

## KÜLLİYE

## ULUSLARARASI SOSYAL BİLİMLER DERGİSİ INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

## The Establishment Process of the Republic of Cyprus and the Role of Gendarmerie Units in the Cyprus Peace Operation

Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluş Süreci ve Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı'nda Jandarma Birliklerinin Rolü

## **Yazarlar / Authors** Hasan ACAR\* & Ahmet Tahsin DİLMAÇ\*\*

### 1. Introduction

**C** YPRUS, due to its geopolitical position, is an important island for the history of civilization. With the development and advancement of maritime trade, the civilizations of Cyprus dominated the Eastern Mediterranean, and so many civilizations aimed to possess Cyprus. Cyprus was conquered by Selim II in 1571 and remained under the Ottoman rule for a long time. As a result of the Ottoman-Russian War, the Ottoman Empire temporarily left the island to

Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

Geliş / Received	Kabul / Accepted	Türü / Type	Sayfa / Page
27 Ocak 2020	18 Mart 2020	Araştırma Makalesi	79-101
27 January 2020	18 March 2020	Research Article	/9-101

<sup>\*</sup> Dr., Jandarma ve Sahil Güvenlik Akademisi, Ankara / Türkiye, e-mail: hasanacar.uludag@gmail.com.

ORCID D: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-2345-6789.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Yüksek Lisans, Jandarma ve Sahil Güvenlik Akademisi, Ankara / Türkiye, e-mail: ahmettahsindilmac@gmail.com.

ORCID : https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1709-443X.

Bu makaleyi şu şekilde kaynak gösterebilirsiniz / To cite this article (APA):

Acar, Hasan-Dilmaç, Ahmet Tahsin (2020). "The Establishment Process of the Republic of Cyprus and the Role of Gendarmerie Units in the Cyprus Peace Operation". Külliye, 1 (1): 79-101.

England for some reasons. In the following years, England annexed the island. However, the Greek Cypriots living on the island introduced the Enosis Plan and played a number of games to realize Great Greece (Megalo Idea). Many Turkish citizens lost their lives and were captured in this struggle for dominance. In addition, intensive pressure was applied to the Turks to evacuate the island.

In the struggle for sovereignty, the Greeks resorted to unlawful ways to increase their power on the island by ignoring the rights granted to the Turks under various agreements. In this process closely involved in developments in Cyprus, Turkey has implemented pro-peace policies.

Applied to making the results of policies, to take into account the increase of actions and warnings of the Greeks against the Turks living in Cyprus because Turkey; by making use of the rights granted by international agreements. However, with the pressure of the United Nations and various states, intervention decisions were postponed or suspended. As a result of various negotiations, some joint military forces were established, but these forces failed to ensure safety and security. They committed crimes against humanity in the Greek world public opinion, especially public opinion in Turkey and have been protesting repercussions. After this process and July 15 in Cyprus, Turkey has decided to intervene as a guarantor state. Turkey, economic, political and military preparations after making has intervened on the island under the name of the Cyprus Peace Operation.

#### 2. The Method

The Cyprus Peace Operation is one of the important events of Turkish political life. In order to express this action, firstly the history of Cyprus will be mentioned briefly. Then, the process of establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and its developments will be explained. In the following section, the Cyprus Peace Operation, which has emerged as a result of the developments, will be explained. In the last section, the effect of the Turkish Gendarmerie Units on the operation will be presented. The aim of this study is to express the effects of the gendarmerie units on the Cyprus Peace Operation that emerged within the scope of the peacekeeping operation. This article looks for answers to the following questions:

1. Which developments have occurred on Cyprus Island in the period before the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus?

2. What were the important issues on the island during the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus?

3. Under what conditions did the decision to intervene on the island of Cyprus arise?

4. How did the gendarmerie troops contribute to the Cyprus Peace Operation?

#### 3. A Brief History of Cyprus

The earliest signs of life in Cyprus date back to the pre-neolithic period between 10,000 and 8500 BC. In the Bronze Age (2500 to 1050 BC), copper was heavily exploited, and a metalworking industry flourished on the island (Stateuniversity 2020). The island was named "Alashiya" in the Hittite documents and was invaded by the Achaeans in the 7th century BC. The fact that it was on the busy trade routes of that period. It increased its importance even in the period and trade colonies were established on the island. With the influence of the Phoenicians, the island entered into cultural relations with Anatolia and other civilizations (Yıldırım 2004: 6)

With the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the island remained within the borders of the Eastern Roman Empire, and Christianity began to spread on the island (*Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı* 1995: 7). The island of Cyprus, which began in the middle of the 7th century BC and was subjected to Arab raids and looting for 300 years. With the spread of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East, Caliph Ebubekir seized the Kitiyon in Cyprus in 632. During the reign of Caliph Osman, Damascus Governor Muaviye took over Cyprus completely in 647.

Emperor Nikephoros Phokas reinstated Cyprus in 964 and reestablished Eastern Roman rule in Cyprus. Cyprus remained under Byzantine rule until the 12th century. III. The Crusade (1189-1192) marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Cyprus. King Richard seized Cyprus in 1191 and ended the Byzantine rule (Açıkgöz 2006: 6).

However, Latin dominance on the island, which continued until the end of the 14th century, was threatened by the Genoese and Venetians, who turned to sea trade and established strong fleets. In the meantime, the Mamluks, who became stronger, began to be interested in the island and started to intervene. The Venetians succeeded in this struggle. After the rule was seized by the Venetians, the island was ruled by a military governor elected from the nobility but began to pay taxes to the Mamluks. This sovereignty of the Venetians lasted 82 years between 1489 and 1571 (Çetiner 2007: 6).

When Yavuz Sultan Selim established sovereignty in Egypt in 1517 and destroyed the Mameluke State, the Venetians' tax right to the Mamluks passed to the Ottomans. Thus, diplomatic relations with the candidate began with the conquest of Egypt (Özmen 2005). With the conquest of Rhodes in 1532 by Suleiman the Magnificent, there was only one island left in the hands of the enemy in the Mediterranean. It was the island of Cyprus. During the period, friendly relations were established in Venetians, but pirates blocked the Turkish

ships and caused the loss of life and property. They prevented the passage of the Turkish ships and interrupted them (Gazioğlu 2000).

However, during the period when Selim II was a prince, the gifts sent to the island were confiscated, the bait of the Egyptian bookkeeper was looted, and pirates started to attack the ships going to pilgrimage by sea (Altier 2003: 8). For these reasons, the conquest of Cyprus Island, which is in a geopolitical position very close to the Ottoman Empire, was deemed necessary (Emecen 2001: 49).

In 1570, the Ottoman Army attacked Cyprus. After 13 battles, 60,000 martyrs were given, and the island of Cyprus was completely Turkish dominated in 1571 *(Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı* 1995). Together with the conquest, the Turks who settled on the island from Anatolia formed a certain Turkish population. They contributed to the social, economic and cultural life of the island (Uzunçarşılı 1995: 15). During the 300 years after the conquest, the Greeks and Turks on the island lived together and established good relations.

In 1878, England wanted to secure colonial roads; In search of a base in the Mediterranean to fulfil these objectives and Cyprus has come to the idea that the most appropriate base for this. However, in 1877, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, which had lost European support. While many European states declared their neutrality, Britain protested this attitude of Russia (Karal 1995: 57).

With the loss of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878, the Ottoman Empire, Ardahan, Kars, Batumi and Dobrica against war compensation; Russia has agreed to leave (Karal, 2007: 430). With the signing of the Ayestefanos Agreement, the conditions of the Ottoman Empire became more severe, and he was forced to accept the "Defense Pact" that England presented to him. Together with the defense pact, Cyprus will continue to belong to the Ottoman Empire; the tax will enter the treasury of the Ottoman Empire, will be used only by Britain for military and strategic purposes. If the places he took from the Ottoman Empire returned to the Ottoman Empire, England; It will immediately evacuate Cyprus (Tamçelik 1999).

In 1914, when the Ottoman Empire joined the war, England declared that Cyprus had joined the British Empire on the pretext of the Ottoman Empire fighting on the opposite side. This situation continued until the Lausanne Peace Agreement (Sarıca ed seq. 1975: 3-4). The situation of Cyprus in the Lausanne Peace Treaty has led to tough debates. Articles 16, 20 and 21 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty are directly related to Cyprus. Britain, Cyprus, which it annexed before; With the Lausanne Peace Treaty, it officially annexed it. To Lausanne along with Turkey, it has relinquished all rights over Cyprus.

As a result of the great Turkish immigration between 1924 and 1926, the population growth rate of the Turks decreased to a great extent, and the balance

was further deteriorated in favor of the Greeks (Göktug 1990: 30-32). The Greeks established many political organizations in order to pressure the British administration for Enosis. The most powerful of these was the National Organization, established in 1921. His aimed to fight for Enosis in every way. In 1930-1931, "Nationalist Youth Clubs" were established to organize the youth of the island on the way to Enosis (Çetiner 2007: 13).

In 1931, Greek Cypriots, encouraged by the Greek-Orthodox church, launched a major rebellion against the British administration to realize the Enosis Plan. The terrorist incidents that went on until the British governor's mansion was burned and turned into a large-scale rebellion were soon suppressed by the harsh and bloody measures taken by the British. For this reason, the period of intelligence on the island, which will continue until the end of the World War II has started, and the Turks who were not involved in the rebellion were affected negatively. There was hardly any conflict on the island during this period. No effort has been made towards enosis. Religious, language, race, culture, political objectives and expectations of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish society, very different in these years have to live under heavy British pressure (Yelice 2007: 10).

Greece, who fought together with the British during World War II, entered into an expectation that Cyprus would be given to Greece and this expectation was negated by England. Because of the political and economic turmoil of this period, the importance of trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean increased further for the British. However, the Greek-Orthodox church, on the other hand, ignored the Turks, which constitute another community living on the island and made up about 20% of the population. With this principle, they started to create increasing pressure. With the adoption of the self-determination thesis, all efforts focused on putting an end to British rule on the island. The aim of this thesis is to realize Enosis (Yelice 2007: 11).

The President of the Greek Cypriot Community Makarios agreed with Greek Colonel Georgios Grivas on secret meetings in Greece and Cyprus to establish a terrorist organization. Thus, a terrorist organization called EOKA (Εθνική Οργάνωσις Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών: Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston) was established and secretly brought weapons and other military equipment from Greece to Cyprus. In the first month of 1955, the Aya-Yorgi vessel, which was loaded with weapons and ammunition, brought to EOKA near the town of Paphos, the Greek-Greek duo was prepared for the treatment. Nevertheless, EOKA completed the preparations and detonated its first bombs on 1 April 1955 with sabotage movements. In the beginning, EOKA, which was aimed only at the British, started to target Turkish Cypriots (Gazioğlu 2001: 256-260).

EOKA published the first statement; "We have two enemies. The first is the British, the second is the Turks. We will expel the British from the island and then destroy the Turks. Our aim is Enosis. Our duty is to realize this aim at any cost" (Sadrazam 1990: 23). England, to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, Turkey and Greece were invited to a conference in London on June 30, 1955. Greece has defended the idea of an Enosis (Coşkun 2015: 44), England, an autonomous status; Turkey, a continuation of the status on the island (Erim 1975: 2).

In later years, Turkey has defended the idea of Cyprus to Turkey, and it has become a national thesis. The importance of the conference in Cyprus for Turkey without the opinion of Turkey has announced to the world public the truth comes out will not be a change. On the other hand, EOKA continued its activities, and many Turks lost their lives. 20-25 thousand British soldiers intervened against the activities (Gazioğlu 2001: 266). The Turkish Resistance Organization has made a major contribution to the prevention of attacks directed by EOKA against the Turkish Cypriots, to keep social morale high and to minimize the loss of life. Members of the Turkish Resistance Organization were called the Mujahideen.

Towards the end of 1958, Greece brought the Cyprus issue back to the United Nations. The Cyprus issue was discussed at the United Nations General Assembly from 25 November to 5 December. On December 5, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a copy of a resolution stating that it was trusted that the parties would endeavor to achieve a peaceful, democratic and fair solution in line with the United Nations requirement without voting. Following this decision, Greece had to sit down at the negotiating table (Çetiner 2007: 19).

#### 4. Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and Emerging Issues

Greece has brought the Cyprus issue back to the UN to voice its justification. UN issues which Turkey's right to speak is given to resolving discussed by the England and Greece. Thus, Greece and Turkey in Zurich in 1958, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs began negotiations. It was decided to give the island independence. This idea was communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom and provided until it was discussed in London. However, it was decided to establish the Republic of Cyprus and the London Agreement was signed. As a result of the London Agreement, commissions were established in Nicosia and London. Differences in opinion were corrected. With the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus on August 16, 1960, Turkish and Greek troops came to the island, and the British troops retreated to their upper regions (Tosun 2012: 43).

With the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, Greek Cypriot leaders did not remain loyal to the agreements and began to create constant difficulties against the Turks. From the 1960s to the end of 1963, the Greeks tried to turn the status of Cyprus into their favor by neglecting or neglecting the relevant articles

of the Constitution and the articles of the treaties granting rights to the Turks. When Makarios, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, realized that he could not achieve his goals, he formed a secret team of three. By this team, "Akritas Plan" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey) was formed. The text was published in 1966, and it aims is to realize Enosis. According to the Plan, a coup would be made to the government and all the opponents would be destroyed. If the Turks reacted to this incident, they would be forcibly silenced by the Greeks by using weapons (Uçarol 1995: 756).

When Makarios' request was rejected in 1963-1964, the inability of the Greeks to realize Enosis caused hatred towards the Turks in the Greeks and increased their organization against the Turks. The Greeks settled and settled near the Turkish houses in order to attack the Turks. Official police vehicles distributed weapons and ammunition to these houses (Gibbons 2013: 23).

Greek Cypriot leader Makarios did not consider this declaration very much and continued his policies in the country. The result of the continuation of the attacks, Turkey has decided to intervene in the island alone. The Turkish Air Force has started warning flights on the island. The Turkish Regiment in Cyprus left the Regiment and settled in Turkish positions. Turkey has used its right to interfere with this attitude in the UK and Greece. However, the Trilateral Peacekeeping Force started to work. Turkey's attitude to this trial has deteriorated Akritas Plan (Çeçen 2008: 68). However, in Nicosia, Turkish, Greek and British ambassadors have identified a green line to apply a cease-fire.

20-21 December 1963 Bloody Christmas (Military Histories, 2019) night starting Turkey's event and many have been killed, has caused great public response in the Republic of Turkey. Rallies and walks have been organized in many places. Bloody Christmas Events and their creators have been protested. Makarios is a member of EOKA and is accused of leading this organization (Önol 1963: 1).

The atrocities committed by the Greek Cypriots in Cyprus were revealed in the mass grave unearthed in the village of Ayvasıl on 13 January 1964. From this mass grave, the lifeless body of 21 Turks was found out of the vulnerable people staying in the village, except for those who could go from Ayvasıl to Yılmazköy where 120 Turks lived. Some of them were raised in the air while others were tied up. The examinations of the bodies revealed that they were shot by the Greeks and that the massacre was carried out after the ceasefire was accepted. Mass grave of British soldiers Representatives of John Ambulance were opened in front of local and foreign press members. When the mass grave was opened, three Greek journalists were present and they wanted to prevent the foreign journalists from displaying this example of savagery. Thus, those disastrous images were projected to the world public (Açıkgöz 2006: 37).

Against these developments, attacks against the Turks in Cyprus continued. On top of that, Turkey has planned to use the right to intervene in Cyprus and the United Nations Security Council has decided to collect as a result of it. This decision satisfied the Greek Cypriots and declared that they had won political victory (Çay 1963: 77).

However, the interventions of the Greeks have become more violent and bloody. On 4 April 1964, Makarios announced his annulment of the Alliance Agreements. Turkey did not accept this explanation. However, the Greek government supported Makarios' actions in an actual and political way (Açıkgöz 2006: 42).

Makarios will hurt the Turkish people and Turkey to the new decision on the continuation of the attacks, Turkey has decided to intervene. The departure of Turkish troops to Cyprus was decided as 5 June 1964. President of the United States it with a 5 June 1964 Period Johnson has sent a letter full of threats to Turkey. This letter was answered by the Prime Minister of the time, İsmet İnönü. But General Lemintzer on some initiatives and Johnson's letter (Aydın 2019) is doing in Turkey intervened in Cyprus has been postponed.

Peace talks were held in Geneva by the US Secretary of State. While these negotiations continued, the Greeks attacked Erenköy. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force remained indifferent to this attack. Thereupon 64 Turkish fighter jets bombed Greek positions. As the Greeks continued to attack, 64 Turkish fighter jets bombed Greek positions again. As a result, the Greeks stopped the attack. After these developments, Makarios requested help from the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, then Soviet Prime Minister, asked Ismet Inonu to stop the attack. İsmet İnönü rejected this request in an appropriate language. Fighter planes belonging to the Greek Air Force 5 on the bombings in Turkey Erenköy, such a situation does not happen in a rush for a meeting with Greece to the United Nations to take the necessary measures have been found (Açıkgöz 2006: 48). The UN requested a cease-fire to both sides and the cease-fire was accepted by the two sides.

Makarios and the Greeks erupted around Erenköy (Dodd 2010: 69). In this case, if the Government of Turkey reported that the UN is preparing such an attack, according to information given to Turkey, it was reported that preparations for a possible intervention of the Republic of Turkey. However, the rum attack started soon after and the Greeks captured most of Erenköy. Turkish Mujahideen had to withdraw from Erenköy.

After the Erenköy attack, Makarios, who received heavy weapons from the Russians and Czechoslovakia, attacked against the villages of Geçitkale and Boğaziçi with the Greek National Guard army on 15 November 1967. Although the UN Peace Forces tried to counter this attack, it was not successful and its

weapons were seized by the Greek National Guard body. Geçitkale and Boğazaiç village was occupied on these developments, the Republic of Turkey on 15-16 November 1967 has decided to intervene and Turkish Navy has begun preparations for the Iskenderun Port. The Turkish Army started and completed the preparations for war, but no warrant was issued. The occupation of Geçitkale and Boğaziçi Villages caused a great reaction among Turkish public opinion. Rallies were organized and walks were held. The plane of the American representative who came to Ankara could not land at Esenboğa Airport and had to land at a military airport (Açıkgöz 2006: 56).

After these developments, an agreement was reached between the Turkish and Greek governments. This agreement was adopted by the Greek Cypriot Government. Greek soldiers gradually left the island. Makarios began to implement a policy aimed at long-term implementation of the Enosis plan, which led to a break with the Greek Government. Thereupon, the Greek Government started activities to establish a terrorist organization called EOKA-B. The need for soldiers was met by the Greek National Guard troops led by Greek officers. With the killing of a Greek shepherd by EOKA-B<sup>1</sup>, Makarios declared his leaders as murderers. Makarios, who took power from the sudden death of the EOKA-B leader, declared that those who had declared the EOKA-B Terrorist organization illegal and who had unofficial weapons had to hand them over, otherwise legal action would be taken (Oberling 1990: 126). This opened the gap between the Greek government and Makarios. The Greek government began to see Makarios as an obstacle to Enosis.

## 5. The Coup of 15 July and the Decision to Intervene on the Cyprus Island

After Makarios made some explanations explaining the Greek Government and plans, on July 15, 1974, Greek National Guard troops started to attack in Nicosia. The main target was the killing of Makarois and the resistance was soon broken. The presidential palace was burned. As a result of the coup Nikos Sampson was declared President. Cyprus has been proclaimed the Hellenic Republic. This means that Enosis is realized. In addition, Sampson pursued a clear anti-Turkish policy (Oberling 1990: 127).

A coup in Cyprus was reported to Ankara through the Turkish Embassy in the morning. Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and the government officials held various meetings with the domestic and international organizations and decided to land in Cyprus on 20 July 1974. Cyprus Peace Operation, II. He was assigned to the commander of the army, General Suat Aktulga. Cyprus II. Army Command

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the differential definition used for the first time by Makarios on 19 July 1974 during the speeches made at the United Nations Security Council. EOKA, which was established on the island of Cyprus, carried out actions against the British and Turkish Cypriots until 1970.

VI. It was decided to send the Corps. VI. Corps Commander Nurettin Ersin's orders given to the troops; Çakmak Special Task Force, Commando Brigade, Airborne Brigade, 39th Infantry Division, 28th Infantry Division, the Turkish Cypriot Regiment and all the Cypriot Mujahideen under the command of Bayraktar (Mütercimler 1990: 150).

The plan prepared by the General Staff for the operation consisted of two stages. The Mujahideen of the Nicosia and Bosphorus flags and the Turkish Cypriot Regiment would secure the security of the Kyrenia Strait, Nicosia and Gönyeli region. The Çakmak Special Task Force was the first stage of this operation, which would make the landing from Pladini beach and merge with the landing air landing. In the second phase; if the need arose, Northern Cyprus would be seized with reinforcements to be made later on until the Lefke-Nicosia Magosa line, which would provide security for the Turkish Cypriot community (Açıkgöz 2006: 73-74).

The unit that will make the extraction from the sea is designated as the Çakmak Special Task Force. This force was given to the command of Brigadier General Süleyman Tuncer. This association was formed in Mersin with the 50th Infantry Regiment and the Marine Corps. Marine Infantry Regiment, Ertuğrul Ship, supported by an artillery and a tank company of the 50th Infantry Regiment was put into the removal vehicles Cakmak Special Force was ready for operation (Mütercimler 1990: 171). The Airborne Brigade was placed under the command of Brigadier General Sabri Evren and completed all preparations at the Kayseri Erkilet Airport.

The Colonel Arif Eryilmaz, the Turkish Resistance Officer of the Turkish Resistance Organization in Nicosia, received an operation order on July 18, 1974, and was ordered to be present on the night of July 19-20. This order was supported by the Turkish Cypriot Regiment (Artuç 1989: 183).

The Commando Brigade was placed under the command of Brigadier General Sabri Demirbağ and departed on 16 July 1974 with 280 vehicles from Bolu to travel alone at night. He came to Ovacık on 19 July 1974. The fact that this huge convoy had no accidents during the journey was considered a great success. This convoy showed great interest and supported the Turkish people. He participated in Nevşehir Gendarmerie Commando Battalion and the 1st Battalion of the 230th Infantry Regiment in Ovacık (Mütercimler 1990: 153).

#### 6. Beginning of Operation

The Turkish landing fleet, which was established with the Ertuğrul vessel and 33 landing vehicles under the command of the Berk frigate, set off from Mersin on July 19, 1974. The Turkish landing fleet traveled to the West of Kyrenia, and the diversion fleet formed on six empty Turkish merchant ships traveled to Famagusta (Hughes 2011). The Turkish Landing Fleet arrived at

Pladini Beach on 20 July 1974. Turkish jets bombed designated points before landing. After the search of the beach underwater search team began extraction (Artuç 1989: 190).

During the landing, the counterfeit fleet heading towards Famagusta attracted the attention of the Greek Guard Corps and increased the masses around Famagusta (The Telegraph, 2014). The first conflict started after 13.00 and the Greek National Guard troops withdrew after the destruction of three Greek tanks.

#### 6.1. First Day of Operation

The airborne operation began on July 20, 1974, at 06.05. They were the first Turkish soldiers to land on the island. During the first movement only 2 battalions were able to land and they were not subjected to a serious attack. The 1st Parachute Battalion landed at Pinarbasi and the 2nd Parachute Battalion landed at Gönyeli. After 5 hours, the 3rd Parachute Battalion and the 4th Parachute Battalion landed, but suffered a very intense fire. While the 1st Parachute Battalion defended the region between the Mountain Road and Karatepe, the 2nd Parachute Battalion stayed in Pinarbasi because of the intense fire and gave a division to the Turkish Cypriot Regiment. The 3rd Parachute Battalion captured the Bozdağı before midnight (Tarakçı 1998: 66).

The Commando Brigade took off from Ovacık 72 helicopters on the morning of 20 July 1974. The first Commando Battalion went to Pinarbasi at 08.20, second Commando Battalion to Pinarbasi at 11.45, third Commando Battalion to Gönyeli at 15.45, Nevşehir Gendarmerie Commando Battalion at Hamitköy at 18.45 and heading towards Dikmen Village (Mütercimler 1990: 187).

When the sun began to set, the Greek Regiment was supported by tanks and armored vehicles and began an offensive against the Turkish Cypriot Regiment. The Greek Regiment tried to besiege the Turkish Cypriot Regiment from the North through Gönyeli, and as a result it was understood that it was trying to destroy the Turkish Regiment. The 4th Parachute Battalion was placed under the orders of the Turkish Cypriot Regiment. However, this battalion could be placed under the orders of the Turkish Cypriot Regiment against the morning. Nevertheless, the Turkish Cypriot Regiment successfully defended and repelled the Greek Regiment's offensive. In the meantime, the Greek National Guard forces captured the Doruyol hill to the west of Kyrenia Strait by martyrizing twenty-nine Mujahideen and dominating the Kyrenia Strait. The importance of the Kyrenia Strait, the only crossing of the Lefkose-Kyrenia road crossing the Nicosia-Kyrenia road, has been strategically increased, as the high, wooded and non-giving way along the coast of Northern Cyprus separates the troops from the descending troops like a wall. For this reason, the 1st Commando Battalion started an attack against Dogruyol Hill and seized the Dogruyol Hill until the

morning and took control of Kyrenia Strait. The Commando Battalion also cleaned the northern ridges of the Kyrenia Strait and secured it (Açıkgöz 2006: 82).

#### 6.2. Second and Third Day of Operation

In Cyprus, the Çakmak Special Task Force was unable to move, advance and stuck in a narrow space due to the intense fire of the Greek National Guard Army. Thereupon, the Bora Special Task Force moved from Mersin to Cyprus (Artuç 1989: 239). The 2nd Parachute Battalion of the Airborne Brigade was restricted by the Greek National Guard Army due to intense cannon and mortar fires in the direction of Kyrenia-Ozanköy. While the 1st Parachute Battalion defended the region between Dağyolu and Karatepe, the 3rd Parachute Battalion took control of the Greek Bozdağı and then Dikmen Tepe. While the 1st Commando Battalion provided side and back security against the Greek National Guard, the 2nd and 3rd Commando Battalions moved in the direction of Girne-Zeytinlik and reached the region (Sadrazam 1990: 83).

On the third day of the operation, the troops landing and leaving Cyprus had not yet united. With the help of the Bora Special Task Force, which will go to Pladini beach, this merger was expected to take place until 17.00 and a secure military zone was created. The Bora Special Task Force, which boarded 22 transport vehicles and Donatan and Trojan ships, arrived on July 22, 1974 at 10.30 am after a 21-hour journey to Pladini beach. 39th Infantry Division Commander Bedrettin Demirel was also head of the Bora Special Task Force. Major General Bedrettin Demirel ordered Brigadier General Hakkı Borataş to attack under the direction of Bora Special Task Force as soon as he stepped on the shore. Bora Special Task Force, the Greek National Guard forces under the cannon and mortar fire started at 10.30 hours at 15.30 have completed the landing. During this landing, the only artillery battalion and other weapons of the Cakmak Special Task Force in Cyprus were protected by the Bora Special Task Force. As a result of the offensive of the Bora Special Task Force, a merger with the 3rd Commander Battalion was established in the Kyrenia Strait. Thus, descending troops and troops united. Bora Special Task Force entered Girne at 3 pm along with the 3rd Commander Battalion (Mütercimler 1990: 281).

The clashes between the two sides continued with all their violence, while the fire had to be stopped at 5 pm in Cyprus. The village of Küçük Kaymaklı, which was forcibly taken away from the Turkish Cypriot community during the Bloody Christmas Events 11 years ago, was captured by the Mujahideen of Nicosia Sanjak, which was reinforced by an infantry company of the Turkish Cypriot Regiment at 18.30 (Artuç 1989: 245)

External pressures for the ceasefire were concentrated on the Turkish government. In particular, the United Nations, NATO, America and the Soviet

Union increased their pressure in this direction. As a result of increasing external pressures, the Turkish government adopted the resolution 353 of the United Nations Security Council and decided to stop the fire from 5 pm on 22 July 1974. The Greek military government, through Navy Commander Admiral Arapakis, informed the American Representative in Athens, Joseph Sisco, that they were willing to stop firing. The Turkish government's ceasefire decision was announced by Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit at a press conference at 10.00. Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, at the press conference; respect the United Nations resolutions, he has said that a peaceful country that Turkey has agreed to comply with the Security Council ceasefire resolution and taken to Cyprus enter into force on 17 hour ceasefire with Turkey. Turkish Armed Forces and Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen hands two days they achieved a great success and Turkey's no other place than the two days prior to the world that also added that Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, the Turkish Cypriots achievements, all Cypriots, the Turkish nation and beneficial to humanity (Açıkgöz 2006: 90).

#### 7. Effects of Gendarmerie Units the First Cyprus Peace Operation

The Cyprus crisis of 1974 also affected the Gendarmerie and the Gendarmerie Units joined the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation with two Gendarmerie Commando Battalions and aviation units. In this operation, the Gendarmerie troops took part in important and various tasks such as the complete destruction of the Greek convoy and the clearing of the Beşparmak mountains from the militants (Artuç 1989: 171).

Gendarmerie General Command, in order to increase domestic defense Siirt 1st and Nevsehir 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalions trained to intervene in point targets. A division of the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion in Nevşehir was left in Yüksekova in Hakkâri and entered the command of Bolu Commando Brigade Commandership. Two commando and a headquarters companies had been under the command of Senior Major Hasan Cemil Erdem with 6 Officers, 28 Petty Officers, 3 Expert. In addition to Sergeant and 375 private soldier, they took 5 jeeps, 2 ambulances, 46 unimogs and 1 truck to Mersin on 18 July and Ovacık on 19 July. The Bolu Commando Brigade was reorganized into five battalions by taking the 1/230th Infantry Regiment under his command (*Gendarmerie General Command* 2002: 331).

Gendarmerie Senior Lieutenant Veysel Gani, Gendarmerie Senior Lieutenant Halis Deveci, Gendarmerie General Command began to order. The task of these two units was to set up a gathering by helicopter landing in the Pınarbaşı area on July 21, and to organize the tasks to be ready for execution, and to transfer the weapon team to Ağırdağ area when ordered. On July 20, 50 helicopters departed for Cyprus but landed outside the planned area due to Greek anti-aircraft firing. Meanwhile, Petty Officer Sergeant Mehmet Yıldız, who was

wounded with mortar shells in the Pınarbaşı area, suddenly lost his life and became the first martyr of the operation. A private also injured his arm (Gendarmerie General Command 2002: 331-332).

Commando Brigade 2 with the battalion of the Corps Commander Lieutenant General Nurettin Ersin 10.30 at the Bosphorus region Corps went to the Command. After the gendarmerie forces occupied the eastern part of Karpuzlu Farm, two officers and one non-commissioned officers and two private soldier were wounded with mortars. The Greek troops who attacked the armored attack to Dikmentepe at night were stopped by the 3rd Division Weapon Team (Ural 2004: 56).

On 21 July there was a violent collision in the Boztepe district. When the 3rd Parachute Battalion requested help, the 3rd Division Weapon Team was directed to Boztepe. Lieutenant Veysel Gani and Lieutenant Tuncel took over Deliktepe with the teams under the Leaf Command. On July 22, the area was completely cleared (Gendarmerie General Command 2002: 333).

On 22 July, defense centers were established in the south of Deliktepe, Albayraktepe and Albayraktepe. While the Greek assault on the mortar was repulsed, the 2nd Company Gendarmerie Private Hasan Güven was killed in this last operation. Two private were injured. While the diplomatic pressure of the countries concerned about the ceasefire continued, the ceasefire was declared on July 22 at 19.00 following the call of the Security Council. However, the operation could not achieve the desired objectives. Indigenous people were still under threat. The 3rd Parachute Battalion, Nevşehir Gendarmerie Command Battalion and Akincilar Mücahit Company personnel who served in the region on 25-26 July carried out the assigned duties and left deep traces on the Turkish war history. On the morning of July 27, the operation plan of the Greeks from the previously destroyed Greek convoy was seized and submitted to the Battalion Command by the Gendarmerie Lieutenant Ibrahim Mutluer (Açıkgöz 2016: 55).

On the morning of 29 July, the battalion under the command of the Brigade Commander Hasan Cemil Erdem conducted a search and search of Ozanköy. They occupied the defensive positions east of Çatalköy. The 20 prisoners taken from Çatalköy were delivered to the headquarters of the Corps Command (Gendarmerie General Command 2002: 335).

On August 7, Siirt 1st Gendarmerie Command Battalion arrived in Cyprus on 8 August with helicopters. On 9 August, the Commando Battalion settled in the nomad village and entered the 39 th Division Command. The 2nd Gendarmerie Command Battalion 3rd Division and the 1st Gendarmerie Command Battalion 1 and 3 were replaced. The 2nd Gendarmerie Command Battalion under the command of Gendarmerie Lieutenant Ibrahim Mutluer was placed in the 3rd Division of the Bosphorus Defense Center (Ural 2004: 58).

On 10 August, the 1st Gendarmerie Command Battalion came to the line between the 2nd Division and the Headquarters Çatalhöyük-Arapköy, and took part in the defense line, while the Headquarters Division was on duty. The 2nd Gendarmerie Command Battalion Greek soldiers trying to infiltrate the 2nd Division have been eliminated. The Gendarmerie Command Battalion carried out the duties given until August 14th. Other Turkish Armed Forces troops continued to dominate the area.

August 14 until the 2nd Peace Operation, the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Company started an attack on Kaynakköy with the 3rd Parachute Battalion. There was a violent collision, Greek units of 24 vehicles were ambushed and five hours of combat were lost to personnel and ammunition. All Turkish troops have begun to advance through enemy positions. 10 personnel were killed and 14 personnel were injured while Beşparmak Hill was seized. On 15 August, Halevga, to the east, was seized (Ural 2004: 59).

## 7.2. Gendarmerie Units in the Second Cyprus Peace Operation in terms of Enforcement

August 14th 04.00 hours as the received "Victory Attack" password had started to fire preparations for the navy on the beach at 6.00, Turkish jets also began bombing Greek positions the air offensive to the 1st participated in the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion 6.40. As a result of the clashes, Greek troops had to retreat. Despite the difficult terrain conditions, Turkish troops began to break through enemy positions at 09.30. On the evening of 22 August, the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion left Delikli Village and settled in Gönenderi (Kondhara), which would be the new base area. Subsequently, on 23 August, 27 Greek soldiers were arrested in the villages of Flomuda and Davlos, north of Kondhara (Gendarmerie General Command 2002: 337-338).

#### 7.2.1. First Siirt Gendarmerie Commando Battalion and Operations

On 24 August, 40 unimogs, 4 Jeeps, 1 pickup and 1 ambulance were brought from Batman for logistical support, which boosted the morale of the soldiers (Gendarmerie General Command, 2002: 337). On the 25th of August, 216 Greek soldiers were captured in the villages of Diskorpas and its Vicinity and on 26 August in Aitrisse and Ayandiriz. On August 28, the 39th Division ordered the 2nd company to go to Magosa until a second order to settle the 1st line. The 39th Division went to Güzelyurt and came to Paşaköy by order of the 28th Infantry Division. In the village of Diskorpas, the Gendarmerie Battalion went on a field survey with a tank battalion task force and returned without any loss. On August 31, the battalion's base location was changed and the troops transferred to Halevga, west of Kantara (*Gendarmerie General Command* 2002: 338).

On September 3, the 28th Division of the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion served as a covering force in the area between Araplık and Mersinlik-Akatu in the East of Kyrenia. The 3rd company settled on the ridges of Mersinlik, the 1st Company on the ridges of Harçca Delik, and the headquarters company settled in Halevga (Ural 2004: 65).

On September 4, they went to the Kantara area for a surveillance mission from the 3rd Division and returned without incident. The Gendarmerie Battalion, which served as reconnaissance and surveillance until September 8, carried out operations in the mountainous areas of Değirmeni village and captured 22 Greek soldiers. On 10 September, the 2nd Company seized a large number of weapons, equipment and ammunition during the searches in the forest. On September 14, the 2nd Army commander inspected Cyprus, but the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion Commander did not come to meet him. The Division was informed that the commander of the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion was missing. As a result of the investigations and investigations, it was found that Gendarmerie Major Bekir Sitki Tuncer, the battalion commander, left the headquarters to enter Nicosia at 22.00 and passed to the Greek part and was captured by the Greeks (*Gendarmerie General Command* 2002: 339).

# 7.2.2. Nevşehir Second Gendarmerie Commando Battalion and Operations

At 05.35 on the morning of August 14, air operations continued in Cyprus while Nevsehir was ordered to prepare for the infiltration and enemy offensive that may come from the villages of Güzelyalı (Vavila) and Karşıyaka (Vasiya), opposite the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion. The 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion moved to the region 1,5 km southwest of Fota village with the command of Bolu Commando Battalion (Ural 2004: 66).

On 16 August at 19.00, the peace order of the United Nations was passed on all fronts by the order of the government. On the 17th of August, the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion was assigned the duty of securing the security of the Güzelyurt neighborhood, which was taken over by Hirsilyu, which was taken to the Hirsilyu by using the Bosphorus, Girnebaşı-Yılmazköy-Güzelyurt road and clearing the enemy signs. The order was transferred on the morning of 18 August and Güzelyurt was taken under control. Civilian people gathered at the hotel at the entrance to the village of Kaput (*Gendarmerie General Command* 2002: 339).

On the morning of 20 August, during the search in the village of Kalahorya, some weapons were seized and at 10.00 am in a warehouse owned by the Greek Cypriot police, many weapons, ammunition and equipment were seized and sent to the Brigade. However, on the evening of 23 August, Doctor Unterleutnant Hasan Serdaroğlu sent Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the city for examination,

and in the course of a barracks on the coast of the city, there were ample weapons and ammunition belonging to Greek forces and reported to the Battalion Command. However, seized weapons and ammunition were loaded and sent to the Brigade. In the evening, Finance Minister Deniz Baykal and Food, Agriculture and Livestock Minister Korkut Ozal and the delegation they brought with them came to Güzelyurt. The safety measures of the ministers were taken by the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion and accompanied to their travels in and out of the city (*Gendarmerie General Command* 2002: 339).

On the morning of 27 August, all units belonging to the Bolu Commando Brigade Command were ordered to continue the duty of the 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Battalion to protect the city despite the withdrawal of precaution. On 3 September the Division Command was ordered that the Gendarmerie Commando Battalion was placed under the command of the 14th Infantry Regiment Combat Group and had to complete its submission to the region by 4 September. According to the order, a division of the battalion was ordered by the 14th Infantry Regiment Combat Group to take part in the operation to clear the Eokacis and Greek National Guard forces and to keep the area under control. The 2nd Gendarmerie Commando Company, which will participate in the operation, reached the Pendaya District, where it was located at 14.30. On the night of September 4, at about 2 am, the 2nd company attacked the village of Galini, repulsed the Greek troops and took over the village. Battalion headquarters and headquarters company arrived at Pendaya from Kalahorya on 09.45 and entered the 14 th Infantry Regiment Correspondence Group. Later, he entered the galini village, the occupation area of the battalion, where the 2nd Division was reinforced with two teams in the headquarters company. 2nd Commando Battalion participated in the military operation in Nevsehir and Siirt 1st Commando Battalion, until returning to Turkey have continued their duties assigned to them. (Gendarmerie General Command 2002: 339-340).

#### 8. Conclusion

Cyprus is an important strategic point for every state. With an important geopolitical advantage to the states it holds, it is the guardian of an important trade route. However, it has an important geopolitical position and an important base in the plans of states about the Middle East

Discussed about the various developments on Cyprus Island in the first part of this paper. Article 4 of this information in light of the Guarantee Agreement recognizes the right to intervene in Turkey directly. Turkey has repeatedly demonstrated that this right despite the pro-peace, war or a military intervention has proved that see it as a last choice. At the same time, he tried to directly protect the rights of the Turks living on the island of Cyprus and produced policies on this issue. Because of several plans and initiatives of the Greek Cypriots on the

island, the Turks have to remove from the island. Behave as they do not have, Turkey has been the case compelled to use its right to intervene. As a result of the coup that took place on July 15th, the political, military and economic conditions within the island, the crimes against humanity and the brutality were stopped and intervention was made for this purpose. However, at the request of the Turkish public, an intervention was made on the island of Cyprus on 20 July, and it was realized in two stages.

First of all, the Cyprus Peace Operation is not an occupation operation. It is an operation arising from the application of the right of guarantee arising from Article 4 of the Guarantee Agreement and the necessity of restoring peace and protecting the rights of the Turks living on the island. The Cyprus Peace Operation was realized thanks to the efforts and achievements of Turkish soldiers and mujahideen, namely Turkish Air Force, Turkish Navy, Turkish Land Forces and Gendarmerie Forces.

With The Cyprus Peace Operation, the rights of the Turks on the island have been protected and free space has been allocated. Undoubtedly, the greatest success of the operation has been the survival of many people and their ability to live comfortably on the land they call homeland. The political success of the Republic of Turkey see how much depends on international agreements and a peaceful state and that the necessary cases of human rights abuses, atrocities and massacres will remain silent to the world public opinion is proven again. The economic aspect is that the production which had to stop completely has started again and that the Turks on the island have returned to the welfare environment.

Before and after, in the light of the developments in the island, the Cyprus Peace Operation, intervention on the island of Cyprus is obligatory for the Turkish Republic. The fact that this obligation was not born because of the Turks, but was born from the Greeks living on the island and the rulers of these Greeks. The Greek Cypriot and Greek Cypriots' policy in the region was formed in the form of destruction and the organizations that existed and formed bloody actions on the island. Despite advances such as this is not to suppress the Turkey issue has developed policies to solve the problem through peaceful means, but the results were not obtained from this initiative. When the events and developments in the past were examined, the Turks had no attacks or provocations against the Greeks and the Turks tried to protect their rights. Turkey, has also proven that working for peace in the world, respectful of human rights and peaceful in both the Cyprus Peace Operation and also throughout history.

Gendarmerie Units generally do not take part in a cross-border operation. Gendarmerie troops continue their primary duties within the local boundaries as in the past. No activity of this magnitude was carried out in cross-border operations until the said operation. Gendarmerie troops participated in this

operation with a unit of considerable size and influenced the outcome of the operation with their successful maneuvers. Gendarmerie troops, similar to successful operations such as Operation Olive Branch, carried out in the east of Euphrates, have succeeded in fulfilling their duties and responsibilities in Cyprus Peace Operation with great devotion. As a result, it is possible to reach the conclusion that gendarmerie units have a share in the establishment of permanent peace in Cyprus Island.

### The Establishment Process of the Republic of Cyprus and the Role of Gendarmerie Units in the Cyprus Peace Operation

#### Abstract

Cyprus Island is strategically and politically important because it is close to the Middle East and on the Eastern Mediterranean trade routes. For this reason, it has been home to many civilizations throughout history. In the 1930s, various riots and conflicts started on the island. There were three communities on the island: Turks, Greeks and British. The Greek community in these communities has adopted the idea of connecting to Greece over time. This idea, referred to as the Enosis Plan, has been tried to be dominated by the organization called EOKA. In this process, the Republic of Cyprus was established in order to eliminate the confusion on the island. Turkey, Greece and Britain, was brought to the position of guarantor states. However, this agreement was not sufficient to establish peace on the island. The Republic of Turkey, as a guarantor state gave the effort to solve the problem by peaceful means. Problems can not be solved through negotiations with the conviction occurred, the Republic of Turkey, to ensure the re-establishment of the peace and security on the island, the Cyprus Peace Operation was organized in 1974. This article aims to demonstrate the role of the gendarmerie troops in the Cyprus Peace Operation, which is carried out to establish permanent peace on the Island of Cyprus, explaining the establishment process of the Republic of Cyprus.

**Keywords:** Cyprus Peace Operation, Cyprus Island, Peacekeeping Operation, Enosis Plan, Turkish Gendarmerie Units.

### Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluş Süreci ve Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı'nda Jandarma Birliklerinin Rolü

#### Öz

Kıbrıs Adası, Orta Doğu'ya ve Doğu Akdeniz ticaret yollarına yakın olması nedeniyle stratejik ve politik olarak önemlidir. Bu nedenle tarih boyunca birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmıştır. 1930'larda adada çeşitli isyanlar ve çatışmalar başlamıştır. Adada üç topluluk vardır: Türkler, Yunanlılar ve İngilizler. Bu topluluklar içerisindeki Yunan topluluğu zamanla Yunanistan'a bağlanma fikrini benimsemiştir. Enosis Planı olarak anılan bu fikre EOKA adı verilen organizasyonun hâkimiyeti denenmiştir. Bu süreçte adadaki karışıklığı ortadan kaldırmak için Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti kurulmuştur. Türkiye, Yunanistan ve İngiltere garantör devletler konumuna getirilmiştir. Ancak, bu anlaşma adada barışı tesis etmek için yeterli olmamıştır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, garantör devlet olarak sorunu barışçıl yollarla çözme çabası göstermiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, müzakere yoluyla sorunların çözülemeyeceği kanaatinin oluşmasıyla adada barışın ve güvenliğin yeniden tesis edilmesini sağlamak için 1974 yılında Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı'nı düzenlenmiştir. Bu makale, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluş sürecini açıklayarak, Kıbrıs Adası'nda kalıcı barışı sağlamak amacıyla yürütülen Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı'ndaki jandarma birliklerinin rolünü ifade etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı, Kıbrıs Adası, Barışı Koruma Operasyonu, Enosis Planı, Türk Jandarma Birlikleri.

#### References

- Açıkgöz, Serkan (2006). *Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Altıer, Selim Sırrı (2003). "Kıbrıs Adası'nın Fethi Kıbrıs Hangi Milletin İdi?". *Türk Dünyası Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi*, 204: 8-9.
- Artuç, İbrahim (1989). Kıbrıs'ta Savaş ve Barış. İstanbul: Kastaş Yayınları.
- Aydın, Harun Talha (2017). "The Impact of Johnson Letter on Turkish Foreign Policy".

https://www.academia.edu/6616688/The\_Impact\_of\_Johnson\_Letter\_on\_T urkish\_Foreign\_Policy [25.15.2019].

- Clement, Dodd (2010). *The History and Politics of Cyprus Conflict*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Coşkun, Yasin (2014). "Kıbrıs Sorunu Üzerindeki Türk-Yunan Diyaloğunun Başarısızlığı (1966-67) ve İngiliz Politikası". *Karatekin Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (KAREFAD)*, 4(1): 43-58.
- Çay, Abdulhaluk (1963). *Kıbrıs'ta Kanlı Noel*. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları.
- Çeçen, Anıl (2008). Kıbrıs Çıkmazı. Ankara: Astana Yayınları.
- Çetiner, A. Cengiz (2007). *Kıbrıs Barış Harekatında Kara Muharebeleri*. Afyon: Kocatepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Emecen, Feridun (2001). *Kıbrıs'ta İlk Osmanlı Yapılanması*. İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları.
- Erim, Nihat (1975). *Bildiğim ve Gördüğüm Ölçülerde Kıbrıs*. Ankara: Türk Matbaacılık Sanayi.
- Gazioğlu, Ahmet (2000). *Kıbrıs'ta Türkler*. Lefkoşa: Kıbrıs Araştırma ve Yayın Merkezi Yayınları.
- Gazioğlu, Ahmet (2001). *Kıbrıs Sorunu, Ortaklık Cumhuriyeti ve AB Üyeliği.* İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı Yayınları.
- Gendarmerie General Command (2002). Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı Tarihi (Türk Harp Tarihinde Jandarma). C.II. Ankara: Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı.
- Gibbons, H. Scott (2003). Kıbrıs'ta Soykırım. Ankara: Near East Publishing.
- Göktuğ, Güner (1990). *Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyetini Hazırlayan Siyasal Nedenler*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Entitüsü Yayınları.
- Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları (1995). *Kıbrıs'ın Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını*. İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Basımevi.

## **Külliye** Cilt/Volume: 1 • Say1/J'ssue: 1 • 2020

- Karal, E. Ziya (1995). *Osmanlı Tarihi (Birinci Meşrutiyet ve İstibdat Devirleri)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Karal, E. Ziya (2007). Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Öyküsü. İstanbul: Timaş Yayıncılık.
- Kökdemir, Naci (1957). Dünkü-Bugünkü Kıbrıs. Ankara: İstiklal Matbaası.
- Military Histories. "Bloody Christmas 1963". http://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/xmas63 [25.12.2019].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey, "What is the 'Akritas Plan'?". http://www.mfa.gov.tr/akritas-plan.en.mfa [25.12.2019].
- Mütercimler, Erol (1990). *Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı'nın Bilinmeyen Yönleri*. İstanbul: Yaprak Yayınevi.
- Oberling, Pierre (1990). "Kıbrıs Faciası". *Belleten*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Önol, Aydoğan (1963.12.25). "Dün de 4 Türk Daha Öldürüldü". Hürriyet Gazetesi. 1.
- Özmen, Serkan (2005). *Kıbrıs*. İstanbul: Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.
- Sadrazam, Halil (1990). Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız. İstanbul: Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfi Yayınları.
- Sarıca, Murat-Teziç, Erdoğan vd. (1975). *Kıbrıs Sorunu*. İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası.
- Stateuniversity (2020). Cyprus, History & Background, https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/336/Cyprus-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html [31.01.2020].
- Tamçelik, Soyalp (1999). *Kıbrıs'ın Siyasi Tarihiyle İlgili Bir Belgenin Değerlendirilmesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Tarakçı, Mustafa (1998). *Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı*. Ankara: Haccettepe Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü.
- The Telegraph (2014). "Famagusta, the ghost town at the heart of Cyprus". https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/11/famagusta-ghost-town-heart-cyprus/ [16.03.2020].
- Tosun, Yosun (2012). 2. Dünya Savaşından Sonra 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı ve Çevre Ülkelerin Soruna Bakışı. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Uçarol, Rıfat (1995). Siyasi Tarih (1789-1994). İstanbul: Filiz Kitapevi.

- Ural, Erdinç (2004). *Kıbrıs Barış Harekatında Jandarma Birlikleri.* Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Atatürk İlke ve İnkilapları Enstitüsü.
- Uzunçarşılı, İ. Hakkı (1995). Osmanlı Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- Wilson, J. Hughes (2011). "The Forgotten War: A Brief History of the Battle for Cyprus 1974". *The RUSI Journal*, 156 (5): 84-93.
- Yelice, Gürhan (2007). 20 Temmuz 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı'nı Hazırlayan Koşullar. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Atatürk ve İnkilap Tarihi Ensitüsü.
- Yıldırım, Mehmet (2004). Bütün Yönleriyle 1974 Kıbrıs Harekatı. Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Kütahya: Dumlupınar Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.