

The Postures and Theses of the Parties Involved in the Cyprus Problem Within the Period Until 1974

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Abstract

Cyprus Problem has been using its prevalence since years and depending on developments faced in international conjuncture, this problem comes into prominence from time to time and sometimes it is left in the background. Nevertheless, in general it is observed that Cyprus Problem covers an important effect over Turkish foreign policy. The main reason of this fact is that no permanent solution has been found for the problem yet. Due to latest developments, this problem has been handled by many scholars and has been analyzed from various perspectives. The purpose of this study is to present the historic development of Cyprus Problem in general terms and analyze the postures and theses of the parties involved in the period until 1974. Only after having completed this analysis, the actual reasons of 1974 Peace Operation can be coherently understood.

Keywords: Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Enosis, EOKA.

1974'e Kadar Olan Dönemde Kıbrıs Sorununun Gelişiminde Tarafların Tutum ve Tezleri

Öz

Kıbrıs Sorunu yıllardan beri güncelliğini korumakta ve uluslararası konjonktüründeki gelişmelere göre zaman zaman ön plana çıkmakta veya zaman zamanda biraz daha arka planda yer kalmaktadır. Fakat genel olarak bakıldığında Kıbrıs Sorunu'nun özellikle 1974 yılının ikinci yarısından itibaren Türkiye'nin iç ve dış politikalarında önemli bir yer tuttuğu ve Türk dış politikasını pek çok yönü ile

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etkilediği görülmektedir. Bu durumun temel nedeni ise henüz Soruna kalıcı bir çözüm bulunamamış olmasıdır. Konu bu denli sıcak gelişmelere sahne olduğu içinde birçok biliminsanı tarafından ele alınmış incelenmiş, değişik boyutları ile analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı ise genel hatlarıyla Kıbrıs Sorunu'nun tarihsel gelişimini aktararak, 1974'e kadar olan dönemde tarafların tutum ve tezlerini karşılıklı olarak analiz etmektir. Ancak böyle bir analizin ardından 1974 Barış Harekâtlarının nedenlerinin anlaşılabilceği, çalışmada ana tez olarak savunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs, Türkiye, Yunanistan, Enosis, EOKA.

Introduction

It is claimed that name of Cyprus¹ which is located on a key point² in between Europe, Asia and Africa with its geopolitical position in Eastern Mediterranean comes from Kypros which is known as rose balsam mostly growing on the Island, comes from a girl named Kiniross based on a myth that comes from goddess of love Kipris or from Cuprum which means cupper.³ According to some sources, it is stated that the origin of name is “Yadana, Kittim, Cypr” and “Zabar” word which means cupper⁴ or the name has been given due to its shape resembling the neat's leather stretch over the door of a stable in order to get dried after being salted.⁵

Cyprus Island which is natural extension of Anatolia had been connected to Hatay region of Anatolia during the first times of geological period and it had split from Anatolia by subsidence occurred during second and third times.⁶ Cyprus Island which is located in eastern section of Mediterranean and which has a distance of 40 mile (64 km) to Southern shores of Turkey and 70 mile (1126 km) to Greece is the third biggest island of Mediterranean after

¹ This article was written to upgrade the information in the following work, which was published previously. Ulvi Keser, Barış Özdal “Kıbrıs'ta Türk-Ermeni İlişkilerine Kesitsel Bir Bakış 1914–1964”, *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Araştırma Merkezi Erzurum/Türkiye* 2-4 Mayıs 2012, pp.963-992.

² Pierre Oberling, **The Cyprus Tragedy**, Lefkoşa, Rüstem and Brothers Press, 1989, p.3.

³ Sir George Hill, **A History of Cyprus**, Cambridge University Press, Volume 1, 1949, p.1; Halil Fikret Alasya, **Kıbrıs Tarihi ve Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri**, Ankara: [Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü], 1964, p.13; Robin Parker, **Aphrodite's Realm**, Nicosia, Zavallis Press, 1962, s.9.

⁴ Ahmet Özyurt, “Hep Sıcak Bir Ada; Kıbrıs”, *Atlas Dergisi*, Sayı 15, Haziran 1994, p.32.

⁵ Lawrence Durrell, **Acı Limonlar; Kıbrıs-1956**, İstanbul, Belge Yay., Eylül 1992, p.27.

⁶ Sabahattin İsmail, **100 Soruda Kıbrıs Sorunu**, Lefkoşa, Dilhan Ofset Yayınları, 1992; p.9.

Sicily and Sardinia islands with its 9,251 km² surface area⁷ Due to its important geographical location and geostrategic value, Cyprus has come under any power which dominates Eastern Mediterranean and at periods when this regional domination is not available, there has been disputes of different powers.

If it is mentioned in general lines, the island which has the name of Alaysa B.C. 2000 has entered into domination of Egyptians which come from a place other than Anatolia for the first time in B.C. 1500.⁸ After this date, it has been under domination of respectively Hittites, Phoenicians, Ancient Greeks, Assyrians, Persian, Macedonians, Genoese, Mameluke and Venetian. Even Phoenicians, Aegean and Ancient Greeks have settled on the island from time to time, it is an island at which most of the ethnic predominance belongs to Anatolian people and which mostly Anatolian people migrated.⁹ On 14 March 1489 Cyprus had been under the dominance of Venetian administration and Greek Cypriots, Armenian and Maronites¹⁰ have been forced to live as slaves in Kormakitis, Aromatos, Aya Marina and Karpasya villages in Greacized manner by the pressure of Greece¹¹ they have earned a full freedom at each field by conquest of the island in 1571 and this situation has continued until the date when the island has been given to British.

The aim of this study is to comparatively analyze the postures and theses of the parties involved in the period until 1974 by presenting the historical development of the Cyprus Problem. In this framework, this paper first looks into the historical governance periods defined by the Ottoman Empire, British control and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. Following this historical phase, this paper seeks to examine the postures and theses of the involving parties during periods of 1960-1967 and 1967-1974. In the last section, the overall assessment of the historical analysis is presented.

⁷ Atilla Atan, "Cyprus-Born of a New Turkish State", *Maganize of Turkish History with Documents*, Number 14, April 1986, p. 56; Nazım Güvenç, **Kıbrıs Sorunu, Yunanistan ve Türkiye**, İstanbul, Çağdaş Yayınları, 1984; p.35.

⁸ Güvenç, ibid, p.23.

⁹ Afif Erzen, "Kıbrıs Tarihine Bir Bakış", *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi*, Ankara, 1971, p.82.

¹⁰ Arif Alagöz, "Kıbrıs Tarihine Coğrafi Giriş", *Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi Türk Heyeti Tebliğleri, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü*, Ankara, 1971, p.25.

¹¹ Hilmi Kılın, "Tarihsel Perspektif İçinde Enosis Hareketine Bir Bakış", *Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Dergisi*, Temmuz 1987, Sayı 2, p.25.

Ottoman Empire Period¹²

On Cyprus, which had come under domination of Ottoman Empire after long wars starting from 1 July 1570 and ending on 1 August 1571, Ottoman Empire has implemented an administration proper with its administrative organization and the Island has been under governorship of Istanbul as the capital of it has been specified as Nicosia.¹³ After the conquest, some precautions had encouraged soldiers to stay and start to live on the Island upon writ of Sultan Selim II; and on the other hand, many families had been sent to the Island from southern provinces of Anatolia in conformance with mandatory migration tradition of Ottoman Empire used for lands obtained after wars.¹⁴

In other words, a census had been taken by Ottoman Empire after conquest and population, people having a profession, status of real estates and other goods had been determined. As a result of this census, it had been determined that as of 1572 there had been 2.779 people residing at different locations of the Island but mostly at Nicosia, Limasol, Kyrenia, Baf, Tuzla and Magosa as artillerymen, volunteer, guardian and soldiers.¹⁵ It had been ordered in 21 September 1572 by Writ of Sultan to send people from Anatolia and especially from Karaman, Icel, Bozok, Alaiye, Tek and Manavgat to the Island in order to change the demographic structure of the Island. In order to make

¹² This article was written to upgrade the information in the following work, which was published previously. Mine Akkuş, Barış Özdal, Lausanne Barış Anlaşmasının Ardından Türkiye'ye Gelen Göçmenler-Mülteciler", *I. Uluslararası Kıbrıs Sempozyum Bildiri Kitabı*, Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Derneği Yayınları No.8, Ankara, 2009, pp.91-112.

¹³ Refer to the following articles for Cyprus coming under the dominance of Ottoman Empire and detailed historical information about the administration of the island; İsmail, passim; Güvenç, passim; Faruk Sönmezoglu, **Tarafların Tutum ve Tezleri Açısından Kıbrıs Sorunu (1945-1986)**, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1991; Rifat Uçarol, **Siyasi Tarih (1789-1999)**, İstanbul, Filiz Kitabevi, 2000; *Murat Sarıca, Erdoğan Teziç, Özer Eskiuyurt, Kıbrıs Sorunu*, İstanbul, Fakülteler Matbaası, 1975; Şükrü Sina Gürel, **Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk Yunan İlişkileri, 1821-1993**, Ankara, Ümit Yayınları, 1993; Şükrü Sina Gürel, **Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960): Kolonyalizm, Ulusçuluk ve Uluslararası Politika**, İstanbul, Kaynak Yayınları, Cilt 1-2, 1984-1985.

¹⁴ Ref. Ulvi Keser, "Kıbrıs'ta Göç Hareketleri ve 1974 Sonrasında Yaşananlar", *ÇTTAD*, V/12, 2006/Bahar, pp.105-106.

¹⁵ In a different source, it has been stated that upon the census made after conquest 85.000 Armenian, Rum, Maronite and Copts in between 14-50 years old people except women and children were living in the Island. Archimandrit Kiprianos, *Excerpta Cypria: Istria Hronololki Tish Nisu Kibro*, Venice, 1788, p.345.

the migration to island attractive for the ones going to Cyprus, tax exemption for the next 2 years had been entitled for the ones settling in the Island. Besides, permission had been given to soldiers who requested to settle on the Island after conquest and it had been ordered from married ones to bring their wives to the Island. For single soldiers who requested to settle on the island, girls from Anatolia have been brought to the island and these soldiers had been married these girls.¹⁶

As a result of this residence plan implemented by Ottoman Empire, two ethnic and religious structures have been formed from Muslim Ottoman Empire-Turkish society and Greek Cypriot society including Orthodox Christians. Within the period non-Muslim societies living on the Island has sustained their existences in nation system and they have had the opportunity to provide income, building schools and churches etc. for their religious and cultural requirements via institutions which have been allowed by state and of which legal entities have been accepted by state as in other Counties of Ottoman Empire.

Due to the effect of nationalism proliferation, Orthodox Christian society on the Island has started to adopt Greek identity since the beginning of 19th Century and the first rebellion movement against the Ottoman rule in Cyprus, in parallel with 1821 Mora Rebellion has happened against Ottoman Empire as a result of Cyprus Orthodox Church provoking Greek Cypriot society in order to realize some part of its "*Megali Idea*".¹⁷

The losing of 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War and later the signing of Ayestefanos Agreement on 3 March 1878¹⁸ have been milestones in Cyprus History. Since Ottoman Empire has accepted the "Defense Pact" 'proposal of

¹⁶ About this matter refer also to; Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, "Kıbrıs'ta Türk Dönemi (1571-1878) ve Ada Yönetiminin İngiltere'ye Devri", (içinde) Hüseyin Gökçekuş (editör), *Kıbrıs'ın Dünü, Bugünü ve Geleceğe İlişkin Vizyonu*, Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildiri Kitabı, Lefkoşa, 12-14 Haziran 2001, pp.20-27; Nükhet Adıyeke, Nuri Adıyeke, *Kıbrıs Sorununun Anlaşılmasında Tarihsel Bir Örnek Olarak Girit'in Yunanistan'a Katılması*, Ankara, Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Etüdler Milli Komitesi Araştırma Projeleri Dizisi1/2002, 2002, pp.95-96 ve 99-101.

¹⁷ For detailed information refer to; Sözmezoğlu, ibid, p.8; Adıyeke, Adıyeke, ibid, pp.101-103; Rifat Uçarol, **1878 Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Osmanlı-İngiliz Antlaşması (Adanın İngiltere'ye Devri)**, İstanbul, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1978, p.37.

¹⁸ For detailed information about Ayestefanos Agreement refer to; Barış Özdal, "Ayestefanos ve Berlin Anlaşmaları İtibarıyla Ermeni Sorunu", *Askeri Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Yıl 4, Sayı 8, Ağustos 2006, pp.109-119.

the Great Britain in these rough times and on 4 June 4 1878 “Cyprus Convention” in between two countries has been signed.

While the Great Britain gives guarantee to Ottoman Empire for the protection of lands of Ottoman Empire in Asia by this convention, with two articles (and Additional Protocol with 6. Art) which has been announced as imperial decree which has been approved by Sultan on 7 July 7 1878; Ottoman Empire has transferred Cyprus to the Great Britain by proxy and under a provisional condition. However, it is important to mention that the dominance of the Island has not been transferred over the Great Britain as a result of this convention which has been put into force after Admiral Lord John Hay has received Cyprus on behalf of the Great Britain on 12 July 12 1878. In order words, Cyprus has stayed under the dominance of Ottoman Empire and it has been decided for the Great Britain to pay 92.000 Ottoman Liras to Ottoman Empire to keep Cyprus on hand.¹⁹

When Ottoman Empire took sides on 29 October 29 1914 with Germany and Austria-Hungary during World War I, the Great Britain has unilaterally terminated afore mentioned 1878 Convention and has declared war on 5 November 1914 and has declared that it has annexed Cyprus. Besides, upon Decree of Kingdom Council dated 27 November 27 1917 , the Great Britain had requested the ones who lived in Cyprus to acquire British citizenship within two years and many Turkish people who had not adopted this decree had left Cyprus.²⁰

After the World War I, at the London Conference organized between 23 February-12 March 1921, the decree of Turkey given up all its rights upon Egypt, North Africa and Cyprus has been taken and a similar provision has been mentioned in Sevres Agreement Article 117 as follows: “*Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus will acquire British nationality*

¹⁹ For detailed information about this matter, refer to; Uçarol, “**1878 Cyprus Problem...**”, ibid, p.65,94 vd; Adıyeke, ibid, pp.103 vd; Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, **Kıbrıs Tarihi: İngiliz Dönemi 1878-1960**, Lefkoşa, Kıbrıs Araştırma ve Yayın Merkezi Yayınları, 1997, pp.5-12.

²⁰ Population of Cyprus is 274.108 of which dated census it has been understood that Turkish population on the island has been increased by 5.119 (approximately 1%) and has been 56.428. At April 24, 1921 dated census, Turkish population on the island has been increased by 4.911 (approximately 0.8%) and has been 61.339. Total population on the island as of 1921 is 310.709. Keser, ibid, pp.106-107.

and lose their Turkish nationality, subject to the conditions laid down in the local law".²¹

As s known, this provision of Sevres Agreement has not been put into force as a result of great victory of Turkish National Independence War and defeat of imperialism in Anatolia has been accepted by whole world upon Treaty of Lausanne²² which has been signed on 24 July 24 1923. Regarding Articles 16, 20 and 21 of this agreement which has been provided the new independent Republic of Turkey to be accepted internationally, Turkey has taken into consideration the developments in international conjuncture of the period and difficulties brought by the fact of recently coming out of war and has followed a cautious policy and so has accepted annexation of Cyprus to the Great Britain.

Due to these aforementioned provisions, Cyprus has been announced as "*Crown Colony*" and Sir Malcolm Stevenson has been assigned as governor. Due to the same provision, the Republic of Turkey has acknowledged that the Island which has been under British invasion and annexation since 1878 has been British lands de jure. Turkey has abdicated its rights over Cyprus on behalf of the Great Britain not on behalf of Greece or Greek Cypriots. This matter has been emphasized by Turkey and Turkish Cypriots against applications made by Greece and Greek Cypriots to the Great Britain for the island to be handed over them.

However it is important to emphasize that at Lausanne "Turkey has not made a fatal mistake..."²³, on the contrary, regarding the period and international conjunctures of the period and by taking into consideration the difficulties brought by the fact of recently coming out of war, it has followed a cautious policy. The reason of this policy by the statement of Sabahattin Ismail; is that Turkish nation which has been tired and exhausted as a result of

²¹ "Treaty of Peace Between The Allied & Associated Powers and Turkey, Signed at Sevres - August 10, 1920", http://sam.baskent.edu.tr/belge/Sevres_ENG.pdf (e.t. 11.02.2015).

²² The original name is "Treaty of Peace with Turkey Signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923 The Convention Respecting the Regime of the Straits and Other Instruments Signed At Lausanne", See full text: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne (e.t. 11.02.2015)

²³ Mehmet Hasgüler mentions that "*Cyprus Problem is a fatal negligence in Lausanne but immunity of Lausanne has prevented this fact to be mentioned for years*". Mehmet Hasgüler, 84. Yılında Lozan Antlaşmasına Bakış", <http://www.usakgundem.com/yazarlar.php?id=859&type=23> (e.t.10 Aralık 2007).

wars which has been faced one after the other, should have given all of its attention to empowering the newly established Republic.²⁴

British Administration Period

It is possible to analyze status of Cyprus under the dominance of British government under three periods. The first period is acknowledged as 1878-1914. This is the period when the right of dominance belongs to Ottoman Empire due to agreements but the administration of Cyprus was handed over to the British government. The second period is 1914-1923; the Island had been actually annexed by the Great Britain. The final period is 1923-1960, which started: by the Lausanne Peace Agreements, and when the Island had been under British dominance. The period had ended when the Republic of Cyprus has been established on 16 August 1960 after the Zurich and London Agreements²⁵.

After such a general classification, when it is discussed in detail, ethnic structure of Island population has not been changed more under the administration of the British government. Under this scope, while there had an exchange of population between Turkey and Greece, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots had continued to live together in the same towns and villages.²⁶ However, this fact does not mean that there had been no fight against the British administration. For example, the first rebellion against the Great Britain which applied colonial administration over the Island had been performed in 1931 during the management of Kyrou and Kitium Bishop Nikodemas who was the Cyprus of Consul of Greece. This rebellion had been prevented by harsh precautions taken by the British government.²⁷

After this 1931 rebellion, a calm period until the end of the World War II had dominated the island under the administration of the Great Britain; but after the World War II the political positions had started to change. During the war, the Greek Communist Party and AKEL (Anothotikon Komma

²⁴ Sabahattin İsmail, "Atatürk'ün Kıbrıs'a ve Kıbrıs Türklerine Verdiği Önem (1.Bölüm)", <http://www.kibris1974.com/c-ataturkun-kibrisa-ve-kibris-turklerine-verdigi-onem-1-bolum-t4435.html> For detailed information refer also to Sabahattin İsmail, Engin Birinci, **Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye-Kıbrıs İlişkileri (1919-1938)**, KKTC, Akdeniz Haber Ajansı Yayınları No.8, 2000.

²⁵ Sarıca, Teziç, Eskiuyurt, ibid, p.3.

²⁶ Andrew Mango, *Kıbrıs Sorunu: Yeni Gelişmeler Işığında*, İstanbul, 15 Kasım 1997, Sunuş Metni, p.2.

²⁷ Aydın Olgun, **Kıbrıs Gerçeği 1931-1990**, Ankara, Demircioğlu Matbası, 1991, s.9.

Ergazomenau Lou – Progressive Party of Oroletarian Society) which adopted socialist structure advocate ENOSIS. Makarios who became the archbishop on 1950 had commenced studies to provide ENOSIS for Greek Cypriots in Greece and Cyprus.

The first study performed on the Island about ENOSIS under the leadership of Orthodox Church was known as the plebiscite in 1950. Greek Cypriot society had thought that they should be a part of Greece but this plebiscite in which only Greek Cypriot society had participated had not been accepted by Turkish Cypriots and Great Britain and it had remained just as a census.²⁸ British government had decided to protect its status on the island since 1950. To this and Turkey had become a party against the demands of Greece.

After the end of the World War II, Turkey had not shown any interest over developments on the island in contrast to the Greek Cypriot society and Greece; and had perceived the events as internal affairs of the Great Britain after the Lausanne Peace Agreement. On the contrary of this official attitude of the Turkish Government, Turkish public had started to pay attention over the matter since 1948.²⁹ The problem had got more interest in public opinion especially when Greece made a statement within the first months of 1951 mentioning that it was officially interested in Cyprus.³⁰ Greece had understood that they were unable to satisfy their ENOSIS demands by making moderate interviews with the British Government then they had increased their effort to bring the matter to the United Nations, then Turkey had started to be officially interested in this problem.

During 1955, a group of Greek Cypriots established a secret organization named EOKA under the leadership of Grivos who had been in charge as a colonel in Greece army with the aim of removing the British from the island; and had started an armed attack against the British administration for ENOSIS. After these attacks of Greek Cypriots, the British government had started to accept Turkey as a party in the Cyprus problem in its Cyprus related politics in order to balance ENOSIS demands of Greece; and on the other hand has presented to parties its plans including self-government suggestions due to the increase in actions of EOKA. Greek Cypriot society under the

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Fahir Armaoğlu, *Kıbrıs Meselesi 1954-59, Türk Hükümeti ve Kamuoyunun Davranışları*, Ankara, ASBF Yay., 1963, p.19.

³⁰ Gürel, *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960)*, ibid, p.77.

management of Makarios has insisted on the acceptance of self-determination principle to be implemented for the island against this suggestion of British government.

Within this period, EOKA has killed total of 216 people of whom 12 were Turk, 96 were English and 108 were Greek Cypriots at the end of actions in between 1955-1956³¹ and on 9 March 1956 archbishop had been relegated to Sychelles Islands due to his relationship with terror actions and his uncompromising attitudes against the British.³² "Turkish Cypriots" and Turkey has started negotiations at the London Conference held in between 29 August-7 September 1955 which had been suggested by the Great Britain for Cyprus problem to be resolved, after dense EOKA activities and Greece bringing the matter to the UN.

At the conference, while the Great Britain had proposed to provide self-government authorization to the island and Greece and Turkey to jointly participate in defense of the island, Greece had insisted on the thesis of the island to have self-determination right based on the fact that most of the population on the island to be Greek Cypriots. Turkey had objected to both theses asserted by both states due to legal status and historical and geo-strategic importance of the island and had requested the continuance of the status quo over the island. Turkey had also advocated that if ever the present structure shall be changed, then due to succession principle of the law, the island should have been returned to Turkish society as the former owner of the island.³³

As a result of increased terror actions of EOKA on island as of 1955 and 1956, it was observed that Turkey did not continue to propose the continuation of status quo or the returning of the island to Turkey. For example, the then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes made a speech at the Grand National Assembly in December 1956 and definitely mentioned that it is only possible to solve the Cyprus problem by partition.³⁴

At the end of all these developments, the Great Britain had neither accepted "self-determination" principle which had been advocated by Greece

³¹ Olgun, *ibid*, p.12.

³² Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Derneği, *ibid*, p.18.

³³ See., Olgun, *ibid*, pp.12-13.

³⁴ See., A.Suat Bilge, **Ankara, Atina Lefkoşa Üçgeni**, Ankara, İmge Yay., 1996, pp.72-73.

and Greek Cypriot society nor accepted “partition” thesis as advocated by Turkey and Turkish Cypriots. Great Britain had tried to find a solution on the direction of “self-government” idea which had been its own thesis during 1958-1959.

Self-government efforts of the Great Britain had mostly been beneficial for Turkish society. In other words, these efforts had documented the existence of Turkish society on the island. In proposals prepared by British lawyers, it had been suggested that the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot participation in organizations which shall be established in order to administer the island should have been as a representation of two separate societies instead of majority-minority system. For example, in Winstanley Proposal it had been suggested that the Turkish Cypriots to be represented within the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Committee; and it had been mentioned that representatives shall be elected by the society. Also in Radcliffe proposal, the same system had been developed and it had been proposed that Turkish society should have been represented as a community within the Legislative Assembly. At Macmillan Plan, separate identity of Turkish society had been more definite and self-government had been suggested as a partnership regime.³⁵ After Macmillan Plan had been rejected by the involving parties, a new plan had been formed. While this new plan has been accepted by Turkey, it had been rejected by Greece and the Greek Cypriots. Greece and Greek Cypriots had requested the basics emphasizing the secession of two different societies on the island to be removed from the plan; and they has claimed that Turkey cannot be a party of the problem.

In September 1958, Archbishop Makarios and the leaders of Greek Cypriots had suggested the formulae of “Independent Cyprus under Wardship of UN”. Since this thesis had been accepted at the international level, the second Macmillan Plan had not been implemented and parties had been directed to the 1959 Zurich and London Agreements.³⁶

The main reason for the parties to start negotiations in Zurich and London can be explained in relation to the developments at the international level and the conjuncture changed by USA landing troops to Lebanon and Great Britain landing troops to Jordan after western oriented Faisal regime had been overthrown in Iraq on 14 July 1958. NATO member states and

³⁵ See., Sönmezoglu, *ibid*, pp.19-20.

³⁶ See., Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Derneği, *ibid*, pp.19-20.

especially the UN had suggested that Cyprus problem in between Turkey and Greece had weakened southern section of NATO. As a result of the suggestions made by the UN and NATO, Turkey, Greece and Great Britain had accepted to find a solution upon interviews in between them; and the interviews which had been stopped in London in 1955 had been restarted.³⁷

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The Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus

The interviews had started in between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Greece on 5 February 1959 and had ended by Zurich Agreement which was signed on 11 February 1959 by the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece.

Zurich Agreement signed on this date had determined the rights of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot societies within the political structure as equal partners of the Republic; and had determined the usage methods of these rights and basic rules such as rights, authorities and status among legislation, executive functions and judgment or republic. It has been accepted that these basic rules which had been 27 in total to be basic rules of Constitution.

Upon a request made by the Great Britain which had been a major party involved in this problem on adding some matters to the Zurich Agreement provisions signed in between Turkey and Greece, a meeting was held in London by the participation of the leaders of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot societies. In this meeting, parties had explained by the "*Declaration made by the Government of the United Kingdom*"³⁸ dated 17 February 1959, parties had examined documents and statements about the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus which had been prepared and accepted in Zurich on 11 February 1959 by the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Greece whilst stating that "they accept these documents and statements as basic principles on the final status of Cyprus problem".³⁹

After the Zurich and London Agreements, studies of commission which had been established for this reason had been completed and on 16 August 1960 the Republic of Cyprus was established. By the Establishment

³⁷ See., Güner Göktuğ, **Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ni Hazırlayan Siyasal Nedenler**, [İstanbul], Nisan 1990, pp.62-63.

³⁸ See., <http://web.deu.edu.tr/kibris/articles/app.html> (e.t. 13.03.2015)

³⁹ See., Göktuğ, *ibid*, pp.62-63.

Agreement, it had been suggested that the Republic of Cyprus would dominate over former colonial lands keeping British bases out of its dominance.⁴⁰ By the Warranty Agreement, territorial integrity, security and constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus was put under guarantee. Finally, Turkey, Greece and the representatives of both societies of the island signed an Alliance Agreement.⁴¹

According to Article No.1 of the Alliance Agreement, parties should cooperate for common defense and they should consult each other for any problem arising due to any defense reason. According to Article No.2 of the same Agreement, parties should resist jointly to any direct or indirect attack or hostility against the independency or territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. According to Article No. 3, they should set up a Ternary Cantonment over the territory of the Republic of Cyprus for the aforementioned purpose; and 950 Greek soldiers and 650 Turkish soldiers should be available in this ternary cantonment. In parallel to this purpose, the President and the Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus should be able to request from Greek and Turkish governments to increase or decrease the amount of soldiers. 1960 Cyprus Constitution entered into force on the same day when these three agreements were signed and included within the Constitution.

It is mentioned in Constitution that Republic of Cyprus shall never merge with any other state. Under this provision, it has been determined that Cyprus State shall not be a part of pacts of political institutions at which Turkey and Greece are not included. Besides the fact that the Cyprus Constitution is under the warranty of Turkey, Greece and England, it has been mentioned in Constitution that under the condition of violation of Constitution, these three states would have the right of sole and joint intervention.⁴²

⁴⁰ Şükrü S. Gürel, **Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk Yunan İlişkileri, 1821-1993**, Ankara, Ümit Yayınları, 1993, pp.56.

⁴¹ Sabahattin İsmail, **1571'den K.K.T.C'ne Kıbrıs Sorunu**, İstanbul, Gümüş Basımevi, 1986, pp.26.

⁴² See., Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Derneği, *ibid*, pp.20-22.

The Postures and Theses of Parties involved during the period of 1960-1967

After the proclamation of the Republic in Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the leader of Greek Cypriots was elected as the President and Turkish leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük was elected as the Vice President.

Despite of all goodwill of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey; Greek Cypriots and "Greece" had regarded the establishment and independency agreements of the Republic of Cyprus as a stepping stone to actualize ENOSIS; and this thought had been confessed by Makarios, the first and last President of the Republic of Cyprus. Makarios stated his views about London and Zurich Agreements on 1 April 1960 as *"Our hopes have not been actualized by Zurich and London Agreements. We shall continue to fight to final victory through conquered towers"*.⁴³

Due to these views of Greek Cypriots, the first difference in opinions of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot societies had been observed about the municipalities after the proclamation of the Republic. This was followed by the disputes emerged due to the requests of Greek Cypriot greengrocers to return to Bazaar of Turkish Cypriot. In the later periods, Makarios objected the establishment of the independent Turkish municipalities at Nicosia, Limasol, Magos, Larnaka and Baf defined by the Article No. 173 of the Constitution. Archbishop Makarios stated on 1 January 1963 that all of municipal services should be supplied by the Government; and due to these developments, Turkey sent a diplomatic note on 3 January 1963 and requested from Makarios the exact implementation of the agreement provisions about municipalities. After this date, the matter had been presented to the Supreme Court and a series of interviews had been made in between Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Makarios but it had not been possible to solve this problem.⁴⁴

In summary, even the Greek Cypriot society had seemed as if they had accepted by the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus that Turkish Cypriots should participate in government with equal rights, they had really accepted to entitle only minority rights to Turkish Cypriots despite of Zurich and London Agreements and the Constitution. As their real intention and request

⁴³ Çiler Eminer, **Bir Daha Asla**, KKTC Dışişleri ve Savunma Bakanlığı Tanıtma Dairesi, 1996, p.7.

⁴⁴ Olgun, *ibid*, pp.20.

was is to open the way of annexation to Greece, and actualize their ENOSIS request.

Greek Cypriots under the government of Makarios had the main aim of subverting the Republic of Cyprus which was established in 1960 and reaching their ENOSIS goals; and for this reason, they had tried to show to the world via the UN that 1960 Constitution and the Establishment Agreements had been effectively in force while they had tried to oppress Turkish Cypriots by terror actions performed by EOKA.

In this atmosphere, Makarios presented on 30 November 1963 to Turkish Cypriot leaders his proposals including 13 Articles, aiming to remove the founder partnership rights of the 1960 Cyprus Constitution and to downgrade Turkish Cypriots from equal status to a minority within the Greek Cypriot state. It can be observed that, there had been changes on the irrevocable Constitution as a result of the proposal made by Makarios.

Since Turkey and Turkish Cypriot society had not accepted these demands of Makarios which had clearly downgraded Turkish Cypriot society to a minority status, terror acts had started in Turkish Cypriot regions by "Akritas Plan" that was decoded on 21 April 1966. Akritas Plan had been the base for 1963 events when terror on and massacre of Turkish Cypriots increased.⁴⁵ The first great terrorist attack on Turkish Cypriots was the firing of Greek Cypriot Police at civil Turkish Cypriots driving their car to their home at Nicosia, Tahtakale on the night of 20 December 1963 resulting in the death of two civilians whilst others got injured.⁴⁶

With the Akritas Plan, the main purpose of which was to subvert the independent Republic of Cyprus by barbarous methods, pressure and exterminate Turkish Cypriots, and to reach ENOSIS, it was planned to exterminate Turkish Cypriots by a sudden attack and to annex the island to Greece. The attacks of Greek Cypriots commenced under the frame of Akritas Plan intensified and Greek Cypriots started to kill women and children barbarously with their superior armament, whilst the Jets of Turkish Air Force have started to warming flights over Nicosia on 24 December 24 1963. Greek Cypriots stopped their attacks upon the order of Makarios after Turkish

⁴⁵ Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Derneği, *ibid*, pp.27.

⁴⁶ Olgun, *ibid*, pp.25.

Cypriot Armed Forces deployed at Gönyeli and Ortaköy.⁴⁷ Archbishop Makarios declared on 1 January 1964 that he had unilaterally terminated the 1960 Agreements and the Warranty Agreement which had tensed the political situation even further.

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Following the increased amount of closed combats during 1963 and the first months of 1964, parties met at London on 13 January 1964 upon the invitation of the Great Britain. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Greece and Great Britain have attended the meeting and explained their opinions. On 15 January 1964 another meeting was held also with the participation of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives; and Rauf Denктаş who made a speech on behalf of Turkish Cypriots had suggested to completely separate both societies from each other. On the other hand, Turkish Committee under the leadership of İsmet İnönü mentioned that a federal structure can protect the integrity of economy and partition thesis which had been suggested since the old times can be approved and had suggested that present agreements had not been sufficient to protect the security of life and property of Turkish Cypriot society on the island and demanded additional guaranties to be provided and insisted in accumulation of Turkish Cypriots on some definite regions of the island.⁴⁸

Another development at the 3rd London Conference had been the suggestion of Great Britain to transfer the duty of providing peace and security on the island to a Peace Keeping Force formed by NATO member states. Turkey and Greece accepted this suggestion. However, Makarios did not accept the establishment of a NATO Peace Keeping Force. His aim was to bring the dispute in front of the UN and make the Security Council accept invalidity of the Treaty of Guarantee. At this stage, Turkey did not prefer the dispute to be brought in front of the Security Council. But since it did not have any ready forces other than air forces to stop the combat at Cyprus, it accepted to consult to the Security Council.

On 26 February 26 1964, Security Council started to examine the dispute and made its decision on 4 March 1964 for the establishment of a peace keeping force and for the assignment of a mediator; but did not declare the Treaty of Guarantee as null and void.⁴⁹ "UNFIL YP", a multinational Peace

⁴⁷ See., *ibid*, pp.23-26.

⁴⁸ See., Sönmezoğlu, *ibid*, pp.35-36.

⁴⁹ Bilge, *ibid*, pp.11.

Keeping Force was settled on the island upon No. 186 of the decree of Security Council in 1964 and had stayed until 20 July 1974. However, the Peace Operation had been incapable of protecting Turkish Cypriots from various attacks and pressures.⁵⁰

After these developments in 1964, a relative peace had dominated the island during years of 1965 and 1966; and the actions of EOKA had decreased but minor combats in between the two societies had been observed. At the international arena, intense diplomatic attempts had been sustained. Following a relatively peaceful period in 1965 and 1966, events re-emerged in 1967 and later had played an important role in the determination of the status of Cyprus problem in the future. For example, Greece military administrators made a call to Turkey to start dialogues on Cyprus problem. The Prime Minister of Greece Konstantinos Kollias and the Prime Minister of Turkey Süleyman Demirel met at the meeting held on 9 September 1967 at Keşan and Dedağaç. In response to Kollias's mentioning of ENOSIS, the negotiations came to a halt following Turkey's statement that "any reference to ENOSIS is a 'casus belli' act of war".⁵¹

The worst event of 1967 was the attack made by thousands of Greek Cypriot and Greek soldiers equipped with heavy armor and armored vehicles to Geçitkale and Boğaziçi villages on the night of 15 November 1967 under the leadership of Grivas in order to start the implementation of Akritas Plan. Turkish government had started diplomatic attempts upon these events and had explained that from then on a ceasefire agreement to continue the present status quo shall not be enough since it had been necessary to provide the Turkish Cypriot society to live in security by removing the continuous threat for Turkish Cypriots and sent in an official note requests to Greece on 17 November 1967.⁵²

After this official note of Turkey, USA which had the opinion of a possible intervention of Turkey in Cyprus, assigned a mediator group under the leadership of Cyprus Vance in order to prevent Greece - Turkey combat. As a result of the negotiations, on 30 November 1967 a compromise on dispute resolution in between Turkey and Greece was made upon the efforts of C. Vance. According to the agreement, Turkey should have stopped the

⁵⁰ Eminer, *ibid*, pp.11.

⁵¹ Olgun, *ibid*, pp.28.

⁵² See., Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Dergisi, *ibid*, pp.44-45.

intervention preparations and Greece should have retreated armed forces of 12.000 soldiers and General Grivas who had been sent to the island on 1964.⁵³

Makarios did not object for the soldiers to be retreated since his relations with soldiers had not been good but this did not imply the full security guarantee for Turkish Cypriot society. As a result of political embargo realized by the actual removal of basic articles of 1960 Constitution by Makarios, Turkish Cypriot society had no right to participate in the management of the island even they had equal rights. Besides, events which took place on 21 December 21 1963 had caused a great lack of confidence among Turkish Cypriots.

The Postures and Theses of Parties involved after the Proclamation of the Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration in Cyprus

As a result of the general and intangible events mentioned above, and based on a constitutional order including 19 Articles, a "Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration" was declared on 28 December 1967 for the better providing of the security for Turkish Cypriots and the better representation of their rights.

The Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration under the Presidency of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, and the Vice Presidency of Rauf Denktaş who was then residing in Turkey, effectively started its working in the immediate aftermath of Denktaş's return to the Island on 13 April 1968. This initiative of Turkish Cypriots was protested by the Makarios administration and Greece. Turkey, on the otherhand, in its statement on 15 January 1968 indicated that this status constituted a work order concerning the internal affairs of Turkish Cypriots which would not change the actual state on the Island.⁵⁴

After the actual realization of autonomous Turkish government, Greek Cypriot government accepted to start negotiations and bilateral discussions in between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot societies. The negotiations started under the leadership of Denktaş and Glafcos Clerides on 3 June 3 1968 in Beirut. Following the discussions which had continued for two days, second meeting was been held on 24 June 24 1968 in Nicosia. Even these bilateral

⁵³ See, Olgun, *ibid*, pp. 29-30; Gürel, *Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk Yunan İlişkileri*, *ibid*, pp. 62.

⁵⁴ Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Dergisi, *ibid*, pp. 46

discussions had been interrupted from time to time, they had continued until “Enhanced Inter Community Discussions” on 8 1972⁵⁵; and the dialogues under the Enhanced Inter Community Discussions had continued until July 1974.

Since the beginning of discussions, Turkey and Turkish Cypriot society had suggested as a basic fact, that a new state structure providing equality and partnership of both societies should be determined as mentioned in 1960 Constitution. This new perception should also protect the existence of Turkish Cypriots as a national community and should protect their security by “autonomy” principle which had been based on a geographical partition and a “federation” type government.

In response to the Turkish Cypriot suggestion which can be summarized as a thesis on a “federation with a loose structure”, Greek Cypriots defended a thesis on a “centralist federation” similar to that of the USSR. Another important point surmounted by the Greek Cypriots was that the thesis of Turkish Cypriots would envisage forced migration; and its implementation in that perspective would be against human rights.

In sum, the en results of the negotiations which continued for six years and ended in July 1974 showed that: ⁵⁶ the parties involved had similar ideas on the “*independency*” of the island. The main differences however were on the international guarantee to be provided for constitutional order which this meant the “dominance” of Cyprus; the degrees of autonomy to be provided to local administrations; and on the “*integrity*” of Cyprus government.

Another important fact within the bilateral and multilateral negotiations was that Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration which had been proclaimed on 28 December 1967 was given the name of “Cyprus Turkish Government” upon the elections took place on 5 July 1970; and negotiations by this structure continued for the last four years.

When a group of Colonels, in other words “Junta of Colonels” seized the control of the government of the island on 21 April 1967, Cyprus problem had gained a new perspective. After this period, EOKA under the leadership of

⁵⁵ Olgun, *ibid*, p.30

⁵⁶ For detailed information about this matter, please refer to, Gürel, *ibid*, pp. 61-64; Olgun, *ibid*, pp. 30-32; Sönmezoğlu, *ibid*, p. 60-66; Kıbrıs Türk Kültür Dergisi, , pp. 45-48; Sarıca, Teziç, Eskiuyurt, *ibid*, pp. 155-161.

Grivas had intensified its attacks on Turkish Cypriots by the support of junta; and Grivas who had been recalled to Greece upon the official note given by Turkey after 1967 events, returned to island in 1971. Even Makarios was considered as an obstacle in the publicly run ENOSIS campaign in the aftermath of the return of the Greek General; and hence the overthrowing of Makarios was regarded as an integral part of their policy. As a justification for this policy, it was argued that that 1959 Zurich - London Agreements had been signed without consulting the General Grivas; and the politics followed since then had caused national feelings to become blunt, and that the principle on which the international negotiations were based on was incorrect. For this reason, it was argued that this action was unacceptable.⁵⁷

Three bishops of Cyprus Orthodox Church continued their ENOSIS related activities had claimed that they had been unable to realize ENOSIS during the management of Makarios; and they requested Makarios to quit his Presidency. "Independent state - ENOSIS" thesis which had transformed into a conflict of "Makarios - Greece Dispute" had caused intense terror actions on Greek Cypriots prior to the Presidency elections in February 1973. In this case, Makarios government, as the first solution, planned to break the EOKA organization which had been the source of terror actions; and had declared this organization as illegal. This attitude of Greek Cypriot Government did not end the terror events; on the contrary, it caused the increase and the expansion of the events. The battle royal in between Makarios oriented police forces and EOKA terrorists spread through the whole island. Makarios tried to stop these combats executed against him made a public statement in June 1974 from his palace at Nicosia and stated that Greek officers had tried to overthrow him from the Presidency and sent an official note to Athens requesting all Greek officers to be retreated immediately from the Island.⁵⁸

Upon this official note of Makarios, the National Troop under commandment of Greek officers had attempted coup against Makarios on 15 July 1974 according to a previously prepared plan; and then it was declared that the troop intervened in order to prevent a war in between Greek Cypriots and to provide order among the society. On the same day, Nikos Sampson, one of the leaders of EOKA known for his fanatic hostility against Turkish Cypriots had been appointed as the Head of State and a new government, the the

⁵⁷ See., Gürel, **Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk Yunan İlişkileri**, pp.57-58

⁵⁸ Olgun, *ibid*, pp. 35

majority of members of which had been EBOSIS-oriented, had been established.

Upon the note of Makarios, in the morning of 15 July 1974, the National Guard Forces under the command of Greek military officers attempted coup against the President Makarios pursuant to a plan drawn up before; and declared that they interfered in order to prevent a war amongst Greek Cypriots and maintain order and that the situation was under control. On the same day, Nikos Sampson, who was one of the previous leaders of EOKA, also known as an unmerciful terrorist since the British administration period and a fanatic Turcophobe, was appointed as the Head of State; and a new administration, consisted of a majority of pro-ENOSIS ministers, was established. It was declared in the morning of 15 July that Makarios was dead but on 16 July it was confirmed that he was alive. On the same day, in his speech aired on the radio, Makarios called the Greek Cypriots and friendly states for the protection of Greek Cypriots against Greece and for the support of their battle. However, due to the intensification of conflicts, he escaped to Malta by a British plane.⁵⁹

Subsequent to the coup targeting Makarios, the appointment of Nikos Sampson, a previous EOKA supporter, as the President of the Republic, who also had been personally involved in the genocide movements intended for Turkish Cypriots during 1963 events, revealed the actual purpose of the coup. After Greece Government had established an illegal military government in order to realize ENOSIS by subverting the constitutional order of the island via the representatives of Greek government on the island, Turkey evaluated these developments as the violation of agreements and guarantees; and had informed the British and USA authorities that it had not accepted this situation.

After Great Britain and USA accepted that the constitutional order on the island had been violated and following their declaration of not recognizing the pro-coup government, Turkey gave an official note to Great Britain on "6 July 161974 and suggested two Guarantor States to cooperate in removing the results of illegal coup on the Island and re-establishing the constitutional order. However, British government declared that it had found a common intervention inconvenient from its own point of view.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ See., **Kıbrıs'ın Tarihi ve Gelişimi ve KKTC**, ibid, pp. 45-52

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Turkish Government made some attempts for the UN and NATO to contribute to the resolution of the problem in a peaceful manner, whilst making clear that it had the determination of making the required move in conformance with Par. 2 of Article No. 4 of Treaty of Guarantee. As a result of these attempts of Turkey,, NATO Permanent Council members have unanimously accepted a decree on 17 July 1974 mentioning the Greek officers to immediately retreat from the island.

On 18-19 July 1974, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit had a meeting with the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson at London and expressed his concerns for Turkey on the developments on the island and mentioned Turkey's intervention right according to the Treaty of Guarantee but Wilson did not accept a common intervention on the island and made a great effort to convince Ecevit not to use Turkey's intervention right. The following proposals under the name of Sisco Plan were presented to Ecevit by Joseph Sisco, the representative of the USA in London:⁶¹

1. The immediate retreatment of all Greek officers who had participated in coup from the island.
2. The guarantee of the rights of Turkish Cypriots.
3. 3. The protection of the territorial integrity and dominance of Cyprus.

This plan which aimed to leave Nikos Sampson as the President was rejected by Ecevit; and Ecevit returned to Ankara on the same day. As a result of meeting held on 20 July 1974 at the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, authorization to military intervention to the island was taken by the Ecevit Government.

Conclusion

Cyprus, which has been quite important in every period due to geo-strategic and geopolitical reasons, had been under Turkish dominance after long wars started on 1July 1570 and ended on 1 August 1571. After the loss 1877-1878 Ottoman - Russian War the later signing of Ayastefanos Agreement on 3 March 1878 has been a milestone in Cyprus History. Since the Ottoman Empire had accepted the "Defense Pact" proposal of the Great Britain in these

⁶¹ See., Olgun, *ibid*, pp.40-41.

rough times, the Cyprus Convention was signed in between the two parties on 4 June 1878. While Great Britain had given guarantee to the Ottoman Empire for the protection of lands of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, by this defense agreement with two articles (and Additional Protocol with 6 Art.) which has been announced as imperial decree approved by Sultan on 7 July 1878 the Ottoman Empire had transferred Cyprus to Great Britain by proxy and under a provisional condition.

When the Ottoman Empire took sides on 29 October 1914 with Germany and Austria - Hungary during World War I, Great Britain had unilaterally terminated the aforementioned 1878 Defense Agreement and has declared war on 5 November 1914 and that it had annexed Cyprus. Actual situation based on this unfair annexation by Great Britain had continued until 1923. According to the Article 20 Treaty of Lausanne which was signed on 24 July 24 1923, "*Turkey hereby recognises the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on the 5th November, 1914*". Due to this provision, the Republic of Turkey had acknowledged that the Island which has been under the British invasion and annexation since 1878 had been British lands de jure.

The island had been under the dominance of Great Britain until 1960; and due to effects of international conjunctures, for a short period of time, a peaceful medium had been provided on the Republic of Cyprus which was established in 1960. Greek Cypriot society under the government of Makarios with the aim of reaching ENOSIS, had tried to suppress Turkish Cypriots by terror actions of EOKA started on 20 December 1963 under the scope of Akritas Plan.

The attacks of Greek Cypriot society commenced under the frame of Akritas Plan had intensified; and Greek Cypriots started to kill women and children barbarously with their superior armament, whilst the Jets of Turkish Air Force started their warning flights over Nicosia on 24 December 24 1963. After these developments of 1964, a relative peace had dominated the island during years of 1965 and 1966 but the attacks started in 1967 had been closely monitored by either the Republic of Turkey or Turkish public. Especially due to the events in between 1971 and 1974, Turkey had performed the Peace Operations in July and August of 1974 upon the right entitled to it under the Par. 2 of Art. 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee; and these Peace Operations had created an actual situation of which effects have continued until now.

It should never be forgotten that the initial purpose of these Peace Operations performed by Turkey under valid reasons have been the prevention of ENOSIS and the protection the security and lives of Turkish Cypriots living on the Island.

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Özet

Jeostratejik ve jeopolitik nedenlerle tarihin her döneminde son derece önemli olan Kıbrıs, 1 Temmuz 1570 tarihinde başlayıp, 1 Ağustos 1571 tarihinde sona eren uzun savaşlardan sonra Türk hâkimiyetine geçmiştir. 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nın kaybedilmesi ve sonrasında 3 Mart 1878 tarihinde Ayastefanos Anlaşması'nın imzalanması ise Kıbrıs tarihinde önemli bir kırılma noktası olmuştur. Zira Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde bulunduğu bu zor dönemde, İngiltere'nin “Savunma Paketi” önerisini kabul etmiş ve iki devlet arasında 4 Haziran 1878 tarihinde “Türk-İngiliz Savunma Anlaşması-Konvansiyonu” imzalanmıştır. 7 Temmuz 1878 tarihinde padişah tarafından onanan ve ferman-ı hümayun ilan edilen bu 2 maddelik savunma andlaşması (ve 6 Md.'lik Ek Protokol) ile İngiltere, Asya'da ki topraklarının korunması için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na garanti verirken, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da Kıbrıs'ı vekâleten ve geçici bir şartla İngiltere'ye devretmiştir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 29 Ekim 1914 tarihinde Almanya ve Avusturya-Macaristan İmparatorluğu ile ittifak yaparak I. Dünya Savaşı'na girmesi üzerine İngiltere, yukarıda genel hatlarıyla aktardığımız 1878 Savunma Anlaşması'nı tek taraflı olarak fesih etmiş ve 5 Kasım 1914 tarihinde harp ilan

ederek, Kıbrıs'ı ilhak ettiğini açıklamıştır. İngiltere'nin bu haksız ilhakına dayalı fiili durum, 1923 yılında kadar sürmüştür. Zira 24 Temmuz 1923 tarihinde imzalanan Lausanne Barış Anlaşması'nın 20. Md. itibarıyla "Türkiye, İngiliz Hükümetince 5 Kasım 1914 tarihinden ilan edilen, Kıbrıs'ın [İngiltere'ye] katılımını tanıdığını bildirir." Bu hüküm uyarında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, 1878 yılından itibaren İngiliz işgali ve ilhaki altında bulunan Kıbrıs'ın, 1914 yılından itibaren de jure (hukuken) İngiliz toprağı olduğunu kabul etmiştir.

Ada bu tarihten itibaren 1960 yılına kadar İngiltere'nin egemenliğinde kalırken, uluslararası konjonktürdeki gelişmelerin etkisiyle 1960 yılında kurulan Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti ile kısa süreli olsa görece bir barış ortamı sağlanmıştır. Ancak, ENOSİS emellerine ulaşmayı hedefleyen Makarios yönetimindeki Rum Kesimi, özellikle EOKA'nın 20 Aralık 1963 tarihinden itibaren Akritas Planı kapsamında yaptığı terör-tedhiş hareketleriyle Kıbrıs Türklerini sindirmeye çalışmıştır.

Saldırıların şiddetlenmesi ve Rumların üstün silah gücü ile Ada'da ki Türklere karşı harekete geçerek, kadın ve çocukları hunharca öldürmesi üzerine ise Türk Hava Kuvvetleri'ne mensup jetler 24 Aralık 1963 çarşamba günü saat 14.00'dan itibaren Lefkoşa üzerinde ihtar uçuşu yapmışlardır. 1964 yılındaki bu gelişmelerden sonra 1965 ve 1966 yıllarında Ada'da nispi bir sükûnet hâkim olurken, 1967 yılından itibaren yeniden başlayan saldırılar gerek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti gerekse Türk kamuoyu tarafından yakından takip edilmiştir. Özellikle 1971-1974 döneminde Ada'da yaşanan gelişmeler üzerine, Türkiye'nin Garanti Anlaşması'nın 4. Maddesi'nin 2. fıkrasındaki hükümler itibarıyla 1974 yılının Temmuz ve Ağustos aylarında gerçekleştirdiği Barış Harekâtları ise etkileri günümüze kadar süren fiili bir durum yaratmıştır. Türkiye'nin meşru nedenlerle gerçekleştirdiği bu Barış Harekâtları ile öncelikli olarak ENOSİS'i engellemeyi ve Ada'da yaşayan Türklerin can güvenliklerini korunmayı amaçlandığı ise hiçbir zaman unutulmamalıdır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı ise genel hatlarıyla Kıbrıs Sorununun tarihsel gelişimini aktararak, 1974 kadar olan dönemde tarafların tutum ve tezlerini karşılıklı olarak analiz etmektir. Ancak böyle bir analizin ardından 1974 Barış Harekâtlarının nedenlerinin anlaşılabilceği, çalışmada ana tez olarak savunulmaktadır.