



Φανούλα Αργυρού

12 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ 2024

[Αναλύσεις](#)

An open letter to Ms. María Angela Holguín Cuéllar of Colombia, the outgoing Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General on Cyprus



Dear Madam,

I refer to your open letter which was published in English, Greek and Turkish on 7 July 2024 and publicised by the X feed of the UN in Cyprus

(at https://x.com/UN_CYPRUS/status/1809848419604738257, https://x.com/UN_CYPRUS/status/1809835095169155320 and https://x.com/UN_CYPRUS/status/1809838081467359418).



Mrs. Maria Angela Holguin Cuellar outside the Presidential Palace of the Republic of Cyprus.

In my capacity as a journalist, I have written this open letter in response to what you have written and in order to ask you some questions which please answer.

“... the two leaders, Nikos Christodoulides and Ersin Tatar.”

In the first paragraph of your letter, you referred to your mandate as having begun in February 2024 and that five months later, you “held” your “last meeting with the two leaders, Nikos Christodoulides and Ersin Tatar.” Can you please explain why you failed to refer to Mr Christodoulides by his official *de jure* role which is the elected President of the Republic of Cyprus? Can you please also explain why you failed to clarify that Mr Tatar is the *de facto* head of the purported “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (‘TRNC’) which is the illegal subordinate administration of Turkey in the occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus? Why did you

not cite UN Security Council Resolution 541 of 5 November 1983 in which the UN Security Council considers “that the attempt to create a “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” is invalid, and will contribute to a worsening of the situation in Cyprus? Why did you not cite Resolution 550 of 11 May 1984 under which the UN Security Council is “gravely concerned about the further secessionist acts in the occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus which are in violation of resolution 541 (1983)”?

‘this beautiful island’

In the second paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “For me, Cyprus was both, a new country and familiar one at the same time.” You also wrote about “this beautiful island”. Can you please explain why, throughout your letter, you failed to refer to the Republic of Cyprus, which is the official name of this sovereign state according to the Cyprus Act 1960 (an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom), the Treaty of Establishment of 1960 and the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus of 1960? Can you please explain why, throughout your letter, you failed to refer to the European Union of which the Republic of Cyprus has been a Member State since 2004?

“political actors and civil society”

In the third paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “It was also important for me to understand the vision of the political actors and civil society, as well as of the people of the island.” Can you please explain why you failed to refer to the Island of Cyprus which is spelt with a capital ‘I’ in both the Cyprus Act 1960 and the Treaty of Establishment of 1960? In the interests of transparency, can you please name every one of “the political actors” and “civil society” organisations which you met? Is my understanding correct that you received an invitation to meet Adouloti Kyrenia, a civil society organisation representing forcibly displaced persons from Kyrenia District, but failed to respond to the invitation? If so, why did you decline its invitation?

“Cypriots”

In the fourth paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “Now, we must think differently, remaining convinced that a common future would bring great opportunities to all Cypriots.” Can you please explain what you and the UN mean by “Cypriots”? Do you class as “Cypriots” the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and of other foreign sovereign states which have colonised the occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus and have been purportedly given “citizenship” of the illegal “TRNC”?

“the island’s history”

In the fifth paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “During this time, and after extensively researching the island’s history, I perceive that too many years have been spent in confrontation and discrimination; too much time blaming the other side.” Having researched this history, why did your open letter fail to mention Turkey and the United Kingdom? Whose interests have been served by your mysterious failure to mention them both? Are you not aware that Turkey was the colonial power in the Island of Cyprus from 1571 until 1878? Are you not aware that, since 1974, Turkey has been the occupying power in the occupied part of the Republic of Cyprus? Are you not aware that Turkey has inflicted discrimination against the forcibly displaced citizens of the Republic who are not Turkish or Muslim? Are you not aware that the United Kingdom was the colonial power in the Island of Cyprus from 1878 until 1960? Are you not aware that, since 1960, the United Kingdom has been the colonial power in the Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia?

“the abandoned Ermou Street”

In the sixth paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “On my first visit, I walked the abandoned Ermou Street, powerfully symbolizing the inability to resolve a conflict that has lasted more than 60 years.” Can you please explain why, in response to the air strikes (including those involving

napalm), invasions and other acts of aggression of Turkey since 1963, the UN has failed to authorise any enforcement action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, as it has done in relation to so many other places, such as Kuwait after the Iraqi invasion of 1990? Has the part of Ermou Street you visited been “abandoned”? Or, in common with so many other streets in the Republic of Cyprus, has it been ethnically cleansed? If the latter, why did you not say so?

“so much suffering and loss”

In the seventh paragraph of your letter, you wrote the following: “In any negotiation process, it is important to recognize and understand the past. This is particularly true in Cyprus, whose history has been marked by so much suffering and loss.” You are right. However, can you please explain why you failed to mention what caused all of this “suffering and loss”, including the murders, disappearances, forcible displacements and the violations of International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law? Can you please explain why you failed to mention the “suffering and loss” experienced by so many women and girls who were raped by the invading Turkish forces, as established by the European Commission of Human Rights in its report adopted in 1976?



Our symbol of DO NOT FORGET – i.e. THE TWO TURKISH BLOODY INVASIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS IN 1974

“parallel developments”

In the eighth paragraph of your letter, you wrote: “Undoubtedly, respecting differences and parallel developments, Cypriots could become reliable partners for many in the world.” What do you mean by “parallel developments”? Are you suggesting that parallel societies should *de jure* exist in Cyprus, with a majority of Muslims inhabiting and in control of one “state” or “constituent” state which is the product of ethnic cleansing and a majority of non-Muslims inhabiting and in control of the other? Is this the outcome implicitly envisaged by UN Security Council Resolutions (1990), 750 (1992) and others which call for the Republic of Cyprus to become a “bi-communal, bi-zonal federation”? Why have you not called for a free, united, integrated and democratic Republic of Cyprus, in the interests of the Republic and the European Union to which it belongs? Is this because Turkey and the United Kingdom do not agree?

“solutions”

In the ninth paragraph of your letter, you wrote: “I reiterate my invitation to connect with a common future and, above all, to seek solutions that enhance the value of each side.” Why did you fail to call for “solutions” that enhance quality of life of each citizen of the Republic of Cyprus, particularly each displaced citizen of the Republic? Indeed, throughout your letter, why did you not mention the displaced citizens of the Republic? Is this because they will be sold out under the “solutions” you and the UN may have in mind? Why did you fail to mention the provisions of International Humanitarian Law which protect displaced citizens? Why did you fail to mention any of the causes of displacement, notably the discriminatory policies and aggressive military actions of Turkey?

“Important insights in neuroscience”

In the tenth paragraph of your letter, which was particularly patronising, you wrote the following: “Important insights in neuroscience have broadened my understanding of some behaviours in Cyprus. They suggest that the brain perceives reality by merging past beliefs with new experiences.” Can you please explain whether these “insights in neuroscience” have broadened your understanding of “behaviours” in Turkey? If so, can you please explain why Turkey refuses to comply with International Humanitarian Law, why Turkey refuses to comply with so many other elements of International Law and why Turkey refuses to comply with so many judgments of the European Court of Human Rights? Can you please explain why Turkey refuses to ensure the protection of women, as proven by the rapes inflicted by its armed forces in the Republic of Cyprus and by its unilateral withdrawal from the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence? Do these “insights in neuroscience” explain why Turkey has recently become both a major destination country and major transit country for cocaine trafficked from Columbia, the sovereign state of which you are a former foreign minister?

“long-term well-being”

In the eleventh paragraph of your letter, you wrote that “history teaches us that positive changes occur when leaders recognize what is at stake and focus on the long-term well-being of their communities.” Can you please explain why you used the word “communities” (in the plural) which harks back to the Ottoman system of segregation based on *millet*s, i.e. communities? Why did you fail to mention “the long-term well-being” of the people of the Republic of Cyprus? Why did you fail to mention “the long-term well-being” of the Republic of Cyprus? Is this because the Republic of Cyprus will cease to exist in the event of the “positive changes” you have in mind?

“a new way forward”

In the twelfth paragraph of your letter, you wrote that you are “convinced that Cyprus deserves and can find reconciliation and a new way forward.’ What did you mean by ‘a new way forward’? Why did you fail to call for the liberation of the Republic of Cyprus from the ongoing occupation by Turkey? Indeed, throughout the twelve paragraphs of your open letter, why did you fail to mention Turkey and the occupation it has enforced since 1974?

The meeting in London on 1 July 2024



Mrs Cuellar with Tatar in London

I now turn to the “press release” of the so-called ‘TRNC Public Information Office’ dated 2 July 2024 (published at <https://pio.mfa.gov.ct.tr/en/president-tatar-meets-with-un-envoy-in-london/>), one day after your meeting in London with Mr Tatar. Can you please explain why you met Mr Tatar in the so-called “TRNC”s London Representative Office’? Can you please explain why you met him in London on Monday 1 July 2024, just three days before the General Election held in the United Kingdom on Thursday 4 July 2024? Why did you and Mr Tatar fail to respect the pre-election period of sensitivity in the United Kingdom? Did you notify the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office that you intended to meet Mr Tatar in London three days before the General Election? If so, what was its response? If not, why not?

Transparency data

Can you please release any declaration of interests which you made prior to, upon or after your appointment as Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General on Cyprus? Can you please reveal your salary and the size of your expenses and allowances, if any, during each month of your role as Personal Envoy? Can you please also reveal who footed the bill every month you served as Personal Envoy and whether the taxpayers of the Republic of Cyprus were called up to settle the whole or any part of any bill? What has happened to all of the letters, emails, minutes and other communications and documents accumulated by you as Personal Envoy? Have they been archived? If so, where and when will they be released to the public? If not, why not?

I look forward to receiving your answers to my questions which I intend to publish. In the meantime, I shall be sending a copy of this open letter to Mr António Guterres, the UN Secretary-General, and Mr Colin Stewart, the Special Representative and Head of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.

Please note that this open letter, which I have written in English, is a follow-up to an open letter addressed to you, previously published in Greek on 9 July 2024 by the newspaper *Simerini* at

<https://simerini.sigmalive.com/article/2024/7/9/anoikte-epistole-sten-kuria-maria-ankhela-olgkin-kouegiar/>

Finally, I repeat what I wrote in my above open letter to you in Greek.

"neuroscience" and our brain

The brain of us Greeks is quite healthy and does not need any psychology or neuroscience. Reconciliation is not a problem for the Greeks of Cyprus Mrs. Maria, if only the Turkish Cypriots return to the Republic of Cyprus and accept a LIBERATED UNITARY STATE AND RESPECT THE RULE OF LAW. Instead of them enjoying all the rights and benefits

from the Republic of Cyprus but ungratefully at the same time demand ... recognition of a separate state!

But above all, this democratic right of the Greeks of Cyprus must first be respected and put into practice without British influence and imposition, by your UN Secretary General, Mr. Antonio Guterres! Respecting the very Charter of the organization he represents, not as a servant of the British and the Turks.

It is a pity that the government of the Republic of Cyprus does not dare to express any reaction to what you wrote. Apart from a “polite” welcoming of your letter, which (letter) reflects the moral decline and bankruptcy of the United Nations under the General Secretariat of your superior Mr. Antonio Guterres.

Have a safe trip back to your home country.

Yours faithfully

FANOULLA ARGYROU

Researcher/journalist/author

12/7/2024