Letter dated 3 August 2022 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

With reference to the letter dated 19 May 2022 from the Permanent Representative of Türkiye to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/76/842–S/2022/405), I wish to bring to your attention the following, upon instructions from my Government:

In line with what Türkiye does best, the said letter once again recycles the same historical revisionism and misrepresentation of facts.

Cyprus emerged into statehood in 1960 as a unitary State with one people, the Cypriot people, irrespective of ethnic origin. The subsequent portrayal of one of Cyprus’ ethnic communities as a people, in order to feign a separate right of self-determination, is not only legally invalid as ex post facto, it has no basis in historical reality. Clearly, such a fabrication is nothing more than a political tool, used by the kin state of the ethnic community in question, to invent an excuse for secession, because this is what is dictated by its own strategic interests.

Equally false is presenting the unilateral withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from State institutions in 1963 as anything other than a strategic move induced by Türkiye in order to seek the partition of Cyprus. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his report on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period 26 April to 8 June 1964, dated 15 June 1964 (S/5764, S/5764/Corr.1 and S/5764/Corr.2), stated that the “lack of movement by Turkish Cypriots outside of their areas is believed also to be dictated by a political purpose, namely, to reinforce the claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation”. The United Nations Secretary-General, in his report on the Operation for the period 13 December 1964 to 10 March 1965, dated 11 March 1965 (S/6228 and S/6228/Corr.1), also stated that “the Turkish Cypriot policy of self-isolation has led the community in the opposite direction from normality” and that “the community leadership discourages the Turkish Cypriot population from engaging in personal, commercial or other contacts with their Greek-Cypriot compatriots …”.


The international community is clear that there is a single State of Cyprus that has a sole legitimate Government that represents the entire country and that exercises sovereignty and legal authority over the entire island, including its territory, airspace and maritime space. The international community has been equally clear that the Turkish aggression against Cyprus and the ongoing occupation of 36 per cent of its territory as a result of that aggression has no effect on international legality.

In the countless prevarications through which the Permanent Representative of Türkiye presents a contrived picture of settlement efforts, he nonetheless admits the real reason for the current stalemate, which is none other than his country’s demand for the recognition and legitimization of the secessionist entity it established through the unlawful use of force against Cyprus. In essence, Türkiye is trying to revise the rules concerning the use of force by trying to impose on the international community the misapprehension that a fruit of aggression is a valid legal effect. This is the core of the Turkish demand for a two-state solution, which is repeated in the letter, and the insistence upon which has prevented us from resuming the Cyprus peace process. The main reason why neither the Crans-Montana conference nor the Annan Plan led to a settlement is the insistence of Türkiye to have a foothold in Cyprus following the settlement, with the sovereignty limitations that this entails.

Cyprus is not divisible for any reason and on any grounds, including those fabricated by a powerful neighbour who wishes that Cyprus did not exist as a State in its own right and only as its puppet state and as a stepping stone to controlling the eastern Mediterranean. It is high time Türkiye stepped aside and allowed Cypriots to reunify their country as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality, as set out in relevant resolutions of the Security Council, instead of trying to turn the Turkish Cypriot community into a strategic tool to control decision-making in a reunited Cyprus under the guise of accusations of a lack of readiness to share power and wealth.

The positions expressed by Türkiye in document A/76/842–S/2022/405 on hydrocarbons clearly manifest its policy of violating Cyprus’ sovereignty and sovereign rights, encroaching on Cyprus’ maritime space, concluding an unlawful “delimitation agreement” with an illegal entity, and using its size and might, instead of international law, as its code of conduct. Türkiye refuses to accept the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and customary international law and lays claims over areas where it could not, under any circumstances, be considered an interested party under international law. The maritime zones of Türkiye and the rights it has therein cannot exist, or be asserted, if their limits are defined arbitrarily to the detriment of the maritime areas and rights of other States, in utter disregard of international law.

Cyprus reiterates the positions expressed in its previous letters and rejects, once more, in toto the content of the letter contained in document A/76/842–S/2022/405, as well as all the claims put forward therein and in Türkiye’s previous letters regarding these issues, including the geographical coordinates purporting to show the outer limits of Türkiye’s continental shelf in the eastern Mediterranean. These claims have no basis in established rules of international law and have no legal effect. They have been arbitrarily coined to (a) match the geopolitical ambitions of Türkiye and (b) prevent Cyprus from exercising its sovereignty and sovereign rights, including by appropriating entire parts of its maritime zones, obstructing vessels that conduct hydrocarbon exploration in Cyprus’ maritime zones on behalf of its Government, and unlawful exploration by Türkiye in Cyprus’ exclusive economic zone and continental shelf.

Invoking the Turkish Cypriot community as a factor that legitimizes these claims is a red herring when one considers that the claims of Türkiye would amount
to usurping 44 per cent of Cyprus’ exclusive economic zone, depriving all Cypriots, including Turkish Cypriots, from it. Türkiye cannot use force against Cyprus, occupy a third of it, unilaterally proclaim a puppet state in the area it occupies and which it fully controls, and then ask the international community to cooperate with the secessionist entity it spawned on the basis of rights that Türkiye has fabricated for it.

The Cyprus Government will continue to protect all the rights and legitimate interests of Cyprus under international law, including its ab initio and both ipso facto and ipso jure sovereign rights over its maritime areas beyond the limits of its sovereign space. Cyprus has delimited its maritime zones in accordance with international law and is exercising its sovereign rights therein lawfully and continues to stand ready to delimit its maritime boundaries with Türkiye in accordance with international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, or to reach a special agreement (compromis) to jointly submit the issue to the International Court of Justice for the designation of a definitive maritime boundary delimiting the continental shelf/Exclusive Economic Zone of Cyprus and Türkiye on the same basis.

I should be grateful if the present letter could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 44 and 78, and of the Security Council, and published on the website of the Division for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea, as well as in the next edition of the Law of the Sea Bulletin.

(Signed) Andreas Hadjichrysanthou