



IMAGES

FROM THE MEMORY OF
CYPRUS HISTORY



The Cyprus issue has been on the agenda of the international community for over 50 years now. Among Middle East and Kashmir issues which have been ongoing since 1948, the Cyprus issue remains as one of the longest outstanding disputes on the agenda of the United Nations. There is a need to find a solution to this long-lasting problem based on a mutually acceptable agreement between the Turkish Cypriot side and the Greek Cypriot side.

The United Nations deployed its troops on the Island (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus- UNFICYP) in March 1964 following the violence which broke out in December 1963 when the Greek Cypriots launched an attack towards the Turkish Cypriots in the name of ENOSIS (annexation of the Island to Greece).



Since the destruction of the 1960 partnership Republic in December 1963, the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have been ruling themselves separately and exclusively. However, the Greek Cypriot side has been illegally utilizing the title of the “Government of the Republic of Cyprus” despite the fact that the 1960 Republic outlines the joint presence and effective participation of both peoples in all organs of the State.

Unfortunately, the Greek Cypriot side has been continuing its negative stance towards the Turkish Cypriots in the form of inhuman embargoes on their economic, social, cultural and political life which constitutes violation of their basic human rights.

Nevertheless, the two sides on the Island have been negotiating since 1968 to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, but to no avail.

The unilateral acceptance of the Greek Cypriot side by the European Union in 2004 despite the absence of a solution on the Island, further cemented the unwilling stance of the Greek Cypriots towards a solution.

The Turkish Cypriot side sincerely believes that a new window of opportunity has risen with the resumption of the negotiation process after a long period of stalemate and that if all relevant parties are willing, this half-century-old problem can be solved without further delay.

ΕΝΩΣΙΣ



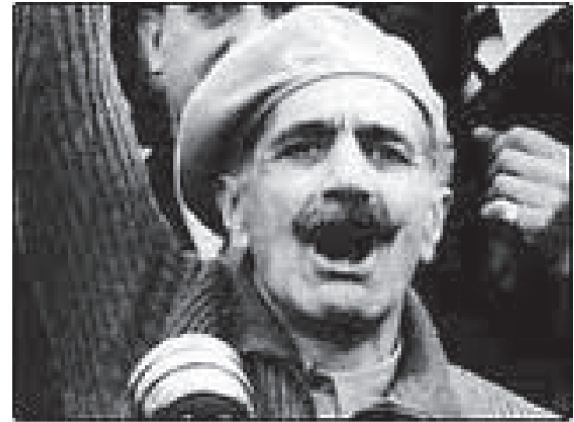
The roots of the Cyprus conflict lie in the struggle for Enosis (annexation of the Island to Greece) by the majority of the Greek Cypriots. Enosis is an idea that emerged during the Greek War of Independence during the 1820s and intensified under British colonial rule. The rising sentiment for Enosis, coupled with the resentment felt towards British tax policies, resulted in an uprising in 1931 during which the British Government House in Nicosia was burned down.

“Enosis, however, is only one aspect of the more inclusive 'Megali Idea' of the Greek nation as a whole On 27 October 1964, in Salonika, George Papandreou, then Prime Minister of Greece, stated, “Cyprus must become the springboard for the dreams of Alexander the Great in the Orient.”

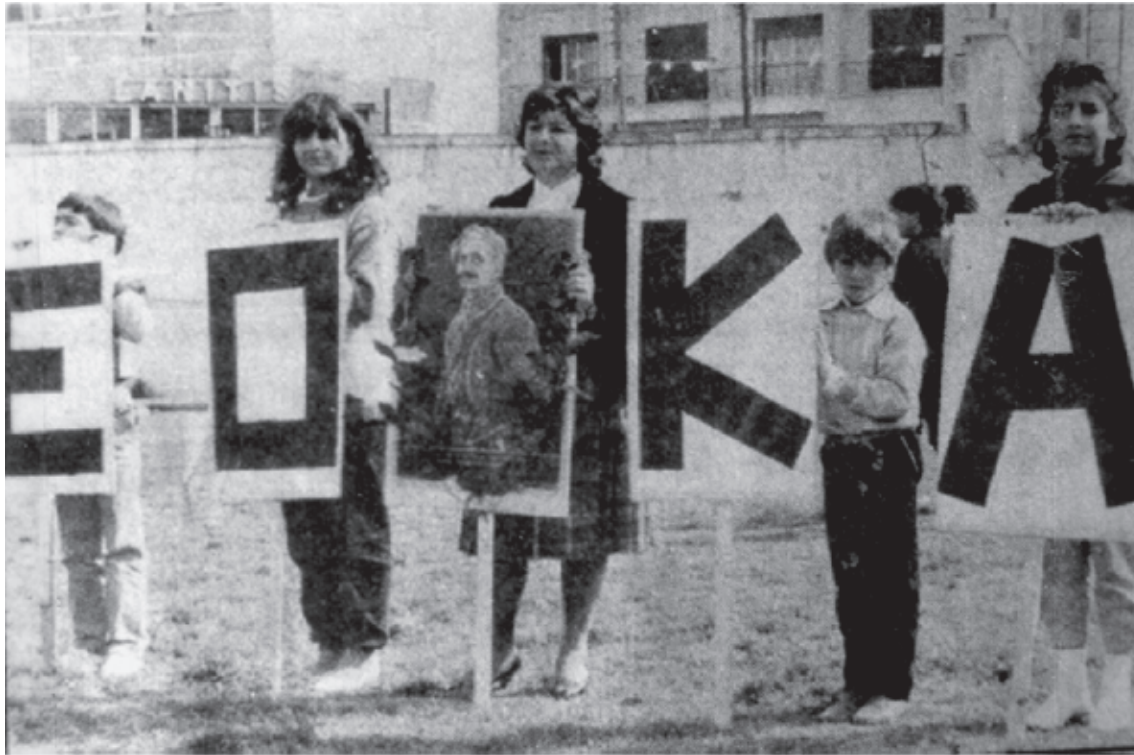
(Örek, 1971)



Makarios III, who became Orthodox Archbishop of Cyprus in 1950, based his propaganda on Enosis.



EOKA, abbreviation of Ethnikí Orgánosis Kipriakou Agónos (National Organization of Cypriot Struggle), an underground nationalist movement of Greek Cypriots was established in 1955. EOKA, which was dedicated to achieving the eventual union of Cyprus with Greece was organized by Col. Georgios Grivas, an officer in the Greek army with the support of Archbishop Makarios.



In 1958 Makarios announced that he would accept independence for Cyprus rather than *Enosis* but many Greek Cypriots, especially members of EOKA organisations, expressed disappointment because *Enosis* had not been attained.



February 1959 a compromise agreement was concluded between Turkish and Greek representatives in Zürich and endorsed by the two communities in London. An independent, non-aligned partnership Republic, the '*Republic of Cyprus*', based on the equality of the two peoples was founded on 16 August 1960.



Turkey, the United Kingdom and Greece took part as Guarantor Powers of the 'Republic of Cyprus'.



Archbishop Makarios (Greek Cypriot) became the President of the 1960 Republic and Dr. Fazıl Küçük (Turkish Cypriot) became the Vice-President

“An independent state did not satisfy the aspirations of the Greek Cypriot community so they maintained their goal of '*Enosis*'. In these circumstances, it was decided to achieve union with Greece by altering the constitutional status of the Republic, and various legal and political manoeuvres and military preparations were undertaken to implement this decision.”

(Patrick, 1976)



(Glafcos Clerides and Archbishop Makarios)

On 30 November 1963 Makarios submitted his thirteen-point proposal to three guarantor countries and the Vice-President Dr. Fazıl Küçük, which was designed to abrogate the fundamental elements of the Constitution and the rights of the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriots rejected the proposal.

“Their failure to alter the status of the Republic did not induce Greek Cypriots to change their political goal; instead, they decided to force the Turkish Cypriots into allowing *Enosis* through the use of armed, economic and political coercion.” (Patrick, 1976)



On 21 December 1963, the Greek Cypriots launched armed attacks against the Turkish Cypriots.



The Greek Cypriot armed attacks continued between 1963 and 1974. Additional to the thousands of Turkish Cypriots that were killed, maimed or wounded, hundreds went missing. Turkish Cypriots who managed to survive these atrocious conditions were confined to living in small enclaves that resembled the same conditions present in open air prisons.



“It requires an incredible level of nerve, for the state broadcaster to present the events of 1963 as supposed resistance against the Turkish 'rebellion', a rebellion that exists only in the imagination of the journalists of the CyBC (The Greek Cypriot state channel) and of some of the surviving protagonists of this unforgivable, blood-stained story.”

(Charalambous, Cyprus Mail, 2013)



The Greek Cypriot side destroyed the partnership State in line with the “*Akritis Plan*”, also published as a UN document (A/33/115-S/12722), which was the blueprint for the annihilation of the Turkish Cypriots and the annexation of the Island to Greece. In accordance with this plan, an all out attack on the Turkish Cypriot side was launched, subjecting Turkish Cypriots to an ethnic cleansing campaign.



The Plan was led by the Interior Minister, the chief of *EOKA*, Polycarpus Yorgadjis (right), whose code name was *AKRITAS*. The Minister of Labor Thassos Papadopoulos was appointed as deputy chief (left) within the context of the Plan.



“Plans to set up the *Akritas* organisation had been set in motion just six months after the establishment of the Cyprus Republic and among its policy objectives, drafted by Tassos Papadopoulos (according to the late Glafcos Clerides' testimony) was the overturning of the Zurich-London agreements which established the Cyprus Republic—in other words the dismantling of the state.” (Charalambous, 2013)

Following the violence, Archbishop Makarios declared that the Zurich and London Agreements were no longer valid and ejected all Turkish Cypriot elements from the administration. The Vice-President of Cyprus and the three Turkish Cypriot Ministers' offices were broken into and ransacked. Turkish Cypriots were left without a Government and State.



“There is no similar event in the history of any other country. On that day, the head of state, using an irregular and illegal army he set up and armed, launched an attack on his own state and destroyed it. In the space of a few hours he had split it into two parts.” (Charalambous, Cyprus Mail, 2013)



The constitutional order was destroyed and the Greek Cypriots administration appointed itself “government of the Republic of Cyprus”.



The Turkish Cypriots were forced to live in enclaves on three percent of the Island. The inhumane living conditions forced upon them were described as a “*veritable siege*” by the Secretary-General in his report of 10 September 1964 (S/5950) to the Security Council.



The “Green Line” which separates the Island into two zones was drawn in 30 December 1963.



“The cultural anchor of the Greek Cypriot community is the *Enosis* dream, an aspiration most notably championed by the Cypriot Orthodox Church. The significance of the Church's persistent advocacy of *Enosis* can only be understood if one recognizes the theocratic character of Greek Cypriot society; educational, political and cultural institutions are closely linked to, and even directed by, the Cypriot Orthodox Church.” (Patrick, 1976)

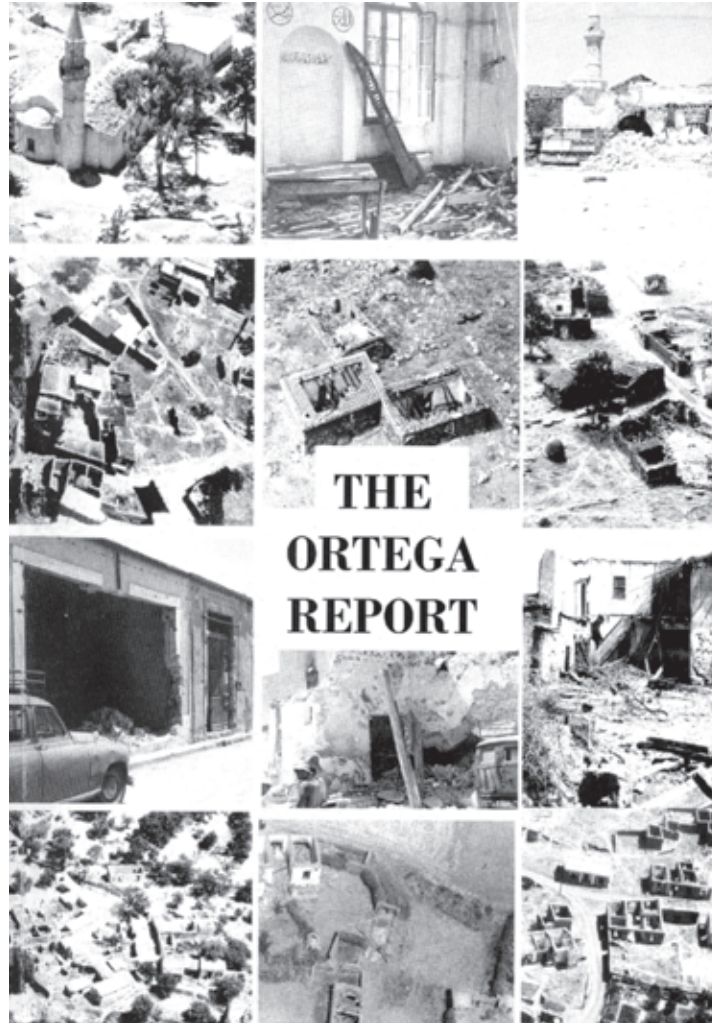


Archbishop Makarios, stated in August 1964, “My ambition is to ... unite Cyprus integrally with Greece, and then the border of Greece will extend to the shore of North Africa.” (Greek Cypriot Daily Mahi, 1964)



On 4 March 1964, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution to dispatch a Peace-Keeping Force to Cyprus (UNFICYP), in order to prevent a recurrence in fighting and contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order.

The report prepared by A. Ortega in July 1964, UNFICYP expert responsible for determining the scope and destruction on housing in the Turkish Cypriot areas, opened a window for the world to see the ruin and mass destruction caused by Greek Cypriots.



The Ortega Report was promptly shelved in order to conceal the Greek Cypriot attacks and atrocities from world public opinion.



The period between 1963 and 1974 was marked by deprivation, isolation, inaccessibility, fear and insecurity for the Turkish Cypriots.

The number of mixed residential areas between 1881 and 1970 had decreased from about 700 to approximately 600. In 1891, 346 of the 702 mixed areas were composed of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot residents. By 1970, only 48 of 602 areas could be classified as 'mixed'. This classification is misleading in fact as mixed areas were invariably divided into distinct ethnic quarters between which there was little social and economic contact. (Patrick, 1976)





The Greek Cypriot Administration blocked all movement of people and supplies into the Turkish Cypriot enclaves. It applied economic sanctions to break the Turkish Cypriot resistance to its authority. It prohibited the importation of 'strategic materials' ranging from articles of clothing to any building or maintenance materials in order to deteriorate Turkish Cypriot housing and means of production.

Ever since their expulsion from the partnership Republic of 1960, the Turkish Cypriots have established a series of ruling mechanisms to administer themselves and to regulate the day-to-day affairs of the people.



The bi-communal negotiations, which have been continuing to this day in order to find a solution to the political problem on the Island started in Beirut in June 1968 under the auspices of the United Nations. Talks ceased on November 1971 over differences about the geopolitical and constitutional structure of the proposed independent state.



There were 30,000 Greek soldiers on the Island who were also strongly supported by the Greek military junta before 1974.



The Greek junta in Athens along with its collaborators in Cyprus carried out a *coup d'état* on 15 July 1974 aimed at realizing immediate *enosis*.





After the coup, a well-known gun-man Nicos Sampson, the architect and the leader of 15 July 1974 coup d'etat, was appointed as “President”.



Makarios fled the Island for fear of his life on July after the coup and returned to the Island on 7th December 1974.

Archbishop Makarios is on record during his speech addressed to the UN Security Council on 19 July 1974 stating that “... *It may be said that it was the Cyprus Government which invited the Greek officers to staff the National Guard. I regret to say that it was a mistake on my part to bestow upon them so much trust and confidence... The coup of the Greek junta is an invasion...The Security Council should call upon the military regime of Greece to withdraw from Cyprus the Greek officers serving in the National Guard, and to put an end to its invasion of Cyprus...*”



In the face of this imminent danger, Turkey had no other alternative but to exercise its rights and obligations under international treaties and intervened on 20 July 1974. The Turkish intervention was fully legal under Article IV of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee and prevented not only the annexation of the Island to Greece but the total annihilation of the Turkish Cypriot people.



Nikos Sampson's statement in the Greek Newspaper 'Eleftherotipa' on 26 February 1981 shed light on his real intention: “if Turkey had not interfered in 1974, I would have realized *Enosis* and destroyed all of the Turkish Cypriots.”



Between July 1974 and August 1974, 8,000 Turkish Cypriots became refugees at the British Bases leaving 57,000 Turkish Cypriots in the South. In accordance with the 1975 Voluntary Exchange of Population Agreement reached in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations, Turkish Cypriots moved to the North to live under the Turkish Cypriot administration and the Greek Cypriots moved to the South.

The democratic evolution of the Turkish Cypriot people who had been administering themselves since their expulsion from the partnership Republic, continued. In 1975, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was established and on 15 November 1983, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was established. The declaration emphasized the right to self-determination of the Turkish Cypriot people whilst not excluding eventual federation.



There exist on Cyprus two separate independent political units and administrations based on the free and democratic will of the two respective peoples - that of the Turkish Cypriot people in the North and that of the Greek Cypriot people in the South.



Despite the fact that the two sides have been administering themselves separately since December 1963, the international community only recognise the Greek Cypriot administration as the legitimate government of the Island.

The Greek Cypriot side continues its negative stance towards the Turkish Cypriots in the form of inhuman embargoes on their economic, social, cultural and political life, which constitutes violation of their basic human rights.

The all-encompassing isolations imposed on the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriot side range from denying the Turkish Cypriot people the right to representation in international fora, preventing or restricting their travel abroad and their communication with the outside world, curtailing the trade and tourism between the TRNC and the outside world, and hampering all cultural and sporting relations of the Turkish Cypriot people with other countries.



Negotiations between the two sides on the Island to find a solution to the Cyprus problem started in 1968.

On 12 March 1975, the Security Council adopted resolution 367 requesting the Secretary General “to undertake a new mission of good offices” towards the solution of the Cyprus problem.

All subsequent efforts of the UN Secretary-General and his personal representatives for the inter-communal talks emanate from this resolution.



After the proclamation of the TRNC, negotiations between the two sides continued from 1985 to 2004 under the auspices of the Good Offices of the UN Secretary-General. The 1985-86 UN Draft 'Framework Agreement', the 1992 UN 'Set of Ideas', the 1994 'Confidence Building Measures' and the 2004 'Annan Plan' failed to reach a solution.



The UN Comprehensive Settlement Plan for Cyprus proposed by the then UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan in 2004 which is also known as the Annan Plan was strongly supported by the Turkish Cypriot side, Turkey and the international community and was perceived as a blueprint which could bring a solution to the Cyprus problem.



The Greek Cypriot Leader Tassos Papadopoulos called on the Greek Cypriots to say a "loud no" in the referendum of April 24 on a Cyprus settlement plan proposed by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.



The Turkish Cypriot people expressed their willingness towards finding a comprehensive settlement by voting “yes” to the Annan Plan with a 65% majority, whereas the Greek Cypriot side rejected the Plan by an overwhelming 76% majority.



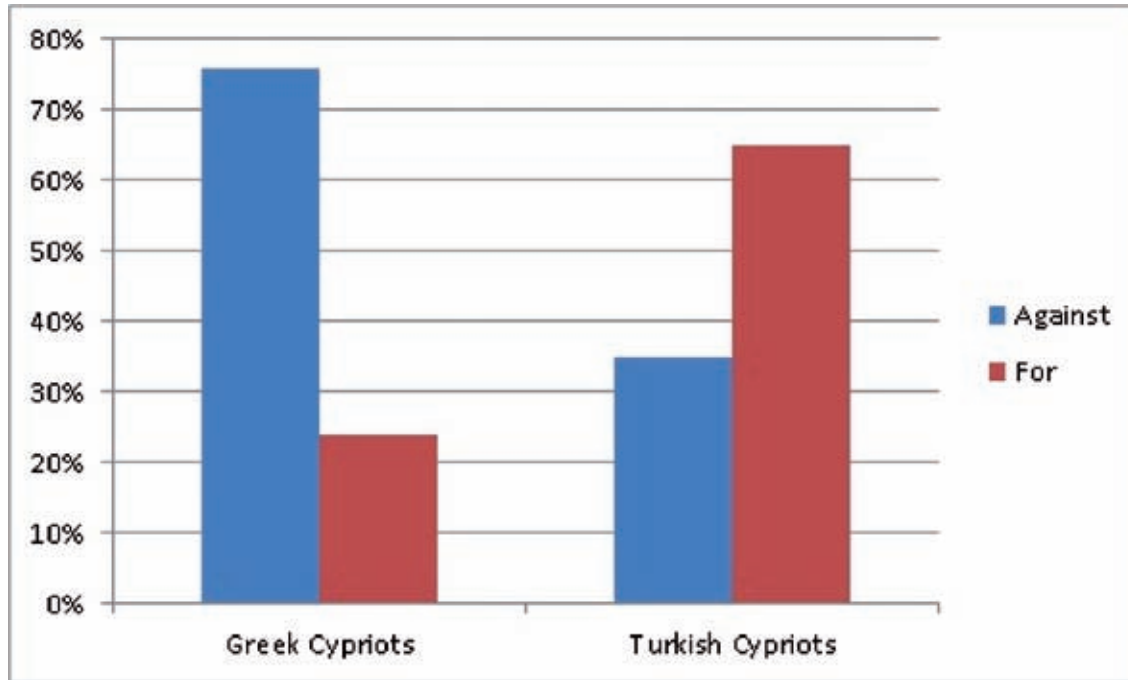
The referendum demonstrated which side supported a solution and which side was not ready for a comprehensive settlement based on a power-sharing arrangement.



The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called upon all states to restore the human rights conditions of the Turkish Cypriots in his report dated 28 May 2004, presented to the Security Council: *“The decision of the Turkish Cypriots is to be welcomed. The Turkish Cypriot leadership and Turkey have made clear their respect for the wish of the Turkish Cypriots to reunify in a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation. The Turkish Cypriot vote has undone any rationale for pressuring and*

isolating them. I would hope that the members of the Council can give a strong lead to all States to cooperate both bilaterally and in international bodies, to eliminate unnecessary restrictions and barriers that have the effect of isolating the Turkish Cypriots and impeding their development-not for the purposes of affording recognition or assisting secession, but as a positive contribution to the goal of reunification”.

The rejection by the Greek Cypriots of the UN plan has brought about an anomaly since the Turkish Cypriots, who said “yes” to unification of the Island and the EU membership remained out of the EU. The Greek Cypriot



side which rejected both, joined the EU on 1 May 2004, only a week after the referendum under the name of the “Republic of Cyprus”.

The European Council of Foreign Ministers expressed its determination to end the isolation of Turkish Cypriots on 26 April 2004: “*the Turkish Cypriot people have expressed their clear desire for a future within the*

EU. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot people.”



The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution of 1376 in 2004 stated that, “*The international community, in particular the Council of Europe and the European Union, cannot ignore or betray the expressed desire of the majority of Turkish Cypriots for greater openness, and should take rapid and appropriate steps to encourage it. The Turkish Cypriots' international isolations must cease.*”



The then EU Enlargement Commissioner, Gunther Verheugen also stated on 26 April 2004 that, *“Now we have to end the isolation of the North. The Commission is ready to take various measures for that aim.”* He was also stated that *“I feel cheated by the Greek Cypriot government”* on 22 April 2004.



As a result of the Greek Cypriot side's “no” vote, the efforts for a settlement came to a standstill for a period of four years.



On 8 July 2006, the two leaders, Mehmet Ali Talat and Tassos Papadopoulos came together in the presence of the UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari and agreed on finding of a comprehensive settlement based on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality. The Representatives of the leaders began discussions on the establishment of working groups and technical committees with a view to start the full-fledged negotiations. However, this process, which is also known as the 8 July Process yielded no results because of the intransigent policies of the Papadopoulos leadership.



After the election of Mr. Christofias as the new Greek Cypriot leader in February 2008 new process leading the way to full-fledged negotiations began. The two leaders came together on 21 March 2008 for the first time and signed the Agreement of 21 March, which paved the way for the establishment of working groups and technical committees. The leaders also agreed commencement in due course of full-fledged negotiations based on the results of the work done by these groups and committees. The first significant progress right the opening of the Lokmacı gate for the crossings in Lefkoşa.



The two leaders Talat and Christofias initiated the full-fledged negotiations in Cyprus on 3 September 2008. Despite the convergences reached between the two sides on important issues, the Greek Cypriot leader Christofias rejected any kind of arbitration, mediation, timetable or an eventual multilateral conference which may include the participation of the guarantor powers. The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visited the Island on February 2010 to meet both leaders however, no achievements in terms of the negotiations were reached. The negotiations between Mr. Talat and Mr. Christofias were concluded with a total of 71 meetings between them in March 2010.

After the Presidential Elections held in April 2010 in the TRNC, the new President Dr. Derviş Eroğlu stated in a letter sent to the UN Secretary-General Ban-Ki Moon that he was ready to resume the negotiations and also confirmed that the Turkish Cypriot side accepted the convergences previously reached between Talat and Christofias. The two leaders held their first meeting on 26 May 2010 and the negotiation process was resumed. However, the impediments put forward by the Greek Cypriot side simply blocked the negotiation process.



The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon called President Eroğlu and Greek Cypriot Leader Christofias for tripartite meetings five times in New York and Geneva. The Turkish Cypriot side participated in these meetings with practical plans at hand with the aim of achieving convergence on the core issues of the Cyprus problem however, the Greek Cypriot side rejected all the constructive proposals presented by the Turkish Cypriot side.



In the elections which took place in February 2013 in South Cyprus, the DISI Leader Nikos Anastasiades was elected as the new Greek Cypriot Leader. Contrary to the process experienced after the election of Dr. Derviş Eroğlu Anastasiades avoided making any commitments on his readiness to restart the negotiations from the point that they had left off.

The UN prepared a convergence paper of 77 pages which involved convergences and partial convergences reached and distributed it to the relevant sides in April 2013. These

convergences continue to form the basis of the ongoing negotiation process. Despite many calls made by the Turkish Cypriot leadership for the immediate resumption of the talks it took one year to resume the negotiations.

After several excuses such as internal economic difficulties, the need for negotiating with the Greek Cypriot National Council and the appointment of a negotiator, the Greek Cypriot side set forth the precondition that agreement was needed on a Joint Statement for the resumption of the negotiation process. After meetings and



diplomatic initiatives which lasted for about 5 months, as a result of the constructive steps taken by the Turkish Cypriot leadership, both sides agreed on the Joint Statement on 11 February 2014.

The governments of both Turkey and Greece expressed their support for renewed peace talks. The declaration was also welcomed by the European Union.

JOINT DECLARATION

The two leaders had their first meeting today under the auspices of the UN Secretary General's Good Offices mission. The meeting was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and the two leaders have agreed to the following:

1. The status quo is unacceptable and its prolongation will have negative consequences for the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The leaders affirmed that a settlement would have a positive impact on the entire region, while first and foremost benefiting Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, respecting democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as each other's distinct identity and integrity and ensuring their common future in a united Cyprus within the European Union.
2. The leaders expressed their determination to resume structured negotiations in a results-oriented manner. All unresolved core issues will be on the table, and will be discussed interdependently. The leaders will aim to reach a settlement as soon as possible, and hold separate simultaneous referenda thereafter.

With their joint statement on 11 February 2014, the two leaders agreed that their goal is to achieve a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality between the two sides. This federation will have a single sovereignty as defined and enjoyed by all UN member states under the UN Charter and which emanates equally from Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. It is also envisaged that this

federation will have a single international personality and single citizenship. All citizens of the federation will also be the citizens of either the Turkish Cypriot constituent state or the Greek Cypriot constituent state.

Moreover, the federation will be composed of two constituent states of equal status and neither side will claim authority or jurisdiction over the other. Furthermore, the joint statement declared that the powers vested in the Constitution will be exercised by the Federal Government and the residual powers will be exercised by the constituent states. The principles upon which the European Union is founded, as well as the bi-zonal bi-communal nature of the federation will be safeguarded.

The leaders also agreed that they will concentrate on the remaining core issues, indicating that previously achieved convergences from the former negotiations will be respected unless there is a suggestion which improves on them in a mutually agreeable manner.



The Cyprus issue, which has been on the agenda of the international community for too long used up much time, energy and resources of all parties concerned and continues to have negative consequences on both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The joint declaration agreed upon by the two sides contains all the parameters to end this on going problem and forms a solid basis on which the leaders will build a common future for Turkish and Greek Cypriots.



The Turkish Cypriot side will continue its sincere efforts towards the establishment of a new partnership based on the parameters laid out in the Joint Statement, which will provide for the effective participation and representation of both peoples. The support extended by the international community will play an important role in the successful conclusion of this process.

It is also high time for the international community to keep its promise and ease the restrictions on

the Turkish Cypriot people. Such an approach would also pave the way for a comprehensive settlement as rightly underlined by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban-ki Moon in his latest report to the Security Council on UNFICYP dated 31 May 2011 (S/2011/332). The Secretary General made it clear that *“greater economic and social parity between the sides will make the eventual reunification not only easier but also more likely. In the context of an internationally sanctioned peace process, efforts in the opposite direction can only be counterproductive”* (para.39).

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