security Council, he had meetings in Ankara with the President, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other officials of the Government of Turkey; in Athens with His Majesty the King of Greece, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other officials of the Government of Greece; and in London with the Secretaries of State and the Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs and for Commonwealth Relations and their senior advisers.

234. The Mediator has indicated that the amelioration of the day-to-day situation in Cyprus has not yet had the effect of eliminating the differences of view among the parties concerned as to a political solution of the Cyprus question. On his recommendation, which has been gladly accepted, the Mediator will continue his patient and persistent efforts to find the grounds for an agreed solution in the context of the resolution of 4 March.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

235. During the period covered in this report on the activities of the United Nations peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, the situation has much improved, and significant progress has undoubtedly been made. Fighting has largely ceased and, in general, the cease-fire is being observed in good faith. The easing of economic restrictions and restrictions on the freedom of movement of the population is reflected in a general relaxation of tension in most parts of the Island and in a lessening of the hardship suffered by some sections of the population.

236. The improvement in the position of UNFICYP and the general recognition by all parties of its usefulness as a guardian of public safety, a go-between and a guarantor against the escalation of the conflict in Cyprus by the involvement of outside powers, constitute an encouraging development.

237. On the other hand, the efforts and achievements of UNFICYP (and here I express warm gratitude and admiration to the Special Representative, the Force Commander and their colleagues in UNFICYP) have clear limits, and it may well be that in a practical sense those limits are being approached unless existing attitudes change. The basic factors of the Cyprus situation remain essentially unchanged. Acute political conflict and distrust between the leaders of the two communities, and the passions stirred among the members of the two groups combine to create a state of potential civil war, despite the present suspension of active fighting. This situation adversely affects the entire economy of the Island and causes some serious hardship for certain sections of the population, notably segments of the Turkish Cypriot community. The life and economy of the Island remain disrupted and abnormal, and it would be unrealistic to expect any radical improvement until a basic political solution can be found.

238. In the meantime, while in certain areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots the Government administrative and other services have no access, UNFICYP continues its complex task of providing good offices and acting as the link and channel of communication between two communities which arbitrarily and irrationally have cut themselves off from normal communication with one another.

239. In my opinion this task, in the absence of progress toward a political solution, will inevitably become an increasingly static one, and, in terms of a return to normal conditions, before long will begin to produce steadily diminishing results. The kind of stalemate which will surely result from such a situation will be the more undesirable for continuing to have within it the seeds of a relapse into chaos. It would be unfortunate, to say the least, if the present effectiveness of UNFICYP should become the pretext for failure to find a solution to the fundamental problem of Cyprus. An indefinite prolongation of UNFICYP would also present very serious problems to the United Nations itself. It is, therefore, in my opinion, essential that all concerned intensify their efforts to facilitate an early solution of the question of Cyprus which will have, among other positive results, the consequence of making the continued presence of UNFICYP unnecessary.

240. For the time being and in the immediate future, there seems to be no reasonable alternative to the continuation by UNFICYP of its functions in helping to keep the peace, supervising the cease-fire, and contributing to the maintenance of law and order and to a return to normal conditions. It is clear that UNFICYP's activities are at present indispensable, both for the welfare of the people of Cyprus and for the maintenance of conditions in which the search for a long-term solution can be further pursued. Having ascertained that all of the parties directly concerned, in the context of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964, that is, the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, wish the Force to be extended, I recommend the prolongation of UNFICYP under its existing mandate for a further period of three months as from 26 December 1964, that is, until 26 March 1965. I do so on the assumption that the countries which have until now contributed to UNFICYP, providing either contingents or funds, will continue to give their generous assistance to the Operation. I wish to take this opportunity to express to these countries the full measure of my gratitude for their support. At the same time, I urge all the Member States of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to contribute to the financing of UNFICYP. In so doing, they would co-operate effectively with an operation which has helped to maintain international peace and security in a critical area of the world and would demonstrate, as well, their determination to uphold the peace-keeping ability of the United Nations.

ANNEX I

Aide-mémoire on the implementation of the agreement  
concerning the re-opening of the Kyrenia road

1. Pre-conditions

The pre-conditions necessary before the plan can be implemented are as follows:

- A. Control of the road is vested exclusively in the United Nations.
- B. No armed personnel other than UNFICYP and those members of the Turkish National Contingent mentioned in sub-section F below are allowed on the road.
- C. The United Nations has the exclusive right of search of all persons and vehicles desiring to use the road and the right to deny access to persons and vehicles carrying arms or other warlike stores.
- D. All Turkish Cypriot Police are removed from the road and Turkish Cypriot leaders give adequate assurances that they will not interfere in any way with traffic passing along the road.
- E. Turkish Cypriot leaders give adequate assurances that Turkish Cypriot fighters and inhabitants of villages through which the road passes will not shoot at or interfere in any way with road users.
- F. The Turkish National Contingent will withdraw all its positions that are within 100 yards of the Kyrenia road except those mentioned below and Turkish National Contingent Commander guarantees that no member of the Contingent will interfere with traffic. It is agreed that the Turkish National Contingent may continue to occupy the buildings about 60 yards east of the road at Geunyely, which are being used as logistic offices, and one shed 60 yards on the west side of the road at Geunyely, now used for the maintenance and repair of vehicles. The present entrances to these buildings which are located on the road will be closed and the side entrances used. Use of the road for normal logistics purposes by a limited number of personnel and vehicles of the Contingent will be permitted by the Commander of UNFICYP on such occasions and in such

numbers as may be decided by him in consultation with the Contingent Commander. The Contingent personnel may be permitted to carry their personal weapons.

2. Plan for the implementation of the agreement

A. Definition of the Kyrenia road

That road running from the racecourse check-point at GR 005695 through Orta Keuy and Geunyely to the Kyrenia check-point at GR 000859.

B. Location of UNFICYP check-points

<u>Check-point no.</u>	<u>Location</u>
1.	Kyrenia road check-point GR 000859.
2.	Road junction GR 975831.
3.	Cross roads GR 966820.
4.	Road junction GR 967803.
5.	GR 984745.
6.	At bridge GR 015721.
7.	Racecourse check-point GR 005695.

C. Method of operation

- (i) Convoys would be marshalled at check-points 1, 6 and 7 prior to departure of scheduled runs.
- (ii) A troop of scout cars would be responsible for control of the convoys on the move and would attempt to supply protection.
- (iii) Foot patrols of section strength in both Orta Keuy and Geunyely would be responsible for attempting to safeguard the passage of convoys through these villages.
- (iv) Convoys would operate on a ferry system as follows:

	<u>Check-points</u>	<u>Times of departure</u>
Racecourse	7	0900, 1500 B hours
Kyrenia	1	1030, 1630 B hours

- (v) Those who habitually use the road, such as local residents and foreign nationals, may continue to do so providing that they pass through the check-points and subject themselves to search as necessary. Such free-runners will travel at their own risk.



D. Assessment of task

Check-points 1 and 7: each 5, total: 10

Check-points 2 to 6: each 3, total: 15

Two section patrols: each 8, total: 16

Grand total: 41

One troop of scout cars: 4.

ANNEX II

Aide mémoire dated 27 October 1964 submitted  
by UNFICYP to President Makarios

I. Freedom of movement

1. UNFICYP believes that in line with its mandate to bring about a return to normal conditions and to create a more peaceful atmosphere, further measures should be undertaken to restore freedom of movement on all roads throughout the country.
2. Instances of excessive checks and searches and of apparently unnecessary obstructions by the Government police continue to occur frequently, contributing to insecurity and fear felt by Turkish Cypriots desiring or compelled to travel. Present control measures should, therefore, be revised within the spirit of the policy of freedom of movement, with a view to restoring confidence.
3. UNFICYP would be ready to submit a plan for the full removal of police road blocks and check-points or for their progressive elimination.
4. It was UNFICYP's understanding that the restrictions on freedom of movement for Turkish Cypriots in and out of Nicosia would be lifted on orders of the President. To UNFICYP's knowledge these orders have not yet been carried out.
5. Restrictions on the freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots in and out of Lefka have only been partly lifted, i.e. Turkish Cypriots may travel east but not west. In particular, now that Greek Cypriot convoys are moving freely through Limnitis, women, children and old men should immediately be allowed to move freely between Limnitis and Lefka.
6. Measures should be contemplated to ensure that Cypriots travelling on the island should not be arbitrarily arrested or detained on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963.

II. Economic restrictions

7. As a result of the President's message of 15 September 1964, in which it was announced that it had been decided "to remove any economic restrictions", UNFICYP

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suggested reconsideration by the Government of the list of materials which were prohibited to the Turkish Cypriots, and of which UNFICYP had been informed on 17 July 1964.

8. A new List of Prohibited Materials was given to UNFICYP on 7 October 1964 (copy attached as appendix). Examination of this list shows that, with the exception of the deletion of "paper and printing materials", no reduction in restrictions appears in the list of 7 October. In fact, a number of items have been added.

9. In general, the list may be divided into materials which have a direct military use and those which, whilst they could indirectly be regarded as having a military significance, affect primarily the return to economic normality. This Aide-mémoire is concerned only with the latter.

10. Whilst UNFICYP realizes that the lifting of restrictions will in practice be a progressive process, it considers that any further delay in initiating that process will cause undue hardship to a section of the population and will impede efforts towards a return to normality.

11. It is, therefore, suggested that consideration be given to the removal of the following items from the List of Prohibited Materials.

#### Fuels

12. Although restrictions on the supply of kerosene have already been lifted, restrictions on the supply of petrol and diesel oil remain. UNFICYP is particularly concerned that the ploughing of agricultural land, which normally takes place at this time of the year, should not be retarded any further by restrictions on the release of diesel oil and petrol needed for this purpose. UNFICYP considers that Government action in this matter is urgently required.

13. Restrictions on the supply of petrol to the Turkish Cypriot areas also constitute an obstacle to the proper distribution of foodstuffs and are a matter of special concern to UNFICYP.

#### Vehicle spare parts, tyres and batteries

14. An unrestricted flow of spare parts, tyres and batteries (accumulators) for the maintenance of agricultural machinery, tractors and trucks is of major

importance for the restoration of normal conditions. Unavailability of these items at the present time is detrimental to ploughing, sowing, harvesting and the transport of agricultural products. As time goes on, the cumulative harmful effects of this restriction will be increasingly felt.

#### Woollen clothing

15. The approach of winter raises the problem of ensuring an adequate supply of clothing for the Turkish Cypriot population, and in particular for the displaced persons. On humanitarian grounds, restrictions on this item should be lifted, and the distribution of such clothing, from whatever source, amongst the displaced persons should be encouraged.

#### Building materials

16. This item includes cement, iron rods, timber, gravel and crushed stone and sand. It is, perhaps, a sensitive item since all these materials may be used for military purposes. However, restrictions on them are preventing the reconstruction and repair of houses made urgent by the approach of winter.

#### Tents and tent material

17. Although the long-term needs of the Turkish Cypriot population can best be served by the de-restriction of building materials, there remains the immediate problem of providing temporary accommodation both for displaced persons and, in certain instances, for school class-rooms. On humanitarian grounds, restrictions on this item should be lifted.

18. Conclusion: UNFICYP feels strongly that the lifting of the restrictions mentioned in paragraphs 12 to 17 above would have a beneficial effect on the economy of the Republic and would alleviate the urgent problem of the clothing and resettlement of the displaced persons. UNFICYP has no doubt that, as already shown in some areas, even the partial lifting of restrictions has resulted in an immediate ending of tension between the two sections of the population and a resumption of co-operation between them. The policy advocated should be accompanied by a reduction of control measures on the movement of goods and merchandise on all roads throughout the country.

### III. Displaced persons

19. Winter being near, UNFICYP is prepared to assist in the prompt return of displaced persons to their home localities. Such assistance could cover:

- (a) Selection of mixed localities, where relations between the two sections of the population are felt to warrant such action;
- (b) Removal or take-over by UNFICYP of nearby military posts or check-points, if any, in order to re-establish a climate of confidence;
- (c) Stationing of UNFICYP elements in the resettled villages;
- (d) Measures to ensure against arbitrary arrest or detention on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963;
- (e) Implementation of point (c) in the President's statement of 15 September on financial assistance to Turkish Cypriots desirous of being resettled and on their protection;
- (f) Removal of all economic restrictions in these villages.

### IV. Restoration of postal services

20. At present no mail is being delivered to areas under Turkish Cypriot control. Negotiations over the past two or three months have resulted in a large measure of agreement on plans for the restoration of full postal services throughout Cyprus. UNFICYP attaches very great importance to an early agreement on this matter. It has submitted new proposed arrangements to the Minister of Communications on 23 October 1964. A prompt final agreement would greatly contribute to a return to normal conditions and to a more peaceful atmosphere.

### V. Medical attention for Turkish Cypriots in outlying villages

21. UNFICYP is receiving too many calls for medical assistance and its limited resources are unduly taxed. UNFICYP and the Red Cross have proposed that Turkish Cypriot doctors be provided with identification passes, like the Turkish Cypriot judges, and be allowed to circulate freely in the exercise of their professional duties. This proposal has not been accepted in view of the insistence of Governmental authorities that the doctors must submit to searches. UNFICYP

attaches great importance to agreement being achieved on this matter and proposes that the searches be carried out by UNFICYP or be dispensed with altogether, as in the case of judges.

22. UNFICYP also encounters difficulties in its efforts to help, on account of the Government's insistence that Turkish Cypriot patients should be brought into the Government hospital, while some Turkish Cypriots may prefer their own clinic.

APPENDIX TO ANNEX II

List of prohibited materials

7 October 1964

Accumulators	Iron pickets
Ammonium Nitrate (a)	Iron poles and rods (a)
Angle iron	Khaki cloth (a)
Automobile spare parts	Mine detectors
Bags	Radio sets (a)
Cables (a)	Safety fuses
Camouflage netting (a)	Sand
Cartridges, shotgun (a)	Steel plate, thick
Cement	Studs for boots
Circuit Testers (galvanometers)	Sulphur
Crushed metal	Telephones
Crushed stone	Tents and tent material
Detonators, electrical	Timber
Exploders (a)	Tyres
Explosives	Wire, including barbed wire
Fuel in large quantities	Wire-cutters (a)
	Woollen clothing (if capable of military use) (a)

Note:

- (a) Additional items added to previous list.
- (b) Items excluded from previous list: Paper and Printing Materials.
- (c) Government reserves the right to add any other items to the list at any time.

ANNEX III

Letter dated 12 November 1964 from President Makarios  
to the Special Representative

Nicosia, 12 November 1964

Thank you very much for the Aide-mémoire of UNFICYP of 27 October 1964, proposing certain measures for the creation of a more peaceful atmosphere in the island and a return to normality.

I have most carefully considered the proposals contained in the Aide-mémoire and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my deep appreciation of the work of UNFICYP and its continued efforts towards the creation of normal conditions. I am happy that considerable progress has been achieved in the past few weeks and that a marked lessening of tension has been brought about, so that the whole situation is today much better than it was two months ago.

Once again, I wish to reiterate that the Government of the Republic is always willing to adopt any suggestions or measures which may contribute to the pacification of the island, provided that such measures do not prejudice the solution of the political problem or endanger the security of the island. It is in this spirit that I stated some time ago that the Government was willing:

- (a) To order the removal and dismantling of all Greek armed posts throughout Cyprus provided that the Turkish leadership did the same;
- (b) To assist financially the Turkish Cypriots, who had been compelled by their leadership to abandon their homes and were desirous of being resettled, and to afford them any protection;
- (c) To grant a general amnesty so that any Turkish rebel, who might be under criminal charges for offences committed during the rebellion, might be relieved from any fear of arrest and punishment.

Although the above proposals have not, to date, met with the proper response from the Turkish leadership, they nevertheless still stand.



Furthermore, the Government removed restrictions on foodstuffs, clothing and other articles supplied to or purchased by Turkish Cypriots. It also requested the help of UNFICYP for ensuring freedom of communication and freedom of movement throughout the island.

I now come to the proposals contained in your Aide-mémoire.

I. Freedom of movement

I agree with your suggestions:

- (a) That Police road blocks must be restricted to the minimum with a view to their progressive elimination;
- (b) That Turkish Cypriots should be free to move in and out of Nicosia. Measures will be considered for the implementation of this suggestion;
- (c) That Turkish Cypriots should be free to move in and out of Lefka, not only east but also west to Limnitis. There would thus be no difficulty for children from neighbouring villages attending schools in Lefka;
- (d) That measures should be taken to ensure that Cypriots travelling in the island should not be arbitrarily arrested or detained on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December, 1963.

The above would be subject to minimum necessary checks to ensure that no transportation of arms takes place.

On the subject of Freedom of Movement, however, I wish to make the following observations:

Our conception of "Freedom of Movement" is freedom of movement for all citizens, Greeks and Turks. Your Aide-mémoire deals only with the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots, despite the fact that the Greek Cypriots have no freedom of movement in most of the areas inhabited and controlled by Turks. In Nicosia, for instance, no Greek is allowed to enter the so-called Turkish sector. In cases where Greeks are unfortunate enough to lose their way and find themselves in Turkish areas, they are arrested or lose their lives.

As a result of this Turkish attitude, properties, installations and other establishments in areas controlled by the Turks, belonging to the Government of the Republic and to Greek Cypriots, and the value of which amounts to several millions of pounds, remain under Turkish control and inaccessible to the Government and their Greek Cypriot owners, to the great detriment of the economy of the Island and the return to normality.

## II. Economic restrictions

It is not the policy of the Government to impose economic restrictions.

The prohibition of certain articles or materials is based on the following principles:

- (a) That security requirements should not be prejudiced;
- (b) That evasion of the law should not be encouraged;
- (c) That the economy of the island should not be undermined.

In the above context, I have considered your suggestion for the removal of the following items from the list of Prohibited Materials:

(a) Fuel:

UNFICYP has already noted that restrictions on the supply of kerosene have been lifted. Regarding the supply of petrol and diesel oil, there is no intention on the part of the Government to create any difficulties which may adversely affect the ploughing of agricultural land.

I believe that UNFICYP would agree, however, that the supply of petrol and diesel oil should be used for the purposes mentioned in the Aide-mémoire and not be stored or used for military purposes. Nor is it desirable that the circulation of vehicles should be encouraged in contravention of the law relating to the licensing of vehicles and drivers and third-party insurance. It will be appreciated that, so long as these vehicles circulate only in Turkish areas, the Government has no means of prohibiting their illegal circulation.

The magnitude of the problem can be appreciated if one were to point out that of the 7,647 Turkish owned vehicles in the island, only 945 have applied for and received licences. In the Nicosia area, of the 2,778 Turkish owned vehicles only 127 have applied for and received licences.

The Government proposes to allow reasonable quantities of petrol and diesel oil, based on the number of licensed vehicles and on the number of licensed tractors and the area of arable land. I would welcome a suggestion from UNFICYP regarding reasonable quantities on these lines.

(b) Vehicle spare parts, tyres and batteries:

With regard to your suggestion for the unrestricted flow of spare parts, tyres and batteries (accumulators) for the maintenance of agricultural machinery, tractors and trucks, the Government has the following observations.

Since December 1963, the Turkish Cypriots have looted or stolen from Greek merchants whose stores were in Turkish areas, spare parts for tractors, vehicles, etc. valued (cost price) at £194,000. In addition, they have taken illegal possession from Government workshops and stores of tractors, vehicles, excavators and bulldozers and of tractor and automobile spare parts. The list of the materials looted from private and Government stores was confirmed by Mr. Flores, former Senior Political Adviser to UNFICYP Commander, in a letter dated 4 June 1964.

The Government also wishes to point out that accumulators and dry batteries, in addition to their normal use, can be used for military purposes, and have in fact been used in the past by Turkish armed groups for purposes of detonating bombs and mines as well as for the maintenance of illegal portable radio telegraphy transmitters.

Nevertheless, the Government is willing to permit reasonable supplies, bearing in mind the above factors and on the same basis as in respect of fuel and diesel oil.

(c) Woollen clothing:

The Government accepts your suggestion, and woollen clothing of all kinds will not be included in the List of Prohibited Materials, though the Government is fully aware that, in the past, blankets ostensibly sent for Turkish displaced persons have been used to make military coats for the Turkish armed rebels.

(d) Building materials:

The Government regrets that it is not possible to agree to the de-restriction of cement, iron rods, timber, gravel, crushed stones and sand because these materials are extensively used by the Turks to erect military fortifications.

As confirmed by UNFICYP only twelve days ago the Turks were building cement fortifications in Shakespeare Street. Further, in areas held by Turks and now occupied by Government forces, as for example Mansura, considerable fortifications constructed with cement and iron rods were discovered.

The Government also wishes to point out that substantial quantities of building materials, worth many thousands of pounds, were looted by the Turks from Greek shops in the area north of the green line.

Finally, it must be pointed out that in areas now under the control of the Turks there are no damaged buildings due to fighting. The question, therefore, of reconstruction of damaged houses due to the fighting does not arise in this connexion. This question arises in connexion with the proposals contained in UNFICYP's Aide-mémoire under the heading "Displaced persons".

(e) Tents and tent materials:

The Government agrees with the complete de-restriction of tents and tent materials.

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### III. Displaced persons

As I have already stated, it is the policy of the Government to do everything possible to facilitate the return of displaced persons to their home localities. Accordingly, the Government welcomes the suggestion that the scheme for the return of displaced persons should begin by the selection of mixed localities where relations between the two sections of the population are such as to warrant this action.

In order to re-establish a climate of confidence, the Government would consider favourably the removal of nearby military posts or check points, provided that this does not apply to Police Stations and in such areas as are considered by the Government vital for the defence of the Republic from attack from without.

The Government also agrees with the suggestions contained in your Aide-mémoire for:

- (a) The assistance of UNFICYP by the stationing of UNFICYP elements in the resettled villages;
- (b) Measures to ensure against arbitrary arrest or detention on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963;
- (c) Financial assistance to Turkish Cypriots desirous of being resettled and their protection;
- (d) Removal of all economic restrictions in these villages. It should be noted that no such restrictions exist.

While on this subject, I wish to draw the attention of UNFICYP to the following points.

The Government is in possession of ample evidence that the Turkish leadership does not really wish the Turks to return to their villages and it is a well-known fact that terrorism is being used to prevent Turks wishing to do so, from returning to their homes.

Only a few days ago a Turk was killed in the Turkish village of Mora on the orders of the local Turkish leader, because he had expressed the desire to return to his own village. He was killed before the very eyes of his wife who has made a deposition to the Police. In the village of Pittarcou in Paphos District, to

which the Turks had returned, Turkish terrorists from a nearby Turkish village used force in an attempt to compel them to abandon the village. The same occurred in the village of Mallia, in the District of Limassol.

It is true that the Turkish leadership talks of resettlement, but it is only interested in resettlement to areas which may be used to military advantage or for the extension of Turkish-controlled areas. (Such areas are Omorphita, Trachonas and Kaimakli in Nicosia.) The resettlement of the Turks in such strategic areas will not be considered in isolation but in connexion with other factors related to the restoration of normal conditions.

#### IV. Restoration of postal services

Correspondence for the Turks is now delivered in the normal way in the towns of Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta - including the old town - Paphos and Kyrenia.

The Government is anxious that an agreement be reached on plans for the restoration of full postal services. This will depend on whether the Turkish side is willing to accept the principle that postal services in Turkish-controlled areas will be conducted under Government control and authority and that Government property of stamps, postal orders, money orders, etc. illegally seized by the Turks in December 1963 from the post offices in the Turkish quarter will be returned or accounted for.

It should furthermore be noted that, although agreement had in fact been reached on the question of postal services, the arrangements were not finalized due to new demands by the Turks.

#### V. Medical attention for Turkish Cypriots in outlying villages

The Government has no wish to compel Turkish Cypriots to attend the Government hospitals. They may if they so wish attend Turkish clinics. The Government has no objections to the Turkish doctors being provided with identification passes and being free to circulate in the exercise of their professional duties and has, in fact, already made arrangements to this end, in consultation with UNFICYP.

The Government, however, cannot consider private doctors on the same footing as judges and undertake not to subject them to searches. Judges are on a completely different footing, since they are Judicial Officers of the Republic, serving in the Courts of the Republic under Government authority. Searches of doctors, however, will be carried out when security requirements make it necessary and with the minimum delay.

I should like to refer here to your letter dated 30 October 1964, regarding the impending arrival from Turkey of a shipment of foodstuffs, clothing, footwear and other items. As you are aware, several such shipments have been allowed to be imported without restriction and free of duty in the past, though I am sure you will agree that the continuance of this policy would have the effect of undermining the economy of the island. I do not only refer to exemption from import duty - which, on past shipments, amounted to £93,000 - but also to the creation of smuggling practices of which there is evidence already. The greatest problem is encountered in the case of articles subsidized by the Government, such as flour: Turkish farmers deliver their wheat and barley to the Government and are paid double the actual price, by way of subsidy, while, on the other hand, they receive, free, flour from Turkey, which they may sell on the market at lower prices.

Furthermore, all the items imported are easily obtainable on the Cyprus market, the business world being thus deprived of what would normally be part of their turnover. It is also a well known fact that some of these supplies never reach the people in need, for whom they are intended, but are diverted to those engaged on military operations.

In spite of these problems, the Government has decided to accept your suggestion that the shipment due to arrive from Turkey should be allowed to be unloaded without delay and should be exempted from duty. This should, of course, be regarded as an exception.

I should like to include in this document, in addition to the observations made under each heading, certain comments and suggestions of a general nature.

Restoration of normality is rendered difficult because the Turkish leadership, in furtherance of their political aims, does not desire a return to normal conditions. The Turks are, in most cases, deprived of freedom of movement, not by the Greeks but by the Turkish leadership. In many areas, as for instance Nicosia, the Turks are not allowed out of the so-called Turkish sector except on certain conditions and with the special permission of the leadership.

The Government is in possession of clear evidence of this. A glaring example is Limassol, where conditions have long been normal, there being no restrictions whatsoever, either economic or on freedom of movement, and where the Turkish leadership has recently issued the following order:

"Turkish Cypriots not in possession of a permit are prohibited to enter the Greek Cypriot sector.

"A) Those who will disobey the order with a view to their having trade connections with the Greek Cypriots should pay £25 as a fine, or should be punished with imprisonment.

"B) A fine of £1 will be imposed on

"1. Those who will converse or enter into negotiations with Greek Cypriots or will accompany any stranger into our sector.

"2. Those who will come in contact with Greek Cypriots for any official work.

"3. Those who will appear before Greek Cypriot Courts.

"4. Those who will visit the Greek Cypriot Hospital for having an examination and obtaining pharmaceutical kinds.

"C) A fine of £20 will be imposed on those who have dealings with Greek Cypriots, or on those who buy from Greek Cypriots goods which they can get from the Turkish Cypriot sector, or even on those who get their supply from Greek Cypriots of goods which we can manufacture. Similarly should be fined those who will allow the importation of such goods into our sector.

"D) A fine of £25 or a severe punishment and one month's imprisonment or whipping should be imposed on those who will enter the Greek Cypriot sector.

"1. For promenade.

"2. For friendly association with Greek Cypriots.

"3. For amusement.

"4. For conveyance of information to Greek Cypriots.

"NOTE: Those who are obliged to enter the Greek Cypriot sector for passing through are exempted from the above prohibitions."



In Paphos, Turks were punished for circulating in the Greek quarter of the town or purchasing food from Greek shops. The Government is convinced that the same orders must have been issued in all towns, judging from certain occurrences and the conduct of the Turks there.

The Turkish leadership's conception is that the Turks should be free to move on the territory of the Republic in accordance with the dictates of the leadership, while the Greek Cypriots should be prevented from entering Turkish-controlled areas. At the same time, the Turkish leadership's aim is to improve the lot of the Turks in Turkish-controlled areas without relaxing the self-imposed confinement which is the cause of most of the ills which the Turks are suffering.

It will be appreciated that the key to a return to normality is complete freedom of movement, and it will be found that if complete freedom of movement were restored, most of the hardships which the Turks are now suffering would be eliminated and most of the problems mentioned in your Memorandum would automatically be solved. Freedom of movement, however, is resisted by the Turks because restoration of such freedom would conflict with their policy of physical segregation of Greeks and Turks, an essential element in promoting their political aims.

Another point to which the Government wishes to draw the attention of UNFICYP and in respect of which the Turks have no justification whatsoever, either security or otherwise, is the attitude of the Turks with regard to Government and private properties situated in the Turkish quarter or in its immediate vicinity. Not only do the Turks refuse to allow the operation of industries and factories, but they do not even allow the removal of machinery and goods by the owners.

The most striking evidence of the complete lack of goodwill on the part of the Turkish leadership is its refusal, not only to return the Land Registry Office records, but even to allow access to them. As a result of this, dealings with immovable property, mortgages, etc. are at a standstill, causing great hardship to thousands of people and great detriment to the economic activity of the island. The records and library of the Courts in the Turkish quarter are treated in the same way, as also all other records in Government offices, such as the records of birth, death, etc. in the District Office.

The Turks have nothing to gain by keeping the records and nothing to lose by returning them; nor can they possibly evoke the justification of security. This alone is enough to show the lack of goodwill on the part of the Turkish leadership.

I regret to say that, whilst the Turkish leadership demonstrates such bad faith, it is always complaining against the Government or the Greek side.

UNFICYP must be aware that the Government affords the greatest facilities to the Turks in many spheres, and it is no exaggeration to say that they receive privileged treatment vis-à-vis other citizens, if one were to bear in mind the fact that, in most towns, they are supplied with electricity, water and telephones without paying any fees. Nor do the Turks justify non-payment by lack of funds. The reason why they refuse to pay is so that they may have the opportunity of creating a political issue, if the Government were to cut off supplies, by accusing the Government of inhuman treatment.

In the Government's view, return to normality can be achieved if UNFICYP could ensure the following:

- (a) The lifting by the Turks of all restrictions upon the movement of their own compatriots;
- (b) That the Turks cease preventing Greek Cypriots and Government officials from entering or moving within the so-called Turkish sectors and from using their properties freely;
- (c) The removal of all fortifications and armed posts throughout Cyprus in accordance with the Government's declared policy. As a first step, the Government suggests the removal of the Greek and Turkish armed posts on the Kyrenia range. Though, from the military point of view the Greek side is in an advantageous position, it is prepared to abandon these positions provided the Turks do the same and UNFICYP takes up positions to ensure that no new posts are erected;
- (d) Abolition of the Green Line;
- (e) Evacuation and delivery to their rightful owners of the Armenian houses situated in or in the vicinity of Victoria Street and other places;

- (f) Return of the Government stores, plants, machinery and other property seized by the Turks, worth at least £1,000,000;
- (g) Restoration of possession to the Government of its workshops, installations and machinery in the vicinity of the old railway terminal;
- (h) Return of the records in the Land Registry Office, the District and other Government Offices in the Turkish quarter and of the records and library of the Courts, and, generally, of all the property of the Government.

Although the Government does not make the above points a condition precedent to accepting certain of the proposals contained in UNFICYP's Aide-mémoire of 27 October, nevertheless the Government wishes to point out that if the Turkish leaders continue not to respond, despite the gestures of goodwill made by the Government, the Government will be obliged to reconsider its position.

(Signed) Archbishop MAKARIOS  
President of the Republic of Cyprus

ANNEX IV

Memorandum dated 30 November 1964 submitted by UNFICYP  
to President Makarics

A. Roadblocks and check-points

1. In his letter of 12 November 1964 addressed to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, His Beatitude the President has expressed agreement with the suggestions made by UNFICYP in its aide-mémoire of 27 October that police roadblocks must be restricted to a minimum with a view to their progressive elimination. The President's letter adds that this "would be subject to minimum necessary checks to ensure that no transportation of arms takes place".

2. Measures for restricting roadblocks to a minimum with a view to their progressive elimination should be carried out in stages as follows:

(a) Immediate elimination of all roadblocks which do not serve a purpose consistent with the letter of His Beatitude of 12 November 1964, other than those covered under (b), (c) and (d) below. The attached list (a) gives the locations of all check-points which, in the best judgement of UNFICYP, fall in this category.

(b) Elimination of roadblocks which do not serve a purpose consistent with the letter of His Beatitude of 12 November but which are situated in the vicinity of roadblocks maintained by Turkish Cypriots. If appropriate agreement to that effect can be achieved with representatives of the Turkish community, it is proposed that UNFICYP should exercise control of such pairs of roadblocks on a date to be determined (possibly 10 December) and supervise their simultaneous removal. UNFICYP should likewise ensure that no other roadblocks will be established in the vicinity to replace the same eliminated, and will keep the appropriate authorities informed of instances of non-compliance. The attached list (b) gives the locations of roadblocks falling in this category, in respect of which UNFICYP assistance can be made available.

(c) A limited number of roadblocks may be considered reasonably necessary for purposes relating to the maintenance of certain military positions facing each other as a result of the inter-communal disturbances of 1963-1964. Removal of these roadblocks should be carried out in conjunction with measures for reduction

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of tension in areas where such military positions are held, e.g., the Kyrenia Range, the Green Line in Nicosia, etc; to that end UNFICYP will shortly submit proposals for the demilitarization of such areas under UNFICYP control.

(d) Implementation of (a), (b) and (c) will leave in existence only those minimum checks which will ensure that no transportation of arms takes place, as well as those directly connected with vital installations for defence against external attack.

3. It is suggested that, as one of the first steps, and for the purpose of restoring confidence, serious consideration should be given to measures which would provide free access for Turkish Cypriot civilians to Kyrenia and Temblos by removing the roadblock on the Kyrenia road (GR-S-001860) and the roadblock now at the junction of the Temblos coast road (GR-R-989869). It is understood that this would facilitate agreed arrangement for a more convenient timing the UNFICYP convoys on the Kyrenia Road.

4. It is noted that certain roadblocks and check-points have been maintained for the stated purposes of enforcing economic restrictions, such as the List of Prohibited Materials. Since the President's letter of 12 November refers only to "minimum necessary checks to ensure that no transportation of arms takes place", roadblocks in this category have been included in lists (a) and (b). It is assumed that any economic restrictions can henceforth be implemented by means of controls on merchants, to be enforced by way of normal police procedures.

#### B. Freedom of movement for Nicosia

5. The President's letter of 12 November states that he agrees that Turkish Cypriots should be free to move in and out of Nicosia and that measures will be considered for the implementation of this suggestion. This provision is likewise subject to "minimum necessary checks to ensure that no transportation of arms takes place".

6. The measures to be considered in this connexion should include the issuance of appropriate instructions of all police personnel, including those on mobile patrol duty. UNFICYP is prepared to make available the services of UNFICYP Civilian Police, who could assist in devising minimum checks as desired by the President while avoiding certain vexatious or non-uniform practices which

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have caused such hardship. It is understood that UNFICYP Civilian Policemen should also be assigned to such mobile patrols of the Cyprus Police as may be instituted.

7. It is noted with appreciation that the Cyprus authorities are already carrying out certain measures to implement this portion of the letter of His Beatitude.

C. Freedom of movement for Lefka

8. The President's letter states that Turkish Cypriots should be free to move in and out of Lefka, not only east but also west to Limnitis. There would thus be no difficulty for children from neighbouring villages attending schools in Lefka. It is noted with appreciation that positive action has been taken by the appropriate authorities to implement this point.

D. Arrests on charges connected with the recent disturbances

9. The President's letter states that measures should be taken to ensure that Cypriots travelling on the island should not be arbitrarily arrested or detained on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963.

10. The words "alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963", in relation to which an assurance of freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention is envisaged in the President's letter, should be interpreted as including not only actions by Turkish Cypriots in "taking up arms against the State" or "attempting to overthrow the Government" etc., but also all act of violence of an inter-communal nature committed after the events of December 1963 and the unlawful possession of firearms at the time of or subsequent to the events of December 1963. Clear instructions on such lines should be given to all police officers throughout the island.

LIST A

Roadblocks which do not serve a purpose consistent  
with the President's letter of 12 November 1964 and  
which should be eliminated immediately

Serial number	Nearest location	Grid reference	Operated by
<u>NICOSIA ZONE</u>			
1.	Athalassa	S 05156575	Cyp Pol
2.	Zamis	S 03837038	Unmanned (Cyp Pol)
3.	Trachonas Street	S 03727028	Unmanned (Cyp Pol)
4.	Mozart	S 03547075	Unmanned (Cyp Pol)
5.	Vassilis Michaelides	S 04187016	Unmanned (Cyp Pol)
6.	S of Kyrenia	S 007857	Cyp Pol
7.	Antiphonitis Mon	S 274865	Cyp Pol
8.	Yerolakkos	R 943699	Cyp Pol and Nat Gd
9.	Angastina	S 218729	Cyp Pol
10.	Temblos	R 989869	Cyp Pol and Nat Gd
11.	Road to Bela Pais	S 013835	Cyp Pol and Nat Gd
12.	Dhiorios	R 774845	Cyp Pol
13.	S of Kyrenia	S 001860	Cyp Pol
<u>FAMAGUSTA DISTRICT</u>			
14.	Tower/Laundry on Nicosia Rd	S 55056392	Nat Gd
15.	Distr. Edg near Angastina	S 220727	Cyp Pol
16.	Larnaca Road	S 54256110	Cyp Pol

LIST A (continued)

Roadblocks which do not serve a purpose consistent  
with the President's letter of 12 November 1964 and  
which should be eliminated immediately

Serial number	Nearest location	Grid reference	Operated by
<u>FAMAGUSTA DISTRICT (continued)</u>			
17.	New Nicosia Road	S 54086508	Cyp Pol
18.	Salamis Road	S 54216570	Cyp Pol
<u>LARNACA DISTRICT</u>			
19.	Dhekelia Road, Larnaca	S 310450	Cyp Pol
20.	Nicosia Road, Larnaca	S 278410	Cyp Pol
21.	Limassol Road, Larnaca	S 273405	Cyp Pol
<u>LIMASSOL DISTRICT</u>			
22.	Ypsonas	R 676145	Cyp Pol
23.	Asomatos	R 674097	Cyp Pol
24.	Yermasoyia	R 790158	Cyp Pol
25.	Dhoros	R 629298	Cyp Pol
26.	Mandria	R 550351	Cyp Pol
<u>PAPHOS ZONE</u>			
27.	Ay Mamas	R 458645	Nat Gd and Cyp Pol
28.	Astromeritis	R 758649	Cyp Pol
29.	Mandria	R 296182	Nat Gd and Cyp Pol
30.	Yeroskipos	R 192244	Nat Gd and Cyp Pol
31	Stroumbi	R 236364	Nat Gd and Cyp Pol



LIST B

Roadblocks which do not serve a purpose consistent with the  
President's letter of 12 November 1964 and which are situated  
in the vicinity of Turkish Cypriot roadblocks

Serial number	Nearest location	Grid reference	Operated by
<u>NICOSIA ZONE</u>			
1	Ismail Beyoglou	S 05067124	Nat Gd - 1 Sec
2	Emb. near Prison	S 02696978	Cyp Pol
3	Spyros Christodoulou Ave	S 04996940	Cyp Pol
4	Pafhcs Street	S 03826893	Nat Gd
5	Elefsis Street	S 04987013	Cyp Pol
6	Elefsis Street	S 04957017	Cyp Pol
7	Leontios Street	S 05036995	Nat Gd
8	Chr. Tsountas	S 05136982	Nat Gd
9	Mehmetjik Street	S 05026972	Nat Gd
10	Near Mehmetjik Street	S 05056965	Nat Gd
11	L. Porphyras	S 05056958	Nat Gd
12	Leonitios Machaeras	S 05026953	Nat Gd
13		S 04687139	Nat Gd
14	Yalova Street	S 04547147	Nat Gd - 1 Sec
15	Kamramalar Ave	S 04717025	Cyp Pol
16	Near O. Clerides/ Djoshan	S 04247013	Cyp Pol
17	Trachonas Street	S 03637060	Cyp Pol
18	Tepeleni	S 03607062	Cyp Pol
19	Ap. Alexandris	S 03487067	Nat Gd
20	Iedra Palace	S 03346906	Cyp Pol

ANNEX V

Aide-mémoire dated 23 November 1964 submitted  
by UNFICYP to Vice-President Kuchuk

1. UNFICYP is gratified to note that tension on the island has eased, armed clashes have almost ceased and progress has been made in improving general conditions in the country. The reopening of the Kyrenia road under UNFICYP control has been an important factor contributing to this development, and UNFICYP is grateful for the co-operation it has received from the Turkish Cypriot community and its leadership towards that end. Moreover, a number of measures have been adopted by the Government, with UNFICYP assistance and good offices, which will help to alleviate the hardships to which many Turkish Cypriots, especially displaced persons, are exposed. UNFICYP considers that further measures should be undertaken urgently by all concerned to bring about a return to normal conditions as envisaged by the Security Council in its resolution of 4 March 1963, and to create a more peaceful atmosphere in Cyprus. This Aide-mémoire suggests measures which, in UNFICYP's view, can and should now be undertaken with the co-operation of the Turkish Cypriot community and its leaders. UNFICYP is prepared, in accordance with its mandate, to extend its assistance and good offices where appropriate.

I. Freedom of movement

2. UNFICYP believes that, in line with its mandate to bring about a return to normal conditions and to create a more peaceful atmosphere, further measures should be undertaken to restore freedom of movement on all roads throughout the country. This should include:

- (i) The immediate or progressive elimination of all roadblocks and checkpoints throughout the island. UNFICYP is prepared to assist by proposing a plan for the removal of roadblocks controlled by Turkish Cypriots in conjunction with its current proposals for the removal of Government roadblocks.
- (ii) Full freedom of movement in and out of all parts of Nicosia for unarmed Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike;

- (iii) Adoption of measures to restore the confidence and ensure the safety of Cypriot civilians travelling on the island in all areas. Such measures should provide against arbitrary arrest or detention on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963;
- (iv) Public statements by the leadership encouraging the population of the communities to move freely throughout the island, and appealing for a cessation of all attempts to restrict normal contacts between the communities.

## II. Restoration of normal economic activities

3. UNFICYP has consistently held that although in practice the lifting of economic restrictions might require a number of gradual steps, there should be no delay in initiating and accelerating the de-restriction process. Some significant progress has been made recently towards the achievement of this goal, but further measures seem to be required.

### Fuel

4. The restrictions on the supply of kerosene have been lifted. Requests for fuel oil have been honoured practically in every case. Reasonable quantities of gas oil and lubricants are being allocated for agricultural purposes, in particular for ploughing and sowing. As such allocation is based on the number of licensed tractors and the area of arable land, UNFICYP suggests that licenses should be secured for all tractors and agricultural machinery.

5. UNFICYP is aware of the fact that restrictions on the supply of petrol to Turkish Cypriot areas are still in existence. In order that UNFICYP may effectively assist in having petrol supplied to Turkish Cypriot vehicles owners, the requirements relating to the licensing of vehicles and drivers and third-party insurance should be fulfilled. UNFICYP is prepared to facilitate compliance with such requirements.

### Vehicle, spare parts, tyres and batteries

6. UNFICYP has arranged for the release of a limited supply of spare parts for machinery owned by Turkish Cypriots engaged in agriculture. For that purpose the co-operation of those concerned in adhering to the necessary procedures is indispensable.

Woollen clothing, tents and tent material

7. Restrictions on these items have been lifted, and UNFICYP is prepared to continue to assist in the distribution to those whom they are intended to benefit.

Building materials

8. Inasmuch as these materials, which include cement, iron rods, timber, gravel, crushed stone and sand can be used for military purposes, UNFICYP suggests that a return to normal condition in respect of these materials will become possible once a programme of progressive removal of fortifications on an island-wide basis can be agreed to.

Industrial properties

9. Several industrial properties owned by Greek Cypriots are situated in Turkish Cypriot controlled areas. UNFICYP believes that the economy of the country as a whole would benefit if the lawful owners are enabled to reactivate such industries. Meanwhile, such owners should not however be prevented from moving or otherwise disposing of their properties.

III. Displaced persons

10. In UNFICYP's considered view, the return to normality would be greatly enhanced if displaced persons were enabled to resettle in their former home localities. UNFICYP realizes, however, that resettlement will in some regions require special arrangements by reason of the security and military problems involved.

11. UNFICYP is prepared to assist in the prompt return of as many displaced persons as possible to their home localities. Such assistance should cover:

- (i) Selection of mixed localities, where relations between the two sections of the population are felt to warrant such action;
- (ii) Removal or take-over by UNFICYP of nearby military posts and check-points, if any, in order to re-establish a climate of confidence;
- (iii) Stationing of UNFICYP elements in the resettled villages;

- (iv) Measures to ensure against arbitrary arrest or detention on charges relating to alleged past offences connected with the disturbances following the events of December 1963;
- (v) Implementation of point (c) in the President's statement of 15 September on financial assistance to Turkish Cypriots desirous of being resettled and on their protection;
- (vi) Removal of all economic restrictions in these villages.

12. UNFICYP will shortly submit for the consideration of the parties concerned a list of localities in various areas of the island where the resettlement process can begin at once. Public statements by the Turkish Cypriot leaders to the effect that they are co-operating with the United Nations in this effort will be welcome.

#### IV. Government stores and records

13. Equipment and machinery belonging to various Government departments are stored in Turkish Cypriot controlled areas. Those departments should be enabled to make effective use of their equipment and machinery, thus contributing to the economy of the island as a whole. UNFICYP considers that co-operation towards the solution of this problem by the Turkish Cypriot leadership will represent a significant contribution to the return to normality.

14. UNFICYP notes with regret that the arrangements whereby the land and registry records kept in the Turkish Cypriot area were brought on request to Wolseley Barracks have been discontinued. The inability to register land transactions and to obtain certificates of past registrations is causing considerable inconvenience and much financial hardship to the general public. Making the registers available would contribute to the return to normality. UNFICYP wishes to renew the offer made in August last to provide temporary secure accommodation for the records in a place accessible to both communities.

#### V. Functioning of the law courts

15. There had been during the past few months a gradual return to normality in the functioning of the law courts, throughout the island. In Nicosia, four Turkish Cypriot members of the court staff had begun to attend to their work in

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the new law courts building and in fact worked on several days without any hindrance. Court records and books from the library in the law courts building in the Turkish sector of Nicosia had been made available to judges and court officials whenever necessary.

16. Unfortunately, during the past two weeks this favourable trend has been reversed without sound reason to the best of our knowledge. We deplore this trend. The Turkish Cypriot staff members with one exception have ceased to come to the court premises in Wolseley Barracks and judges and court officials have been denied court records and library books from the law courts building. The Government, however, still continues to pay salaries to those Turkish Cypriot staff members who are carrying out their duties under the orders of the court authorities, though physically remaining in the Turkish Cypriot sector of the city. In the provinces also, the Turkish Cypriot staff members have so far failed to attend court and perform their functions thus preventing the judges from taking up cases for trial. The following steps should be taken without delay to ensure the continued functioning of the law courts:

- (a) The return of those Turkish Cypriot staff members who had begun to attend to their functions in the law courts in Wolseley Barracks and have recently ceased to do so.
- (b) The restoration of the arrangements under which court records and library books were being sent over to the law courts building in Wolseley Barracks from the law courts building in the Turkish sector of Nicosia.
- (c) The return to duty of all Turkish Cypriot administrative and clerical staff of the courts who have refrained from doing so since the events of December 1963.
- (d) The progressive transfer of the court records and of the court library to Wolseley Barracks.
- (e) Encouragement to all Turkish Cypriot lawyers, witnesses in cases, and parties to litigation to proceed to the law courts building in Wolseley Barracks under arrangements made by UNFICYP for their personal safety and security, and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

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ANNEX VI

Reply of Vice-President Kuchuk to UNFICYP's  
aide-mémoire of 23 November 1964

I. Aide-mémoire dated 6 December 1964 addressed by  
Vice-President Kuchuk to UNFICYP

The aide-mémoire by UNFICYP dated 23 November 1964 has been carefully considered by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community, who after deliberation decided that a reply in the following terms should be given to it.

1. While the Turkish community appreciates and is grateful for the valuable assistance and contribution which UNFICYP has been making, it is with great reluctance that the Turkish leaders have found it necessary to express their concern over the suggestions made in the UNFICYP aide-mémoire, because - (a) One cannot help but notice a striking similarity between the suggestions contained in the aide-mémoire and Makarios's terms for return to normality. It appears that it has not been found possible for the representations, complaints and appeals made by the Turks from time to time to be given their due weight when the suggestions were formulated; (b) The suggestions made in the aide-mémoire envisage return to a normality which, far from being within the framework and spirit of the Constitution, of the laws of the country and of the United Nations Security Council resolution of 4 March, is in accord with the unlawful situation which the Greek Cypriot leadership has brought about by the use of force and violence and tend to consolidate such situation; (c) The constitutional and legal rights and claims of the Turkish Cypriots do not appear to have been taken into consideration and the aide-mémoire, in which the Turks would have liked to see reservations made for these rights and claims, contains suggestions and recommendations, which, if implemented, will deprive the Turks permanently of their rights and put them entirely at the mercy of the Greeks; (d) If the suggestions and the recommendations in the aide-mémoire are accepted, it will mean that the unlawful situation which the Greeks have been trying to perpetuate by the use of force and violence will be consolidated with the assistance and support of the UNFICYP and thus a kind of

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political solution which the Greeks want to impose on the Turks will gain ground. This is contrary to the resolution of the Security Council, which calls for an agreed settlement; (e) Certain expressions in the aide-mémoire may, though we feel sure unintentionally, give the impression to the uninitiated that the Greek administration is the lawful Government and that the Turkish community has no right or say in the government of the country.

2. In the view of the Turkish leaders, the proposals put forward in the aide-mémoire constitute new evidence that the economic blockade and pressure imposed arbitrarily by the Greeks for political motives continue with their original severity. Before dealing with the specific questions raised in the aide-mémoire, the Turkish community wishes to reiterate its readiness, as expressed repeatedly on earlier occasions, to consider subjects of normalization within a government meeting in accordance with the constitution and under United Nations protection. This should be the starting point for the gradual establishment of a sense of security.

### 3. Freedom of movement

The Turks have always co-operated in restoring freedom of movement on all roads throughout the country. The most recent example of this is the opening of the Nicosia-Kyrenia road. The Turks were assured that efforts would be made to bring about similar arrangements in respect of all other roads which are under Greek control. Unlawful searches, detentions and arrests of Turks have continued, however, on all roads up to this day. In the view of the Turkish leaders, the freedom of movement in and out of Nicosia presents special difficulties in view of the fact that almost half of the Turkish population in Cyprus has had to take refuge for its security of life and is living in a very small and congested area which comprises only their homes. Therefore, the situation of Nicosia and its suburbs, such as Omorphita, cannot be regarded as a simple problem of freedom of movement only. The Turkish leaders appreciate the fact that the question of Nicosia has to be tackled sooner or later, but cannot be done until full security of life and property to all the Turks can effectively be ensured and guaranteed by UNFICYP. The recommendation in paragraph 2 (c) of the aide-mémoire relates the

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atrocities committed by Greeks, about which Turks have been complaining since 21 December 1963. If UNFICYP will succeed in stopping the Greeks from committing these atrocities, the Turks will only be too pleased.

As to paragraph 2 (d) of the aide-mémoire, it should be noted that the Vice-President of the Republic agreed in December last that a recorded message of his and that of the President encouraging Turks and Greeks, respectively, to move freely throughout the island, should be broadcast on the Cyprus broadcasting station. Whilst the Vice-President's message in his own voice was broadcast and repeated every quarter of an hour, the President's message was not broadcast in his own voice and was not repeated. Any Turk who, encouraged by the Vice-President's message, tried to go from one place to another was either shot dead or abducted. In this way many Turkish lives were lost. Therefore, before full confidence is restored, Turkish leaders consider that "public statements by the leadership" will not dispel fears of the Turks as they know well that they cannot trust Greek words, promises and undertakings. Knowing that Greek words and deeds never tally, it would be unfair and unwise to entice Turks into a false sense of security.

#### 4. Restoration of normal economic activities

To prevent or restrict the supply of essential commodities such as food, fuel oil, spare parts, clothing and building materials, of a particular class of citizens in a country is in itself a proof of violation of basic human rights by those in power. To lift such inhuman restrictions is not surely an act of magnanimity as Greeks seem to think, but is an action taken with a view of giving an end to violence which no decent and lawful Government can resort to against its subjects so wantonly and arbitrarily as in Cyprus. The Turkish community is grateful to the United Nations for the efforts it exerted in the lifting, or rather relaxation, of restrictions on certain essential commodities.

5. It is true that fuel oil is now supplied and gas oil and lubricants may, subject to certain formalities, be bought but the Turks are still at the mercy of certain Greek officials and so-called guards at check-points who permit or disallow the supply to Turks according to their whims. As Turks do not yet feel free and

confident to travel on roads under Greek control, many Turkish owners of vehicles have not felt the necessity to fulfil the requirements relating to licensing and third party insurance. When full freedom of movement on all roads is restored, Turkish owners of vehicles will no doubt fulfil these requirements. It is unreasonable to expect them to incur a considerable amount of expense in fulfilling these requirements when they know that they cannot make use of any road in the country except a few miles in the area in which they live virtually under siege. To prevent or restrict sale of petrol in Turkish-inhabited areas simply because a majority of Turkish owners of vehicles did not obtain their licences is, besides being unreasonable and discriminatory, an unlawful restriction on free trade. It should be noted that by purchasing petrol the Turks contributed to the public revenue as, in Cyprus, almost 50 per cent of the price of petrol constitutes import duty. As the Greek administration pays no money for the maintenance of roads in Turkish sectors it is obvious that they are not justified in claiming licensing and other fees so that petrol may be supplied to the Turks.

6. The whole world, including the Greeks themselves, has come to know beyond any doubt that the Turks have not built and do not build fortifications for any aggressive purpose. As long as Turks are kept under siege, a large army hostile to them is maintained, and no respect is shown to constitutional law and order by the Greek leaders (who continue to act arbitrarily and who have made it clear that their intention is to make Turks either accept their conditions or be victims of their armed force), it is unreasonable to expect Turks to agree to remove their fortifications, which are nothing but makeshift defence posts put up for the purpose of defending themselves, their families and their homes in the event of a renewed attack by the Greeks. For the same reasons, the Turks are unable to allow Greeks to penetrate into areas where their homes are, on the pretext of reactivating certain industries which are situated in Turkish-controlled areas. It should be noted that Turkish Cypriots also own industrial properties situated in Greek-controlled areas where Turks are not allowed to carry on their business. It should be recalled that the Turks did not prevent, where

circumstances permitted it, the Greek owners of such industries from moving or otherwise disposing of their properties e.g., Austin and Pavlides garages and ABC Bakery. The Turks even permitted Greeks to operate their industrial plants in the Turkish sector of Nicosia, e.g., the cold stores.

7. Displaced persons

The Turkish leaders have already published their considered views on this subject. A copy of the memorandum which was sent also to Archbishop Makarios is enclosed for easy reference. It should be noted that this is a very important subject and is closely bound up with the final political settlement. The suggestions in sub-paragraphs (a) - (f) of paragraph 11 of the aide-mémoire envisage the permanent presence of United Nations troops in Cyprus. It is futile to expect Turks to go and live amongst their persecutors, Greeks, when they know that it is unlikely that the United Nations troops will remain in the island beyond March 1965. In any case, the mere stationing of United Nations observers will not in itself give a feeling of security to the Turks, as it will be recalled that in the Tylliria area the presence of United Nations troops did not prevent Greeks from attacking Turkish villages in this area where they staged their all out attack marching over United Nations posts. Turks have not yet forgotten Makarios's statement during the Tylliria fighting that he would order his troops to attack every Turkish village and wipe out all Turks. The Greek radio still continues to broadcast that in the event of a war all Turks will be massacred. General Grivas has publicly stated recently that if Turks do not collaborate in the realization of enosis then arms will speak. The suggestions in the attached memorandum of the Turkish leadership would, if implemented, enable thousands of Turks to return to their homes in Omorphita and in Tylliria villages e.g. Mansoura, Ayios Theodoros, which could be demilitarized and placed under United Nations control.

8. The Vice-President on behalf of the Turkish leaders has stated publicly that for the successful implementation of a resettlement and rehabilitation plan, it is essential for Turks and Greeks in highest authority to sit down and discuss the problem in full and to ensure the assistance, support and co-operation of

UNFICYP. The Turkish leaders reiterate their readiness to consider specific proposals of resettlement along these lines.

9. Government stores and records

It is true that some equipment and machinery belonging to certain Government departments are stored in Turkish Cypriot-controlled areas, but it is equally true that millions of pounds worth of assets (equipment, machinery, properties of all sorts, monies, stamps, bonds and other liquid assets) in which Turks have their share, being, by virtue of the Constitution and Treaties, partners in the sovereignty and government of the country, have been seized and usurped by the Greek elements of the Government. It follows therefore that if a genuine attempt is to be made for a return to normality, it is essential to try and recover first the fair share of Turks from Government assets and thus relieve Turks from untold hardships instead of affording the means to the usurpers of power to consolidate their unlawful position still further. The Turkish leaders are prepared to hand over this equipment and machinery if the United Nations authorities succeed to ensure a fair allocation and flow of all government assets between the two partners - the Turkish and Greek communities in accordance with the Constitution. It would not be out of place to mention here by way of example

- (a) That the office of the Vice-President had been ransacked and looted by Greek members of the Cyprus Army;
- (b) That Greeks by creating such circumstances as made it impossible for Turks to attend their offices in the Greek sector, refused to pay emoluments to Turkish civil servants and other employees, amounting to nearly two million pounds;
- (c) That the payment of the annual subsidy of 400,000 pounds payable to the Turkish Communal Chamber for education services and of other monies due to Turks has been refused and, indeed, no provision for such a subsidy has been made in the 1965 budget of the Greeks, who claim and insist that Turks should continue to pay to them all sorts of taxes and fees despite the fact that they refuse to render Turks any service;

(d) The Republic's budget for the year 1964 contains certain projects which if executed would benefit mainly Turkish-Cypriot citizens. None of these projects have been executed and thus the Greeks misappropriated millions of pounds which were to all intents and purposes allocated to the Turks. For example, the Greeks refused to make available any money for the completion of a dam project at Kanli Keuy (a purely Turkish village). By this refusal, the Greeks endangered the wastage of some 20,000 pounds already spent on this dam in 1963 as they know that a torrential rain will sweep away what has already been built.

When the situation is as above, it would seem to be unrealistic to place too much emphasis only on the recovery for the Greeks of a few pieces of machinery which happen to remain in the Turkish area and which in any case are required for public use in the Turkish sectors.

10. As regards land registry records, UNFICYP will no doubt give consideration to the offer made by Turkish leaders in August last to Dr. Plaza, then Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and to Mr. H. Williams, political officer. They were informed that, instead of removing records from the Turkish sector, it would be more equitable if temporary arrangements were made whereby Turkish land registry officers could be authorized to make all necessary records of transactions by means of regular dispatches to be carried by the United Nations between Greek and Turkish land registry offices in the Greek and Turkish sectors of the town of Nicosia, respectively. Needless to say, the Turks are equally in need of this public service and it would be unreasonable to remove the whole of the records to the Greek sector and thus deprive the Turks of such public service altogether. The Turkish leaders wish to assure UNFICYP that these records are perfectly secure in their original place of custody, and that they request that steps should be taken so that this public service which is causing hardship to the Turkish community should be restored on the lines of the offer made in August last.

11. Functioning of the law courts

It should be recalled that Turkish judges inspired with a sense of duty and goodwill accepted to continue to serve until an appeal made by the Vice-President

to the Greek side calling upon the Greeks to take such positive steps as would ensure that justice was again administered in accordance with the Constitution, was considered. A copy of this appeal is enclosed for easy reference. Therefore the Turkish leadership would have expected that the effort of UNFICYP in this connexion would have been directed towards securing from the Greek side a constructive response to this appeal rather than making the suggestions made in sub-paragraphs (a) - (e) of paragraph 16 of the aide-mémoire, which may lead to the perpetuation of the unconstitutional functioning of the courts which should be above all political objectives and activities. It will be appreciated until a reply to the appeal is received so that the position of the functioning of the machinery of justice is clarified it would be unfair to expect a reply from the Turkish side to these suggestions.

12. It should be noted here that since the enactment unlawfully of the Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law, 1964, the court building in the Turkish sector of Nicosia has, by an order of the Minister of Justice, ceased to be a court building. In this way Turks have been deprived of another vital service to them.

II. Letter dated 10 December from Vice-President Kuchuk  
to the Special Representative

Nicosia, 10 December 1964

I have already handed to Your Excellency the reply of the Turkish leadership to UNFICYP's aide-mémoire of 23 November 1964, and we have since discussed the matter at two meetings during which we tried to explain the reasons why the Turkish leadership could not see its way to agreeing with the suggestions in the aide-mémoire though it would very much have wished to do so.

In order to remove any impression which may be formed by uninitiated readers of the aide-mémoire and the reply thereto, particularly in view of certain expressions used in both of them, I thought it advisable to make the following observations which I shall be grateful if you will treat as part and parcel of the Turkish reply:

(1) The Turkish community appreciates the valuable assistance and contribution which UNFICYP has been able to make in keeping the peace and in easing tension, and, in particular, in alleviating some of the untold miseries to which the Turkish community has been subjected since December 1963. The Turkish community is grateful for the efforts which Your Excellency, General Thimayya and other members of UNFICYP have exerted in securing relaxation to a certain extent of the economic blockade and, in particular, in securing the importation and distribution, to 55,000 destitute Turks, of the Red Crescent relief supplies. We are fully aware of the limitations and the difficulties under which UNFICYP has been operating in Cyprus, and we have no doubt that UNFICYP has achieved much despite very limited authority and power given to it. I take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency that it is the firm conviction of the Turkish community that UNFICYP has been operating with the best of goodwill and with a sincere desire to bring normal conditions to our unhappy country.

(2) I would like to request that the reasons for which we have not been able to reply in the affirmative to the suggestions in the aide-mémoire should not be understood as indicative of a tendency on the part of the Turks to take a negative and rigid attitude as the Greeks would wish the uninitiated to believe. Your Excellency will, no doubt, agree that acceptance of these suggestions, without an

assurance in the first instance of respect for the constitutional and legitimate rights of the Turkish community, would result in a situation which, having regard to the realities in Cyprus, would be tantamount to the materialization of the aspirations of the Greek community under the Makarios administration which, since December 1963, has created a situation, by force of arms, which is not only unlawful and unconstitutional but is against international obligations undertaken by the Republic of Cyprus.

(3) As it has been submitted to Your Excellency during our discussions, in Cyprus as in any other civilized country in the world, normalization can only be achieved if, before everything else, those who exercise governmental authority submit themselves to the rule of law and create a situation in which the rights of all citizens irrespective of race or creed are respected. This is more so in the case of Cyprus where governmental authority is vested in two communities and the present situation arose because one of these two communities, i.e., the Greek community, has manifested, by the use of force and in so many ways, its determination to deprive the other community (i.e., the Turkish) of its legitimate rights. Therefore, it will not be possible to achieve a real return to normality in the proper sense of the word, unless the governmental authority is exercised in accordance with the constitution of the country. Otherwise, it will only serve the Greek community to further and consolidate the unlawful and arbitrary state of affairs created by force of arms at the expense of the rights of the Turkish community and its members. It is interesting to note here that, while the Greek side is pretending to crave for a return to normality, they are at the same time taking drastic measures, in flagrant violation of the Constitution, and that in this way, by creating a series of fait accomplis, they are trying to place the Turkish community entirely at their mercy. Amongst these measures, mention may be made of the taking over of the ministries headed by Turkish ministers, the removal of the judicial guarantees of the Cypriot Turks, the institution of compulsory military service, the importation of huge quantities of arms and military personnel and the creation of municipalities in contravention of the Constitution and in defiance of the judgement of the Supreme Constitutional Court.



(4) It is beyond any dispute that the Constitution of Cyprus, which stems from an international transaction, is valid until such time as the parties to it agree for its amendment or abrogation. This fact is also confirmed by the resolution of the Security Council which calls for an agreed settlement between the interested parties. The resolution also calls upon the parties to refrain from taking any action which would worsen the situation. In the circumstances, it is, no doubt, natural for the Turkish community to ask, before anything else, for the observance of the Constitutional Order pending a final political solution. Only in this way can a return to normality be achieved, as otherwise the Turkish community will be forced to agree to the consolidation of a situation which is what the Greek community is contemplating as the final solution, i.e., to place all governmental authority in the Greek community and to reduce the Turkish community, which is a separate entity in itself, to the status of a simple minority stripped off of all its legitimate rights. Taking into consideration the above facts and realities, I have no doubt that Your Excellency will appreciate the reasons as to why the Turkish community finds it impossible to agree to suggestions which would result in the erosion of its constitutional rights and guarantees and predetermine the final solution of the problem, despite the fact that being the sufferers the Turks more than anybody else wish a speedy return to normality.

I trust, therefore, that the fact that the present administration in Cyprus is not a government constituted in accordance with the Constitution and that the governmental authority cannot lawfully vest in, or be exercised by, solely one community, will not be overlooked and that the Turkish community will not be regarded as a community having no right or say in the administration of the country.

(Signed) F. KUCHUK  
Vice-President of the Republic  
of Cyprus



