

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

H. Fikret ALASYA

Expert Counselor Cultural and Educational Affairs
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

I. GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS

(a) *The conquest of the Island by Turks*

A glance at the history of Cyprus is necessary for a thorough understanding of the Cyprus problem.

Before the Ottomans, Cyprus was ruled by the Egyptians, the Hittites, the Greek colonies, the Phoenicians, the Persians, Alexander the Great, Rome, the Byzantium, the British, the Knights the Lusignans, the Genoise, the Mamelukes and the Venitians. She has, however, never been under Greek sovereignty.

As the Venitian rule was absolutely tyrannical and oppressive the people of Cyprus appealed to the Ottoman state and begged for the conquest of the Island by Turks.

This proposal by Cypriots met a favourable response by Selim II who had in fact been contemplating such action as Cyprus, under the sovereignty of hostile Venitians, constituted a great danger for the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Island was conquered after bloody wars between 1570-1571 which cost the Turks 50,000 lives.

(b) *Settlement in the Island*

With a view to inhabiting Cyprus, a firman (decree) was issued making emigration to Cyprus compulsory. In line with the firman and the practice then one family out of every ten Anatolian families, together with all their tools and implements, had to emigrate to

Cyprus. In all, a total of 5,720 families arrived in Cyprus. The ancestors of Turks living on the Island today were the said families, the soldiers and officials who were assigned for service in Cyprus.

(c) *Orthodox Church Gains Strength*

With the conquest of Cyprus by Turks the Greek Orthodox people were saved from the Catholic oppression and the Orthodox Archbishop, who had been exiled, was brought back and reinstated¹

The archiepiscopal church and its annexes were turned into a patriarchate trust. The Archbishop was recognized as the representative of Christian people and was granted the right of forwarding petitions to government authorities signed in red ink. With its newly acquired privileges the Church became a state within the state; so much so that it even found itself playing a major part in the appointment of a governor or a top-ranking official. The Church which was also authorized to impose and collect taxes, amassed great wealth and thus became very influential. Such vast authority and freedom of action had not come in its way either during the Byzantine or the British rule². Notwithstanding these privileges, however, the Church, sadly enough, always chose to exercise its authority and rights against the Turks.

(d) *Plots by the Orthodox Church against the Ottomans*

The Christian World somehow found it hard to accept Cyprus under the Ottoman rule, which occupied such an important position in the Eastern Mediterranean and was regarded as a Christian Citadel, with her new identity. Plots were, therefore, resorted to for the capture of the Island from Turks. In 1600 Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, came into touch with the Archbishop of Cyprus and prepared a plan for the massacre of the whole Turkish population in a single night. The implementation of the plan was entrusted to the Church. A point worth noting here is that the Church has all along shouldered

1) H. Fikret Alasya, *Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Belli Başlı Antikiteleleri*, Lefkoşa, 1939, p. 118; Dr. P.N. Varezis, *Makarios, Faith and Power*, 1972, p. 17.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 43, 44, 45.

the entire responsibility for the implementation of plans of extermination against the Turks without modifying them at all in the course of time.

These activities against the Turks were undertaken with the encouragement of States wishing to undermine the Ottoman State. The "Megali Ethniki Eteria", or Grand National Organization, established in 1814 as a result of the influence of the concept of nationalism which became dominant especially after the French Revolution in 1789, had set itself the following aims:

1. Full independence for the Greek nation,
3. Annexation of the Aegean islands to Greece,
4. Annexation of the Dodecanese to Greece,
5. Annexation of Crete to Greece,
6. Annexation of Western Anatolia to Greece,
7. Establishment of a Pontus Greek Government,
7. Annexation of Cyprus to Greece,
9. Annexation of Imroz and Bozca Ada (Tenedos)
10. The conquest of Istanbul and the revival of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the realization of Megali Idea (the Grand Ideal).

The "Megali Ethniki Eteria", with foreign assistance and support³ it secured through its world-wide organization, concocted an uprising in Cyprus in 1821 under the leadership of the Church along its objective of reviving the Megali Idea, i.e. the Byzantine Empire. But with the prudent action of Kuchuk Mehmet Pasha, the then Governor of Cyprus, the ringleader, Archbishop Kyprianou, and his accomplices, the priests, were caught before the plot could be hatched and were tried by a court giving them the capital punishment⁴.

3) John T. Koumoulides, Ph. D. "An attempt for Liberation of Cyprus during the struggle for Greek Independence, 1821 - 1829", a paper presented to the First Congress of Cyprus Studies held in Cyprus between, 14 - 19 April 1969. Selâhaddin Selâşık, Türk - Yunan İlişkileri Tarihi ve **Ethniki Eteria**, p. 149.

4) H. Fikret Alasya, Kıbrıs Tarihi, *op. cit.*, 1939, p. 107.

(e) *Hiring Cyprus to Britain*

The Ottoman State suffered a series of defeats during the 19th Century. When the Russians advanced as far as St. Stephanos in 1878 Cyprus was hired to the British under the Treaty of Berlin in return for the so-called aid they would render the Ottomans against the Russians.

It was agreed that Britain would come to the aid of the Ottomans with the British forces to be stationed in Cyprus if Russia were to attempt at a military operation in Anatolia.

If the Russians were to withdraw from Batum, Kars and Ardahan the British, too, would do likewise in the case of Cyprus and hand the Island back to the Ottomans.

The Greek Cypriots regarded the hiring as an opportunity to demand the annexation of the island to Greece. This demand was expressed⁵ in a speech by their Archbishop at a ceremony held to welcome the first British High Commissioner.

The Greek Cypriots, thereafter, never missed the opportunity of exploiting every incident or chance that came their way for furthering their Enosis demand. In 1895 their Archbishop protested to the British High Commissioner on the pretext that the taxes were heavy and meetings were organized in favour of Enosis. The Turkish Cypriots, with a counter protest, demanded that if the British were to leave they ought to hand the Island back to her real owner; the Turks.

(f) *Unilateral Annexation of Cyprus by the British*

Legally, Cyprus belonged to the Ottoman State until 5th November 1914. However, following the Ottoman State's siding with the Germans during the First World War, Britain annexed Cyprus unilaterally. The Ottoman State did not recognize the annexation officially. Nevertheless, Britain, regarding Cyprus as her own territory, announced in 1915 that if Greece were to join in the war on

5) H. Fikret Alasya, *Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Kıbrıs'ta Tarih Eserleri*, Ankara, 1964, p. 113; Dr. P.N. Vanezis, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

her side she might hand Cyprus over to her. Although this offer was rejected by Greece then it was nevertheless taken as a signal for stepping up Enosis activities both in Greece and Cyprus. As a matter of fact, there was an uprising for Enosis under the leadership of the Church in 1931⁶. The Government House and Commissioners' offices were burnt down. Greece's Consul Mr. Kyrou, was expelled from Cyprus and Greece was informed that he would be unacceptable for service in any part of the British Empire. The Bishop of Kitium and his provocative accomplices were also expelled from the Island. The Church was condemned to pay £ 34,345 compensation⁷.

Notwithstanding all these however, the Church never abandoned the idea of Enosis. On the contrary, it doubled its activity in that direction particularly after the annexation of Rhodes and the Dodecanese to Greece. Makarios, in line with the trend at the time, organized, despite the opposition of the local government, a plebiscite on 16 January 1950. His aim was to win the world opinion over to his Enosis cause through such a course, the outcome of which was already a foregone conclusion. The plebiscite was not recognized by Britain and the Turks.

After the plebiscite, the Church in Cyprus and the Greek Government cooperated more closely in their pro-Enosis activity. The Greek Government made representations to the British Government proposing a discussion of the Greek Cypriot aspirations. Britain turned down the proposal describing it as an interference in her domestic affairs⁸.

(g) *Formation and Activities of Eoka Terrorist Organization*

Realizing the impossibility of bringing about Enosis through peaceful means the Greek Cypriots-Greek duet assigned Colonel Grivas⁹, who was experienced in guerilla warfare, the task of setting up a terrorist organization to be known as EOKA. The members of EOKA, headed by Archbishop Makarios, swore on 7 March 1953 in

6) *Ibid.*, p. 72.

7) H. Fikret Alasya, *Kıbrıs Tarihi*, *op. cit.*, 1964, p. 114.

8) *Ibid.*

9) *Ibid.*, p. 116; Dr. P.N. Venezis, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Athens that they would fight for Enosis even if that might cost them their lives.

After setting up the terrorist organization of EOKA Makarios, with a view to winning the world opinion over to his side, picked on the formula of self-determination which seemed to be applicable almost in any field. But he failed to have results through such exploitation following demands by the Turkish side that they too, should be granted the chance of exercising the same right.

Failing to secure a resolution from the U.N. to its heart's content the Orthodox Church of Cyprus ordered the terrorist Organization of EOKA to go into action on 1 April 1955, the British being its first target. Grivas, in a leaflet signed by him as Dighenis, said: "We have two enemies before us. The first are the British, the second are the Turks. First we shall fight with the British and get them out of the Island. Afterwards we shall exterminate the Turks. Our goal is Enosis. It is our duty to reach this goal no matter what the price may be".¹⁰

Britain invited the Turkish and Greek governments to a conference in London on 30 June 1955 to discuss the defence of Eastern Mediterranean and the Cyprus problem¹¹. With this invitation by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Eden, Turkey was taking her seat at the conference table as a legitimate party to the Cyprus problem. The conference yielded nothing positive because the Greek Cypriot side rejected the proposal to grant autonomy to Cyprus with a type of government that would depend on the cooperation of Turkish and Greek Cypriots in their internal affairs.

When Eoka stepped up its acts of terrorism and violence, Makarios and his accomplices were deported to the Seychelles¹². The offer by the Nato Secretary-General to mediate was turned down. Greece had recourse to the U.N. again asking for the application of the principle of self-determination. Her demand could not be granted as it failed to secure a 2/3 majority support. Terrorism went on.

10) *Ibid.*, p. 117.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

12) P.N. Vanezis, *op. cit.*, 1972, p. 104.

To counter the Greek Eoka organization Turkish Cypriots, too, formed an organization for their defence under the name, Volkan (Volcano). This organization, later on, under the name Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) carried on with defence activities of the Community with great sacrifices, fortitude and courage and in August 1976 was incorporated into the Turkish Cypriot Security Forces.

With the object of ending violence and detaching herself as planned, from the Island's administration in 1960, Britain proposed in 1958 the Mc Millan Plan, which envisaged a form of administration based on the partnership of herself, Greece and Turkey and the participation in it of Turkish and Greek Communities. The plan was rejected by Greece and the Greek Cypriots, Britain and Turkey decided to go ahead with it. In line with the Plan, the Cyprus Government set up a special Commission on 26 September 1958 to study the subject of separate municipalities and submit a report on it. The boundaries determined by the said Commission led to the emergence of the concept of the "Green Line", i.e. the two regions.

Turkey accepted the Mc Millan Plan and on 1 October 1958 the Turkish Representative officially assumed office. In this way, Turkey's participation in the administration of the Island was secured both legally and actually. Greece rejecting the offer of mediation by Nato's Secretary-General took the matter before the U.N. again but the resolution emerging from the World Body was to the effect that efforts should be made for a peaceful, democratic and just settlement. Greece and Makarios fearing that the Mc Millan Plan might open the way to partition, announced with the purpose of delaying such partition for some time at least, that they would agree on the principle of an independent Cyprus¹³.

II. CYPRUS REPUBLIC

(a) *Efforts for the Proclamation of the Cyprus Republic*

Following the advancing of this view, the Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Greece and Britain met in Paris and agreed on the principle

13) P.N. Vanezis, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135.

of initiating negotiations for the settlement of the Cyprus Problem. A meeting held on 18 December 1958 was the first of its kind over the last 3 years in bringing the foreign ministers of the 3 States together at a conference table.

The Greek Foreign Minister in a statement to the press stated that considerable progress had been made over the Cyprus problem within the framework of Turco-Greek Friendship Agreement and that there was no question of his country's insistence on Enosis (Union). Following the Paris meeting the 3 governments started work on the solution of the problem. There was another meeting in Paris the following January which lasted 3 days. It was announced to the press by the Greek Foreign Minister in Athens on 21st January that 50 % progress had been made at this second Paris meeting. This meeting opened the door to another meeting which was held in Zurich. During the first week of February the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers met and discussed at length the question of establishing an independent Republic in Cyprus. They agreed in the end that the Turkish and Greek Prime Ministers should meet and take the final decision on the matter and sign the agreements. The two Prime Ministers signed the Zurich Agreement, made up of 27 articles, on 11 February 1959. This agreement had to be approved by Britain and the representatives of the Turkish and Greek Communities. The parties met in London and notwithstanding objections by Makarios and the Greek Cypriots representatives over certain aspects the Zurich Agreement was signed on 8 February 1959 after two days of discussions¹⁴.

(b) *Proclamation of the Cyprus Republic*

The Constitution of Cyprus, the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance were signed at midnight on 15 August 1960 and the independent Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed¹⁵.

On 16 August 1960 the Turkish Contingent of 650 men and the Greek Contingent of 590 men landed at Famagusta simultaneously.

14) *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 137.

15) Dr. Vehbi Zeki, *History of the Turkish Cypriot Struggle*. Vol. II, Second Edition, Nicosia, 1974, p. 9.

The Republic proclaimed was unique to itself: A Republic had been established in the Island but no nation had been created because the people living on the Island belonged to two ethnical groups, Turkish and Greek respectively. The Greek Cypriots who regarded themselves as Greeks wanted to have Cyprus annexed to Greece, i.e. to achieve Enosis in its classical terminology. And the real difficulty stemmed from this point. The Greek Cypriots wanted to grant the Turks mere minority rights, not equal rights. Makarios, who had counted on setting of from this point and, with the object of rendering the Constitution of Cyprus inapplicable in the future, regarded the proclamation of the Republic as a stage and was not sincere when he made the following affirmation under Article 42-1:

"I do solemnly affirm faith to, and respect for, the Constitution and the laws made thereunder, the preservation of the independence and the territorial integrity, of the Republic of Cyprus."

(c) *Enosis Efforts*

Our views over this matter are supported by the leaflet circulated (Halkın Sesi No. 45-49, 13 August 1959) by a Greek Cypriot organization, known as KEM, following the Zurich and London Agreements but prior to the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus. The leaflet was as follows :

Our Greek Cypriot compatriots,

"We commence work with the circulation of this first leaflet with the object of expaining to you the aims and purposes of KEM.

"The Annexation of Cyprus Front (KEM) is a secret organization which will struggle, by utilizing all means at its disposal, through peaceful ways and, whenever necessary, by recourse to dynamic action, for the realization of our national aspirations and for winning all our rights. We are neither leftists, as is alleged by EOKA circles; nor do we belong to a party of disgruntled persons established with the approval of the Archbishop. We are an organization which is not after party interests or material gains.

"We regard the agreements and the Republic as the first step in the direction of Enosis. We shall strongly support Archbishop Ma-

karios as long as the national road is followed. But if he, in any way, deviates even a little from this road he will be finding us confronting him as his strong critics and perhaps his rivals.

"We are sorry to observe the attitude adopted towards brave Dighenis by some self-seeking circles. These circles are accusing Dighenis for organizing meetings and collecting signatures against us. These impudent and treacherous people are forgetting that had it not been for Grivas they would not be barking now. But they should know that Grivas is not afraid of barkings; he will complete what he has undertaken. As regards to the grave diggers of the Cyprus cause, Karamanlis and Averoff, we prefer to speak about them in the future.

"Long live the invincible, illustrious Dighenis
 Long live Enosis
 Long live KEM

KEM"

On scrutinizing this leaflet it will be seen that it seeks to inform the world opinion that Makarios, even before his affirmation, was under pressure by pro-Grivas factions and that he was threatened by them that he should not sustain the Republic irrespective of consequences.

On 1 April 1960 the fifth anniversary of EOKA's initiation of activity, Makarios, in the course of a speech, praised the "Legendary and honourable" struggle by EOKA and stated that the war of liberty had laid the foundation stone of national liberty; that this holy task had to be carried on and an outcome had to be obtained. He said the Zurich and London Agreements, had not led to the achievement of the Greek Cypriots aim but EOKA's honourable struggle had opened the way to liberty and that the struggle would continue in the same way for the achievement of victory. He demanded that the work should be continued faithfully for picking the fruits of the struggle within a short period¹⁶.

16) Stanley Mayes; Cyprus and Makarios, London 1960, pp. 246-7.

This message indicated in a clear way Makarios' line of thought even prior to the proclamation of the Republic. It would be impossible to expect from Makarios, who had such a mentality and pursued the aim of uniting the Island with Greece, the implementation of the Constitution of Cyprus, and the administration of the Republic in line with the principles laid down by the Constitution.

On the occasion of a ceremony at the Kykkos Monastery on 15 August 1962 Makarios declared: "The Greek Cypriots have to continue the struggle for liberty started by EOKA members and complete the work started by them. The struggle is now continuing in a new form and it will continue in this way until we attain our goal."

On 13 March 1963 Makarios said: "The Zurich and London agreements, which secured the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, were the outcome of conditions prevailing then. The aim of the Cyprus struggle was not the establishment of a Republic. The Agreements only laid the foundations."

In a statement on 1 April 1963 Makarios said, "Everything for Enosis only" and announced that the struggle was continuing.

These statements were contrary to:

Article 185 of the Constitution, which states:

- "1. The territory of the Republic is one and indivisible.
2. The integral or partial union of Cyprus with any other State or the separatist independence is excluded."

Article I of the Treaty of Guarantee which runs:

"The Republic of Cyprus undertakes to ensure the maintenance of its independence, territorial integrity and security, as well as respect for its Constitution.

"It undertakes not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political or economic union with any state whatsoever. It accordingly declares prohibited any activity likely to promote, directly or indirectly, either union with any other State or partition of the Island."

Notwithstanding these clear provisions of the Constitution and of the Treaty of Guarantee responsible and authoritative Greek Cypriot leaders headed by Makarios repeated their Enosis demands at every opportune moment.

The fall of Karamanlis from power in Greece and the description of the Zurich and London Agreements by the opposition leader Mr. Papandreou as a "National Crime" provoked the Greek Cypriots to action for results.

(d) *Question of Municipalities*

Along with the unsettled questions of army, civil service and taxation there was also the question of separate municipalities by the Turks. The Turks, according to Article 173-1 of the Constitution, had the right to establish separate municipalities in Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca and Ktima. As a consequence of Eoka activity the Turkish and Greek sectors in the said towns had become separated and Turkish and Greek Municipalities had become operative in practice in them. The Article inserted in the Constitution was for the purpose of legalizing the de facto situation. But as Makarios viewed the legal recognition of Turkish Municipalities as a step in the direction of partition he prevented the promulgation of the relevant legislation on 31 December 1962 and, instead, approved the continuation of the Regional Development Committee Law which had been promulgated during the British rule and which he himself had been criticizing as being an undemocratic system¹⁷. The Turks rejected such committees as they would operate in favour of the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Communal Chamber, therefore, passed the Turkish Municipal Law on 31 December 1962, and the Vice-President of the Republic, on the other hand, vetoed the Greek Cypriot side's said decision. The Greek Cypriot M.P.'s however insisted on their decision and the matter was taken before the Supreme Constitutional Court.

17) Dr. Vehbi Zeki, Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihi, Cilt 2, 2. Baskı, Lefkoşa 1974, p. 20, 120, 121.

(e) *Resignation of the Supreme Constitutional Court President*

Makarios in a statement (as quoted by the Turkish Cypriot daily *Halkın Sesi* on 12 Feb. 1963) to L. Gardener, Correspondent of the British *Sunday Express*, said: "Even if the Supreme Constitutional Court were to rule that my action is contrary to the Constitution. I will not respect its decision". He told the Correspondent that the matter concerned neither the U.N. nor the Guarantor powers as it was merely a domestic issue. His statement had given way to great reaction at the time.

The Supreme Constitutional Court, composed of a Turkish Cypriot and a Greek Cypriot member under the presidency of a neutral German judge, Dr. E. Forthoff, ruled on 25 April 1963¹⁸ that the Greek decision was contrary to the Constitution.

The Supreme Constitutional Court's ruling was not to the liking of either Makarios or the Greek Cypriot terrorist Organization EOKA. Dr. Christian Heinze, the Personal Assistant to the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court, was therefore threatened and forced to leave the Island and resign his post. The President of the Supreme Constitutional Court in a letter, dated 21 May 1963, addressed to Makarios from Heidelberg wrote:

"Your Excellency,

"To my great regret circumstances, which came to my knowledge only after my return to Germany, force me to resign from the office of the President of the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court.

"Not until my return to Germany I learned that for several weeks Dr. Heinze had been shadowed by detectives everywhere; that it is maintained he was bribed by the Turkish side and relevant documents were available. I was shocked on hearing such insinuations. In order to keep the Court functioning for the present I should like to fix the date of my resignation *de facto* from today and *de jure* from the 15th of July, 1963."

18) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Thus, even if nothing were to happen, this incident constituted, nevertheless, a most clear example of Makarios' determination not to have the Constitution implemented.

(f) *Warning by the Turkish Government*

The Turkish Government always kept a watchful eye over Makarios' unconstitutional actions and attitudes and never failed in drawing his attention to and sounding warnings against them. Clear warnings were given to him during his official visit to Ankara. In statements by responsible Turkish Ministers from time to time it was pointed out that Makarios was following a dangerous course and that the Turkish Government would never compromise on the order established by the Constitution in Cyprus.

(g) *Proposals for Constitutional Amendments*

Realizing that it would not be so easy for a President, who had never wished to implement the Constitution of his country, to have recourse to the U.N. on grounds of "unworkability" Makarios, first of all, made 13 amendment proposals to the Guarantor powers over the deletion from the Constitution of rights recognized to the Turkish Cypriots, starting with the veto right. His proposals envisaged annulling the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance¹⁹. And in order to have his wish granted he timed his move to coincide with what he considered as the most opportune moment for him: There was a government crisis in Turkey. In Greece, the party of Karamanlis had fallen from power and had been succeeded by the government of Papandreou, who did not recognize the Zurich and London Agreements. His proposals on Constitutional amendments were submitted to the Turkish Government on 30 November 1963 and were rejected on 6 December 1963. There was no reaction from the British and Greek governments as it was a fact that both of them were supporting the Archbishop.

19) *Ibid.*, p. 134.

III. BLOODY CHRISTMAS EVENTS AND COLLAPSE OF THE REPUBLIC

(a) *Bloody Christmas Events*

Naturally, Makarios had taken into account Turkey's probable rejection of this Constitutional amendment proposals and had drafted his plans accordingly. Knowing that he would not be supported by Turkey in the political field he decided to implement his Akritas Plan²⁰, which he had prepared and which envisaged his absolute seizure of Cyprus by a massacre of the Turkish population in six hours.

His army of 20,000 EOKA terrorists had been specially trained for this purpose and had been equipped with mortars, bazookas and other modern weapons. However, ways and means had to be sought for shifting the responsibility on Turkish Cypriots for unleashing the events and thus justifying, in the eyes of the world, the chain of brutal crimes that would be committed. On 4 December 1963 a bomb was exploded at the base of the statue of EOKA terrorist Marcos Drakos and only after 2 hours of the commencement of police inquiries into the incident the Association of EOKA Fighters issued a statement proclaiming that the bomb had been planted by the Turkish side. The object of this accusation was very clear. The following day the pupils of the Greek Cypriot Gymnasium organized a meeting around the statue and demonstrated against the Turks. The Turks strongly rejected this accusation against them and pointed out that it was a concoction by the Greeks themselves. But the incident developed into a sort alarm for Cyprus. The Plan, which was prepared by the President of the House of Representatives, Mr. Clerides, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. P. Yorgadjis, and by the ill-famed EOKA gunman, Mr. Nicos Sampson, headed by Makarios, was put into effect on the night of 21 December 1963. Armed EOKA gunmen dressed up as policemen stopped a

20) The Akritas Plan: "Plan for the Extermination of Turks", An Ergenekon Publication, May 1972, Nicosia, Also P.N. Vanezis, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.

Turkish car and illegally and without authority, tried to search its passengers who, quite reasonably, objected to it. Two Turkish Cypriots, thereupon, were shot dead and a number of others were wounded. This sparked off a chain of incidents. Under the instructions and command of Archbishop Makarios EOKA gangs, supported by Greek Mainland officers and men, committed their ghastly crimes between 23-25 December 1963. Being in control of the radio, the TV, the Postal and Telecommunication Services the Greek immediately cut off all telephone and telecommunication contacts of the Turks, including the Turkish Embassy and attempted to propagate to the world that the incidents had been created by a handful of rebellious Turkish Cypriots. The murder in a bath-tub of the defenceless wife and 3 children of Major Nihat İlhan, the Medical Officer of the Turkish Army Contingent, and the riddling with bullets in the same bath-room of two other Turkish women and a 2-year-old girl who were thought by the assassins to have died could not, of course, have been due to a revolt against the so-called Security forces. While the EOKA gangs were kidnapping hundreds of unarmed and defenceless Turkish Cypriot women, children and elderly persons the Turkish Government, in line with Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, was proposing joint intervention to Great Britain and Greece to put an end to massacres and crimes. Unfortunately there was no positive response to Turkey's proposals from the said two Guarantor Powers.

(b) *Turkey's Unilateral Move*

Turkey, on the basis of the right granted to her by the Treaty of Guarantee, decided on a unilateral intervention and informed the states concerned. Shortly after 14.00 hours on 25 December 1963 jets of the Turkish Air Force began their warning flights over Nicosia, thus forcing EOKA terrorists to a cease-fire.

(c) *Joint Intervention*

Thereupon, Britain and Greece announced that they too had decided to intervene along with Turkey. A Political Liaison Committee was set up under the chairmanship of the British High Commissioner. Political contacts were made through this channel.

The Turkish and Greek Army Contingents under the command of General Young (British) were assigned the task of restoring law and order. The incidents could not, however, be checked. Greek Cypriot police and gendarmerie acting in co-operation with EOKA took part in operations against Turkish Cypriots. Turkish villages were besieged by EOKA gangs and Turkish Cypriots were abandoned to the mercy of starvation and privation. None of the international organizations paid any attention to complaints by the Turkish Community or thought of extending any aid to it.

(d) *Collapse of the Cyprus Republic*

These tragic events and the occupation of the office of the Turkish Vice-President by EOKA members dressed in police uniforms were not given any attention by the President. The Turks were, as a result, compelled to withdraw from the joint administration. With the taking up of duties by British Military Units along the Green Line on 29 November 1963 the Turkish and Greek Sectors of Nicosia became separated too and the joint administration of the Cyprus Republic thus collapsed. The idea was then advanced that the only solution to the Cyprus problem would be a partition of the Island between the two communities. The Makarios and Greece duet alone was responsible for this development. As a matter of fact, Prof. E. Forsthoff, the former President of the Supreme Constitutional Court, in a statement to a correspondent of UPI on 30 December 1963 said that the bloody incidents in Cyprus had been caused as a consequence of Makarios wish to do away with the rights of the Turkish Cypriots. He criticized Makarios sharply because of the incidents and added: "These bloody incidents are the result of a succession of events. I thought there would be trouble but I never imagined it would be so frightful".

This statement is a fine, clear expression of the treatment accorded to the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriot side.

(e) *Makarios' Abrogation of the 1960 Agreements*

On 1 January 1964 disclosed that his administration had abrogated the Treaty of Guarantee to which Turkey, Britain and Greece

were parties, and the 1960 Treaty of Alliance which had been signed with the same countries²¹.

Following Britain's announcement that the agreements could not be abrogated in a unilateral way Makarios made a statement to the effect that his administration in reality wanted to end the agreements.

(f) *Mass-Murders*

In villages where the Turkish inhabitants were in the minority Turkish Cypriots were buried, as was the case with Ay. Vassilios Turks, in pits with their clothes on. Turkish houses were looted. Entire Turkish families were buried under the debris when their homes were demolished with bull-dozers. All these acts were committed upon orders by Makarios, who was the Archbishop and Head of State. It, however, never occurred to those concerned to call Makarios to account under the provisions of the International Genocide Agreement. The Greek Cypriot Administration was not asked to implement the Human Rights Agreement.

(g) *London Conference*

A meeting took place in London on 15 January 1964²² with the participation of Turkey, Greece and Britain with a view to finding a way to a political solution of the problem. The meeting took the form of a 5 partite one with the joining in of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot representatives. The Greek Cypriots demanded the deletion of the rights granted to the Turks from the Constitution and the abrogation of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance. The Turks, on the other hand, asked for new guarantees, in addition to the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance, vis-a-vis the existing situation. They stated in explicit terms that, they could not live together with the Greek Cypriots. These demands could not be reconciled. The Turks could secure no outcome satisfactory to them from the London Conference.

As a result of Turkey's determined attitude the Nato Commanders took an active interest in the problem. A proposal to send a Nato

21) P.N. Vanezis, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Force of 10,000 men to Cyprus for a period of 3 months, during which both Turkey and Greece should avoid interference in the Island, was approved on 31 December 1964 in London.

But Makarios did not agree to it. He knew that such a Nato force would prevent him from massacring the Turks. He preferred, instead, a prolongation of the strife and a recourse to the U.N.

(h) *Recourse to the U.N.*

Failing to secure from the London Conference an outcome to his satisfaction Makarios decided to have recourse to the U.N. Security Council and thus grant the Russians a right of say over the Cyprus problem. Thereupon Great Britain, with the approval of America and keeping Turkey informed, took the problem before the Security Council. This was followed by a recourse by the representative of Cyprus.

The dispute was taken up by the Security Council on 17 February 1964. The U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant realized that the views of the two sides could not be reconciled and began to perform the part of a mediator. Rather than a general debate contacts in the form of backstage activity took place. No formula could be found to satisfy both sides as was expressed by U. Thant in the Security Council on 26 February 1964. With the exception of Russia and Czechoslovakia all other countries supported the Turkish stand at the Security Council. The discussions would continue on 27 February 1964 though it was impossible to expect an outcome from them. The fact was that the Security Council was not a body authorized to amend or abrogate the existing agreements. When this was revealed Makarios decided to have recourse to the U.N. General Assembly and instructed his representative accordingly. He failed, however, to secure a resolution from the World Body to meet his wishes.

The Makarios-Greece duet was bent on the achievement of ENOSIS by force of arms and within the shortest possible time. So with the object of achieving a definite outcome, in addition to attacks on various Turkish villages a big offensive was launched in November 1967 on the Turkish villages of Geçitkale (Kophinou) Bogaziçi (Ay. Theodoros). The EOKA gangs and Greek Mainland

troops, who went so far as to damage the wireless equipment of the U.N. soldiers in the area, massacred many Turks without discriminating between children and elderly people. Turkey decided to intervene in the Island but, as had been the case in 1964 when President Johnson thwarted her with a threatening letter so this time too she was prevented from making a landing by the stepping in of Mr. Cyrus Vance, as a mediator. Turkey agreed to forego her intended action on condition that Grivas and the Greek troops were withdrawn from the Island.

(i) *The Coup of 15 July 1974.*

The Greek Junta and the Greek Cypriot duet, being bent on the achievement of Enosis as soon as possible, concocted a coup against Makarios. The plot was put into effect on 15 July 1974 but Makarios managed to escape by the skin of his teeth and be flown out of the Island by the British. Later, in his address at the U.N. on the coup Makarios said: "The Greeks have occupied Cyprus and they are far more dangerous than the Turks. Clashes are continuing in the Island in a bloody way. Greek flags have been hoisted on tall buildings. Wounded persons are being taken to hospitals continuously. Tanks are patrolling in the streets. This act of occupation has entirely ended the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Today the Turkish Community also is in danger".²³

After the coup, Nicos Sampson, the notorious EOKA leader, who was made President of the Republic, proclaimed the "Hellenic Republic of Cyprus". This was in effect nothing more than Enosis, though it was not mentioned by name. The murder of a great number of Greek Cypriots and the burying of some of them even before they died was a clear evidence of the danger that existed²⁴. This

23) TAK (Turkish News, Cyprus) Agency Bulletin, No. 22 B, of 22 July 1974, p. 1.

24) TAK (Turkish News, Cyprus) Agency Bulletin of 3 March 1976. The statement of Papatsestos, the priest in charge of the new Greek semetery of Nicosia, attached to TAK Bulletin, No. 87 as a Supplement, 5 May 1976. Passage from a book on Cyprus by the retired Greek general Hondrokoukis. Anayennisis, 12 May 1976, p. 6. Indictment of Coupist Greek Army Officers, p. 16.

danger was expressed in quite candid terms by Makarios in his speech at the United Nations. Turkey could not remain inactive vis-a-vis this state of affairs. As a matter of fact, the Turkish representative speaking after Makarios stated: "It is impossible for us to accept the change brought about in Cyprus. Our right to intervene has become clear."

IV. CYPRUS TURKISH PEACE OPERATION

(a) *First Peace Operation*

Turkey acted, in accordance with Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, which states: "In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom undertake to consult together with respect to the representations or measures necessary to ensure observance of those provisions.

"In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three Guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty". The Prime Minister of Turkey flew to London and proposed a joint intervention to Britain. But Britain, which had all along pursued a pro-Greece policy, turned down the proposal. Turkey, thereupon, made unilateral use of her right of intervention and the Turkish Armed Forces launched their Cyprus Peace Operation in the morning of 20 July 1974. During the 3-day operation the Turkish Armed Forces managed to bring a small area under their control. In accordance with the U.N. Security Council resolution adopted at 17.00 hrs. on 22 July 1974 a cease fire came into operation.

Whereas the Turkish side adhered to the cease-fire arrangements the Greek Cypriot side attacked many Turkish villages with heavy arms and occupied some of them. The massacre of the inhabitants of the Turkish villages of Atlılar (Alon), Murataga (Maratha), Sandallar (Sandallaris) etc. is bound to be recorded as a ghastly, shameful crime in the annals of mankind and proves what horrible fate lay in store for the entire Turkish Cypriot population if Turkey had not undertaken timely action.

As a result of Turkey's Cyprus Peace Operations, Nicos Sampson was removed from Presidency on 23 July 1974 and in Greece the Junta had to hand the administration over to the civilians. After the First Turkish Peace Operation the Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Greece and Britain met in Geneva between 23-30 July 1974 and signed an agreement.

But Greece, being somehow unable to get over the military and political defeat she suffered just at a time when ENOSIS had become a reality, could not comply with what had been agreed upon.

(b) *Second Geneva Meeting*

The Turkish and Greek Cypriot representatives took part in the Second Geneva Meeting on 8 August 1974 and each were assisted with a delegation of their own. The six-day discussions could lead nowhere because of the negative attitude of the Greek Cypriot side and Turkey had no other alternative but to undertake a second Peace Operation.

(c) *Second Peace Operation*

The Turkish Armed Forces, who had been squeezed in a narrow area, needed an extension of their area for their freedom of movement and safety against potential danger. The Greek Cypriot side, being aware of the dangerous situation of the Turkish Armed Forces, tried to dodge an agreement and, instead, endeavoured to gain time and complete their preparations for driving the Turks into the sea.

Turkey, properly appraising this critical military situation facing her troops, did not fall a victim to Greek Cypriot tactics and ordered her forces to move into action in the morning of 14 August 1974. This second operation ended at 17.00 hrs. on 16 August 1974 and achieved its target. It secured the security needed by the Turkish Armed Forces from the military point of view as well as a sufficient economic area for the Turkish Community. Famagusta in the East and Lefka in the West of the Island were liberated and emplaced under the control of the Turks.

V. OUTCOME OF THE CYPRUS PEACE OPERATIONS

(a) *Turkish Cypriot Administration*

The Turkish Community, which had been forced to withdraw from the joint administration as a consequence of the bloody events of 1963, had to organize itself in the areas under its control and run its administrative machinery under a supreme body, known as the "General Committee". Makarios' administration had paid nothing to the Turks out of the state budget or had handed no portion of financial and material assistance extended to Cyprus. Despite this, it kept collecting taxes from them. As time went by defects encountered in the administrative set-up under the "General Committee" pointed at the necessity of developing and streamlining the administrative machinery, thus leading to the establishment of the "Transitional Turkish Cypriot Administration" on 28 December 1967.

After the establishment of the Turkish Cypriot Administration and the formation of its "Members" Makarios' Administration lost no time in warning foreign diplomats against contacts with the said Turkish "Members".

Notwithstanding this move by Makarios' Administration, however, the U.N. and a number of foreign diplomats recognized the Turkish Cypriot Administration.

After the elections of 15 July 1970 one more step was taken and the "Transitional Turkish Cypriot Administration" was succeeded on 18 July 1970 by the "Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration".

(b) *Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.*

In the new circumstances brought about by the Cyprus Turkish Peace Operation on 20 July 1974 the necessity arose for further improvement of the administrative machinery. Whereas Greece and Makarios now began to talk about a return to the 1960 Agreements, which the latter had proclaimed to have annulled, the Turkish side announced that a Federal State of Cyprus based on two geographical regions had become inescapable. The Turkish side then went ahead and proclaimed the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus on 13

February 1975. Thus, the Turkish Community established its own State.

Participation in the general elections held within the Turkish Federated State region on 20 June 1976 was in the ratio of 75%. The Turkish Cypriot people, with this 75% ratio, elected their own deputies and Head of State to come to power. In this way, they may be considered to have used also their votes in a kind of referendum for the Federated State. The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is a fully-fledged State established in accordance with democratic principles.

(c) *Bilateral Talks*

Acts of terrorism and military attacks by the Greeks against the Turkish Cypriots from December 1963 until November 1967 inclusive failed to materialize Enosis because of the determined resistance put up by the Turkish people and their fighters in an intrepid way as if mocking at death. With the persuasion also of States not wishing to see an outbreak of war in the Middle East, and in particular between two NATO members, the bilateral talks started in Beirut on 3 June 1968 and the first meeting was completed on 5 June 1968. The talks were resumed in Nicosia on 24 June 1968 but were deadlocked as a consequence of the Greek side's refusal to recognize the Turks' rights. The proposal by the U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant that they should be expanded into a 5-partite form with a view to preventing intercommunal clashes was accepted and the 5-partite talks (Turkish and Greek Cypriots, Turkey, Greece and the representatives of the U.N.) began in Nicosia on 8 June 1972. But due to Greek Cypriot side's negative attitude they led into a stalemate in April, 1974. Following the Turkish Peace Operation of 20 July 1974 the bilateral talks were resumed under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General or his Special Representative. However, due to the Greek Cypriot side's failure to face realities, to its idea that Enosis can become feasible through a "long-term struggle" and its counting on concessions by exerting pressure on Turkey and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, nothing positive has resulted. A positive outcome from them seems impossible.

Makarios' instructions prior to his death to his representative to take the Cyprus problem to the UN General Assembly confirms our view.

Notwithstanding the concord attained at the summit meeting between Makarios and Denktas (on the initiative of the latter) on 12 February 1977 in the presence of the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, a recourse was made to the U.N., while a continuation of discussions on the principles not implemented by the Greek side was desired. The resolution emerging from the U.N. General Assembly in November 1977 was far from being conducive to a fair and just solution of the Cyprus problem.

VI. CONCLUSION

Cyprus has an enormous geopolitical and geostrategical significance for Turkey.

The Orthodox Church, despite all the privileges and concessions it had acquired, plotted, as early as in 1600 A.D., with the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, to annihilate the Turkish population during a single night. The goal of "Megali Idea", i.e. the revival of the Byzantine Empire, adopted by the "Megali Ethniki Eteria", established in 1814 with the support of States bent on the destruction of the Ottoman Empire led, with the instigation and active organization of the Church, to uprisings in many parts of the Ottoman Empire. Cyprus was not an exception to such activity. The uprising of 1821 and the uprising of 1931 during the British administration can be cited as examples of such activity.

Realizing that such activity would fail to bring success unless an armed organization were established Greece and the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church formed the EOKA terrorist Organization in Cyprus. On 1 April 1955 this terrorist Organization initiated activity, first against the British and later against the Turkish Community, which constituted an obstacle to Enosis. One thing worth noting is that all these plans had as their main target the "extermination of Turks". But with the vigilance of the Turkish Community, coupled with the material and moral support of Turkey, the Turkish Resis-

tance Organization (TMT) emerged against the Greek-Greek Cypriot duet and thus prevented Enosis, though at a very high price.

The Republic of Cyprus, proclaimed on the night of 15 August 1960, was an administration participated by both the Turkish and Greek communities on the basis of equal rights.

Makarios' efforts to do away with the Constitution on the one hand and to exterminate the Turks on the other hand, his subjugation of the Turks to inhuman treatment and even to mass-murder and burial in mass-graves, instead of being condemned with abhorrence, have been supported by some civilized circles. This is indeed a sad and regrettable attitude on the part of mankind.

The Makarios-Greece duet regarded all warnings by the Turkish side as weakness and attempted to achieve Enosis by recourse to manifold plots as the only way out.

The coup of 15 July 1974 was finally a move in bringing matters to a head. Turkey, by making use of the right granted to her under Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, launched her Cyprus Peace Operations and saved the Turkish Cypriots who had been suffering, oppressed, killed and slaughtered under Greek slavery for years.

Had it not been for Turkey's Peace Operations the Turkish would have been killed en masse. The Greek plans, found during the Turkish Peace Operations, bear clear proof of this (Vide the "Cyprus Question and Greek Extermination Plans", March 1977).

The Greek Cypriot-Greek duet, which rendered Turkey's Cyprus Peace Operations inevitable, is now after misleading the world opinion with the object of bringing the Turks under their oppression anew. In doing so it is shielding itself behind the 1960 Zurich and London Agreements, which it had abrogated, and the mask of a "Unitary State". It refuses to accept the realities.

The bi-regional federal system was agreed upon at the summit meeting held on 12 February 1977 at a neutral zone in Cyprus between the President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Denktas, and the head of the Greek Cypriot Administration, Archbishop Makarios, at the initiative of the former and under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. This position

was clearly set out in the map submitted by the Greek Cypriot Administration at the sixth round of talks in Vienna between 31 March 1977 - 7 April 1977. Notwithstanding this, however, the new head of the Greek Cypriot Administration, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and the new Archbishop of Cyprus, Chrisostomos, in their statements have not refrained from expressing in clear terms that their real aim is Enosis and that they will remain loyal to the long-term struggle slogan of Makarios for its achievement.

Such positive and constructive proposals as the establishment of a transitional central government, the reopening to service of the Nicosia International Airport on equal conditions and for joint management etc., which have been made by the Turkish Cypriot side with the object of restoring peace in the Island, have been rejected by the Greek Cypriot Administration. A just, lasting and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem cannot be found unless Greece and the Greek Cypriot side change their attitude. It is absolutely out of question to expect the Turkish Cypriots to agree to a return to the days prior to 20 July 1974 and be placed under the Greek Cypriot Administration vis-a-vis their very bitter experiences between 1963-1974.

In order to achieve peace:

1. A Federal State based on two geographical regions must be established in Cyprus.
2. A force of the Turkish Armed Services adequate for guaranteeing the lives and property of Turkish Cypriots must remain within the boundaries of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.
3. The Turks must be enabled to live in conditions under which they will not be forced to submit to a policy of intimidation and emigrate from the Island or find themselves at the mercy of the Greek Cypriot Administration anew.
4. The Turkish Cypriot people must not be subjected to the control of the Greek Cypriot Administration under any circumstances or on this or that excuse.

5. The door to Enosis must be closed definitely and permanently and the independence, nonalignment and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be clearly safeguarded.

No form of settlement short of any of the basic conditions set out above can be accepted either by the Turkish Community or by Turkey.

The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, proclaimed on 13 February 1975, cannot in anyway be altered since it has gone through a sort of referendum with the general elections held on 20 June 1976.

The Federal Republic of Cyprus, to be organized in the form of two federated states with two separate regions, attached to a weak central government can be the only acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem. This is made imperative by the course of history. A contrary attitude will render the establishment of an independent Turkish State in Cyprus inescapable.

5 January, 1978, Nicasia