

**CYPRUS İN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRACY (1959-1963)**

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**CYPRUS IN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRACY (1959-1963)**

**BY**

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**PLAGIARISM PAGE**

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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**ABSTRACT**

The events that occurred between 1959 and 1963 on the island of Cyprus between Turkish and Greek Cypriots are explored in this research. The evolution and causes of the Cyprus Problem are discussed in this context. The contrasts between Greece's and Turkey's ideological approaches have been studied as of 1950. Furthermore, the events that began between the two states with the formation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 and evolved as a consequence of Makarios' interests were examined.

*Key Words: Cyprus problem, Turkey, Greece.*

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada Kıbrıs adası'nın 1959 ile 1963 yılları arasında Kıbrıs Türkleri ve Rumlar arasında yaşanan olaylar ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Kıbrıs Sorunu'nun zaman içerisinde değişimlerine ve nedenlerine değinilmiştir. 1950 yılı itibariyle özellikle Yunanistan'nın ve Türkiye'nin ideolojik yaklaşımları arasında ki farklılıklar incelenmiştir. Bunların yanı sıra 1960'da Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasıyla iki devlet arasında başlayan ve Makarios'un çıkarları sonucunda gelişen olaylar ele alınmıştır.

*Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs sorunu, Türkiye, Yunanistan*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

M. Kemal Atatürk: “The masters; As long as Cyprus is in enemy hands, the region's supply channels are cut off. Keep an eye on Cyprus. This island is vital to us.”(Akay, 2020)

According to M. Kemal Atatürk, Cyprus Island is extremely important, particularly for Turks. Similarly, the presence of Turkish people in Cyprus, as well as their sense of peace and security, raises the significance that the Republic of Turkey should place on Cyprus. However, Turkey remains vulnerable to the danger from the north. In this situation, in the event of a regular war, Turkey must defend itself from both the southern and northern ports. In this context, the significance of Cyprus, which is located on our southern shore, is growing.

Cyprus is vital to Turkey, but it is also crucial to Greece. As a result, a Turkish-Greek war develops. The first conflict is caused by beliefs and political aims that are similar. At the same time, there are two distinct groups in Cyprus, each of which has its own nationThe Turkish Cypriots, who are the Turkish nation's extensions, and the Greek Cypriots, who are the Greek Cypriots' extensions. The National Pact defines the Republic of Turkey's philosophy, and Turks who recognize the land as their homeland are also pro-world peace, as seen by the Cyprus problem. Greece, on the other hand, is in a policy of expanding and spreading its territory, as seen in the Megali Idea.

When we discuss the Cyprus situation, it is apparent that it affects more than just the people who live there. When we look at the official sides of the situation,

Turkey looks to be Greece and England. Since they are NATO members, the three nations named above have dealt with the Cyprus issue in the United States.

The major premise of this research is that Turkish and Greek Cypriots residing in Cyprus, in particular, are underrepresented. It also investigates the events that occurred between 1959 and 1963. The operation or non-operation of the Constitution enacted following the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus exposes the unjust treatment of Turkish Cypriots. As previously said, a country's philosophy is vital. According to the context of this thesis, Turkey and Turkish Cypriots are in support of peace and good faith. On the other hand, it is clear that the Greek side, particularly Makarios, supports the EOKA terrorist group, which has no regard for Turks.

## 2. The Concept of Democracy

Literally, democracy is defined as the people's self-government. The words "Demos" mean "people," and "Kratos" means "Sovereignty-Power." Democracy is a Latin phrase that consists of the words "Demos" meaning "people" and "Kratos" meaning "Sovereignty-Power."(Tunç, 2008) Demos means "poor people," "citizenship," and "people" in ancient Greek. In reality, in the continuation of the preceding definition, Robert Dahl writes in his work "On Democracy": "It is interesting that the word demos in Athens typically implies all Athenians, sometimes the people, sometimes simply impoverished people." The name democracy, it turns out, was an adjective employed by the aristocracy who opposed it to indicate their scorn for the regular people who had battled for control of the government. In any event, Athenians and other Greeks utilized demokratia to describe the governance of Athens and other towns in (at the time) Greece.(Dahl, 2010) Many individuals have specific discourses about the background of the notion of democracy. For instance, Plato, who made the first statements on the concept of democracy, the least good is the political order; because it can easily turn into an ochlocracy (The Domination of the Mass), a deviation of democracy, thus leading to tyranny (Tyranny), which he classified as the worst political order. According to Plato, democracy is a very pleasant political order, anarchic and colorful, it ascribes a kind of equality to equals and non-equals alike, indiscriminately. (Kuçuradi, 1998) Abraham Lincoln defined democracy in a speech he gave in 1864 as "government of the people, by the people, for the people" (Tunç, 2008). While Kant spoke of democracy as "despotism" in 1795, this concept had not yet gained its current respectability.(Aktaş, 2015)

In today's civilizations, the term democracy has taken on many diverse connotations and has evolved into a notion used to characterize a variety of behaviors.

This distinction also makes it difficult to provide a broad definition of the term "democracy." For this reason, while dealing with the notion in question, it is unavoidable to create certain frames and discuss the issue inside this framework.(Şafak, 1999) From a historical point of view, we encounter a form of government based on the rule of the people by the people.(Tunç, 2008)

### **3. Geographical Location and Strategic Importance of Cyprus**

The name of the island of Cyprus; It takes from henna flower. However, it is seen that the name of the daughter of Kinyros from the copper mine of the island was named with the god of love 'Kipris' and some city names.(Kılınç, 2018)

The island of Cyprus, that now occupies a geopolitical and strategic position, has a nine-thousand-year history.(Taşkesen, 2015) In the Mediterranean, there are several islands, some tiny and others big. Sicily (25,710 km<sup>2</sup>) is one of the biggest, geographically speaking there can only be one biggest. Cyprus (9.250 km<sup>2</sup>) is the next one. Corsica (8,720 km<sup>2</sup>), the Mediterranean's fourth and fifth biggest islands, is one of the sea's five largest islands, with an extent approaching that of Cyprus. Although smaller, Rhodes (1,412 km<sup>2</sup>), the biggest of the dodecanese islands close off our country's southern shores, and the islands of Malta (246 km<sup>2</sup>), recognized for their strategic importance in the center of the Mediterranean, are also worth mentioning. Among all of these islands, two in particular, Crete and Cyprus, are recognized for being the sites of historic great civilizations.(Gürsoy, 1964)

Although Cyprus is located in the center of the old continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa, it has played an essential part in the interactions between these nations from ancient times and continues to draw the attention of the globe today. It serves as a vital port for marine and air traffic among the aforementioned continents. Because

Cyprus is situated at the crossroads of three continents, it has a shared position in terms of socio-cultural, economic, and physical elements of these continents.(Koday, 1998) In general, any state builds its connections with the nations that are nearest to it. As a result, countries build relationships from the nearest to the furthest. Based on this, we can see that the island of Cyprus is 110 kilometers away from Syria. Egypt is 370 kilometers away. 550 kilometers from Greece (Crete Island). It is 70 kilometers from Turkey. According to this, no matter what nation is in Cyprus's hands, it cannot be regarded distinct from Turkey.(Koday, 1998)

#### **4. The Importance of Cyprus for Turkey and Greece**

As Turkey's great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stated, Cyprus is geographically and strategically important for Turkey's national security. At the same time, the continuance of Turkey's presence on the island is critical. As it was formulated if Turkey loses Cyprus she would not be able to breathe. (Yılmaz, 2017)

Cyprus is important to Turkey not just because a portion of its population is Turkish, but also because the island lies within Turkey's safety zone. Despite history, Turkey's "Western threat" persists today. In the event of a possible war, Turkey's defense can be supported by the ports of the South and the West. In this respect, the importance of the island of Cyprus, which is located on the south coast, for Turkey is increasing and it is especially of vital importance.

Due to its high geopolitical and geostrategic location, the island influences economic and military marine traffic flowing through the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as strategic moves in Anatolia and the Middle East, thus it can be considered as the gate way between mediterranean and the middle east. Thereby opening or closing the Mediterranean to the Middle East.(Cankara, 2016) Turkey's interest in Cyprus;

While Turkey's history is based on ethnic and national security concerns, Greece has a strong interest in Cyprus due to historical and ethnic changes. The island of Cyprus is inseparably linked to Turkey; yet, it cannot be regarded distinct from Anatolia. "Cyprus is the Turks' ancient heirloom, and negotiation is not an option."(Kılınç, 2018)

The expansion of natural gas and oil pipelines to the Gulf of Iskenderun enhances the region's and Cyprus' strategic importance. The exploitation of natural gas resources in the Eastern Mediterranean by global powers will be effective in the Cyprus issue, in addition to various geopolitical calculations reflecting the strategic importance of the region.

The island of Cyprus, on the other hand, is critical in terms of protecting Anatolia and providing logistical support. In terms of feeding Turkey's military force, it is contingent on the safe usage of the Antalya and Iskenderun gulfs.(Öztürk, 1999) Finally, given Cyprus' geographic location, the island, which resembles an aircraft carrier stretching into the Gulf of Iskenderun, has maintained its strategic importance and characteristic throughout history. From Turkey to Egypt, Lebanon to Iran, the nation that controls the island has always had control over the area.(Cömert, 2017)

Cyprus is as important for Greece as it is for Turkey. The present Greek state, which has never had a relationship with Cyprus throughout its history, is interested because it regards itself as the successor of Byzantium and the Megali Idea (Great Idea).(Akarçay, 2018) Likewise, during the Byzantine period, when Byzantium adopted Greek as its official language and Orthodox Christianity as its official religion, it forced it to be accepted by the hybrid indigenous people in Cyprus in the

identity crisis, the result of this hybrid people on the island seeing themselves as Greek over time.(Akarçay, 2018)

In Turkish, Megali Idea means "Big Idea." Megali Idea, really determined as Greek aims; it is the purpose of the Greek imperialist actions that have followed this ideal since 1829.(Kalelioğlu, 2008) The notion described includes Crete, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Aegean Islands, Western Anatolia, Marmara and its surrounds, Cyprus, Trabzon, and it is a dream of achieving a big Greece with its surroundings. In order to fulfill this ambition, Greeks formed a plethora of formal and informal groups and organizations. Many of these clubs and organizations began a systematic battle by extending over the whole Turkish territory encompassed by the Megali Idea.(Cankut, 2014)

Finally, because of its strategic location throughout history, Cyprus is considered as an essential territory. As a result, while it is not just essential for Greece, it also has an indispensable place among other countries.

### **5.Turkey's Cyprus Policy Between 1950-1960**

Cyprus entered Turkey's agenda as a significant problem in the end of the 1940s, and over time it became one of the most concerned issues in Democratic Party foreign policy.(Kaya, 2018) The roots of Cyprus's bi-communal state model were formed between 1950 and 1960. As a corollary, the preceding era witnessed significant occurrences, each of which had a different impact on the future of Turkish society in Cyprus.

The mobilization that began in the Greek churches of Cyprus in January 1950 became much more organized on October 8, 1950, with the election of the Bishop of Kitum Makarios (Muskos of Mihail Hristodol) as the Greek Orthodox

Archbishop.(Değerli, 2012) Then he began vehemently defending Enosis. To that purpose, he traveled regularly to Greece, England, and America, contacting Orthodox church groups and official authorities and soliciting their support, and carrying out a broad propaganda campaign for Enosis. In the middle of 1951, Archbishop III. With Makarios' acceleration of his initiatives both in Greece and on the island in the direction of Enosis and the propaganda he followed, he succeeded in establishing a climate appropriate for his own wants and aspirations in England, France, and America.(Değerli, 2012)

In an address to the Greek Parliament on February 16, 1951, Greek Prime Minister Sophoklis Venizelos remarked,

We have requested the annexation of Cyprus Island numerous times since 1915, but not today. Since then, every Greek government that has come to power has reiterated this demand. We should not have given up on this position just because we did not submit a new application. Our silence is a necessary indication of our political support. In fact, we will never be able to get enough of Cyprus. Formally expressed.(Değerli, 2012, p. 88)

In response to Greece's and Greek Cypriots' willingness to make Enosis a reality, the Republic of Turkey did not keep silent, organizing anti-Enosis protests with students from universities in Istanbul and Ankara. However, the Democratic Party administration has framed the Cyprus problem as an internal British matter and has refused to recognize any other country's claim to the island. Prime Minister Menderes is reported to have resisted staging protests during this time period, thinking that it would hurt the Balkan Union politically.(Değerli, 2012) The Menderes Government, on the other hand, took a more cautious approach to the Cyprus problem until the end

of 1951, since they saw NATO membership as the primary aim of their foreign policy. They avoided pursuing a stance that might jeopardize NATO's membership process. However, it is seen that the government's attitude towards Cyprus did not change after its accession to NATO on February 18, 1952, and it strived for its relations with Britain and Greece, with which it allied with NATO, not to be affected by this problem.(Değerli, 2012)

Within this general foreign policy understanding, Turkey's Cyprus policy in the first half of the 1950s, in the words of Şükrü Gürel,

To argue that if the island's status changes, it should not do so without choosing a policy that differs from England's. If it happens, it will include justifying why Turkey should have a say in the matter.(Değerli, 2012, p.89)

While the Republic of Turkey remained unconcerned about the matter, Greece began to press the United Kingdom to join Cyprus to Greece in March 1954, thanks to Makarios' lobbying. On May 3, 1954, Greek Prime Minister Papagos announced that the matter would be sent to the UN General Assembly.(Değerli, 2012) The Federation of Turkish Cypriot Institutions, which was concerned about the situation, requested assistance from Turkey. In a message sent to the Greek government through the Athens Embassy, Turkey stated: Turkey has indicated that it supports maintaining the status quo on the island, that if any attempts addressing the future of the island are made, Turkey should be viewed as a party in this subject, and that bringing the issue to the United Nations will harm Turkish-Greek ties.(Değerli, 2012)

The Greek government, which did not take this proclamation seriously, took the initiative on August 20, 1954, demanding that the right of Cyprus to (self-determination) be addressed before the United Nations General Assembly. The

General Assembly determined on 17 December 1954, by a majority vote, that “The subject of equal rights of the peoples and the implementation of the concept of self-government for the people of Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations should not be addressed any further.”(Değerli, 2012, p.90)

However, Greece, unsatisfied with the outcome, chose to handle the issue via force of arms, in accordance with Makarios' desires. Organizations such as EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), OXEN (Christian Orthodox Union of Youth), and PEON (Cyprus Enosisist Youth Organization) were formed in this aim.(Değerli, 2012) These organizations took action on April 1, 1955 to expel the British from the island and to exterminate the Turks.(Değerli, 2012) The events began on April 1 with the burning of the British Institute in Nicosia with oil rags, and the library within the building, which was attacked by around 200 EOKA militants, was reduced to ashes, along with the culture videos and outbuildings. Later, with the help of several Greeks, they raised Greek flags on Metaxas Square and Homer Street, knocked down a military chip that was passing by, and burnt it.(Değerli, 2012) With the launch of terrorist assaults by EOKA and the simultaneous targeting of Turks, the Democratic Party's position on Cyprus has shifted.

### **5.1 Foundation Rationale of the EOKA Organization**

It seems obvious that after the end of World War II, a type of sovereignty struggle for Cyprus would resurface. During a visit to Britain in 1945, Greek King Regent Damaskinos informed reporters that he wanted Cyprus and the 12 islands returned to Greece.(Alasya, 1964) The British government stated in a debate in the British Parliament on 23 October 1946 that there would be no change in sovereignty in Cyprus and that a constituent assembly would convene on the island to prepare a program for the empowerment of a libertarian and progressive regime in internal

affairs. The British government's stance made the Greek delegates quite uncomfortable.(Şahin, 2020)

“Autonomy” is a viewpoint that was advanced as a result of the British colonial administration's influence, the winds of freedom blowing throughout the world following World War II, and the growing unhappiness and responses of Turkish and Greek society against colonial authority. According to the aforementioned viewpoint, Cyprus would remain under British authority, with the governor serving as a symbol of this sovereignty.(Kaya, 2018) One of the most crucial conditions in this case was that the Greeks did not accept all of the proposals provided since they did not completely foresee enosis. The Greek leadership increasingly rejected autonomous offers for independence, forming the National Union of Cyprus Fighters (EOKA) in the goal of attaining enosis, and launching military activities. Enosis was the sole option for the Greek Cypriot community.(Kaya, 2018)

To be more explicit, EOKA was an armed group founded with the collaboration of Grivas, Makarios, and the Greek government in the hopes of achieving Enosis.(Şahin, 2020) On October 8, 1950, Makarios was elected Archbishop and became the leader of the Ethnarchia Council. He promised that “Te will struggle for the annexation of Cyprus to Greece till he dies.”(İsmail, 2000) The following is de Makarios' pledge of secrecy and fidelity on behalf of Enosis: "I vow that I will adhere to the Enosis case, and that I will keep whatever I know or learn about the Enosis case as a secret, even if I am tortured or if my life is in danger."(İsmail, 2001) When we look back to 1950, the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) and the Church in Cyprus collaborated to proclaim to the world that 96 percent of the participants desired Enosis through signatures placed in Greek churches labeled “I want Enosis.”However, there are no Turkish Cypriots among the participants in this voting, which is shown as a

plebiscite.(Yüksel, 2018) In Cyprus, AKEL was continuously urging people to band together in support of the "National Cause." (Sabahattin, 2001) AKEL's media organ, Neos Demokratias, stated:

Despite the fact that we are dealing with an important matter, the church refuses to reach an accord and opposes the communists. First and first, solidarity, hardship, and hard labor are necessary. Only in this manner will we be able to defend our national cause and rights against the government. One of our most pressing demands at this moment is the presence of a workers' front. There is no reason to postpone this any longer. Let us get together and fight.(Sabahattin, 2001, p.61)

The Turkish Republic was unconcerned about these sentiments. Of course, Turkey's approach has helped Greeks and Greek Cypriots who seek Enosis. The current condition and attitude of Greece are well expressed in a program broadcast on Radio Athens on July 4, 1952:

The Archbishop of Athens, Spiridon, and his entourage paid a visit to Venizelos, asking how long the administration would continue to prevent the annexation of the island of Cyprus to the homeland, stating that 90 percent of the population strongly desired annexation to Greece, and requesting that the issue be brought before the United Nations Council. In response, Venizelos indicated that the Greek government will continue to do everything possible to annex Cyprus to Greece and that an application to the UN can be made if required. A massive demonstration against Britain's approach toward the Cyprus crisis took place (4 July 1952) in Athens and throughout Greece. While the church's bells tolled in sorrow, the people remained indoors, official and informal workplaces and schools were shuttered, and sea, land, and air travel was halted. Archbishop of Cyprus, he

also gave a memorandum to the American ambassador and asked for American support for the annexation of Cyprus to Greece.(Yüksel, 2018, p.316)

KTKF President Faiz Kaymak visited Turkey on September 29, 1952, and met with Fuat Köprülü to discuss the present situation and concerns in Cyprus. On the alternative, were quickly shifted to the Turks. In order to survive, the Turkish people began to organize defense reasons.(Yüksel, 2018)

The explosion of an EOKA bomb planted in the police headquarters in Nicosia's Turkish neighborhood injured 14 Turks and caused significant damage to the adjacent residences and stores.(Yüksel, 2018) Turkish Cypriots were terrified by the blast. Dr. Fazıl Küçük then outlined the situation and asked aid in telegrams to Turkey's Prime Minister, the British Prime Minister, the Governor of Cyprus, the UN Secretary General, and the Turkish National Demand Federation. Kasım Gülek, Secretary General of the CHP, has encouraged the Turkey has numerous adversaries. Turkish Cypriots will remain as long as Turkey is intact. There is currently a camaraderie amongst Greeks. Friendships are critical. But we will not cut you off. On the island, we will promote the construction of banks, cigarette manufacturers, and newspapers. We'll send an instructor your way. They received the response.(Yüksel, 2018, p.316)

Since 1953, the Greek government has had an official stake in the island of Cyprus. During discussions between British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and Greek Foreign Minister Yorgos Papagos, after Eden stated that "Cyprus would never be merged with Greece," Greece decided to formally raise the "Cyprus problem" to the UN and began assisting Makarios and EOKA.(Yüksel, 2018) Archbishop

Makarios, together with Greece, presented the Cyprus problem before the United Nations in 1954, requesting that the referendum results be acknowledged. Makarios made an armed effort when the UN refused to recognize his position. He traveled to Greece to obtain weaponry and financial assistance from the Greek government, as well as to meet with Enosis allies such as General Grivas. As a result of the discussions, Georges Grivas, a former Greek officer, formed the EOKA organization in Athens, Greece's capital, which stands for the National Union of Cypriot Fighters to Organize Enosis.(Yuksel, 2018)

The aforementioned organization has two objectives. The first is to expel the British from the island and to achieve enosis by annihilating the Turks.(Yüksel 2018) Grivas arrived to the island in stealth, bringing guns, explosives, and ammo with him. On the other hand, the Church trains militants for EOKA, one of its youth groups. After completing its preparations, EOKA began a bomb strike over the island on April 1, 1955, and the activities against the British government to follow an aggressive approach. The Cyprus Turkish Society, the Turkish National Demands Federation, and the Mother Homeland Committee for Turkish Cyprus, on the other hand, released a statement on June 23 declaring that they support Turkish Cypriots and that Turkish Cyprus would join Turkey sooner or later.(Yuksel, 2018)

While the Greek attacks in Cyprus persisted, the Turkish government vehemently condemned the situation and stated that it would not keep silent in the face of these events; however, the British government quickly intervened and requested that the Turkish Cypriots' lives and property be protected. The British government, on the other hand, was not unconcerned and requested that a conference be held in London.

## 5.2 London Conference, an Important Landmark

Turkey also became involved in the Cyprus issue, which appeared to be a conflict between Britain and Greece in 1955. It took place at the end of August, with the London Conference convened at the invitation of the United Kingdom. The new phase, which began with the London Conference, began a very difficult journey for both the Turkish government and the Turkish people.(Kaya, 2018)

Turkish Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu stated during the London Conference, “Turkey is pleased with the status quo and wants it to be maintained.” “However, if a change is to be made in the existing circumstances, the best way to do so is to return the island to its previous owner, Turkey.” Has filled out the form.(Yuksel, 2018)

Fatin Rüştü Zorlu's other speech is as follows: Geographically, Cyprus is an extension of the Anatolian peninsula. As a result, the island must belong to Turkey or to a state with a vested interest in the fate of the Eastern nations surrounding Turkey. In the event of conflict, Turkey's supply will be limited to western and southern ports, all of which are under the shadow of Cyprus. If a state controls this island as well as the islands to Turkey's west, it will encircle Turkey with activity. No state, no matter how close a friend or ally it has, can totally sacrifice its own security to another.(İsmail, 2000)

While Turkey maintained this stance, Greece desired to continue the same stance, - in other words annexation.

Greek delegate Palamas, on the other side, stated that “Turkey's military intervention attempts against Cyprus will constitute a state of war for Greece.”(Eroğlu, 1975)

When we look at the Conference as a whole, we can see that Britain strategized in a variety of ways. For example, the UN prevented the problem from spreading and causing additional harm to the people living on the island while also attempting to end colonialism against the British in the hope of attracting Turkey to its side. Britain seems to have gained time by pitting Greece and Turkey against one another. Britain's invitation was accepted by Turkey. Greece, on the other hand, reluctantly accepted this offer, believing that Turkey would be on the British side.

Regardless of the fact that the Cyprus issue had become a national issue for Turkey, applications were made to organize protests in various areas of Turkey, and at the same time, Hürriyet Newspaper, in particular, functioned as the press spokesman for this national issue.(Yeter, 2018)

As the conference date approached, choices were made to define the principles to be followed during the discussions. It is anticipated that a lengthy historical history of Cyprus would be stressed on the first day of the conference, according to official communication, which remarked that if Greece departs the meeting on the first or second day, its job at the UN will be tough. In order to ascertain the Greek side's attitude prior to the conference, the British Embassy in Athens announced that Greek Foreign Minister Stephanopoulos would travel to London with a delegation and use the achievements he hoped to achieve at the conference to corner his rivals in domestic politics. According to Lambert's assessment from the Athens Embassy, the outcome of the London Conference will affect Greece's domestic politics.(Babaoğlu, 2018)

Because if the conference fails, Stephanopoulos will try to get out of the deal by blaming Prime Minister Papagos's unyielding instructions, but if it succeeds, he will

take his part and utilize the issue in domestic politics.(Babaoğlu, 2018) According to this source, Stephanopoulos, who appears to have accepted Turkey's participation in the meeting, which will result in future political gains for Turkish Cypriots, would also oppose Turkey's desire to have a voice, which is contradictory to the Treaty of Lausanne.(Babaoğlu, 2018)

The specifics of the conference tactics were transmitted in response to a telegraph providing the content of information given to the foreign ministry by the British Embassy in Athens before to the meeting and describing the overall condition of the Greek delegation. As a result, following the opening remarks, which are scheduled to last about three days, the sessions will be postponed until the second week, allowing time for fresh strategies.(Babaoğlu, 2018) On the other side, following British Foreign Minister Harold Macmillan's opening address, he was requested to transmit to him that the privilege to speak would be granted to Greek delegate Stephanopoulos, giving the Greek representative an advantage. According to British diplomats who interpreted the Greek delegation's view that the conference discussions should be kept confidential, this attitude of the Greek delegation is aimed at concealing how irreconcilable the attitude they take in meetings is if they anticipate the conference being interrupted. However, because the discussions were closed to the press and confidential, British officials believed that the communiqués agreed upon at the end of the sessions may be given to the press. This decision was made, it is believed, to avert a press-propaganda war between the delegations.(Babaoğlu, 2018)

The Turkish Embassy, which was told of the protocol decided regarding the status of the parties during the conference sessions, was instructed to advise Turkish authorities that the opening session will include general remarks.(Babaoğlu, 2018) It is also said that they should not be angry because the Turkish delegation would be

granted the final word in the opening session, giving them a significant tactical advantage.(Babaoğlu, 2018) It appears that the British had no trouble figuring out how to rule both Turkey and Greece. The British Foreign Office's telegraph to the Ankara Embassy, which contained strategies for the Turkish delegation, demonstrates a very professional attitude. The information given to the Turkish side to adopt a determined and planned attitude at the conference is the same in this telegram, and it will prevent the Greek side from adopting a reactive attitude by preventing the atmosphere from shifting towards tension at the start of the conference, but the Turkish side is inherently rigid and in tone. According to reports, he should use a non-provocative strategy. The Turkish delegation will be instructed not to raise the heat, at least during the first few days of the meeting, based on the signals that will be sent to them. Another argument raised was that the Turkish side should not hold a debate at the start of the conference.(Babaoğlu, 2018) According to a source, the Greek Cypriot community has a negative outlook for the meeting, but Greek Foreign Minister Stephanopoulos has presented a very resolute image of returning from the conference with some results. With the assistance of the British delegation, Stephanopoulos, who has been under great pressure to add the topic of self-determination to the conference's agenda from the first session, will be able to avoid being dragged into an unwillingness. However, such an approach should be avoided since giving the appearance that the Conference was headed by Turkish and British delegates would lead to pessimism among the Greeks.(Babaoğlu,2018) Makarios' trip to London under the guise of attending the conference will make a negative impression on the Greek delegates, but Makarios' pride will most likely prevent him from going. According to information acquired exclusively by the British Embassy in Athens; Stephanopoulos' greatest concern will be the Turkish side's approval of the conference's participation.

(Babaoğlu, 2018) It will be clearer in a proposal given to the Foreign Affairs Committee that if the topic of defense is raised during the initial sessions of the conference, Turkey cannot be excluded from the discussion. As can be seen, England planned from the start for the meeting to be held on the basis of defense policy. As the meeting date approached, Britain increased army supplies to the island, and this scenario prompted the island's left-leaning Greeks to view the conference as a ruse, as reported in the news.(Babaoğlu, 2018)

Finally, on the eve of the meeting, on August 24, a dinner was organized at the Liman Restaurant in Istanbul, attended by members of the delegation, some ministers and deputies, representatives and editorials from newspapers published in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir.(Kapıcı, 2014) Prime Minister Menderes delivered a speech known as the "August 24 Speech." He began his address by noting the message sent to England and how the Turks in Cyprus voiced their worry about the dangers they faced. Later, he described Turkey's predicament in light of a probable massacre on August 28.

The movement might be abrupt. The local authorities might be caught off guard. In the face of a highly agitated and armed majority, our people can be discovered to be innocent, immovable, and unarmed. However, this never corresponds with the notion that they will be without defense for even a single second, demonstrating how far Turkey may go.(Kapıcı, 2014, p.359)

The rest of the speech is delivered in a severe tone. As a result, popular opinion and official policy converged. The events were likewise reflected in the next day's newspaper headlines. While the headline of the Milliyet newspaper read, "Menderes Gives the Greeks the Answer They Deserve: Cyprus is Turkish," The topic was

covered in Akşam newspaper, with the title "Turkish Cypriots Will Not Be Left Without Defense." The matter was also revealed in the headline of Vakit newspaper, which stated that mutual understanding is required and that Turkey's basic need is the preservation of the existing status. Meanwhile, the opposition also supported the attitude of the government. In the meanwhile, the opposition backed the government's stance. "We are united in all the steps the government will take to protect the lives and properties of our brothers in Cyprus from danger," CHP Chairman İsmet İnönü stated, while CMP President Osman Bölükbaşı added, "We have read in all of the publications about the Cyprus situation and the impending peril that our brothers and sisters in Cyprus face. With the declaration, they declared that they are on the government's side."(Kapıcı, 2014)

Following the arrival of the Turkish delegation, led by Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, in England on August 27, Prime Minister Menderes sent a telegram to Zorlu, saying, "It is obvious that the absolute and absolute statement that our minimum requirement is the preservation of the status quo in Cyprus will never be a matter for our government to go beyond the borders of the country" By inserting his comments, he underscored the policy's limitations once more.(Kapıcı, 2014)

Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu expressed Turkey's views at the First London Conference, held between 29 August and 7 September 1955, and stated that, while not completely opposed to the principle of self-determination, he wanted this situation to be avoided becoming an element of injustice, unrest, distrust, and continuity, and to ensure the principle of equality between societies.(Albayrak, 2000) During the conference's continuance, activities known as the 6-7 September events took place in Istanbul. As a result of these occurrences, the meeting was disseminated with no conclusion.

### 5.2.1 Implications of the Outcome of the London Conference

There are several skewed outcomes from the examination of states that are biased and connected to the London Conference. The failure of this meeting was cited as the actual cause for the Turks' refusal to negotiate and the British's incompetence in a pamphlet issued by the Greek Embassy in Washington. The following are the remarks in the publication, in which this notion was attempted to be supported by citing instances from the British press that favor the Liberal tendency and the Labor Party, as well as a wide press summary:

According to news reports, the conference's scheduling and preparations were poor, resulting in additional deterioration in the Eastern Mediterranean.(Babaoğlu, 2018)

The subject of self government was treated in a reluctant and not generous manner. According to the Times of London, this conference aimed to cast a role for the British by confronting Greeks and Turks. If the British will be expressed in the words of Othello since 1953, in the article in the Economist newspaper on October 13, looking for the British finger in the events in Istanbul; “Making Turks understand the importance of Cyprus.(Babaoğlu, 2018, p.337)

It attempted to emulate the prominence of Cyprus, which did not pique the interest of Turks as much as the islands did. According to the Tribun, England's goal was to take the lead and claim the corner. Almost all media were aware of Britain's need to gain time, but the cost of blunders committed during the summit will be paid afterwards.(Babaoğlu, 2018, p.337)

According to another source, he stressed that, while Turkey's positions on the Cyprus problem were clearly articulated, Greece could not achieve a settlement

without first knowing Turkey's position. In reality, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu said during the conference, "From now on, no state will have any view like I don't know what Turkey believes."(Babaoğlu, 2018) The following remarks were made in a cold-blooded news report, which indicated that NATO's operations in the Eastern Mediterranean will be more difficult as a result of the hostile environment produced by this conference:

Britain made the error of convening this meeting late. This conference should have taken place before the Turks rode their high horses and the Greeks believed that the Cypriot radicals would seize control. At the conference, a critical step was accomplished, although it was not too significant. The proposal of institutions like self-government, parliament, and ministries reminded me of primitive colonialists.(Babaoğlu, 2018, p.391)

Following the meeting, he compared Macmillan's strategy for the island of Cyprus to "an outmoded royal reflex" in the Daily Herald newspaper, which sharply attacked the British government. The concept of self-government was regarded as a proposition that could not be fully comprehended. According to the same publication, the 6-7 September interactions harmed Turkish-Greek relations. According to certain Greek media, the Turks are opposed to reconciliation.

### **5.3Events of 6-7 September**

On the night of September 5, 1955, a bomb detonated near the garden where Atatürk's house is located.(Demir, 2012) A bomb exploded between the house where Atatürk was born in Thessaloniki and the Turkish Consulate, according to the 13:00 radio newsletter. The second edition of the Istanbul Ekspres newspaper went to the second edition at 16.00 and shouted the headline "Our Ata's house was damaged by a

bomb”, was the point that ignited the mass movement, which went down in the history of politics as the 6-7 September events.(Demir, 2012)

If this information is broadcast on the government's radio station,

At four o'clock in the morning in Thessaloniki, a bomb detonated in the yard of the home where Saint Atatürk was born and the Turkish Consulate building, damaging the windows of the house where Saint Atatürk was born and the windows of the Consulate building. During the explosion, there were no human casualties.(Gündüz, 2020)

The news in the newspapers and radios hit the Turkish people like a ton of bricks, who had been tense for a while but were also concerned. This news led the Turkish people's collected rage to burst, resulting in the events of September 6-7.

On the same day, a protest meeting was held in Taksim Square, with student unions and the Cyprus is Turkish Association calling for action. Following the gathering, some people began to grind the glass of non-Muslim businesses on Istiklal Street. In a short period of time, localities such as Beyoğlu, Kurtuluş, Şişli, and Nişantaşı, which are recognized as non-Muslim living and business zones, were armed with various weapons and demolished their workplaces, residences, schools, churches, and cemeteries.(Gündüz, 2020)

In İzmir, a large number of individuals who had been waiting in readiness recently began to organize rallies, which evolved into an attack against Greek minority. The scale and effect of the events in İstanbul, on the other hand, were bigger. This was due to the low number of Greek residents and houses in Izmir. The protest, which began on September 6, quickly devolved into plunder, damage, and violence. Within two days, İstanbul had devolved into a battleground.(Gündüz, 2020)

After reading the Turkish National Anthem in Cumhuriyet Square and hanging Turkish flags in front of the Republic Monument, a group of people walked from İstiklal Street to Taksim on September 6, at 17:00. "Hang flag, hang flag!" chanted the mob as they walked along İstiklal Avenue, waving Turkish flags. "By yelling, they alerted the nearby businesses. Citizens hung flags to dispel the bewilderment of the throng, which was holding flags, Atatürk posters, stones, and sticks, and those who couldn't locate a flag yelled, "Cyprus is Turkish!".(Gündüz, 2020) At 18.00, the mob began destroying the Greek businesses as it moved towards the tunnel after Istiklal Street. This packed group, which started the demolitions, advanced towards the street where the Greek Consulate is located about 19.00, but was unable to accomplish its goal since the area had been sealed off by police. After 8 p.m. minorities' stores, residences, and churches in the region of Çarşamba Pazar, Sirkeci, Haliç, Beyazıt, Gedikpaşa, Kumkapı, and Yenikapı were destroyed. During the riots, the Greek publications Embros, Apoyevmatini, and Tahidromos were also burned. (Gündüz, 2020)

Mihalis Vasiliadis explains the events' commencement as follows:

I was 15 years old at that time and I was working with an acquaintance at Rızapaşa 19 in Tahtakale. At that time, fifty percent of the shops were owned by non-Muslims. Around two o'clock, before the bombing in Thessaloniki was heard, things started to get mixed up slowly. Turkish store owners would approach us and say, 'You should close your businesses and go home.' Around five o'clock, non-Muslim establishments were closed. Tahtakale had become overrun with people. Cars, buses, and trams were all unable to pass. In Eminönü, small groups of people waited on Bankalar Street, the scenario was the same. In Karaköy and Kuledibi, I encountered guys who were waiting in

groups. Taksim square, on the other hand, will not fall to the ground if a needle is thrown at it. The İstanbul Ekspres newspaper was published during the period. The anticipated news has arrived. Things abruptly came to a halt, and voices raised. The attacks may start right now.(Güven, 2018)

Taksim Aya Triada Church caught fire from the bell tower around 21:00, and the fire spread to the Greek Zapyon Girls' School. A fire broke out in 26 churches and holy spring in the middle of the night. A massive firestorm swept over the city. Many houses and businesses were damaged or torched, and their goods were thrown away or plundered.(Gündüz, 2020)

Other than suburban trains, transportation vehicles were inoperable after 22:00 a.m. and entertainment facilities, restaurants, cafes, and theatres shuttered. The most damaging movements occurred in the Beyoğlu district. The activities that began at 18.30 p.m. could only be brought under control around midnight. During the episodes that began in Istanbul, minorities' houses and workplaces suffered financially. In addition to minorities, events caused damage to Turkish houses and enterprises.(Gündüz, 2020)

The events in Ankara, on the other hand, unfolded more slowly than in İstanbul and İzmir due to the city's tiny minority population. Another reason the events were minor was because Minister of State Mükerrerem Sarol summoned the Governor, Police Chief, Garrison, and Central Commanders to the ministry and advised them to take the required precautions.(Gündüz, 2020)

After 01:00, some 50 young people began protesting in Ulus Square, yelling, "Cyprus is Turkish, Damn it, We will have our retribution!" ” The security personnel dispersed this gathering promptly. Later, their numbers grew, and they resumed their

protests in front of the Cebeci Conservatory and the Greek Embassy. 479 of the approximately 1,500 protestors were apprehended, and 19 were arrested and tried.(Gündüz, 2020)

According to official estimates, three persons were killed, thirty were injured, and 73 churches, one synagogue, eight holy springs, two monasteries, and 5583 workplaces and residences, 3584 of which belonging to Greeks, were damaged and burnt. However, the British and American consulates, as well as international human rights groups, reported that the death toll ranged between 13 and 16.(Zorbay, 2019)

The events of September 6-7 had a broad impact on the national and worldwide media at the time. In a manner, the events scare Greek Cypriots by demonstrating that the Republic of Turkey would accomplish it or that it has a powerful population.

On the other side, the demolition movement that began in non-Muslim workplaces on Istanbul's İstiklal Street quickly spread to other areas. Businesses, as well as homes and schools, were plundered. There are still differing viewpoints on this issue, which persist to this day. Some experts believe that this event is both political and economic in nature. For example, while some of the period's individuals in financial difficulty attacked non-Muslims, they also targeted affluent Turkish merchants. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, a journalist at the time, also shared this viewpoint.

The DP Government expressed sorrow to the official media organs as a result of the events that occurred during the time. The government found the communists to be responsible for these events, and many individuals were imprisoned as a result. On provocative accusations, 2214 individuals were arrested in İstanbul and İzmir.(Zorbay, 2019) In addition, martial law was imposed in İstanbul, Ankara, and

İzmir, and protests and marches were outright prohibited. Furthermore, they have frequently maintained that neither the government nor the Turkish people are responsible for these occurrences. In addition to this, a brief summary of the events has been provided in order to avoid comprehensive coverage in either domestic or international media.

Considering the comments made by DP officials in Yassıada, as well as a thorough literature research on the subject, it is apparent that there is no clear information on whether or to whom the whole blame for the 6-7 September occurrences lies. On the other side, as a result of these incidents, there is a widespread impression that Turkey is no longer a safe haven for non-Muslims. Following this, a large number of non-Muslims fled Turkey. Apart from this, the long-running Turkish-Greek reconciliation, as well as the Turkish-Greek-Yugoslav collaboration, have come to a stop with these events. There has been a moment of difficulty in Turkish-Greek ties that will be remembered for a long time. Following these occurrences, the two countries held bilateral conversations in light of public opinion.

As previously stated, in response to the imposition of martial law in several places, President Celal Bayar convened the Turkish Grand National Assembly on September 12, 1955, to examine the issue, in accordance with Article 86 of the Constitution.(Zorbay, 2019)

The first speech in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which was held in line with the September 6-7 events, began with the reading of President Bayar's invitation letter and continued with the reading of the Prime Ministry's resolution. While addressing the Cyprus issue, the aforementioned motion also discussed the bombing of Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki, as well as the citizens who acted

collectively by provoking the people by pointing to the attack against the Turks and contrary to the interests of the country, and to opposing the Government forces. On September 7, 1955, the Council of Ministers proposed that martial law be proclaimed in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir, and that it be ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly at the same time.

İsmet İnönü, Head of Parliament Group and Malatya Deputy, spoke on behalf of the CHP at the meeting:

On the grounds that the government needs to make a statement about the events, it is stated that in these events that cause great sorrow and pain, attacks against innocent citizens, people who deserve to be punished within the scope of the law, behave in a comfortable and unimpeded manner except for exaggeration and harm, and that the nation has a serious material and spiritual seriousness due to the events. He claimed that he had been harmed, that the notion of the rule of law had been harmed, that the occurrence had been a total national tragedy, that the attacks had been rejected and denied by the country and the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and that it could not be tolerated.(Zorbay, 2019, p.264)

İnönü stressed that the most essential thing to do right now is to protect the residents' peace and security. In addition, while he said that he wanted the events to take place, he also inquired as to how so many terrible occurrences could have occurred. He claimed that the events were not just harmful to foreign policy but also reflected some economic issues. He reiterated his appeal, saying that the nation will be vindicated only if the facts are given completely. Finally, based on the facts provided,

he sought a meeting once a week and indicated that he submitted a move on this subject.

Fuad Köprülü, Deputy Prime Minister:

The events are very bad and sad, that the damage and pain of the Turkish nation, which has been through various disasters for centuries, are common, that the government's and opposition's regret and reaction are common in the TGNA, that the government is not cautious or late, that all officials have done their best, that the government has done their best. That he was warned ahead of time, but when it began in many locations at the same time, it spiraled out of control.(Zorbay, 2019, p.269)

With these remarks, Köprülü, who claimed that over 3,000 individuals had been detained, indicated that the events were delicate, that the young and patriotic people, the press, and the parties' statements had reached a tipping point with the attacks on Atatürk's residence and the Turkish embassy.

He stated that occurrences such as İnönü in Köprülü should be studied behind the scenes, that Turkish-Greek people met face to face, and that not only Greeks but also Turks, Jews, and Armenians experienced material and spiritual harm as a result of this episode. Finally, Köprülü underlined that the martial law should be extended for another six months in order for the perpetrators of the tragedy to be found within that time frame.

After offering his condolences and best wishes for a speedy recovery, Prime Minister Menderes spoke thereafter,

I believe that the Cyprus problem has provoked Turkish and Greek public opinion, so a youth show has emerged that can be found anywhere, and the

tension that has risen over the news that Turks will be subjected to genocide in Cyprus has reached a peak through various associations, but all of this obscures the true forces at work behind the scenes.(Zorbay, 2019, p.267)

Finally, Prime Minister Menderes stated, “If the adversary had not disguised himself as the enemy, and the devil had not been before us, the events would not have grown that big.” He added to what he had said.(Zorbay, 2019)

The DP administration established some legal measures in attempt to identify and recompense people who suffered as a result of the 6/7 September Incidents. In this context, on December 19, 1955, the Finance and Budget commissions were submitted a legislative proposal on the tax exemption of help to those who suffered as a result of the events of September 6/7, as well as the execution of articles 260 and 299 of the legislation numbered 5432. (Zorbay, 2019)

The bill on the payment of damages to individuals who suffered as a result of the 6/7 September events was sent to the Finance and Budget commissioners on December 23, 1955. This legislative proposal, as well as the conclusions of the Finance and Budget Commissions, were placed on the agenda for the session on February 28, 1956.(Zorbay, 2019)

Following a vote in which 274 individuals took part, the measure was approved with 264 yes votes and 10 no votes. There were 255 deputies who did not vote. As a result, the legislation 6684 was adopted on February 28, 1956, in response to the 6/7 September occurrences.(Zorbay, 2019) Furthermore, the law proposal on the tax exemption of aids to be made to those who suffered from the events of September 6/7, as well as the implementation of articles 260 and 299 of the law numbered 5432 as a result of these damages, were placed on the agenda; only

technical details were discussed before voting began. As a result of the voting, which included 280 members, the measure was approved with 273 votes in favor and 7 votes against. There were 249 deputies who did not vote. As a result, the law numbered 6685, enacted on February 28, 1956, became law.(Zorbay, 2019)

Finally, the events of September 6-7 are rooted in our political past, including the minority question, as well as foreign policy. Investigations into the incidents were typically conducted with a focus on religious or ethnic group differences. Again, we can discern the DP government's reaction to the events or their links, as discussed briefly in earlier studies and here. Even if there is a link, it may be claimed that it is out of control after then. As a result, Turkey's foreign policy stance has suffered.

## **6. Foundation Period and Chronological Order of the Republic of Cyprus**

It is necessary to ground what has been said thus far in the context of both a brief passage and a historical chart. Although chronological order is important in many fields, it is more crucial in history.

- i. Year 1950: In response to a query from a legislator, Necmeddin Sadak stated in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on January 23, 1950, "There is no such thing as the Cyprus issue."(Sabahattin, 1992)
- ii. Year 1952: Rallies were held in several locations to declare to the world that Cyprus belonged to the Turks, and declarations were issued at the same time.
- iii. Year 1953: On September 21, 1953, at the 439th session of the United Nations, Greek Delegate Alexi Kiru stated, "The majority of the people of Cyprus desire to join with Greece.".(Sabahattin, 1992)

“If Britain departs Cyprus, the island should be restored to Turkey, the actual owner of the island,” headlined the *Hürriyet* daily. In addition, Makarios stated in a speech delivered on September 8, 1954:

When the enemies of religion, barbarian invaders, came to Asia Minor under the Byzantine Empire, we took sanctuary in our fair. When they stopped the ritual at Constantinople's Hagia Sophia Church and hushed our bells, they sought sanctuary in our fair once more. During their years under Turkish captivity, the Greek people likewise waited for assistance from the fair. These prayers were not in vain. Of sure, with the aid of our fair, our bells will sound once more at Hagia Sophia. Today, we seek refuge in our fair once more for the release of our Greek Cypriot captives. Cyprus has always been Greek, according to history. On our behalf, the Greek government applied to the United Nations.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.14)

Our case is the most correct and just of any in the world. We have no doubt that we will succeed in our mission. We shall always hold the flag of rights and freedoms in our hands and fight to the death for this righteous cause.(Sabahattin, 1992)

- iv. On September 24, 1954, it was debated whether Greece's UN application should be placed on the agenda. Although Britain and Turkey argued that this topic would not be included on the agenda, it was finally resolved to include the matter on the General Assembly's agenda with 30 votes against 19 refusals and 11 abstentions.(Sabahattin, 1992)

The Cyprus issue was originally debated before the United Nations' First Commission (Political Commission). The political panel determined that making a judgment on this subject at this time would be inappropriate. The general assembly

agreed to postpone discussion of the Cyprus problem for the time being, with 50 votes in favor and 8 abstentions.(December 17, 1954) (Sabahattin, 1992)

On April 1, 1955, EOKA went into effect. Bombs began to detonate all across the island. Faiz Kaymak, head of the Federation of Turkish Cypriot Institutions, traveled to Turkey to emphasize the gravity of the situation to Turkish government officials and to voice Turkish Cypriot concerns.(Sabahattin,1992)

This incident worried the Turkish Cypriots even more. Stating these concerns, Dr. Küçük sent a telegram to the Little Turkish government.

- v. On July 22, 1955, the Cypriot Government declared that the Foundations would be administered by a "High Council" comprising 15 persons elected by the Turkish Community. Following the elections, the administration of Evkaf was taken over by Cyprus Turks. Dr. Fazl Küçük was selected. The Turkish flag was raised over Evkaf on April 15, 1956.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- vi. On August 24, 1955, Prime Minister Menderes visited with the British Government and voiced his concerns on behalf of Turkish Cypriots, taking into consideration Adnan Menderes' comments. Menderes declared emphatically, "Turkey would not stay quiet if Greek terrorists carry out a significant attack on Turks."(Sabahattin, 1992) The London Conference was held five days later. The British mission was led by Mac Millan, the Turkish delegation by Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, and the Greek delegation by Stefanopoulos. This meeting came to a close on September 7th with no resolution.
- vii. 1956 Year: On the island of Cyprus, the Governor and the Archbishop met in the early months of 1956. A discussion was convened at this conference to discuss the necessity to adopt an autonomy regime in the constitutional order. However, it did

not have a favorable outcome. Makarios rejected the British Government's recommendations.

- viii. February 29, 1956: Turkish Community, Sir John Harding He had a meeting with Dr. Fazıl Küçük. During these interviews, Dr. Küçük claimed that the Turkish Community, first and foremost, “wanted complete peace and order on the island and that it can only consider non-British offers for annexation and autonomy from now on.” In February 1956, Dr. Küçük visited Turkey and told Turkish officials about the discussions. Makarios was banished to the Indian Ocean island of Seychelles on March 9.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- ix. 11-13 March 1956: British Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd traveled to Ankara to meet with Turkish government leaders on the Cyprus problem. The events erupted considerably more after Makarios' exile, resulting in 8 deaths and 39 injuries at the hands of the Turks.
- x. December 19, 1956: Lennox Boyd, the British Minister of Colonies, indicated in a speech on Cyprus in the British Parliament that by adopting the word self-determination, the British Government will reassess the application of the idea of self-determination when the international and strategic circumstances allow.
- xi. Supervise the exercise of this power in such a way that the Turkish and Greek populations in Cyprus can freely chose their destiny. To be more specific, the British Government admits that the split of the island should be considered among the available remedies in order for a very complicated population like Cyprus to exercise its right to self-determination.(Sabahattin, 1992)

The following is Prime Minister Menderes' statement to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on December 29: "The Taksim problem is never an

arbitrariness to be kept away from the bad eye." Taksim is welcomed as a complement provided by the Turkish government.

The island's partition will ensure that our relatives there live under Turkish flags, and Cyprus will no longer be a danger zone for Turkey. This is regarded as a significant sacrifice by us.(Sabahattin, 1992)

As a result, Britain formally acknowledged the right of Turkish Cypriots to self-determination.

- xii. Year 1957: The Turkish delegates, Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Faiz Kaymak, met with Adnan Menderes and discussed how Turkey would bid against the Radcliffe Constitution. Prof. Nihat Erim and Assoc. Prof. Nihat Erim Suat Bilge was part of the group that traveled to Cyprus. The Greeks carried out a bomb assault while traveling through Nicosia, but there were no casualties.

Another significant incident occurred on March 28, 1957, when Makarios was released on the condition that he not return to Cyprus.

When Turkish statesmen realized that they had decided to establish a mukhtar administration on the island before deciding on the island's final status in tripartite talks, and that they intended to enter into negotiations with Makarios for this purpose, Dr. Küçük and Faiz Kaymak were invited to Ankara and met with them. It was decided to insist on Taksim, which is important in this meeting.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.18)

In July 1957, Greece reintroduced the Cyprus issue to the United Nations.

- xiii. March 10, 1958: Turkish Cypriots organized a large demonstration in support of Taksim on March 10. This scenario enthralled the Turkish youth, who had been requesting permission to stage a demonstration since 1955.

The first demonstration was conducted in Istanbul on June 8, according to their histories and the situation in the cities. Following Ankara (June 12), Antakya and Kayseri (June 14), Adana and İzmir (June 15), Erzurum (June 17), Antalya, Elaz, and Samsun (June 18), Ankara (June 19), Antalya, Elaz, and Samsun (June 20), Antalya, Elaz, and Samsun (June 20), Antalya, Elaz (June 19). (Sabahattin, 1992)

On June 19, 1958, Prime Minister Macmillan unveiled Britain's new plan. Turkey, on the other hand, sent a message to the UK, implying that “if Britain is disabled in Cyprus, the Turkish Government is ready to take steps and is determined to take actions.” (Sabahattin, 1992)

### **7. Zurich-London Treaties Towards the Birth of the Republic of Cyprus**

On December 6, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Greek Foreign Minister Averoff-Tossizza met for the first time at the United Nations. During this discussion, Zorlu claimed that the topic of partition might assist Turkey solve its trust problem while also determining the Turkish-Greek boundaries. However, he claimed that the Macmillan Plan is appropriate for Turkey since it will lead to the split of Cyprus. Adding to this rhetoric, Zorlu remarked that Greece disagreed with this viewpoint and supported the concept of independence. In this approach, Turkey stated that it was time to debate the Cyprus problem without the interference of another nation and to reach an agreement on the island of Cyprus's independence status. He also underlined that improving Turkish-Greek relations will benefit both parties.

Averoff-Tossizza applauded the Turkish Foreign Minister's attitude and inquired, about the type of independence he described. In response to this topic, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu stated that if independence is recognized as a solution, the British should be granted military bases in Cyprus first and foremost. He stated that these bases would be useful to the island in a variety of ways. Later, he made the following remarks about the nature of independence: (Balıkcıoğlu, 2016)

- i. If Cyprus is granted independence, Turks and Greeks must be independent in areas affecting their community, such as education, religion, family law, and the judiciary.
- ii. In administration, the ratio may be 6 Greek 4 Turks. However, in order to safeguard the Turkish minority from the unjust practices of the Greek majority, equal representation in the administration should be provided when appropriate.
- iii. To avoid Turkish-Greek strife, separate municipalities should be established in town centers; Turkish municipalities should serve the Turkish side, while Greek municipalities should serve the Greek side.
- iv. In the new Cyprus State, the presidency should have alternated between Turks and Greeks.(Balıkcıoğlu, 2016)

Following these recommendations, Minister Zorlu stated that if the division thesis is not adopted, Turkey should be given two military bases on the coast of Cyprus in reaction to a Greek or Soviet threat. However, he suggested that the Greek island might be awarded a military facility.

In response, Greek Foreign Minister Tossizza stated that providing governments military bases prohibited the island from achieving independence, and

that this would be a point of contention between the parties. Greece's proposal was as follows: Greece argued that it did not represent a danger to Turkey, but that the military installation planned for Cyprus would be insufficient to counter the Soviets. They proposed bringing an international institution to an independent state model in order to save Cyprus from falling under the control of the Soviet populace. Finally, the Greek Foreign Minister regarded it favorably that the Turkish and Greek sides could govern themselves, while opposing the Turks' proposal to create separate towns.

In reaction to the Greek Foreign Minister's remarks, Zorlu stated that Cyprus is home to two distinct groups and that every effort should be made to foster collaboration between Turks and Greeks. While verifying Zorlu's comments, Tossizza was opposed to the following problem; He underlined that there should be no circumstance that would lead to the division of Cyprus while making plans for two separate communities.

Afterwards that, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu recommended to Greek Foreign Minister Averoff-Tossizza that they transmit this meeting to their governments and meet again at the NATO Council meeting a week later in Paris. He further requested that the conference be continued in order to avoid the British from interfering in the discussions. Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza also agreed to meet in Paris without informing the British about the nature of the talks.(Balıkçioğlu, 2016)

Greece and Turkey; The British Government began issuing declarations one after the other while negotiating on the island of Cyprus. In reality, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stated this in his statement to the House of Commons on December 10, 1958. "If Turkey and Greece reach an agreement on the Macmillan Plan, we would

want to make adjustments to London's plan and implement it peacefully and without provoking anyone,” according to the description.” (Balıkçioğlu, 2016)

In a private meeting with Conservative Party parliamentarians a few days after Harold Macmillan's speech in the House of Commons, Minister of Colonies Alan Lennox-Boyd stated that they did not want to implement the division; however, he stated that they prepared a division plan thinking that this would be inevitable. (Balıkçioğlu, 2016) Following the publication of this meeting's announcement in the British press, the Ministry of Colonies informed the public that London's British delegate to the UN, Allan Noble, agreed with the position stated on November 25. In his UN address, to which the Ministry of Colonies references, Allan Noble states that social autonomy is one thing and that part is another, but that England sees no conflict between the two. He argued, however, that the taksim would cause problems for many people in Cyprus and that, as England, they would never accept this solution. Regarding the Ministry of Colonies, Prime Minister Macmillan stated in his statement to the House of Commons on December 18, that the taksim is an option that may come to the fore when all other alternatives for resolving the Cyprus problem have been exhausted. Furthermore, the Prime Minister claimed that this was the worst alternative.(Balıkçioğlu, 2016)

- a. February 17, 1959: The plane that took the Turkish delegation to London was crashed. While 14 people died as a result of the accident, Prime Minister Menderes slightly survived the accident.

On February 19, 1959, Turkey, Britain, and Greece signed accords predicated on the formation of an independent state in Cyprus that could be guaranteed by Turkey, Britain, and Greece.(Sabahattin, 1992)

Following the ratification of the London accords, a mixed committee was formed to oversee the island of Cyprus's constitution. A Swiss observer was appointed to represent the Turkish and Greek governments on this council. The first of them was the Ad Hoc Committee, which was tasked with preparing a sort of administrative handover to the Republic of Cyprus. The other was founded in London. This committee's mission was to develop suggestions on citizenship, economic status, and financial aid, as well as to prepare agreements on the execution of the decisions to be made in London.

In addition to the Zurich Treaty, the London Treaty included the following documents:

- i. Britain's Declaration on 17 February, in which it accepted these texts with the addition of specific ideas about bases;
  - ii. Statement of the Foreign Ministers of Turkey and Greece on their approval of the United Kingdom's Declaration on February 17;
  - iii. The Notices of Fazıl Küçük, the Turkish community's representative, and Makarios, the Greek community's representative, dated 19 February, indicating their approval of these papers;
  - iv. Agreement on interim steps to be done in order for the Cyprus constitution and related papers to enter into force.(Vatansever, 2012)
- b. After a year of effort, the Constitutional Committee finalized the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus on December 3, 1959. The Constitution, which had 199 provisions, was signed on April 6, 1960.(Sabahattin, 1992)

However, on July 21, 1960, the British Parliament passed legislation allowing Cyprus to become an independent republic.

Ceremonies were conducted on the night of August 15-16, in commemoration of the official founding of the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey, Greece, and the Turkish and Greek communities all signed the agreements pertaining to the creation of the Republic of Cyprus. As a result, the Turkish Cypriots were recognized as a founding partner of the newly formed sovereign state with equal rights.(Sabahattin, 1992)

Sir Hugh Foot Ada, the last British governor of Cyprus, left on August 16. After a time, 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers who had been dispatched to Cyprus in line with the accords arrived at Famagusta port. Turkish Cypriots enthusiastically welcomed the Turkish forces and murdered the victims.(Sabahattin, 1992)

As a consequence of the elections, Glafkos Kliridis became chairman of the House of Representatives, which had 15 Turkish and 35 Greek members, and Dr. Orhan Müderrisoğlu was appointed. Rauf R. Denктаş for the Turkish Community Council Presidency, and Prof. Dr. from West Germany for the Greek Community Council Presidency. Ernest Forsthoff was named.(Sabahattin, 1992)

### **7.1 Content of the Zurich and London Agreements**

- a. The Republic of Cyprus is governed under a presidential system. The President of the Republic of Turkey is Greek, while the Vice President is Turkish; they are chosen separately by the island's Greek and Turkish communities by universal vote.
- b. Greek and Turkish are the official languages of the Republic of Cyprus. Legal and administrative procedures and papers are prepared in two official languages and published in both.
- c. The flag of the Republic of Cyprus should be neutral in color and shape, to be chosen jointly by the President and his deputy.

- d. The Republic's President and Vice-President will be chosen for a five-year term.
- e. The President and Vice-President will have enforcement authority. A deputy delegation of seven Greek and three Turkish deputies will be there for this purpose. The President and Vice-President of the Republic shall designate the Deputies from their congregation by a proclamation signed jointly by them.  
...
- f. The constitutional authority will be exercised by the House of Representatives, which will be chosen for a five-year term by each community in a percentage calculated separately from statistical data, with 70% for the Greek Community and 30% for the Turkish Community. (The congregations will decide on the number of executions of the House of Representatives.)
- g. With the exception of its key sections, the establishment of the Fundamental Law. It can be changed by a majority of two-thirds of the House of Representatives' Greek and Turkish members individually.
- h. The President and Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus shall have an adequate veto right, individually or jointly, on all laws and decisions concerning external affairs and defense and security as specified in Annex 1, with the exception of the Republic of Cyprus's participation in international organizations and alliance agreements to which Greece and Turkey are both parties.
- i. Each congregation will have a congregation assembly made up of delegates chosen by the congregation.

- j. The administration will be made up of 70% Greek and 30% Turkish citizens.
- k. The President and Vice-President of the Republic will designate commanders and deputies of the armed forces, gendarmerie, and police forces together. One of the commanders will be Turkish, and the Deputy Leader will not be from the same congregation as the commander.
- l. Only with the approval of the President and Deputy of the Republic may compulsory military service be created.
- m. Cyprus's army will number 2000 personnel in total. This army will be made up of 60% Greek soldiers and 40% Turkish soldiers. Seventy percent of the security troops will be Greek, while thirty percent will be Turkish.
- n. Only troops from regions where the percentage of congregation members is close to 100 percent of congregation members in the country of the Republic will be members of this congregation.
- o. A High Court will be created, with the President and Vice-President jointly appointing two Greeks, one Turkish, and one neutral.
- p. Municipalities will be established in the five largest cities of Cyprus by the Turks living in these cities.
- q. Cyprus will be deemed to be ineligible for the full or partial unification of Cyprus with any state or the independence that will stand apart from partition.
- r. External is one of the proxies listed below. A Turk will be in charge of National Defense and one of the Ministries of Finance. If the

Republic's President and Vice-President agree, they will be able to replace this system with an alternation system.

- s. All of the topics raised above will be regarded as key components of the Cyprus Organization Esafiyt.(Doğan, 2011)

The great majority of international law norms are enforced without compulsion by all governments. However, certain steps have been made to guarantee that political norms or rules are followed. One of these measures is “Guarantee” agreements, which signify the shared security system, and the other is “Alliance” agreements.(Tamçelik, 2012)

In terms of the assurance agreement, according to Article 1 of the agreement signed by the Republic of Cyprus, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey,

The Republic of Cyprus pledges to protect its independence, territorial integrity, and security, as well as to ensure constitutional observance. The Republic of Cyprus also commits to no political or economic union, in whole or in part, with any state. To that end, the Republic of Cyprus forbids all activities that directly (Directly) or indirectly aid and encourage the island's unity and separation.(Aznevi, 2010, p.229)

However, the Greeks have broken this rule several times, either directly or tacitly.

The pledges of Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom are stated in the second article. The above-mentioned three states take notice of the Republic of Cyprus's responsibilities under Article 1;

- i. They acknowledged and guaranteed the Republic of Cyprus's independence, territorial integrity, and security, as defined by the fundamental provisions of the Constitution.
- ii. As far as Turkey, Greece, and England are concerned, they have committed to prohibiting the unification of Cyprus with any other State, as well as actions intended at facilitating the division of the Island directly or as a matter of interest.(Millet Meclisi, 1961)

The third clause, on the other hand, ensures that Turkey, Greece, and the Republic of Cyprus respect the integrity of the Sovereign British Bases on the Island and that the UK maintains and enjoys the rights provided by the Tessus Treaty.(Millet Meclisi, 1961)

In the event of failure to comply with the articles of this agreement, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom commit to solidarity with each other on the necessary initiatives or measures to ensure compliance with these provisions.(Sabahattin, 1992)

If acting jointly or by agreement is not feasible, each of the three guaranteeing governments reserves the right to act with the goal of restoring the order established by this agreement.(Sabahattin, 1992)

The fourth item is that, in the event of a breach of the aforementioned conditions, Turkey, Greece, and England have agreed to confer with one another about the efforts and actions needed to guarantee compliance with these terms.(Millet Meclisi, 1961)

According to Article 1 of the alliance pact, the parties will cooperate for their common defense. In the event of a defense-related problem, they will confer with one another. (Hacıbekiroğlu, 1995)

According to the second article, the Parties would collectively resist any direct or indirect assault or invasion against the Republic of Cyprus's independence or territorial integrity.(Sabahattin, 1992)

According to the third article, a "Trilateral headquarters" shall be formed on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus for the objectives of this alliance and to achieve the above-mentioned goal.(Sabahattin, 1992)

The specified triple headquarters would be made up of 650 Turkish officers, petty officers, and troops, as well as 950 Greek officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers.

### **8. Some Important Constitutional Articles of the Republic of Cyprus**

On 11 February 1959, specialists in Cyprus created the Republic of Cyprus Constitution, which was based on the ideas agreed upon in Zurich by Turkey and Greece. In determining the aforementioned principles, Turkey's objectives are that the Turkish Community within the State of Cyprus is not a minority, but that the Greek Community participates as a partner in the State administration, with a thousand results being the rights and freedoms of Turkish Cypriots in political, economic, social, cultural, and other fields. It was defined clearly and specifically to offer the Turkish Community with the utmost security for their fundamental rights and liberties against the Greek Community, which had the majority of the population. These objectives have been met within the constraints of the possibilities, as will be shown below.(Millet Meclisi, 1961)

Article 1:

The State of Cyprus is an independent and sovereign Republic with a presidential regime, the President being Greek and the Vice President being

Turk elected by the Greek and the Turkish Communities of Cyprus respectively as hereinafter in this Constitution provided.

Article 2:

For the purposes of this Constitution

1. The Greek Community comprises all citizens of the Republic who are of Greek origin and whose mother tongue is Greek or who share the Greek cultural traditions or who are members of the Greek-Orthodox Church;

2. The Turkish Community comprises all citizens of the Republic who are of Turkish origin and whose mother tongue is Turkish or who share the Turkish cultural traditions or who are Moslems;

3. Citizens of the Republic who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (1) or (2) of this Article shall, within three months of the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, opt to belong to either the Greek or the Turkish Community as individuals, but, if they belong to a religious group, shall so opt as a religious group and upon such option they shall be deemed to be members of such Community:

Provided that any citizen of the Republic who belongs to such a religious group may choose not to abide by the option of such group and by a written and signed declaration submitted within one month of the date of such option to the appropriate officer of the Republic and to the Presidents of the Greek and the Turkish Communal Chambers opt to belong to the Community other than that to which such group shall be deemed to belong:

Provided further that if an option of such religious group is not accepted on the ground that its members are below the requisite number any member of such group may within one month of the date of the refusal of acceptance of such option opt in the aforesaid manner as an individual to which Community he would like to belong.

### Article 3

1. The official languages of the Republic are Greek and Turkish.
2. Legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents shall be drawn up in both official languages and shall, where under the express provisions of this Constitution promulgation is required, be promulgated by publication in the official Gazette of the Republic in both official languages.
3. Administrative or other official documents addressed to a Greek or a Turk shall be drawn up in the Greek or the Turkish language respectively.
4. Judicial proceedings shall be conducted or made and judgments shall be drawn up in the Greek language if the parties are Greek, in the Turkish language if the parties are Turkish, and in both the Greek and the Turkish languages if the parties are Greek and Turkish. The official language or languages to be used for such purposes in all other cases shall be specified by the Rules of Court made by the High Court under Article 163.
5. Any text in the official Gazette of the Republic shall be published in both official languages in the same issue.

### Article 62:

1. The number of Representatives shall be fifty:

Provided that such number may be altered by a resolution of the House of Representatives carried by a majority comprising two-thirds of the Representatives elected by the Greek Community and two-thirds of the Representatives elected by the Turkish Community.

2. Out of the number of Representatives provided in paragraph I of this Article seventy per centum shall be elected by the Greek Community and thirty per centum by the Turkish Community separately from amongst their members respectively, and in the case of a contested election, by universal suffrage and by direct and secret ballot held on the same day.

The proportion of Representatives stated in this paragraph shall be independent of any statistical data.

Article 61.62 and 64

Turkish voters elect Turkish representatives, while Greek voters elect Greek representatives on the same day, in separate, one-stage, and secret elections.

The House of Representatives serves a five-year tenure.(Millet Meclisi, 1961)

Article 123

1. The public service shall be composed as to seventy per centum of Greeks and as to thirty per centum of Turks.

2. This quantitative distribution shall be applied, so far as this will be practically possible, in all grades of the hierarchy in the public service.

3. In regions or localities where one of the two Communities is in a majority approaching one hundred per centum the public officers posted for, or

entrusted with, duty in such regions or localities shall belong to that Community.

#### Article 129

1. The Republic shall have an army of two thousand men of whom sixty per centum shall be Greeks and forty per centum shall be Turks.
2. Compulsory military service shall not be instituted except by common agreement of the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

#### Article 130

1. The security forces of the Republic shall consist of the police and gendarmerie and shall have a contingent of two thousand men which may be reduced or increased by common agreement of the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.
2. The security forces of the Republic shall be composed as to seventy per centum of Greeks and as to thirty per centum of Turks:

Provided that for an initial period and in order not to discharge those Turks serving in the police on the 11th February, 1959, except those serving in the auxiliary police, the percentage of Turks may be kept up to a maximum of forty per centum and consequently that of the Greeks may be reduced to sixty per centum.

#### Article 133

1. 1. There shall be a Supreme Constitutional Court of the Republic composed of a Greek, a Turk and a neutral judge. The neutral judge shall be the President of the Court.

2. The President and the other judges of the Supreme Constitutional Court shall be appointed jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic:

Provided that in the case of a vacancy solely in the post of either the Greek or the Turkish judge the proposal of the President or the Vice-President of the Republic to whose Community the judge to be appointed shall belong shall prevail if the President and the Vice-President of the Republic do not agree on the appointment within a week of such proposal.

#### Article 171

1. In sound and vision broadcasting there shall be programmes both for the Greek and the Turkish Communities.

2. The time allotted to programmes for the Turkish Community in sound broadcasting shall not be less than seventy-five hours in a seven-day week, spread to all days of such week in daily normal periods of transmission:

Provided that if the total period of transmissions has to be reduced so that the time allotted to programmes for the Greek Community should fall below seventy-five hours in a seven-day week, then the time allotted to programmes for the Turkish Community in any such week should be reduced by the same number of hours as that by which the time allotted to programmes for the Greek Community is reduced below such hours;

Provided further that if the time allotted to programmes for the Greek Community is increased above one hundred and forty hours in a seven-day week, then the time allotted to programmes for the Turkish Community shall

be increased in the ratio of three hours for the Turkish Community to every seven hours for the Greek Community

Article 173

1. Separate municipalities shall be created in the five largest towns of the Republic, that is to say, Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca and Paphos by the Turkish inhabitants thereof:

Provided that the President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall within four years of the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution examine the question whether or not this separation of municipalities in the aforesaid towns shall continue.

2. The council of the Greek municipality in any such town shall be elected by the Greek electors of the town and the council of the Turkish municipality in such town shall be elected by the Turkish electors of the town.

3. In each such town a co-ordinating body shall be set up composed of two members chosen by the council of the Greek municipality, two members chosen by the council of the Turkish municipality and a President chosen by agreement between the two councils of such municipalities in such town. Such coordinating body shall provide for work which needs to be carried out jointly, shall carry out joint services entrusted to it by agreement of the councils of the two municipalities within the town and shall concern itself with matters which require a degree of co-operation.

## Article 182

1. The Articles or parts of Articles of this Constitution set out in Annex III hereto which have been incorporated from the Zurich Agreement dated 11th February, 1959, are the basic Articles of this Constitution and cannot, in any way, be amended, whether by way of variation, addition or repeal.

2. Subject to paragraph 1 of this Article any provision of this Constitution may be amended, whether by way of variation, addition or repeal, as provided in paragraph 3 of this Article.

3. Such amendment shall be made by a law passed by a majority vote comprising at least two-thirds of the total number of the Representatives belonging to the Greek Community and at least two-thirds of the total number of the Representatives belonging to the Turkish Community.

## Article 185

1. The territory of the Republic is one and indivisible.

2. The integral or partial union of Cyprus with any other State or the separatist independence is excluded. (Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, 1960)

### **9. The Attitude of Some Countries at the Birth of the Republic of Cyprus**

Due to the importance of internal causes as well as their attitudes toward external variables, the attention of different nations on Cyprus necessitated an examination of these countries' views toward Cyprus upon the creation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960.

Until 1960, Turkey's position was fairly clear. This attitude may be divided into eras and summarized as follows.

## 9.1 Pre-Plebiscite Period

Turkey's stance during this time is preoccupied with the cultural and socioeconomic concerns of Turkish Cypriots.

Cyprus was recognized as a British colony under the terms of the agreements reached. Turkey does not want to cause a commotion in the United Kingdom over Cyprus. It has embraced the approach that England is questioning within Greece. In reality, it is linked to a neighborly connection with Greece, and it did not want to jeopardize this relationship.

It is evident that Turkey has utilized its policies to preserve the existing situation. "We don't have an issue called Cyprus," we may say again. It has been proposed together with the sentence.

Change your attitude following the plebiscite and the London Conference, which were organized as a result of the events in Cyprus. As previously stated, Greece's appeal to the UN for self-determination in 1954, the launch of the EOKA terrorist group in 1955, and the attention of Turkish Cypriots initially and later the Turkish press brought Turkey totally into the Cyprus crisis.

Turkey was concerned about two issues: the security of its citizens and the geopolitical importance of Cyprus. Although Turkey has accepted the Republic of Cyprus as a solution to these two concerns, it has made no concessions in order for the new state to be formed.

When one looks through the newspaper archives from the time, one can see that the Republic of Cyprus, which was founded in 1960, is widely supported. Efforts to preserve the newly formed Republic were so serious that Turkish ambassadors on

the island of Cyprus kept their cool in the face of Greek provocations when visiting the press and communities.

## **9.2 Greek Political Stance**

The realization of enosis has been a priority in Greek politics regarding to Cyprus. This policy, which has lasted for two centuries around the Megali idea, while Greece was a smaller state, it took seven Islands, twelve Islands, Crete and Rhodes, and besieged Anatolia. If he took Cyprus, he would have fulfilled his two dreams. The first of these was to realize another goal of both the megalithic idea and the siege of Anatolia from the sea. Hence, looking at the previous dates, it was an active power that did all kinds of efforts to disrupt the status against Turks and Turkey in the hope of achieving the annexation before the 1912 attacks, the 1931 rebellion, the 1950 EOKA movement and before 1960.

For these reasons, Greece did not see the independent Republic of Cyprus, which was established in 1960, as an outcome, and although it was also a guarantor state, it secretly placed more than twenty thousand soldiers on the island of Cyprus.

Greece provided financial support to EOKA as well as weapons aid. With the banning of the Constitution, which was structured after 1960, propaganda continued, even though it was a state that accepted and signed the new order, it did not warn against Enosis even once.

## **9.3 Attitudes of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union**

Britain favors handing Cyprus autonomy in order to stifle postwar nationalist movements between Greeks and Turks and to exert control over future developments. Britain also provided many ideas for this aim.

England, which was under her own rule at times and stayed under its own auspices, was contemplating independence. However, England was unable to carry out such a procedure in light of Greece's aspirations for Enosis while also ensuring that the Turkish and Greek peoples lived in trust with one another.

The establishment of the Independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960 did not disappoint Britain. Previously, Britain protected the strategic prospects afforded by Cyprus, which are now protected by the current deal. They also possessed bases that could utilise all of Cyprus's air and sea ports in the event of a conflict, as well as control over 99 square miles.

England was a country that had a stake in the present system. As a result, Britain acquired the role of Guarantor, and Cyprus became a member of the British Union of Nations.

As a country that took over the world's gendarmerie after WWII, the United States could hardly be uninterested in Cyprus. To begin with, Cyprus has oil and is a crucial area in the Eastern Mediterranean. Second, three NATO members (Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom) are battling each other for the sake of Cyprus. For these reasons, the United States became more interested in the Candidate, particularly after 1950.

Another area of US interest was the endeavor to replace the British Empire's void in the Middle East. Similarly, countries that were under British authority at the time gradually began to come under the aegis of the United States. In reality, Israel has grown to be a significant power component for the United States.

The Enosis movement, which primarily a British issue, has received backing from the United States, both tacitly and openly. During this time, the US demanded

that Cyprus be connected to Greece, as Greece was under the control of the US and therefore considered an autonomous island from which it might gain.

Similarly, once the island of Cyprus attained independence, the desire of the United States was met. It was sticking to his political and strategic goals. The US would gain from Cyprus's position through NATO member Britain. Finally, the issue was settled between the two NATO members.

Because all three nations interested in Cyprus are NATO members, the Soviet Union, which has long been interested in Cyprus owing to its strategic position, has never been a major factor in Cyprus. They attempted to make an effect, though, through AKEL. Similarly, the Soviet Union came to the same conclusion as a result of AKEL's defense of Enosis. Regardless of the outcome, although knowing that Cyprus would be tied to a NATO member nation, Turkey supported annexation for a while and therefore challenged the Turks.

For the Soviets, the 1960 accord was a NATO solution. What bothered the Soviets was the presence of British bases and infrastructure on the island, as well as their assurance by NATO-owned nations. It was also in violation of the AKEL accords. The Soviets initiated slogans of full independence and influence over Cyprus through the AKEL in the newly established order. Their main purpose was to break the guarantee agreements and alliance agreements and the removal of bases. This strategy also matched with Makarios. Makarios regarded the accords as a roadblock to Enosis as well. They regarded it as an excellent chance to pit Turkey and Greece against each other while also weakening NATO's southeastern flank if the crisis flared up again.

It appears that two distinct peoples in Cyprus did not fight a war for independence, nor did they believe that Cyprus should be totally independent in nations dealing with the Cyprus problem. The Soviet Union was an anomaly among these countries; their goal was for Cyprus to be independent and able to call on their support.

Every country has its own set of interests and motivations. From this perspective, it is important to identify the point at which the interests of the nations interested in Cyprus remain in the same defense pact and the interests of these conflicting countries converge at a single point. The answer that must be discovered would be insufficient if it was just a conclusion agreed upon by third nations. Simultaneously, a way out was required for the two distinct peoples residing in Cyprus to trust each other and collaborate over time, so that they could live with the solution that was achieved. With such criteria, independence was born as a bare minimum partnership for the countries that committed to it. However, the Greek Cypriots, who had battled for Enosis for centuries, and the Turkish Cypriots, who had been concerned about the achievement of Enosis for ages, were unexpectedly confronted with an alternative that they had not considered and for which they had not struggled.

In reality, Turkish Cypriots embraced the concept of independence almost immediately. Because the Turkish Cypriots' principal goal was to keep the annexation from happening. The Turkish Cypriots were open to any settlement suggestion that would avoid Enosis, allow them to live in peace and security, while also allowing them to live under the governments of their choice, in freedom and equality.

They had never considered independence, but because there was nothing contradictory to what was said above, there was no need to question it. As a result, the Turkish Cypriots embraced and declared independence. As a result, while independence is not the primary desire of the Turkish Cypriots, the struggle against Enosis objectively lay the basis for independence.

While this was true for Turkish Cypriots, it could not be claimed for Greek Cypriots. Because they had spent millennia fighting for Enosis. All of their thoughts were consumed with Enosis concepts. For them, by suddenly disregarding Enosis and even expressly prohibiting it in the constitutional provisions, Turkish Cypriots who are opposed to Enosis were given equal rights of forming partnership and acknowledged Turkey as a guarantee against Enosis while leaving Cyprus alone. They were unable to embrace an independence that granted them the authority to interfere.

Independence appears to have resulted from opposing viewpoints on internal and external balances. Turkey and Turkish Cypriots were at ease throughout the Zurich and London accords, but Greek Cypriots made an effort and were successful in building a clear assurance from the point when they could not implement the agreements.

These assurances are summarized as follows:

- i. Turkish Cypriots should be the Republic's founding partners.
- ii. The administration should be divided in accordance with the concept of political equality between the two peoples, and constitutional powers should be in place to oversee this.
- iii. The Constitution should make enosis illegal,
- iv. We should establish our own local and autonomous government.

- v. Against attempts to violate the Constitution, an efficient Constitutional Court should be formed under the presidency of an impartial Constitutional judge.
- vi. An efficient guarantor system should be developed to ensure all of them, and Turkey should have the authority to act alone on the island.(Sabahattin, 1992)

The Turkish Cypriots enthusiastically welcomed an independent Constitution as the result of their fight based on these ideas.

The Greek Cypriot scenario, on the other hand, could not have approved such a constitution. Similarly, the Greeks were under strain. As a result of these circumstances, they were forced to embrace independence while also prohibiting Enosis and ensuring the safety of Turkish Cypriots. They, on the other hand, were unable to accept and comply with the Turks and their freedom. They devised a variety of schemes in order to breach the commitments made at the earliest chance.

When Makarios signed the accords and returned to the island, he stated with the dust on his feet that "Independence was a step to jump into Enosis," and that throughout the three years of the Republic, he only acted as President of the Greek Cypriots, not as President of all Cyprus.(Sabahattin, 1992)

### **10.Republic of Cyprus (1960-1963)**

Makarios created the following phrases on April 1, 1960:

These repercussions are far from complete, but the current reality has not entirely barred the route to the goals we seek. Our aspirations and goals were not fully achieved with the London and Zurich Treaties. We now have a stronghold and a launching place to begin our struggle for peace. From this fortress and starting point, we shall continue our fight for triumph.(Savrun, 2018, p.416)

Despite the fact that the Greek Cypriots could not be acknowledged, the Independent Cyprus Republic was established. Looking at the conflicts with the 3-year Republic in chronological order:

### **10.1 First Elections**

According to the Republic of Cyprus Constitution, 30 members of the Turkish Community Assembly were elected in elections conducted on July 28, 1960, and 15 members of the House of Representatives forming the Turkish wing were chosen in elections held on July 31, 1960.(Sabahattin, 1992)

In Nicosia, the Turks who have been elected to the House of Representatives are: Osman Nuri Rek, Mustafa Fazıl Plümer, Halit Ali Rıza, and Selçuk Şahin Sömek. Dr. Burhan Nalbantoğlu, Dr. Niyazi Manyera, and Dr. Hasan Adnan Güvener at Famagusta. Hüseyin Derviş and Ramadan Cemil in Limassol. Halit Kazım Şemsettin and Ahmet Aziz Altay in Paphos. In Kyrenia, Ahmet Mithat Berberoğlu.(Sabahattin, 1992)

When Osman Rek, members of the House of Representatives, Niyazi Manyera, and Fazıl Plümer were appointed as ministers in the Republic of Cyprus, Mehmet Kemal Deniz, İbrahim Orhan, and Nebil Nabi were elected to the vacant positions by an interim election on September 25th, according to the Constitution.

On October 10, when Halit Kazım Şemsettin died in a vehicle accident, Ayla Halit Kazım was chosen.

The names of Turkish Community Council members are as follows, according to the electoral areas:

In Nicosia, Rauf Raif Denктаş, Mehmet Asım Behçet, Kadriye Ahmet Herkeci, Mehmet Derviş Kayımbaşıoğlu, Ahmet Mehmet Mutallip, İbrahim Orhan, Hazım

Remzi, Hakkı Süleyman, Mehmet Kemal, Mustafa Şefik and Necdet Ünel.(Sabahattin, 1992)

Ibrahim Orhan was elected as a Turkish member of the House of Representatives on September 25, and with an interim election held on October 25, Hasan Niyazi, Mehmet Derviş Kayımbaşoğlu, to the vacant place With another by-election on October 13, Dr. Ahmet Ali was elected for the vacant place from Zekai Ereş and Necdet Ünel with the election held on April 15. In Famagusta, Dr. Naim Adiloğlu, Aydan Mehmet Çiftcioğlu, Arif Hikmet, Dr. Kemal Karaderi, Osman Mehmet and Hasan Raif. (Sabahattin, 1992) In Larnaca, Orhan Zihni, Mehmet Zeki, Behçet Mirata and Davut Hüseyin Dinçer. In Limassol, Macit Hakkı Yusuf, Cemal Özekin, Vecdet Hacı Yahya and Ragıp Malyalı.(Sabahattin, 1992) In Paphos, Dr. Şemsi Kazım Şemsettin, Ahmet Tevfik Turan, Beyzade İsmail and Ahmet Faiz Salih. Beyzade İsmail, who was entitled to the Community Council from this region, was replaced by Behiç Kalkan with the election held on June 9,Cengiz Ratip came to the place opened by Ahmet Tevfik Turan with the election held on 10 September. In Kyrenia, Dr. Ali Niyazi Fikret and Halil Fikret came. Dr. Mustafa Hacıahmet came to replace Ali Niyazi Fikret with the election held on 13 August.

## **11. A Chronological Order in the History of the Republic of Cyprus**

- i. 30 December 1960: The Greek majority recognized the House of Representatives, notwithstanding the Turks' opposition to the situation, with a decision to pay EOKA personnel who were suspended from duty during the British rule. Dr. Fazıl Küçük filed a petition with the Constitutional Court to have the measure declared unconstitutional.

- ii. 3 Ocak 1961: According to the census registrar, presenting some Turks as Greeks on their identity cards was an error. Turkish Cypriots and Turkish officials fiercely denounced the event in response.
- iii. January 6, 1961: Ceremonies were organized in schools to mark the beginning of Turkey's new constituent assembly. Ambassador Dirvana was also present at the ceremony and gave a speech.
- iv. January 8, 1961: Makarios, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, has rewarded certain EOKA players. Yorgacis and Kliridis presented trophies to EOKA players once more. In his inaugural address to the Makarios Olimpiyakos club, Makarios stated that with the EOKA warriors, the people of Cyprus had formed an entity that lives its principles. (Sabahattin, 1992) Despite Makarios' remarks, Turkish Cypriots opposed the situation.
- v. January 11, 1961: The EOKA terrorist organization placed a bomb in Küçük Kaymaklı, causing a massive explosion.
- vi. January 12, 1961: Vice President Dr. Küçük filed an application with the Constitutional Court using the annulment procedure of the Greek legislation for compensation of EOKA members who were suspended from service during the period when EOKA was active.(Sabahattin, 1992).
- vii. January 13, 1961: Although the Constitution required Turkish municipalities to be formed within six months of the Republic's inception, the Greeks resisted. They did, therefore, prevent the formation of a Cypriot army.
- viii. January 15, 1961: Members of the EOKA marched in Nicosia, painted slogans on the walls, and threatened Turkish Cypriots all at the same time.
- ix. January 16, 1961: EOKA took action in Baf and Limassol, killing two Greeks.

- x. January 17, 1961: Dr. Küçük invited the Greeks to stick to the agreements, leaving aside dreams.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xi. January 20, 1961: The statute establishing the Cypriot army was adopted.
- xii. January 21, 1961: Despite the objections of Turkish MPs, Greeks adopted the Revolution Budget Draft due to their majority in the House of Representatives.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xiii. 23 January 1961: A Turkish Cypriot parliamentary delegation visited Turkey. Müderrisoğlu, the Delegation's Head, stated, "They will address economic help problems."(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xiv. January 24, 1961: The Turkish Cypriot press met with Greek press representatives for a meal. A delegation of three persons was picked from both the Turkish and Greek sides for this meal. Controversial works resulting from this delegation will not be published.
- xv. February 6, 1961: Members of the Greek House of Representatives stated that they were ready to struggle for self-determination once more (Sabahattin, 1992). Hearing these statements, Turks exited the Assembly in protest.
- xvi. March 1, 1961: The Turkish Community Council's plan to construct a radio and television station at the Evkaf hotel was rejected by the Greek members of the Council of Ministers. The Congregation Council petitioned the Constitutional Court.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xvii. March 6, 1961: A boat carrying 250 tons of cement and 180 thousand tiles was dispatched to Turkey to assist Turkish Cypriots.
- xviii. March 13, 1961: Grivas was outraged when Cyprus was admitted to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

- xix. March 25, 1961: Due to the Greek independence day on March 25th, EOKA was hailed and Enosis was referenced in certain published publications in the name of full independence.
- xx. March 29, 1961: Dr. Küçük remarked that “measures will be taken if the rate of 70-30 is not applied in public services.”(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xxi. March 31, 1961: Thousands of Turkish Cypriots marched in Nicosia to protest the use of the 70-30 ratio.
- xxii. April 1, 1961: The Greeks commemorated the sixth anniversary of EOKA's establishment. Makarios remarked on the "completion of EOKA's unfinished works."(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xxiii. April 5, 1961: In the Baf area, a Turk called Altan Kemal was assaulted and interrogated by Greeks.
- xxiv. April 9, 1961: Protesting Greek provocations, Karpaz Turks organized a rally in Mehmetçik.
- xxv. April 25, 1961: The Greeks formed a new organization. The “Organization for the Protection of Greek Cypriots” (OPEK) claimed that Enosis will be realized and that Greeks should not sell a site of uncertainty to Turks.
- xxvi. September 6, 1961: In his address while traveling through Athens, Makarios, who attended the non-aligned summit in Yugoslavia, hailed the “Zurich and London accords as a half-victory.”(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xxvii. September 10, 1961: It was agreed to initiate a case with the Constitutional Court of the Turkish Civil Servants Institution of the Government of Cyprus, claiming that the 70-30 ratio was not enforced.
- xxviii. October 11, 1961: Greek Cypriot labor unions agreed to approach the United Nations in order to get the 70-30 rate lifted.

- xxix. 27 November 1961: İsmet İnönü, who introduced the new government program, expressed his hope that the Republic of Cyprus will continue to live in peace and harmony within the framework of existing treaties.(Sabahattin, 1992)
- xxx. December 2, 1961: Dr. Küçük remarked in Baf that what will bring pleasure and prosperity to side is mutual friendliness, not Enosis.

## **12. Some Conflict Issues in the Republic of Cyprus**

While there is considerable uncertainty in Cyprus, significant changes have emerged in Turkey as well. On May 27, 1960, the administration was deposed by a military coup.

Democracy was transformed into democracy on October 15, 1961, with general elections in which the newly founded parties also participated, although no single party could achieve a majority to come to power alone. As a consequence of the election results, the first coalition government in Republican history was formed on November 10, 1961, by the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) and the Adalet Partisi (AP), which emerged as the greatest heir of the Demokrat Parti. 24 years later, CHP Chairman İsmet İnönü took over as Prime Minister.(Gülen, 2011, p.394)

As previously indicated, the positive intentions voiced by İnönü on November 27, 1961, were publicized. However, despite the government's best efforts, Greeks dissatisfied with the present state of affairs in Cyprus began to act against specific sections of the Constitution.

### **12.1 Votes and Evaluations in the Council of Ministers**

According to the second paragraph of Article 46 of the Republic of Cyprus Constitution:

To secure executive power, the President of the Republic and the Vice-President of the Republic have a Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers. Ministers, as the case may be, are appointed by a decree signed by both the President and the Vice-President of the Republic. Outside of the House of Representatives, ministers can be elected.(Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1960)

The Council of Ministers had the authority to make decisions on any topics within the scope of both societies' well-known ones. Greek ministers were chosen by the Greek President, whereas Turkish ministers were chosen by the Turkish Vice President. The Council of Ministers makes decisions by absolute majority, although the President or his deputy has veto authority. This percentage, which gave the Greek Cypriot side a majority in the Council of Ministers, could only be obtained with the good intentions of the majority in question. Similarly, the Greek ministers did not demonstrate such noble intentions, and even took the decision by taking advantage of the overwhelming majority and considering their personal interests. The most apparent example is the topic of municipalities.

Despite the fact that the Constitution requires both communities to have separate municipalities in 5 major cities, the Greek majority of the House of Representatives did not pass legislation on the subject, and the Council of Ministers issued a decision defining the majority of Greek members and municipalities as development councils. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.68)

Similarly, the Turks' challenge to the Constitutional Court resulted in the annulment of this judgment.

## **12.2 Request for Abolition of Veto Right**

The Turkish Vice-President, with the power to veto decisions of the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives, was the weapon that most effectively prevented the Greek Cypriot leadership from dragging the bi-peoples partnership Republic to where it wanted on the basis of a majority in the Assembly and the Council of Ministers.(Sabahattin, 1992) The Republic's President and Vice-President have the authority of ultimate veto, individually or jointly, over any law or decision of the House of Representatives, or any portion thereof, on the following issues. (Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1960) Turkish The vice president might exercise his veto power over decisions made by the House of Representatives and the Council of Ministers on military, security, and foreign policy.(Sabahattin, 1992) Another significant aspect is that the vice-president and the Communal Assemblies both have the ability to file an appeal with the Constitutional Court. This scenario, on the other hand, was capable of preventing and utilizing the right to appeal to the Constitutional Court when the Greeks, based on their majority power, demonstrated an attitude devoid of good intents in accordance with their own interests. Similarly, during the course of the Republic's five years, the Greeks made many attempts to repeal this article. Another unfavorable scenario was that Greek authorities did not wish to comply with this privilege provided to Turks, and rulings were made by the Constitutional Court knowing that they would be overturned, which severely harmed relations between the two groups.

## **12.3 House of Representatives**

The legislative power of the republic is exercised by the House of Representatives in all matters other than those expressly reserved to the Communal Assemblies by this Constitution.(Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasas, 1960) The House of

Representatives was supported by the Communal Assemblies of the two communities.(Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Cumhuriyet Meclisi, 2018) The same issues emerge for ministers in the Council of Representatives as they do in the Assembly. Thus, by obtaining a majority of votes, Greek Cypriots acquired the right to speak. Because Greeks make up the majority of the membership, choices in many locations have been made with their interests in mind. The Assembly is intended to carry out the Constitution's mandated formation of independent municipalities, the requirement of the army, the decrease of bilateralism in society, and the establishment of trust. However, because the voices of Greeks in society and in parliament were overheard too often, a schism between the two sides developed rather than preserving social order. All measures that would enhance Turk development and allow the Turkish territory to expand were blocked in both the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Representatives, where the Greeks had the upper hand. Despite the Greeks' sentiments, Turks were forced to exercise their right to petition the Constitutional Court and their veto power.

#### **12.4 Attitudes towards the Constitutional Court**

According to paragraph 1 of Article 153 of the Republic of Cyprus Constitution, "a Supreme Court of Justice has been formed, comprised of two Greek judges, a Turkish judge, and an impartial judge." The impartial judge serves as the Court's President and has two responsibilities. (Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1960) The Constitutional Court's egalitarian stance has been a notable institution throughout the republic's existence. To ensure the Constitutional Court's impartiality, German Constitutional Professor E. Forsthoff was appointed, and municipalities and the army filed 60/40 serious cases.

Cypriot President Makarios exerted enormous pressure on the courts and everyone else involved in this case to dismiss the aforementioned cases or deliver bad results.

Aside from that, threats were made on German Constitution scholar E. Forsthoff and his helper, as well as some unsuitable rumors, were spread at the same time. Simultaneously, the execution of the Constitutional Court judgment, which granted rights to the Turkish Community, caused Forsthoff, the President of the Constitutional Court, to retire.(Eroğlu, 2002)

Makarios presided over a historic event involving municipalities throughout the world, and prior to the court's judgment, he declared that "if the decision to be taken is against it, he would not comply with this ruling."(Sabahattin, 1992)

### **12.5 70/30 Ratio in Public Services**

Two distinct groups of individuals oppose the implementation of the 70/30 ratio by public services.

Another point of contention between has been. Former EOKA members were appointed to the Civil Service Commission by Greek authorities, and they resisted the execution of the aforementioned ratio notwithstanding the rules of the Republic of Cyprus's Constitution. Despite the Greek Cypriots' attitude, it encouraged Turkish Cypriots to move since they did not feel safe and were unemployed.

Apparently, the Greeks' entire endeavor was to fully convert the state into a Greek state and to populate all organizations with their own people. Similarly, although though the majority of Greeks working in public services were EOKA, it was their job to exert pressure on Turkish personnel.

During this time, 640 of the island's 3274 university graduates were Turkish (19.5 percent ). There were 2634 Greeks (80.5 percent) among them.(Sabahattin, 1992) According to a declaration made by the Greeks, who were nominated to public service with the votes of the Greek members, and criticism of the Turks' disdain for their votes in the interim, it was stated that "there is no intelligent person among the

Turks."(Sabahattin, 1992) Despite this rhetoric, the proportion of Turks with high school and university degrees was far higher than the 30% necessary for public service.

### **12.6 60/40 Ratio in the Army**

The first problem the army faced was with the placement of the EOKA terrorist organization within the army. As a matter of fact, this situation posed a threat to the Turkish section, which was quite worn out from EOKA. All 150 officers assigned to the army were members of the EOKA terrorist organization. The same situation with the army is valid for the police units. For this reason, EOKA members were placed in the police units. At the same time, properly appointed Turkish police officers were dismissed in violation.

The second problem with regard to the army is that, according to Article 132 of the Constitution, "The forces in the parts of the Republic principle where only one Community members live, at a rate approaching one hundred percent, shall belong to that Community."(Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1960) was implemented. As can be understood from the article, in order for a region to be composed entirely of Turkish forces, that region had to consist of only Turkish people. Despite this article, the Greek leaders emphasized that Cyprus should not be divided into small regions but should be found collectively in a region . Undoubtedly, the aim here is to put pressure on a certain region by means of Greek army members, despite living in peace in a region.

As a matter of fact, this situation, which the Greeks wanted, was not an acceptable situation neither for the Turkish Cypriots nor for their leaders. EOKA members, dressed in army uniforms, attacked Turkish members during their training, and even bombed the army headquarters twice in a row.(Sabahattin, 1992).

### **12.7 Attitude Against the Request for Separation of Turkish-Greek Municipalities**

In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, separate municipalities would be established in 5 major cities, but they would take charge of the reconstruction of the places where their communities live.

The Greek mayors, who have the majority in the municipal councils, do not serve the Turkish part, and even the smallest part of the services provided in the Greek part has not been performed as a service in the Turkish part.

The work of the Turks in the municipalities is not done on time, the names of Turkish neighborhoods and streets are changed to Greek, the graves of Turkish martyrs and the places they consider sacred are demolished, the Turkish character of the cities is tried to be eliminated by all means.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.73)

Although this attitude of the Greeks continued for a long time, they dragged the two peoples to a situation that would make them enemies to each other. On the other hand, the Turks could not remain silent any longer against both these defeats and the defenders of Enosis.

In the past, during the Constitutional negotiations, two different groups did not differ on this issue. The fact that separate municipalities were established was accepted. As Greek Foreign Minister Averoff explains in his "Lost Opportunities", "Makarios himself wanted to establish separate municipalities in order not to bear the burden of the poor Turkish regions." (Sabahattin, 1992) Despite this statement of Makarios, when the issue of separate municipalities was included in the Constitution, he started to say that the island would be divided with an objection.

As a matter of fact, this was a self problem for the Turks. The issue of separate municipalities was, as Robert Stephens, the foreign news editor of the

newspaper “The Observer” said, “It was an indication of the self-government of Turks and how much Greek Cypriots accept that the Turkish community is a separate identity .”(Sabahatin, 1992)

With the establishment of a new municipality in Lefke, Greek leaders reacted and even telephones were interrupted in order to prevent the work. Makarios, on the other hand, announced that he dissolved in order to prevent the establishment of municipalities, although he did not have a single one.

Deputy of the President of the Constitutional Court E. Forsthoff, Dr. Christian Heinze describes the attitude of Greek Cypriot leaders towards municipalities in his book as follows:

One of the most important examples of Greek Cypriots violating the Cyprus Constitution was the issue of municipalities. The violation of the Constitution to establish separate municipalities in five cities, which has serious consequences for the Turks, announced in advance that the Turkish leadership would not recognize the decision of the Constitutional Court. Thus, the violation of the Constitution officially became legally valid. Thus, the Supreme Constitutional Court, which was the only independent body that could be brought about by the dispute between Greeks and Turks, was rendered inoperable.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.74)

Finally, despite their numerical superiority in state institutions, Greek Cypriots, since 1963, have made efforts to abolish legal regulations such as separate municipalities, which are guaranteed by the Turkish Cypriots, the right of veto, and to create a unitary state under their control.(Olcay and Efezil, 2004. )

### **12.8 Problems in the Application of Taxes**

The quorum in the House of Representatives is at least one third of the total number of members. Any amendment to the Electoral Law requires

the adoption of any law regarding municipalities or imposing duties or taxes , requiring the simple majority of the Representatives elected by the Greek and Turkish Communities and participating in the vote.(Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1960)

When the tax laws expired, Greek leaders were making efforts not to enact new tax laws. After this, Turkish deputies accepted the 3-month extension and the Greek leaders abused this 3-month period, but the Turkish leaders accepted the next extension on the condition of 2 months.

They rejected this proposal because they believed it would give an opportunity to put pressure on the Greeks in solving other tense problems with the Turkish Cypriots.(Sabahattin, 1992) On 31 March 1961, Makarios reached the tax offices and demanded the continuation of the collection of taxes. On the other hand, Turkish leaders demanded not to pay data in response to Turkish Cypriots not complying with this law. Indeed, there was an injustice when the tax was paid. As the most distinctive feature of this, they were faced with the fact that a lot of money was transferred to the Greek Cypriot side and at the same time, the Greek citizen was taken into office in an unfair manner.

Despite the justification of the Turks regarding the tax issue, Makarios was stating that the 70/30 rate would not be applied if it was unknowingly required, and at the same time, he would not obey the articles that restrict Makarios in accordance with the Constitution.

### **13. 1962 -1963 Years Who Belong to Political Events**

#### **13.1 Makarios' Visit to Ankara**

Makarios' 4-day visit to Ankara took place on 22 November 1962. Before departing to Ankara, Makarios made the following statements:

I am grateful for the kind invitation of the President of Turkey, Mr. Gürsel, which will give me the opportunity to see the new Turkey, and especially Ankara. There is no doubt that this visit will reinforce the friendly relations existing between the two countries. I am convinced that personal contacts will help good relations and cooperation between our countries.(Babaoğlu, 2016, p.314)

The plane in which Makarios was in landed at Ankara Esenboğa Airport on 22 November and was welcomed by a large official body including President Cemal Gürsel, Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, Council of Ministers and Senate members. Afterwards, President Cemal Gürsel welcomed his counterpart with the following words:(Babaoğlu, 2016)

Mr. President I am happy to greet you right now, when you set foot on the land of our country. We are very pleased with the visit of you, the distinguished President of the young Cyprus State, to which we are affiliated with the feelings of friendship, to our country. We believe that your visit will help further the development of cooperation inspired by the existing ties between our countries. Under your administration, we are following the efforts of Cypriots to reach a higher level of prosperity and happiness every day, within their brotherly ties, with close interest and sincere wishes of success. As I repeat our satisfaction with your visit, I would like to welcome you to our country.(Babaoğlu, 2016, p.314)

Despite the statements of President Cemal Gürsel, Makarios:“I am very pleased with your kind invitation to visit your country. I would like to express my gratitude to this opportunity to visit you and your kind words.”(Babaoğlu, 2016).

Since the two presidents attending the ceremony did not have the National Anthem of the Republic of Cyprus at that time, the Turkish National Anthem was heard. While they were on their way to Çubuk Road, Yıldırım, Beyazıt Square, Çankırı Street, Ulus Square and Atatürk Boulevard, a group of students intercepted the vehicle *and* opened “Comply with the London and Zurich Treaties”(Babaoğlu, 2016) banners. At the same time, we have been faced with the discourses of “Hoot” and “What face are you coming with.” In the meantime, police sirens continued to get louder and quickly to disperse the gathered group as soon as possible. (Babaoğlu, 2016)

Makarios paid silence by bringing a wreath to the Mausoleum visit. He signed Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's private notebook by writing “Cypriot Makarios” and left Anıtkabir.(Babaoğlu, 2016) At 20.30, Mayor Gürsel and his wife gave a dinner in Çankaya in honor of Archbishop Makarios. Prime Minister İnönü, members of the Council of Ministers, the Presidents of the Senate and the National Assembly, and the Commanders of Force were present at the dinner. The official dinner, “A particular place in the hearts of the Turkish Cypriot nation”where n is expressing Gürsel then President Makarios made a speech after their best wishes; “The Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks now live together in harmony and work for the development of their country. Their homeland, which has been freed from its foreign administration, is steadfastly advancing towards progress, very hopeful for the future.” made promising statements.(Babaoğlu, 2016)

The subject focused on the Cyprus Delegation and the Turkish Delegation meeting chaired by Makarios is the Zurich and London agreements. Towards the end of this meeting, Makarios stated that the important points of the treaties had been understood, and at the same time answered “No doubt”to the press that asked whether the Constitution would be fully implemented. Despite Makarios's discourse and

attitudes, Foreign Minister Feridun Cemal Erkin emphasized “That the Republic of Cyprus did not become a fully independent republic with the London and Zurich agreements and that the constitutional rights of the Turks living on the island should be protected.”(Babaoğlu, 2016)

Finally, Gürsel, who accompanied Makarios at Esenboğa Airport as a result of his 4-day visit to Ankara, addressed to him: “Bring greetings to the Cypriots. Let them not increase the small events.”(Babaoğlu, 2016) It was emphasized that the issues encountered were not recalled or reminded of. When Makarios returned to Cyprus, he expressed his displeasure to a group of students who had protested him through Greek media.

During Makarios ' official visit to Turkey, when the issue of constitutional amendment came to the agenda, after the severe warnings of İsmet İnönü and Feridun Cemal Erkin, Makarios stated that he had no purpose in this direction. (Babaoğlu, 2016) As a matter of fact, it will come to the international platform again in 1963 due to the violation of the basic provisions of the Constitution of Cyprus.(Arsava, 1996)

Another important point is that the Republic of Turkey has made it clear that any attitude that violates the London and Zurich agreements is not allowed.

### **13.2 The Years 1962 and 1963 Within the Framework of Akin Newspaper's Archives**

As of the foundation of the Republic, it was a period of both different societies getting used to each other, trusting each other and establishing the state under the Republic. It was clear that even among the state organs that needed to be established, some negative attitudes of the Greek press and the Greek Cypriot side could not fully grasp the Republic of Cyprus and at the same time, unfortunately, Enosis was not abandoned and therefore, their attitude towards Turks was disingenuous. By looking at the archives of the Akin newspaper, we can see how they kind of collapsed the Republic in 1962.

In the second year of the Republic, we can see that the relationship between the two communities deteriorated further. One day does not pass, that no murder is committed by the Greeks or attacks are made against the Turks, and the Turkish workers are not expelled from the Greek side. While the Greek people move in this direction, the same situation is also valid for the Greek leaders. With each passing day, they share explicit texts supporting Enosis. As an example of this, the Minister of Speaking at the opening ceremony of the former EOKA members' club in Limassol on February 10, Yorgacis, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, did not hesitate to refer to Turkish Cypriots, who are equal participants in the Republic, as a "Minority."(Sabahattin. 1992)

The Minister of Internal Affairs did not stop there, and delivered remarks such as,

The descendants of the occupying troops who perpetrated the murder in the harshest way Turks, the heirs of immigrants who should be stripped of their national citizenship title, and those who misused the privileges granted to them to the disadvantage of Greeks.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.78)

While the Minister of Internal Affairs is responsible for maintaining trust and peace, Turkish leaders tell Yorgacis that "they are obligated to protect the security of not just the Greek Community, but also the Turkish Community."(Sabahattin, 1992) He went on to say:

- i. We agreed to the continuation of cordial relations between Turkey and Greece, as well as other parties involved, and put a stop to tensions and harsh actions between the two communities by making significant sacrifices in exchange for the current conciliatory position.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.78)

- ii. We have promised to cooperate with the Greek side in good faith, collaboration, and honesty, in line with the spirit and text of the international accords that include the Republic of Cyprus. One of the key features of this agreement is that Cyprus is not allowed to join another state, in whole or in part. Obviously, this necessitates renouncing the concept of altering the present system, which provides the essential footing for the two groups to collaborate on a long-term basis.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.78)
- iii. We declare that, despite the great provocations of some Greek circles, including the Minister of Interior, we are ready to continue cooperating with Greek Cypriots for the welfare of Cyprus, and we ask all responsible authorities to end the mufti speeches and declarations and to officially declare that the Minister of Interior has nothing to do with the speech.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.78)

Despite every declaration, the Turkish Cypriot sector has a well-intentioned mentality, as seen by these remarks. In response to the Turkish Cypriot people's goodwill, OPEK issued the following statement headed "Last Warning."

During the four years of valiant fight, we issued the final warning to stop collaborating with the barbaric British and Turks, as well as to halt all dealings with them, in order to economically collapse them. Those who ignore this warning will face exemplary punishment from the members of OPEK, who are tasked with protecting Greek Cyprus and will not back down from any risk in order to achieve the aim that the eternal dead of our ancient past have left us with. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.78)

Without further ado, the Bayraktar Mosque was attacked on March 25, Greece's Freedom Day. Similarly, on April 1, the formation day of the EOKA terrorist group, exaggeration in the name of Enosis was made. Makarios stated during the EOKA museum's opening: "The splendor of the EOKA battle campaign will enlighten the Greek Cypriot Administration's national path." Let us see forward through the eyes of our mujahids."(Sabahattin, 1992)

Another remark, delivered during the Faneromeni Church ceremony: "The tide of history cannot be halted." The path from imprisonment to liberation is arduous. The path from Freedom to Enosis is quite simple."(Sabahattin, 1992)

EOKA'ci Lokal, Minister of Labor, stated in his introductory remarks:

These agreements, imposed by foreign political interests and drafted in Zurich, have the potential to be a stumbling block. They cannot, however, be a measure for Cyprus, which is historically, intellectually, and unofficially the property of the whole Greek world. If opportune circumstances occur and the nation summons us back to service, the same postures will be available to assist a fresh battle, and Makarios' noble robe will be the banner of new actions. We will take the shackles we have broken, create new weapons, and use these weapons to construct a bridge over the cliff that separates Cyprus from Greece.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.79)

In reality, the same image applauded the President again, who unveiled the bust of EOKA's Pallikaridis in Ada Village on May 13, while Greek Cypriot students in Greece were ignored at EFEK. They were aware and vowed to be aware.

In reaction to these remarks, Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives Halit Ali Rıza stated, "The Greeks aim to violate the Constitutional order and exclude one of the two partners, the Turkish Community." Clearly and

succinctly, the goal of these groups is to become the Cypriot state. The claims that the Turkish authorities violated their rights are also made to obscure these goals, and they cannot be taken seriously by people who are familiar with the system and the realities.(Sabahattin, 1992)

According to Greek Education Director Kleantis Georgiadis, who talked to Sinaermos Newspaper on Turkey's backing for the Technical University to be created in Cyprus: "We believe that if Greek Cypriots stop attending Greek universities, our ties with Greece would deteriorate." However, we should not even consider diminishing these bonds for a second.”(Sabahattin, 1992) It is clear from this that they are opposed to the establishment of a university in Cyprus.

Makarios, the feast of the Virgin Mary at the monastery on August 15 trodos cikko for the purpose of the speech, ahead of the second anniversary of the Republic of Cyprus:

Our battle is not yet finished; the struggle and the struggle continue in a phase that has been accomplished, and a new way by people who believe in Cyprus's future will be resumed. Those who think that the conclusion of the first phase is not the end objective, but rather a stop and a starting point for future wins, will continue to battle.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.81)

Despite Makarios' rhetoric, the Turkish press published the following headlines: "Makarios' astonished speech.," "The president is against the Republic," and "the aim he intended to accomplish was not the Republic."(Sabahattin, 1992)

On September 17, the lawyer's office of Denktas, the Speaker of the Turkish Jamaat Majlis, was bombed, and Mehmet Ali Tremeseli, a Turkish Jamaat Majlis member, was pushed off the road and assaulted by Greek cops in the Elence hamlet.

Dr. Küçük, on the other hand, stated that “in fact, collaboration of Turkish and Greek villages is necessary for development.”(Sabahattin, 1992)

That is correct, Dr. Küçük in the face of this well-intentioned attitude in his little one, the Greek sector responded violently once more. On October 9, 1962, Greek soldiers engaged in a fight at the Cyprus Army Training Center. When the Greek Princess Irini arrived on October 10, the former EOKA members demonstrated against the Zurich agreements in favour of Cyprus's unification with Greece, branding those who backed the Zurich pact as "Zurich criminals."

Makarios spoke about Cyprus's Greek character during the Princess's visit and used the following phrases: "Cyprus has acted in the Greek spirit throughout its history." Cyprus took inspiration from this mentality and built its principles accordingly.” (Sabahattin, 1992)

"Your visit to Cyprus is a sign of the close linkages between our nation and Cyprus, where the Greek and Turkish Communities have been living together for years," Dr. Küçük said upon Princess Irini's arrival. We are determined to proceed with genuine cooperation, good intentions, and understanding...”(Sabahattin, 1992)

The approach of President Makarios and Turkish officials is clear. In actuality, it indicates which faction has joined the Republic. As evidence, the following statements are relevant. In reaction to Irene's arrival, Dr. Spiridakis, President of the Greek Community Council, stated:

Cyprus is proud to be a national and spiritual part of Greece. Despite the fact that Cyprus has been liberated from foreign oppression after years of struggle, notably the last four years of courageous war, it remains devoted to achieving its national objective.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.83)

On the anniversary of EOKA's death, Greek officials erected a bust of him in virtually every village in Cyprus. However, it should be noted that neither the Turkish Cypriots nor their leaders have erected a bust of their martyrs. Makarios remarked on the occasion of the presentation of an EOKA's bust on October 21:

We will remain on this island as Greek as long as we uphold the principles for which our forefathers fought and died. Their sacrifice demands adhering to the values agreed upon as the goal of our four-year conflict. Our struggle's goals and national trajectory have not changed.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.84)

Denktaş stated in response to Makarios' statement:

It is a violation of the Constitution for a person holding the post of head of the republic in a partnership Republic formed by the Turkish and Greek peoples to be able to fulfill the EOKA's combat objectives. It is an emotional event, which may aggravate the tension... The Greek administrators' dilemma is explained by the government's failure to take action in the face of frequent publication of this problem in Greek media, as well as the lack of a barrier to the operations of the Greek secret underground organization.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.84)

During Dr. Küçük's trips to Turkish villages, he emphasizes the need of sustaining Turkish and Greek partnership and seeks to defuse the antagonistic climate created by Makarios.

Makarios' provocation was quickly successful, and Greek dread on the island progressively intensified. Greek Cypriot governments, on the other side, have infringed Turkish rights via constitutional breaches.(Güler, 2004) The following was Makarios' answer to Küçük's nonviolent appeals:

The same thing that Greeks have wished for in our country for decades and that has motivated our mujahideen now throws light on our people's path... we will maintain and strive to achieve the ideals for which they died.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.86)

Unfortunately, Makarios' words turned into more than simply sentiments, and a Turkish school was assaulted on the night of December 4. Greek leaders swallowed threatening remarks, and attacks were started. In actuality, while aboard a plane, Omar Sami Coşar, a journalist who arrived in Cyprus from Turkey on December 13 and is the chairman of the Turkish Community Council's Social Affairs and Municipal Affairs Department, was threatened and compelled to leave the island.

Those who did not want the municipal laws to be extended, which were set to expire on December 31, proposed the formation of mixed municipalities comprised of 7 Greek Cypriots and 3 Turks, rather than the establishment of separate municipal laws as stated in the Constitution, which the Greek leaders opposed. The Greek authorities were clearly opposed to the creation of autonomous municipalities and sought to change the Constitution as a result.

Recognizing this goal, Turkish leaders were adamantly opposed to the creation of mixed commissions, and the Turkish Community Council began enacting its own municipal regulations. Simultaneously, Greek Cypriot authorities were presented with a plan to establish the limits of a municipality. Furthermore, the Greeks were opposed to this notion. On December 27th, Denktaş stated:

Following the first conversations, we understood and agreed that the goal is to completely eliminate existing municipalities and delegate all municipal functions to a seven-member, Triple mixed committee. For us, this is not a

feasible option. If we said yes, we wouldn't be able to back out of anything like this.(Sabahattin, 1992, P.87)

On December 29th, Makarios announced, “As of January 1, 1963, municipalities would be dissolved, and municipal affairs would be handled by the government, and geographical division of municipalities is impossible, it is not practicable to carry out the provision of the Constitution on municipalities.” (Sabahattin, 1992).

Following Makarios' remarks, Dr. Küçük and Rauf Denктаş asked that their legislation, the Turkish Municipalities Law, be enacted if the current law was not renewed. As a result, when the Greek MPs were rejected by 31 votes to 15, the legislation enacted by the Turkish Community Assembly entered into effect on January 1, 1963. On January 1, the Turkish mayor and its members issued a joint proclamation saying that the Community Council's local regulations would be followed and that the central government's unlawful and unconstitutional instructions will be ignored.(Sabahattin, 1992).

Foreign Minister Feridun Cemal Erkin remarked during a discussion with Dr. Küçük, Rauf Denктаş, and Osman Rek in parliament:

Prior to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, Turks occupied around 16% of public sector employment; however, this proportion has subsequently grown to 25.5 percent. To fulfill the constitutional requirement, the remaining 4.5 percent of public services must be given to Turks in accordance with the Constitution's spirit and word... In terms of the army, Article 129 of the Constitution mandates the formation of a force of 2000 people, 60% Greek and 40% Turkish.

There is still a 375-person army. The conflict is located at:

Turkish administrators believe that forces up to the division, including a group of soldiers, should be made up entirely of Turks or Greeks, while battalions are made up of mixed groups. This viewpoint is based on some technical requirements as well as some Constitutional restrictions. Greek Cypriot military specialists, on the other hand, argue for just a handful of troops and teams made up of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, with the remainder being mixed.

In terms of municipalities, both the Turkish government and the Cyprus government Unfortunately, the Turkish administrators' offerings were not accepted by the Greek Cypriot administrators.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.88-90)

Meanwhile, the motion's speaker, Nihat Erim, stated:

Makarios will not use the Constitution to execute Enosis, as seen by his application to the UN, and he does not live with the Turks. He will declare that we would offer Turks the same rights as minorities and establish a new state of Cyprus. If the agreements are violated, taksim will take their place before Enosis. It is an honor for Turkey not to subject 120 thousand Turks to another kingdom's tyranny. (Sabahattin,1992, p. 90) expressed his ideas in the form.

Following Erim, all Turkish leaders with a say announced their complete solidarity in the Cyprus matter. Makarios stated on January 10, 1963, that the conflicts over Cyprus were a domestic affair and that no one should meddle.

Despite Makarios' assertion that municipalities are an internal matter, Cemal Erkin answers as follows:

The question of municipalities is believed to be a Cyprus domestic matter. It cannot be interfered with from the outside. No, the situation is not that way. The core elements of the Cyprus Constitution, including the provisions of

Article 173 paragraphs 1 and 3 regarding municipalities, are international treaties. These are the obligations contained in the Zurich Agreement, which Turkey has also signed. These are the provisions of the Constitution that are covered by the Guarantee Agreement, to which Turkey is a signatory. These are also among the fundamental provisions of the Constitution, which establish the order that Britain and Greece recognize and protect under Article 2 of the Guarantee Agreement.

In the presence of the Supreme Council, I would want to reiterate that the Turkish government and nation cannot give up even their contractual rights under agreements. Everyone should be aware of this in such a way that there is no space for even the tiniest doubt or ambiguity.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.92).

On January 25, 1963, in retaliation to Cemal Erkin, Greek Cypriot officials attacked the Bayraktar Mosque for the second time. The municipal plots, however, were designated as development zones by the Council of Ministers on January 30.

Makarios' comment to Express Newspaper Reporter Lew Gardener, as a major development, is as follows: "I will not accept even if a Constitutional Court rules that my movement is against the Constitution on Municipalities..." (Sabahattin, 1992) Dr. Küçük's answer from Berlin was as follows: "Agreements cannot be modified unilaterally."(Sabahattin, 1992)

The circular sent to official offices by the Council of Ministers solely with the approval of the Greek members indicated a new tension surrounding Municipalities when Turkish Municipalities were urged not to pay taxes. Turkish officials, on the other hand, have maintained that the taxes would be paid to Turkish municipalities in the same manner as previously. Makarios, on the other hand, heightened the situation by announcing that the profession tax would be removed from Turkish officials'

wages. In the continuation, whose leader is Makarios, it is evident that they are breaching the Constitution, as evidenced by remarks made by Minister of Interior Yorgacisi. And the EOKA members, emboldened by this, issue the following statement on March 25:

Greece is weeping and pounding its chest as a result of the heinous Zurich accord. Regardless of the challenges, Cyprus, which is not disheartened, learns from March 25. Taking notice of the Half-God sacrifices of 1821, Zurich continues its determined fight to free the bonds and join with its homeland Greece. Long live the 25th of March, Long live Greece, Long live Enosis. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.94)

“A proclamation was published in an Italian publication claiming that you are attempting to build a Cypriot awareness on the island,” Makarios was asked by the Cyprus News Agency. Is this accurate?”(Sabahattin, 1992)) Despite this query, Makarios had an interesting response:

There is, in my opinion, no Greek Cypriot who honestly believes I can make such a claim. Greek Cypriots are Greeks who, like their forefathers, have a Greek consciousness today. That is how they will always be. The concept of a state and the concept of a country are not necessarily synonymous. A new state was formed as a result of the London Agreement, but not a new nation. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.95)

There is, in my opinion, no Greek Cypriot who honestly believes I can make such a claim. Greek Cypriots are Greeks who, like their forefathers, have a Greek consciousness today. That is how they will always be. The concept of a state and the concept of a country are not necessarily synonymous. The London Agreement established a new state but did not establish a new country. It's a tragedy that the

President, who opposes the Zurich and London accords while being one of their signatories, controls the island of Cyprus under the guise of the so-called Republic. On the 8th anniversary of the EOKA terrorist group, he said that the objective of EOKA's formation was not to create the Republic of Cyprus, and that the foundation of this Republic was carried out because they were put under pressure. Denktaş, on the other hand, responds to this inflammatory comment with the following:

Makarios disclosed the Greek Enosis' ambitions for Cyprus. This conduct violates the agreements he made as an independent representative and fully authorized representative of Greek Cypriots... In this scenario, it is the Turkish Cypriots' responsibility to protect the Constitution by taking the appropriate safeguards... Makarios and the Greek Cypriots intend to amass Enosis, and the accords are moving forward. The start of a step represents the victory of the future. These are perilous notions...

If Makarios believes in these things, he should retire from the Presidency he holds as an honorable person rather than hiding behind a Constitution that forbids him from preparing the implementation of his views. Using the troops of a state of which you are the head to destroy that state from the ground up is not a legal act. The offer made by Makarios and Glafkos Kliridis to Turkish Cypriots to remain in Cyprus as a minority subject to human rights, the sacrifices made by Turkish Cypriots to ensure their current status, and the international agreements that comprise the Republic of Cyprus are non-royalty, meaningless, and ridiculous.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.95-96)

While Turkish Cypriot officials' views and remarks were similar, the Republic of Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Feridun Cemal Erkin, assessed the situation as follows:

“If the Greek Cypriot responsible individuals are determined to break the international accords they have signed and the Constitution, the Republic of Turkey will be as resolved to safeguard and preserve Turkish rights.” President Makarios believes that the Guarantee Agreement violates the UN Charter. If the President is indeed of this opinion, he is making a miscalculation... If the President truly believes this, he is making a mistake... If Greek Cypriots seek to create illegal circumstances, they will bear full responsibility for the repercussions. This rape attempt will be met with all of the power and unity of the Turkish people. A government that abandons our dear kinsmen numbering over a hundred thousand people to the arbitrary authority of foreigners will never exist in Turkey.”(Sabahattin, 1992, p.96)

On April 25, 1963, another significant municipal problem occurred. They declared that the Council of Ministers' judgments on zoning zones were null and invalid, and that the decisions were contrary to the Constitution. Greek Cypriots, unable to cope with the circumstances, carried out another attack, bombing a cinema in Kaymakl. Furthermore, a major incident erupted in the Paphos region as a result of Greek Cypriot insults directed against Turks.

Dr. Küçük claimed on May 9 that Makarios declared that he would never accept the subject of independent municipalities. In reality, this discourse was created following the discussions conducted following the Constitutional Court ruling. Following Dr. Küçük's declaration, the Constitutional Court decided to annul the municipal affairs, as did the Greek members in January, and the central government chose to transfer the municipal affairs with a similar judgment. The Turks refused to accept this position in January, indicating a return to the beginning.

After Greek officials consistently disregarded constitutional judgments, a scholar traveled to Germany. Prof. Dr. Forsthoff, Makarios, and communicated his resignation to Dr. Küçük in a letter. Who issued a statement about Forsthoff's departure on May 25? He evaluated the minor problem as follows:

Prof. Dr. Forsthoff came to see me late at night on April 21, 1963, claiming that various Greek circles were insinuating, among other things, that his life was in danger because his assistant was working in favor of the Turks, and that this threat had only been temporarily erased by them. It is clear that their goal is to be a free judge. It was to make life miserable and difficult for Dr. Forsthoff...(Sabahattin, 1992, p.97)

Dr. Küçük then made a proposal to the Greek side to avert this resignation, but it was refused. Furthermore, he notified Dr. Christian Heinze that he had been tried and threatened him with false allegations in order to quiet him. According to the press, the Greek authorities took the resignation gracefully and with great joy. In reality, the headline "Forsthoff's Resignation" appeared in the Sinaermos Newspaper. It was stressed in the text that the Greek portion was extremely delighted with this and that it was a chance to achieve the aim as quickly as possible.

Following his departure, Forsthoff claimed that Makarios violated the Constitution and that choices on municipalities should be determined by Turks and Greeks.

In a statement to the Daily Telegraph Newspaper six months ago, Rauf Denктаş, the Turkish Community Council, publicly announced the forthcoming Greek attacks. Denктаş highlighted that EOKA had plans and was armed at the same time, and that provocative conduct toward Turks had grown. In addition to all this, he said that his phones were tapped and that he also had evidence of this.

Denktaş claimed that the Greeks' aims were to cancel all international accords, remove the rights of Turks, and transform them into a minority with only minimal assurances.

Greeks conducting business with Turks, on the other side, were also threatened. The letter addressed to a Greek Cypriot with the signature "Black Eagle" just because he worked with a Turk read as follows:

For the first and final time, I tell you to cease entertaining the Turkish horseshoer in your home and showing him hospitality. If you do not reform and the driver who brought him to the community persists, you will face severe penalties. If you do not comply with this order without protesting, you will be labeled a traitor. Treason is punishable by death alone. The Black Eagle.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.100)

Makarios told certain media sources that he was attempting to draft a constitutional change as if heaping coals into the fire, and that he backed him in communist institutions. In fact, when speaking to the United Press Agency on August 9, 1963, Makarios did not hesitate to refer to Turks as a minority while discussing the Constitution's modification.

Denktaş, on the other hand, stated, "Even death itself cannot deter us from exercising our rights," and when proposing cooperation, he added, "We are determined to live as free people with our foreheads, and we are ready to cooperate with the Greeks according to the principle of equality determined by the legal order." (Sabahattin, 1992)

Following Makarios' ignored call to Denktaş, the opposition leader, Dervis, invited Grivas to the island of Cyprus, saying:

If Makarios is not disheartened this time and does not surrender to the agency of the Americans and Karamanlis, Zurich will be his last destination. It has the power to atone for your treachery. However, if Makarios fails to perform his duties at the last minute, the people will have the power to invite Grivas to Cyprus will take the lead in a new fundamental fight. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.102)

According to the Democratic Union Party's declaration:

In these historical days, when everyone agrees that the Zurich trial will be a flop, our most pressing need is to forge a national and unwavering front against Zurich. The principle of self-determination should be attempted to be realized under the management of this front.(Sabahattin, 1992, p.103)

The Republic of Turkey once again encouraged Greek Cypriots to good will and warned: "Because the aforementioned comments attempt to change Cyprus's established Constitutional regime and accords, they are legally unfounded and impossible to consider as internal business." Because Cyprus's constitution was established through an international agreement, and the provisions of the constitution are protected by the Guarantee Agreement,(Sabahattin, 1992, p.103)

Following that, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that, notwithstanding Makarios' statements that the Constitutional crisis was an internal matter, they lacked legal legitimacy and should face the consequences of their unlawful actions and attitudes.

To heed Turkey's and Turkish Cypriot leaders' warnings, Greek officials stated at every chance that they would not abandon EOKA and Enosis, particularly Makarios. They even stated that the need for a constitutional amendment was a right of the people of Cyprus. As an illustration, consider the following statement:

The people of Cyprus have an unquestionable right to alter the Constitution. We will not seek the approval of any other state while making adjustments... According to the essential concept of democracy, the majority administers, the minority controls, and the minority community is acknowledged in the meanwhile. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.103)

In addition to Makarios' remarks, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Kliridis, did not hesitate in his address to Radio Canada to describe Turks as a minority and enumerated the provisions that need to be amended in the Constitution as follows: Separate municipalities

- i. 70/30 ratio in civil servant's quota
- ii. Separate majority of votes in passing tax laws
- iii. Separate courts

As the Republic of Cyprus approached its demise in the last month, Girne metropolitan Kiprianos added his voice to the cry of Enosis, saying in an interview with the Athens-based Elefteria newspaper, "... There is only one remedy in this case, which is Enosis, which constitutes the sole purpose of our long struggle and our last armed uprising."(Sabahattin, 1992)

When the date was December 3, 1963, an interesting incident occurred: an ineffective bomb exploded near the statue of EOKA's Markos Dragos, and the Greeks who took advantage of it immediately stated that the incident was a provocation, and they included the students in the work and with Greek flags in their hands under the leadership of the EOKA members.

The Turkish Cypriot National Union attempted to intervene quickly to quell the demonstrations and chastised Greeks who blamed the event on the Turks. The event was posted to the Turks one day later, without any documentation, and the

inflammatory comments were then reported in the Greek press. Taking advantage of the situation, Makarios quickly told the guarantor states that the Constitution needed to be amended.

Makarios, according to the Athens News Agency, is sending copies of his constitutional change plan to the embassies of Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom. The Turkish Council of Ministers has rejected Makarios' offer, which he submitted on December 7. The Turkish Foreign Minister summarizes Turkey's position in the following sentences:

The President of Cyprus's memorandum recommends amending the Zurich and London accords, as well as the Cyprus Constitution. The Council of Ministers decided to reject it because it was not feasible to accept an issue such as beginning discussions on these papers, which involve the preservation of the essential rights and interests of Turks in Cyprus. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.103)

According to Akin Newspaper, the issue is as follows:

The various rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community must never be negotiated. And Makarios will not be granted these privileges. Attempts to deprive Turks of their rights are always bound to fail. Our Greek partners, who are ready to take over the majority of our interests in the Zurich partnership, should see the folly of this love and abandon it as soon as possible. Otherwise, it will almost certainly end in disappointment. (Sabahattin, 1992, p.103)

Grivas entered the picture at a time when the political situation was becoming extremely heated. He also agreed with Makarios, underlining the need of annulling all commitments made as a result of every word uttered, and urging Turks to adopt the constitutional revisions as quickly as possible.

The 70/30 ratio, which should have been applied in 5 months, was only used as 72/25 for 22 months, while it was applied at a rate of 78/22 in the second half of 1962 and 81/19 in 1963, according to the assessments. The things are not completely completed. In reality, they were continually voicing their dissatisfaction with this by citing the fact that Turks were granted so many rights by the Greeks and that it would be impossible to execute them. The question is, how can it be said that the following unapproved drugs are not applicable? (Sabahattin, 1992)

England responded to the Constitutional proposal for this idea, stating that this request was not conceivable. The headline of the Akın Newspaper was written in the newspaper's news section. According to an article from Milliyet Newspaper, "the British Foreign Ministry stated that the modifications in the Constitution of Cyprus and its accords cannot be limited to individuals." (Sabahattin, 1992)

While the Greek press supported Makarios, Turkish authorities declared that the Constitution would be modified unilaterally, and that if the Turkish government was not recognized, a "Turkish Cypriot Republic" would be created.

Makarios' 13-article constitutional amendment ideas are as follows:

1. The elimination of the President's and Vice President's veto powers. (The chairman and his deputy had veto authority over the council of ministers and the parliament on foreign affairs, defense, and security, according to the Constitution.) (Sabahattin, 1992)
2. When the President of the Republic is absent or unable to perform his responsibilities, the Vice President takes his place. (Sabahattin, 1992)
3. When the President of the Greek House of Representatives is absent or unable to perform his responsibilities, the vice president of the assembly assumes the role of chairman of the assembly. (Sabahattin, 1992)

4. The Assembly's President is to be elected separately by the Greek and deputy Turkish members, but both by the assembly's general assembly. (In such a situation, because the Greeks have a majority, the Speaker of the Assembly will always be Greek, and the deputy will always be Turkish.) This essay is solely intended to destabilize Turkish unity.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
5. Not needing a separate majority in parliament for the passage of certain measures. (Again, the Greeks would accomplish what they wanted by basing everything on majority rule.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
6. The formation of united municipalities. (The mayor will always be a Greek in this instance.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
7. Streamline the distribution of justice. (Greek judges dealt with Greek offenders, while Turkish judges dealt with Turkish criminals.) Even if the Turkish defendants were innocent, the Greek judge was at the mercy of the Greek judge in this instance. Another risk was that people were detained and placed under pressure as a result of the detention and search warrants obtained from Greek magistrates, as well as the search of Turkish residences and villages.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
8. The division of the security forces into police and gendarmerie will be abolished.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
9. Using the legislation to determine the amount of security troops. (According to the Constitution, the President and his deputy may jointly lower and increase the number.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
10. Changing the participation rates of the two communities in the government and the army in accordance with the two communities' population rates.

(Acceptance of this idea would imply acceptance of being disregarded for Turkish Cypriots.)(Sabahattin, 1992)

11. Reducing the number of public service commission members from ten to five.(Sabahattin, 1992)
12. All judgments are made by the public service commission with a simple majority. (In this situation, Greek members of the majority would be able to make any request.)(Sabahattin, 1992)
13. The Greek Community Council is abolished. (This idea resulted from the Greeks' effort to make the Republic government a Greek administration.)(Sabahattin, 1992)

### **13.3 Commencement of Attacks**

When the Greek authorities' offers in accordance with the Akritas plan were rejected, the attacks against Turkish villages began. The existence of a plan to eliminate the Turks, which was covertly conveyed to various sections of the island of Cyprus under the name Agonitis (combative) and publicized in Athens, was initially suggested.

According to the aforementioned plan, the Turkish Cypriots would be annihilated in a surprise attack, leaving Greece alone in Cyprus. To be specific, the Akritas strategy may be broken down into four components:

- I. Makarios' remarks demonstrated the course of the national cause. The overarching aim has not altered. To attain Enosis, both internal and exterior methods must be used.
- II. It was framed as "the people of Cyprus joining together in support of self-determination." Now, our first aim should be to disseminate the message that the Cyprus issue has not been settled in the international

arena and that it should be revisited. It should be emphasized that the solution established for this purpose is insufficient, and the two groups can coexist.

- III. The Cypriot leadership did not properly present the accords to the people, and we were the trump card in this scenario.
- IV. Confidentiality will be respected.(Sabahattin, 1992)

It is specified in the unknown portions of the Akritas plan how it would be accomplished in the parts known to EOKA members. The attacks against Turkish Cypriots were carried out as part of the "Akritas Plan," which was proclaimed on Makarios' orders. In summary, the plan was to persuade the world that the Zurich and London Agreements were not fair and did not result in a solution to the Cyprus problem, to persuade the world that some articles of the Constitution should be changed, and to persuade the world that the treaties treated Greeks unfairly. Accords of 1959 The plan further claimed that the Greeks' ultimate goal was to merge with Greece (enosis), to begin initiatives if the Turks approved the request for the Republic of Turkey to reform, and to remove the accords with an armed fait accompli if the request was refused.(Gülen, 2012) The attacks, which were centered on the aforementioned strategy, began at the end of 1963 and lasted through the early months of 1964.

#### **13.4 Events on the Night of 21 December 1963**

On December 21, 1963, President Makarios, Interior Minister Yorgacis, Parliament Speaker Clerides, and Minister of Labor Papadopoulos launched an offensive on the Turks as part of the "Akritas Plan" to eradicate the Turks in Cyprus and fulfill Enosisi.(Denizli, 2020)

General Kizikis, who attempted a coup in Greece, led the EOKA members that launched the attack and commanded Greeks armed with NATO weaponry. The EOKA members carry out the Akritas Plan under the supervision of Defense Minister Yorgacis, Makarios' personal doctor Vassos Lyssarides, and Nikos Sampson. Behind all of this is something the Greeks want to accomplish: eliminating Turkish Cypriot leaders, gathering healthy information about TMT, carrying out activities that would disintegrate Turkish Cypriots from within, weakening and severing ties between the Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey, defending the so-called Turkish-Greek friendship in accordance with Akritas, and finally, a Turk they'd suspected for years but hadn't given much thought to, to find out whether there's a rebel group. (Keser, 2011)

... Meanwhile, Turks were being shot, injured, and murdered. The Greeks were raiding the villages, and because we were underground, we were unable to stop them. When the Greek strikes began on December 21, we had to move aboveground since we were being hit as a group. At night, Greek police, EOKA members, and private automobiles barricaded the streets of Nicosia. In the vehicles, police officers dressed in civilian clothing and EOKA members practiced and talked over radios from time to time. We were tracking them without their knowledge. A civilian automobile surreptitiously went via Girne Street and shot the Atatürk bust one night while we were on watch inside the Nicosia Boys' High School building. We also dispersed outdoors, but they fled. The next day, while strolling around the high school building, they opened fire on the pupils, and we were now compelled by the commanders' instructions to leave... So, when the events of 1963 erupted, we didn't have a gun, but if we walked, the timing would be extremely opportune. The Greeks refused to

leave, but we were informed, 'This is self-defense.' Don't go any farther. 'Turkey will come, interfere, and do whatever is required.' TMT is passionate to Turkey and is highly loyal to it. As a result, "let us not sow dissension, let us not be misunderstood from the other side, from the motherland." You are hesitant... In this scenario, events are happening, and they patrol our Turkish territories at times, while we follow them at others... Such warm interactions began and these warm contacts ultimately began on December 21, 1963, when two young individuals who did not want to be checked in Tahtakale and their wife left a restaurant or a movie at a late hour and were stopped by the police. This family was shot because they do not want to be searched, and that is where it all begins. The next day, bullets were fired at the Kız High School's Ataturk Memorial. Female students are hurt, and they injure a citizen walking through a high, important building in Nicosia known as Aspava, setting off a chain of events. We are given the instruction to remove the dishes right away... We're off to an exciting start. How would Nicosia, where we are normally responsible for defending against Greek invasions, be defended? In the defense structure, all cities and villages assume their place. The Greeks are assaulting Nicosia and committing all of their forces to the city-state. What is the reason behind this? Because if Nicosia collapses, this issue will be resolved, but thankfully, this did not occur.(Keser, 2011, p.98)

Friday, December 21, 1963, around 2:00 p.m., when former EOKA men armed by Interior Minister Yorgacis participated in brutal behavior toward Turks, and subsequently set up obstacles to halt Turkish motorcycles, demanding their IDs with beatings and swearing, blood pressure increases significantly.(Keser, 2011)

The Greek attacks continue exactly on December 24. When the beach area was deemed a dead zone and left unguarded, an Armenian of Armenian ancestry named Avraami, who had been living among Turks in this location for a long time and was assumed to be Turkish, began the killings of the Greeks. The Greeks told the Greeks that no Turkish opposition existed in this location. With the fire assistance of the Greeks at the Severis Flour Factory in this region, more than 150 Greeks under the direction of a Greek commander named Terezepulos arrived in the Kumsal district. The Greeks slaughtered the 37-year-old wife of KTAK doctor Major Nihat İlhan, Mürüvet İlhan, and their children Murat, Kutsi, and Hakan in the bathtub where they were hiding. This incident is immediately broadcast to the whole globe by the international press. (Keser, 2011)

Hüseyin, the shepherd, delivers the bad news to Nihat İlhan, who is unaware of what is going on in his home. When İlhan asks Hüseyin if he is bringing his children's food, he is told, "Your children no longer eat bread or cheese." They achieved God." receives an answer. "Thank God, let the Homeland prosper." In reaction to İlhan, Hüseyin "How come you said that?" İlhan inquires: "If they missed it, sir. The young kid was four years old, and who knows which mountain they would be shepherds on at six. What did they intend to do with my wife? Suddenly, I felt comforted, and I thanked God for my nation. (Keser, 2011, p.98)

I was given permission to explore the beleaguered Turkish side. I was driven to the shore and led over broken glass to a green and white house with orange trees in its yard. This house's bathroom was drenched in blood, as if it were a slaughterhouse, and inside was a blood-soaked lady and her three children. In the room next to it, there was another deceased woman. According to my

guide, the second mother and her children were the family of an aristocratic Turkish and were murdered by Greek Cypriots. Everywhere I looked on the Turkish side, there was a town that had escaped the conflict. It was a heartbreaking sight to witness. Sandbags, guard posts, weapons in their hands, and bereaved individuals with tired expressions on their faces. 'They used dum-dum bullets,' men explain blankly while looking at a world they don't recognize while women rely on their wounds at an aid facility for the destitute. Our men, on the other hand, said, "Don't move," and they followed his command. The Greeks assaulted us while disguised in civilian clothes.(Keser, 2011, p.101)

It quickly becomes obvious that Küçük Kaymaklı is another target for the Greeks. They chose this location since it is home to 5,000 Turks. As a result, it is the location with the highest concentration of Turks. In fact, in the early hours of the morning, a group of EOKA members led by a man named Nikos Samson enter Küçük Kaymaklı carrying slogans. They begin by saying things like, "We come to aid you." Samson is holding a Turkish flag in one of his hands. The men, women, and children are then separated. And they get to work. The balance sheet is excellent. 300 people were killed and 700 were wounded!(Oktay, 2015)

#### **13.4.1 Turkish Jets and UN Peace Studies**

On December 25, 1963, Turkish planes anxiously awaited the sight of Turkish Cypriots wreaking havoc in the skies over Cyprus. Osman Rek, the Defense Minister of the Republic of Cyprus, was summoned and a meeting was sought with him. The official meeting takes place in the British High Commissioner's residence. Turkish Cypriot forces have advanced towards Nicosia, which has entered the order of war, at a critical juncture. Knowing this, the Turkish commanders are persuaded and a cease-

fire resolution is made at the urging of the Greek and British commanders. Time has been gained in this manner.(Oktay, 2015)

The peacekeeping force is the subject of the second decision. A mixed peacekeeping team has been established and instructed to stay on the island indefinitely. Third, Nicosia will be split in half. The Green line is the line that separates Nicosia. Cantons are created in areas where Turks dwell in large numbers. There are 103 mixed communities spread over the island. Approximately 45 thousand individuals would move to the cantons that were sketched with a green pencil during the British Commissariat's formal conference that day. The term Green linederives from the green pen used to write in the cantons. As a result, the process of splitting Cyprus into two halves started. They retreated to their separate dwelling spaces in both groups.(Oktay, 2015)

### **13.5 The Events of December 21 with the Memoirs of Dr. Fazıl Küçük**

Dr. Fazıl Küçük, former Vice President, tells the BRT about his memory of the events of December 21, 1978:

In November 1963, Makarios presented me with a 13-article Constitutional amendment proposal, to which I did not react. After a week, he met with me again and asked what I thought, to which I said that, because some of them are vital parts of the Constitution, we can only modify them at the meeting with Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom. Makarios demanded a written response to this response.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

In the meantime, a nervous mood began to pervade the Council of Ministers. The discussions were abrasive and at times cruel, and no one looked at one other's faces as they left the meeting. Makarios would invite me to his office after our weekly Council of Ministers meeting, order me coffee, and insist on

my accepting his modification suggestions. "If you accept it, Turkey will accept it," he once said. He stated his case. On the other side, I reminded him of my first-day response and indicated that I had no other thoughts. During one of these discussions, I informed him that police squads had lately stopped Turks on the highways, made phone calls, and began harassing them. When I informed Makarios that inciting events would not generate positive outcomes, he claimed that those situations were created by Turkish youngsters and that it was my responsibility to calm them down.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

In my address to the Turks and Greeks assembled in the coffeehouse, I underlined that we should learn from the events of 1955-1958, and when I mentioned that seeking to bring those days back would be against both populations, the Greek headman who rose up offered a disingenuous statement. He was cheered and turned to me, saying, "You see," "How at ease we are in this community."(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

In exchange for the reported 60-70 Turks, 700-800 Greeks lived. "Be a bit fair," he said to the priest. How can 70 Greeks out of a population of 800 cause unrest? "Does that bother you?" The priest remained silent.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

Two days after leaving the area, word arrived that the mosque's wooden windows had been removed. I had to return to the village. This time, the police sergeant approached me and handed me the names of three or five youngsters aged 19 to 12, whom they suspected. Of course, I didn't believe it. Because activities were planned and intended to be inflicted on youngsters. I went to the police station and told them that the testimony was never sufficient. When he stated that the police were partly to blame for the occurrences, the sergeant

was taken aback and satisfied himself with stating that the inquiry would be expanded. In truth, they were part of a systematic intimidation campaign against Turks, and the Greek police were attempting to cover it up.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

On the other side, during the funeral of the two victims, the Turks' enthusiasm had reached a peak, and they were questioning me about "where this is going to go." They were attempting to gain total control of the Turkish territory with the help of Greek police troops. Three of our pupils were hurt while passing in front of the high school as a consequence of a fire that broke out on the ground for unknown reasons. All of his objectives were now apparent. The Greeks were clearly on the offensive. On that day, our resistance warriors took up arms to protect the Turks' lives. Everyone was looking out for their own village and area. There was no terror among the pupils. Morel was on a high. Finally, on December 22, I was meeting with Makarios in the Presidential Palace for the second time. He was telling me that the Minister of the Interior, Yorgacis, was to blame for these occurrences and that he would contact him.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

There were two settlements that had been under constant attack. The first is Lakadamyia, while the second is Deftera. Both settlements were dominated by Greeks. The pastor of Lakadamyia Village was a zealous EOKA. During the December 21 events, this priest took swift action and ordered his son to murder the Turks, and the Turks who felt this fled the hamlet to save their lives. Despite being under fire, the six occupants in the last automobile made it to Nicosia.(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

When I told Makarios about it, he responded, "It wouldn't be such a disgrace, let's go to the village." We got into his car and drove to Lakadamyia Village together. However, there were no Turks remaining. Makaraaios went straight to work looking locate the priest in question. Everything was rejected by the priest, and he made up falsehoods. "Let the Turks come back, and let us all get along like brothers". He explained. We then proceeded to Deftera Village.”(Sabahattin, 1992, pp.132-137)

Makarios was telling me there, "I didn't trust this priest's remarks." But don't worry, I can get rid of him right away.”(Sabahattin, 1992)

### **13. 6 Dialogue between Major İlhan and a Greek Citizen**

Nihat İlhan, a doctor as well as a major, was chosen as the hospital's head doctor in order to service the 650-person Turkish regiment in Cyprus. His ideas seek to serve in a way that is consistent with the concept of human beings, independent of religion, language, or ethnicity, particularly Turks. Similarly, the services it offers are similar. They served the Greeks, albeit in small numbers, to the Armenians in the hospital where he worked, together with other physicians.

Varteni, an Armenian patient, once approached him and said,

- "Lady, you have sectarian and religious links with Greeks." I've observed you've been entrusting yourself to a Turkish doctor on a few occasions.”(Yiğit, 2020)

Ilhan's response to the meaningfulness of the question was as valuable. Woman:

- “Notice how sweetly you address yourself; you say "lady." Even before the examination begins, this is a wonderful attitude for a patient. Most significantly, as a nation, you have a wonderful place in the world of mankind, my son of a doctor. Turks are the world's most dependable, decent, and moral people. Our forefathers did you and us a huge disservice around a half-century ago when they attempted to shoot

the Ottomans from behind. We moved to Cyprus after witnessing the same hatred in Armenia. But it wasn't long until we were confronted with an EOKA gang that was thinking and acting in unison. Unfortunately, some powers do not want people to live in peace and happiness together. In terms of national and religious understanding, you are still the most beautiful nation on the planet. Why should I represent the representatives of a bad-thinking group rather than those who think well?"(Yigit, 2020, pp.57-58)

Dr. İlhan couldn't hide his emotions in the presence of this stunning Varteni woman interpretation. His pride was also piqued, as he was once again proud of his position, both on behalf of his country and on behalf of himself. And in answer, he remarked, -"How lovely; be a trustworthy nation!"

- "How unique is it to be a dependable person?"(Yigit, 2020)

## 14. CONCLUSION

The research began with events in Cyprus in 1950 and proceeded with events in the Republic of Cyprus until 1963. The issues that Turkey and Greece experienced, particularly Turkish Cypriots and Greeks, were investigated, and what transpired was attempted to be properly recognized. The statements of the state or organizations regarding Cyprus between 1950 and 1963 were mentioned from time to time.

Greeks and Turks who have been living in Cyprus for many years have come across as a problem with the concept of nationalism. With the policies developed by the USA in bipolar world politics, the problems on the island as of 1950 have further advanced. At the same time, Greek Cypriots' efforts to carry out EOKA activities and their hopes of Enosis caused them to have quite difficult times for Turkish Cypriots.

Thanks to the efforts of TMT, the joint policies of the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom, the Republic of Cyprus was established with the London and Zurich agreements. A state was tried to be created within the framework of these treaties. However, Makarios, who did not look favorably upon this situation, never saw Cyprus as a nation. He did not hesitate to behave like the President of the Greek Cypriots, not the President of Cyprus. At the same time, Makarios neither accepted the London and Zurich treaties nor complied with the constitutional provisions of the Republic of Cyprus. It has also made many attempts to change these. As a matter of fact, it ignored the rights granted to the Turks in accordance with the Constitution. However, Turks have suffered a lot of persecution for the sake of deserving this and they are determined not to give up their rights. However, in the order established after the military revolution in Turkey, TMT has become passive. Another reason for it to

become passive is the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and the belief that a peaceful order is established.

While this was the case, problems arose in Cyprus in a short time. With Makarios's attempt to amend 13 articles of the Constitution in 1963, his aim was not to have the Turks in power. Not only that, but he also implemented the Akritas Plan. The losses suffered as a result of the planned attacks carried out by the EOKA terrorist organization were also an indication that the Republic was actually over. Turkey, on the other hand, informed the states that are guarantors of this situation. However, this information was not enough to stop their repression. The struggle in Cyprus has turned into a war with the sacrifice made by TMT, with very few and low-impact weapons.

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