

# Ethnic Conflict in the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey's Cyprus Policy: Constitutional Crisis, Violence and International Politics (1960-1963)

Translated from: Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nde Etnik Uyuşmazlık ve Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs Politikası: Anayasa Krizi, Şiddet ve Uluslararası Siyaset (1960-1963)

Şevki KIRALP

TCE™

CTAD Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi

## Need to cite this paper?

Get the citation in [MLA](#), [APA](#), or [Chicago](#) styles

## Want more papers like this?

[Download a PDF Pack of related papers](#)

[Search Academia's catalog of 47 million free papers](#)

# Ethnic Conflict in the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey's Cyprus Policy: Constitutional Crisis, Violence and International Politics (1960-1963)

Şevki KIRALP

*CTAD Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*

[Original Paper](#) 



TCE™

## Abstract

This study examines the Cyprus Question within a historical period beginning in 1960 and ceasing in 1963. It sheds light on international actors', particularly Turkey's attitudes towards Cyprus. It reaches to the conclusion that Turkey and Turkish Cypriot leadership aimed for preservation of the constitutional order as well as the international status quo provided by Zurich-London treaties. Nevertheless, the Greek Cypriot leadership was displeased with the treaties and constitutional order. It aimed for fundamental revisions in Zurich-London treaties as well as significant constitutional amendments to pave the way for Enosis. The political tension on the island had, since the very beginning, been considerably high. In November 1963, Greek Cypriot leadership demanded a set of constitutional amendments that would terminate Turkish Cypriots' status as the equal partners of the state. This led to a sharp political conflict, an international crisis and ethnic violence.

## Entrance

During the Ottoman Period, which started in 1571 in Cyprus, the Orthodox population was granted freedom to preserve their own identity and the island acquired a bi-communal

character. 1 According to the census conducted by the Ottoman Empire in 1831, 33 percent of the island's population consisted of Turks. 2 In 1878, the Ottoman Empire signed an agreement with London to prevent Russian expansionism threatening its lands and transferred the administration of Cyprus to England; However, the island remained legally Ottoman territory. 3 According to the first census conducted by the British in 1881, 24 percent of the island's population (approximately 45,000 people) consisted of Turks. During the British rule, while the Greek population coming to Cyprus from different geographies increased, there were Turkish migrations out of the island. On November 4, 5, 1914, Britain announced that it had annexed Cyprus and cited the Ottoman Empire's entry into World War I as Germany's ally as the reason for this. 5 In accordance with the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923, Turkish Cypriots were given the opportunity to choose between British or Turkish citizenship; However, those who chose Turkish citizenship were required to leave Cyprus. 6 It is estimated that the number of Cypriots who acquired Turkish citizenship after the Treaty of Lausanne is between 6,000 and 9,500 people. 7 Turkey, which entered the restructuring process after World War I and the War of Independence and was busy with vital problems both internally and externally, did not have the opportunity to implement an effective Cyprus policy at that stage. 8 Turkish Cypriots closely followed and implemented Atatürk's reforms in the 1920s and 1930s. 9 The Greeks, on the other hand, adopted Enosis (the joining of Cyprus to Greece) as a national goal. 10 While Makarios demanded the right to self-determination to connect the island to Greece; 17 In response to the activities of EOKA, supported by the Greek Government, the Turkish Government established the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) in November 1957. 13 Self-Determination is the right of peoples to determine their own status within the international system. Although it has found a place in international law and the UN Charter, it is a principle that remains significantly vague. There are serious disagreements within the international system about which groups can exercise this right, under what conditions and for what purpose. See Manuela Melandri, *Self-determination, International Law and Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Right in Abeyance*, Routledge, London, 2018. 14 Fausto Scarinzi. "Force structure and counterinsurgency outcome: the case of the Cyprus Emergency (1955)(1956)(1957)(1958)(1959)." *Defense Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2021, p. 204-225. İsmail Şahin, "From Thought to Action EOKA", *Recent Turkey Research*, Volume 37, 2020, p.21-49. 15 Hüseyin Tufan, Mete Özsezer, Ali Efdal Özkul, "An Important Correspondence Between Suat Hayri Ürgüplü and George Brown Regarding the Cyprus Problem During the Republic of Cyprus Period", *Journal of Republic History Research*, Volume 17, Issue 34, 2021, p. 904. 16 "Zorlu Had a Meeting with Eden Yesterday", *Milliyet*, 6 September 1955, p.1. 17 TNA, FO 371/123904/1081/1450G, "Cyprus and self-determination: views of Sir John Harding", 1956; Chares Demetriou, "Divide and rule Cyprus? Decolonization as process ", *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Volume 57, Issue 4, 2019, p. 403-420. supported. TMT, two leading figures of the Turkish Cypriot community, Rauf Denktaş and Dr. It was founded by Burhan Nalbantoğlu and Kemal Tanrısevdi, who worked at the Turkish Consulate on the Island. 18 Turkey and Turkish Cypriots defended Taksim, that is, the sharing of the Island between Turkey and Greece, in the

face of the Greek side's Enosis demand. 19 The violence that started between the Greeks and the British spread to the Turks in the following years and turned into ethnic violence between the two communities of the island. Washington, disturbed by the tension between Turkey and Greece, encouraged the parties to compromise and contributed to a ceasefire on the island in 1958. The parties later reached an agreement within the framework of the "independent Cyprus" model proposed by the USA, which excluded Enosis and Taksim. On February 20, 1959, the parties accepted the Zurich and London Treaties, which created the Republic of Cyprus. 21 After its failure in the Suez Crisis (1956), Britain concluded that it was pointless to retain all of Cyprus. Britain's continued existence on the island through base areas meant "getting what it wanted". 22 The agreements did not fully satisfy Ankara, which renounced Taksim, nor the Turkish Cypriot leadership, nor Athens, which renounced Enosis. However, these actors saw that a "lesser evil" compromise was necessary in terms of the conjuncture. The actor who displayed the most negative attitude towards the treaties was Makarios, who had to sign the texts under the pressure of Athens. 23 In the presidential elections held in Cyprus in 1959, Makarios was the President and the political leader of the Turkish Cypriots, Dr. Fazıl Küçük became the Vice President. In the same year, the last census under British administration was conducted and the Greek population was found to be 445,000 people and the Turkish population was 105,000 people (18 percent of the island's population). 24 32 TNA, FCO 141/4627, "Cyprus: Constitution, Transitional Committee", 1959 Committee", -1960 Kıralp, "1967-1974 It should not be forgotten that Turkish Cypriots were the main and dominant element on the island with the status of "dominant nation" during the Ottoman period. See Ioannis Moutsis, "Turkish Cypriot identity after 1974: Turkish Cypriots, Turks of Cyprus or Cypriots?", Synthesis: an Anglophone Journal of Comparative Literary Studies, Volume 10, 2017, p. 116-130. 38 Behçet Kemal Yeşilbursa, "Greco-Turkish relations and the questions of Cyprus and Aegean Islands according to British Documents 63 "The Turkish Government attaches great importance to the full implementation of the treaties and the constitution", Akin, 12 January 1963, p.1. 64 "President Our deputy was carried on shoulders in Ankara", Halkın Sesi, 8 January 1963 p.1. 65 "President Makarios in Ankara", Halkın Sesi, 23 November 1962, p.1 66 "Turkey sent a definitive note to Makarios", Halkın Sesi , 4 January 1963, p. 1. 67 "Telegram from the Embassy in Greece to the Department of State", DS, no: 279, 27 April 1963, Cyprus (1960Cyprus ( -1974, PhD Thesis, University of Oulu, Finland, 2010. 75 "Telegram from the Department of the State to the Embassy in Cyprus", Department of State (DS), no: 268, 9 January 1963, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d268> (Access Date: 9 June 2023). 76 "Erkin expressed his opinion on the Cyprus issue", Nacak, 17 May 1963, p.1. 77 92 A ceasefire was signed on 27 December and the wire fence called "Green Line" was opened in Nicosia on 30 December. It is divided into Turkish and Greek sections by a barricade line. These measures did not bring a permanent solution and violence flared up again in a short time. 93 The Soviet Union is sympathetic to Makarios because of his permission to AKEL's activities and his non-aligned foreign policy. 94 When the stability on the island deteriorated at the end of 1963, Pravda (Truth) newspaper, which defended the theses of the Soviet Union Government, evaluated the Zurich and London

Treaties as an "imperialist design" that caused discord between the communities in Cyprus, and the flights carried out by Turkish jets over Nicosia were protested by Moscow. 95 [Republic of Cyprus 1959: State and deep state, prisoners of a lost cause-political and ideological evaluation], Papazisis, Lefkosia, p.157. 111 Kızılyürek, A History of Ressentiment and Violence, p. 286-292. 112 "Uden shedion efirmosfi" [Nothing about the plan was implemented], Patris, 21 April 1966, p.1; p.4. 113 "İ elliniki kavernisi ke i kipriakipolitiki krisi" (The Greek Government and the political crisis in Cyprus), Fileleftheros, 14 April 1961, p.1. It says. 114 The basis of the distrust of a significant part of the revolutionary government in Turkey towards the Turkish Cypriot leadership is that they see Küçük, Denктаş and TMT as "collaborators of Adnan Menderes". 115 After May 27, 1960, arms aid from Turkey to TMT stopped and could only start again in the autumn of 1961. 116 In a speech he made in February 1962, Yorgacis said that the "small portion" of the Turks who withdrew from all Ottoman lands and remained in Cyprus were "blackmailing" the Greeks because of the Zurich and London Treaties. In addition to the Greek right, AKEL, which held its 10th congress in 1962, also violated the Zurich and London Treaties. AKEL described these agreements as "the fiction of imperialism" and signaled that they would try to unilaterally determine the future course of the struggle within the framework of principles such as "national liberation", "independence" and "anti-imperialist struggle". The main discomfort they felt was the agreements in question and They see the Republic of Cyprus, based on the political equality of the two communities, as an "injustice" to the Greek community. In addition, the Greek elite cannot match the political system that emerged on the island with the ideals of Greek nationalism and they react against it. Municipalities, tax, army and public employees of the two communities rates have created serious disagreements between the parties. When Makarios brought up the idea of changing the constitution, both Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership opposed it; They warned that disrupting the stability on the island would cause serious problems. Although the USA designed a formula to reconcile the parties, it could not implement this formula due to Makarios' disbelief in the Zurich and London Agreements. The Karamanlis Government in Greece tried to prevent the Greek Cypriot leadership from breaking these agreements, and after the resignation of Karamanlis, the country was plunged into deep instability and Athens could not play a sufficiently effective role in the Cyprus Problem. England, on the other hand, initiated a secret negotiation process with Makarios regarding reviewing the treaties and the constitution, and this process extended to the British High Commission's involvement in Makarios' constitutional amendment efforts. Since a large part of the constitutional amendment requested by Makarios is related to the "unchangeable articles" of the constitution, the issue directly concerns the founding treaties. Therefore, Turkey and other guarantor countries are parties to these discussions both politically and legally. Makarios' most strategic move in foreign policy was to ensure international support against the aforementioned agreements by making Cyprus a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Although moderate relations and mutually beneficial cooperation moves were

occasionally observed between the politicians of the two communities in Cyprus, mutual skepticism and disagreement dominated the political arena throughout the examined period. When Makarios took action to change the constitution in 1963, he was supported by both the Greek right and AKEL. On the other hand, there were significant disagreements between the Greek and Turkish sides in Cyprus regarding the functioning of the state, and neither politics nor the judiciary could provide a solution to these disagreements. The Greek side is obstructing the Turks in order not to implement the right given to the Turks by the constitution to constitute 30% of the public servants. The constitutional amendment requested by Makarios has the quality of eliminating principles such as the Vice Presidential veto given to the Turks on some vital issues and the requirement for two separate majorities in the legislature, leading to the state being governed within the framework of the Greek will. Moreover, in line with the Akritas Plan, bringing the constitutional amendment to the agenda in the first place is a camouflage used to hide the ultimate goal, Enosis. As a result, the Cyprus state, which was established with the aim of bringing stability to the Eastern Mediterranean and Turkish-Greek peace, could not achieve the desired results.

## resources



## Archive Resources

Press and Information Office (PIO), Nicosia, Southern Cyprus,

## References

TNA, CO 926/951, "Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) in Cyprus,1957-1959"; Mehmet Balyemez, "TMT'nin Kuruluş Tarihi Hakkında KKTC'de Yanlış Oluşan Kamusal/Toplumsal Hafıza (İngiliz Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında), Electronic Turkish Studies, Cilt 13, Sayı 16, 2018, s.36.

David French, *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959*. Oxford University Press, New York, 2015, s.3.

Preston Jordan Lim, *The Evolution of British Counter-Insurgency during the Cyprus Revolt, 1955–1959*, Springer, Cham, 2018, s. 54-64;

Melek Fırat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar Cilt I 1919-1980*, Der. Baskın Oran, İletişim Yayınları, 23'üncü baskı, İstanbul, 2019, s. 576-614.

Andreas Karyos, Marinos Papaioakeim, "Cyprus in the Commonwealth: pre-membership

perceptions by Greek Cypriot elites, 1959-1961", *The Round Table*, Volume 111, Issue 1, 2022, s. 6-18; "Kıbrıs'ın istikbaliyle ilgili konferansın neticesi tam anlaşma", *Milliyet*, 12 Şubat 1959.

Cemal Yorgancıoğlu, Şevki Kıralp, "Turco-British relations, Cold War and Reshaping the Middle East: Egypt, Greece and Cyprus (1954–1958)", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Cilt 55, Sayı 6, 2019, s. 914-931.

Şevki Kıralp, "1967-1974 Döneminde Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın Kıbrıs Politikaları/The Cyprus Question in the Period 1967-1974: Turkish and Greek Policies on Cyprus", *Tarih Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi-Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, Cilt 7, Sayı 2, Haziran 2018, s. 444-460;

Fırat, agm., s. 609-610.

Eric Solsten, *Cyprus: A Country Study*, Library of Congress, Washington, 1991; Deniz Yücel, Charis Psaltis, "The effects of direct and indirect contact on prejudice: 2007 and 2017 results among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots", *European Societies*, Volume 22, Issue 5, 2020, s. 610- 635.

Dieter Nohlen, Philip Stöver, *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*, Nomos, Baden, 2010, s. 434-441.

Ahmet Gazioğlu, *İngiliz İdaresinde Kıbrıs*. Ankara, Ekin Yayınevi, 1960, s. 208.

James Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

TNA, DO 118/214A, "Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus", 1960.

TNA, CO 926/757, "Cyprus: Treaty of Guarantee", 1959-1960.

"Treaty of Alliance", UNP, 16 Ağustos 1960, <https://peacemaker.un.org/cyprus-greece-30-turkey-alliance60> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 4 th edition, 2021; Wolfram Nordsieck, *Parties and Elections in Europe: Parliamentary Elections and Governments since 1945*, *European Parliament Elections, Political Orientation and History of parties*, Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2021, s. 270;

Keridis, Dimitris. *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greece*, Plymouth, Scarecrow Press, 2009, s.182.

Salahi Sonyel, Cyprus: The Destruction of a Republic. British Documents 1960-1965, Eothen Press, Florida, 1997, s.41-42.

TNA, FO 371/168988, "Secret telegram by Dennis Allen to Foreign Office", 12 Haziran 1963.

Clerides, agm., s. 166-173;

Iacovos Kareklas, Constitutional Law and Federations, Rowman & Littlefield, London, 2021, s.29.

TNA, CAB 128/38/14, "Conclusions of a meeting of Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street, on Thursday 19 th December 1963, at 10 a.m", 19 Aralık 1963.

Anayasal deęişiklik paketinin tamamı için bakınız Press and Information Office (PIO), "13 Points", 30 Kasım 1963. Bahsi geçen hükümlerin Kıbrıs anayasasındaki halleri için bakınız: "Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası", Cyprus Parliament, 1960, [http://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma\\_TU.pdf](http://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma_TU.pdf) (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

Tom Gallagher, Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989: From the Ottomans to Milosevic. London, Routledge, 2013, s.211.

Kaan Gaytancıođlu, "Türk Siyasal Yaşamında IV. Koalisyon Hükümeti (20 Şubat 1965-20

Kasım 1965)." Elektronik Siyaset Bilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 4, Sayı 6, 2013, s. 48-75.

Fuat Aksu, "Türk Dış Politikası Krizlerinde Hükümetler, Cumhurbaşkanları ve Başbakanlar", Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi, Cilt15, Sayı 59, 2018, s. 65-87.

Keith Pople, "Trust and Political Life: the need to transform our democracy", Concept, Volume 12, Issue 1, 2021, s. 1-9.

"İnönü Makarios'a dikkat ediniz dedi", Akın, 9 Aralık 1963, s. 1.

"Sovari i zimia pou ipesti to bathron tou agalmatos" [Heykel büyük hasara uğradı], Fileleftheros, 4 Aralık 1963, s. 1.

Kızılyürek, Bir Hınç ve Şiddet Tarihi, s. 321-333.

"Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a bir parlamento heyeti geliyor", Bozkurt, 25 Aralık 1963, s. 1.



PIO, "Kini eklisi tu Proedru ke tu Andiproedru pros ton kypriako lao" [Cumhurbaşkanı ve Cumhurbaşkanı Yardımcısı'nın Kıbrıs halkına ortak çağrısı], no: 4, 21 Aralık 1963.

"Türkiye Müdahale Etti", Bozkurt, 26 Aralık 1963, s. 1.

James, Alan. Keeping the Peace in the Cyprus Crisis of 1963–64, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001;

Bueno Lacy, Rodrigo, Henk van Houtum, "The glocal green line: The imperial cartopolitical puppeteering of Cyprus", Geopolitics, Volume 24, Issue 3, 2019, s. 586-624.

Bu konuda bk. Mehmet Hasgüler, Kıbrıs'ta Enosis ve Taksim Politikalarının Sonu, Alfa Yayınları İstanbul, 2007, s.154-157.

Fırat, agm, s.729-730.

PIO, "Katangelete i Sinfiki Engiiseos ke i Sinfiki Simahias" [Garanti Antlaşması ve İttifak Antlaşması yürürlükten kaldırılıyor], no: 1, 1 Ocak 1964.

Kıralp, agm., s.448.

Nicos Peristianis, Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus. Doktora Tezi, Middlesex University, United Kingdom, 2008, s. 350.

Fırat, agm, s.731.

Rauf Raif Denктаş, Kıbrıs: 50 Yılın Hikayesi, Akdeniz Haber Ajansı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, s. 200-204.

Ulvi Keser, Münevver Kata, "27 Mayıs 1960 Askeri Darbesi ve Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihine Yansımaları", Electronic Turkish Studies, Cilt 12, Sayı 16, 2017, s.361-386.

Kızılyürek, age., s. 298. 117 "4 ipurgi profonun" [Dört bakanın halka seslenişi], Mahi, 11 Şubat 1962, s.1.

PIO, "Dilosis tu Proedru tis Dimokratias Arhiepiskopu Makariou ke tu İpurgu Esoterikon tu k. P. Yorgacis epi tis topofetiseos vomvom is turkika temeni" [Cumhurbaşkanı Başpiskopos Makarios'un ve İçişleri Bakanı sn. P. Yorgacis'in Türk mabetlerine yapılan saldırılara ilişkin açıklamaları], no:4, 26 Mart 1962.

Bahse konu dönemdeki siyasal gerilim ve şiddet için ayrıca bakınız: Makarios Druşotis, Kıbrıs

1963-1964: İlk Bölünme, Galeri Kültür, Lefkoşa, 2008, s.20-32.

AKEL, Politikes apofasis kai psifismata sidedrion tu AKEL ke KKK [AKEL ve KKP kongrelerindeki kararlar ve oylamalar], Kentriki Epitropi tu AKEL, Lefkosia, 2008, s.207-208.

Makarios 1964'ten itibaren Atina'ya her koşulda güvenemeyeceğini ve Türkiye'nin gücü karşısında Kıbrıs'ın tamamını Yunanistan'a bağlayamayacağını görünce Kıbrıslı Türklerin azınlık statüsüne indirgeneceği bir bağımsızlık modelini de alternatif olarak görmeye başlamıştır. Bakınız Kıralp, "1967-1974 Döneminde Kıbrıs Sorunu". 124 "Denктаş'ın basın mensuplarına verdiği demeç", Nacak, 5 Nisan 1963, s.4. 125 "Türk milletvekilleri Kliridis'e cevap verdi", Akın, 2 Nisan 1963, s.1.

"Htesini anakinosi tis kendrikis epitropis tu kommatos" [Parti'nin Merkez Komitesi'nin dünkü duyurusu], Haravgi 10 Mayıs 1963, s.1.

"Na pafsi ishusa i sinfiki engiiseon" [Garanti Antlaşması yürürlükten kaldırılın], Mahi, 31 Temmuz 1963, s.1. 128 "Kıbrıs hiçbir zaman Elen olmadı ve olmayacaktır", Nacak, 2 Ağustos 1963, s.1. 129 "Makarios: Merhaba asker", Ethniki, 25 Ağustos 1960, s.6.

"Temsilciler Meclisi dün gece yarısına kadar oturdu", Bozkurt, 17 Ekim 1961, s.1. 131 "Makarios ile Dr. Küçük Dün Amerikan kruvazörünü ziyaret etti", Bozkurt, 11 Ekim 1961, s.1. "13 Points", 30 Kasım 1963. "Kini eklisi tu Proedru ke tu Andiproedru pros ton kypriako lao" [Cumhurbaşkanı ve Cumhurbaşkanı Yardımcısı'nın Kıbrıs halkına ortak çağrısı], no: 4, 21 Aralık 1963. "Dilosis tu Proedru tis Dimokratias tu Arhiepiskopu Makariu" [Cumhurbaşkanı Makarios'un açıklaması], 26 Aralık 1963.

"Katangelete i Sinfiki Engiiseos ke i Sinfiki Simahias" [Garanti Antlaşması ve İttifak Antlaşması yürürlükten kaldırılıyor], no: 1, 1 Ocak 1964.

The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), Londra, Birleşik Krallık, London Gazette, issue: 28965, 6 Kasım 1914. Colonial Office (CO)

926/454, "The Nature of EOKA, 1955-1956".

926/951, "Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) in Cyprus", 1957-1959.

926/757, "Cyprus: Treaty of Guarantee", 1959-1960. Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) 141/4627, Cyprus: Constitution, Transitional Committee, 1959-1960.

Dominion Office (DO)

118/214A, "Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus", 1960. Foreign Office (FO)

371/123904/1081/1450, "Cyprus and self-determination: views of Sir John Harding", 1956.

371/168974, "Cyprus: Municipalities dispute, constitutional situation", 1963. 371/168967, "Telegram by High Commissioner in Cyprus, Arthur Clark to Commonwealth Relations Office", 25 Nisan 1963.

371/168988, "Secret telegram by Dennis Allen to Foreign Office", 12 Haziran 1963. Cabinet Papers (CAB)

128/38/14, "Conclusions of a meeting of Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street, on Thursday 19 th December 1963, at 10 a.m", 19 Aralık 1963.

Imperial War Museum (IWM), Londra, Birleşik Krallık, LBY 13948, "Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and other instruments signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923", 24 Temmuz 1923.

Resmî Yayınlar Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (TBMM), Ankara, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Zabıt Ceridesi, "Lozan sulh muahedemesinin kabulüne dair kanunlar", Cilt 2, İçtima 9, Celse 2, 23.8.1339 (23 Ağustos 1923).

Kitaplar, Makaleler ve Tezler ADAMS Thomas (1966) The First Republic of Cyprus: A Review of an Unworkable Constitution, Western Political Quarterly, Cilt 19, Sayı 3, s. 475- 490.

AKEL (2008) Politikes apofasis kai psifismata sidedrion tu AKEL ke KKK [AKEL ve KKP kongrelerindeki kararlar ve oylamalar], Kentriki Epitropi tu AKEL, Lefkosia.

AKSU Fuat (2018) Türk Dış Politikası Krizlerinde Hükûmetler, Cumhurbaşkanları ve Başbakanlar, Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi, Cilt 15, Sayı 59, s. 65-87.

ASLIM İlksoy (2010) American Foreign Policy on Cyprus (1960-1974), Doktora Tezi, University of Oulu, Finland.

BUENO-LACY Rodrigo - VAN HOUTUM Henk (2019) The Glocal Green Line: The Imperial Cartopolitical Puppeteering of Cyprus, Geopolitics, Cilt 24, Sayı 3, s. 586-624.

CHRISTODOULOU Maria (2022), Politics and Everyday Life in a Divided City: Nicosia, 1955-1970, Doktora Tezi, University of Leicester, United Kingdom.

CLERIDES Glafkos (1989) My Deposition Volume I, Alithia Publications, Nicosia.

CLOGG Richard (2021) A Concise History of Greece, 4 th edition, Cambridge University Press, New York.

ÇAKMAK Zafer (2008) Kıbrıs'tan Anadolu'ya Türk Göçü (1878– 1938), Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, Cilt 14, sayı 36, 2008, s. 201-223.

DEMETRIOU Chares (2019) Divide and Rule Cyprus? Decolonisation as Process, Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, Volume 57, Issue 4, s. 403- 420.

DENKTAŞ Rauf Raif (1992) Kıbrıs Türk Halkının Özgürlük Bağımsızlık Mücadelesinden Kesitler: Arşivler ve Belgeler Işığında İlk Altı Ay, Yorum Yayınları, Lefkoşa. -----  
(2008) Kıbrıs: 50 Yılın Hikayesi, Akdeniz Haber Ajansı Yayınları, İstanbul.

Şevki KIRALP, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nde Etnik Uyuşmazlık ve Türkiye'nin... 657

DRUŞOTİS Makarios (2008) Kıbrıs 1963-1964: İlk Bölünme, Galeri Kültür Yayınları, Lefkoşa.

EMGİLİ Fahriye (2013) Kıbrıs' tan Türkiye'ye Yapılan Göçlerin Kıbrıs Türk Basınına Yansımaları (1923-1938), Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi, Sayı 39, s. 111-136.

EMILIANIDES Achilles - KOURTIS Dimitrios – IOANNOU Christina (2022) Cyprus and the Commonwealth: 1961-2021, The Round Table, Volume 111, Issue 1, s. 1-5.

FIRAT Melek (2019) Yunanistan'la İlişkiler, Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar Cilt I 1919-1980, 23'üncü baskı, Der. Baskın ORAN, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, , s. 576-614.

FRENCH David (2015) Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-insurgency campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959, Oxford University Press, New York.

GALLAGHER Tom (2013) Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989: From the Ottomans to Milosevic, Routledge, London.

GAYTANCIOĞLU Kaan (2013) Türk Siyasal Yaşamında IV. Koalisyon Hükûmeti (20 Şubat 1965-20 Kasım 1965), Elektronik Siyaset Bilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 4, Sayı 6, s. 48-75.

GAZİOĞLU Ahmet (1960) İngiliz İdaresinde Kıbrıs. Ankara, Ekin Yayınevi.

GÜLBAY Alper (2019) Huzursuz Bir Ortaklığın Ses Getiren Hamlesi: CHP- MSP Koalisyon Hükûmeti ve Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı. Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmalar Dergisi, Cilt 15, Sayı 30, s. 333-361.

GÜLEN Ahmet (2012) İnönü Hükûmetlerinin Kıbrıs Politikası (1961- 1965), Atatürk Yolu Dergisi, Cilt 13, Sayı 50, s. 389-428.

GÜNEŞ Bilal – ÇAPRAZ Hayri – ERDÖNMEZ Celal (2018) Kıbrıs Türk Eğitimine İngiliz Müdahalesi (1920-1935), Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 14, Sayı 28, s. 111-133.

HADJIDEMETRIOU Takis (2021) Kipriaki Dimokratia 1959-1964: Kratos kai Parakratos Aihmaloti enos hamenou alitorismou- politiki kai ideologiki theorisi [Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti 1959-1963: Devlet ve derin devlet, kaybedilen bir davanın esirleri-siyasi ve ideolojik değerlendirme] Papazisis, Lefkosia.

HASGÜLER Mehmet (2007) Kıbrıs'ta Enosis ve Taksim Politikalarının Sonu, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul.

HOFFMEISTER Frank (2006) Legal Aspects of the Cyprus Problem: Annan plan and EU Accession, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden. IOANNIDES Christos (2008-2009) Cyprus Before the Storm: The Kennedy Years, 1961-1963, *The Journal of Modern Hellenism*, Volume 25, s. 1-56

JAMES Alan (2001) *Keeping the Peace in the Cyprus Crisis of 1963-64* Palgrave MacMillan, London, 2001.

KAREKLAS Iacovos (2021) *Constitutional Law and Federations*, Rowman & Littlefield, London.

KARYOS Andreas – PAPAIOAKEIM Marinos (2022) Cyprus in the Commonwealth: Pre-membership Perceptions by Greek Cypriot Elites, 1959-1961, *The Round Table*, Volume 111, Issue 1, 2022, s. 6-18.

KAYA Yakup – YETE Bülent (2018) Demokrat Parti Döneminde Kıbrıs Sorunu, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 20 Sayı 2, 2018, s. 215-229.

KERIDIS Dimitris (2009) *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greece*, Scarecrow Press, Plymouth.

KER-LINDSAY James (2010) Shifting Alignments: The External Orientations of Cyprus since Independence *Cyprus Review*, Volume 22, Issue 2, s. 67-74.

----- (2011) *The Cyprus Problem: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

KESER Ulvi – KATA Münevver (2017) 27 Mayıs 1960 Askeri Darbesi ve Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihine Yansımaları, *Electronic Turkish Studies*, Cilt 12, Sayı 16, s.361-386.

KIRALP Şevki (2014) National Identity and Elite Interests: Makarios and Greek Cypriot Nationalism (1967-1974), Doktora Tezi, Keele University, United Kingdom. ----- (2018) 1967-1974 Döneminde Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın Kıbrıs Politikaları/ The Cyprus Question in the Period 1967- 1974: Turkish and Greek Policies on Cyprus, Tarih Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi, Journal of History Culture and Art Research, Cilt 7, Sayı 2, s. 444-460.

KIZILYÜREK Niyazi (2016) Bir Hınç ve Şiddet Tarihi: Kıbrıs'ta Statü Kavgası ve Etnik Çatışma. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.

LIM Jordan (2018) The Evolution of British Counter-Insurgency during the Cyprus Revolt, 1955–1959, Springer, Cham.

MALLINSON William - KANEVSKIY Pavel – PETASIS Aris (2020) Then is now, but the Colours are new: Greece, Cyprus and the Evolving Power Game between the West, Russia and Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, Vol 22, Issue 3, s. 306-332.

MARKIDES Diana Weston (2001) Cyprus 1957-1963: From Colonial Conflict to Constitutional Crisis: The Key Role of the Municipal Issue, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

MARKIDES Diana (2022) Diplomatic Ambiguity: Cyprus 1961–1963– how Ambivalent Diplomatic Attitudes, particularly those of the CRO, encouraged Dangerous Greek Cypriot Attempts to modify the Status quo created by the London and Zurich Agreements, The Round Table, Volume 111, Issue 1, s. 31-39.

MELANDRI Manuela (2018) Self-determination, International Law and Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Right in Abeyance, Routledge, London.

MCGARRY John (2020) Why has Cyprus been a consociational cemetery?, Power-Sharing in Europe: Past Practices, Current Cases, Future Directions, MCCULLOCH Allison-SOEREN Keil (eds.), London., Palgrave MacMillan, 2020, s. 227-256.

MOUSIS Ioannis (2017) Turkish Cypriot Identity after 1974: Turkish Cypriots, Turks of Cyprus or Cypriots?, Synthesis: an Anglophone Journal of Comparative Literary Studies, Volume 10, s. 116-130.

NIKITINA Yulia - KUZNETSOV Denis A. – RUSTAMOVA Leili R. (2019) Diplomatic Relations between Cyprus and the Soviet Union/Russia: From Cold War Games to Friendship and Comprehensive Cooperation", Cyprus Review, Volume 31, Issue 3, 2019, s.181-198.

NOHLEN Dieter – STÖVER Philip (2010) Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook, Nomos, Baden.

NORDSIECK Wolfram (2021) Parties and Elections in Europe: Parliamentary Elections and Governments since 1945, European Parliament Elections, Political Orientation and History of Parties, Norderstedt, Books on Demand.

ÖZKAN Behlül (2015) Making Cyprus a National Cause in Turkey's Foreign Policy, 1948–1965, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Volume 15, Issue 4, s. 541-562.

PERISTIANIS Nicos (2008) Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus. Doktora Tezi, Middlesex University, United Kingdom.

POPPLER Keith (2021) Trust and Political Life: the need to transform our democracy, Concept, Volume 12, Issue 1, s.1-9.

SCARINZI Fausto (2021) Force Structure and Counterinsurgency Outcome: The Case of the Cyprus Emergency (1955-1959), Defence Studies, Volume 21, Issue 2, s. 204-225.

SOLSTEN Eric (1991) Cyprus: A Country Study, Library of Congress, Washington.

SONYEL Salahi (1997) Cyprus: The Destruction of a Republic. British Documents 1960-1965, Eothen Press, Florida. ŞAHİN İsmail - PARLAKAY TOPBAŞ Selma (2015) Kamuoyu ve Dış Politika Bağlamında Peyami Safa'nın Yazılarında Kıbrıs Meselesi, Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Cilt 7, Sayı 13, s. 389-412.

----- (2016) Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs'ta Statüko'yu Koruma Çabaları ve Makarios'un Ankara Ziyareti, Journal of International Social Research, Cilt 9, Sayı 42, s.779-796.

ŞAHİN İsmail (2020), Düşünceden Eyleme EOKA, Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları, Cilt 37, s.21-49.

ŞENCAN Elif Evrim (2014) Dört Mekân Bir Kadın: Osmanlı Döneminde Kıbrıs Adasında Yaşayan Müslüman Türk Kadınının Yaşam Alanının Mesafe Analizi Yoluyla İncelenmesi, Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 10, Sayı 20, s.195-221.

ŞENER Bülent (2013) 1967

Kıbrıs Krizi'nde Siyasi, Askerî ve Hukuki Boyutlarıyla Türkiye'nin Zorlayıcı Diplomasi Uygulaması, Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 16, Sayı 31, s. 271-304.

TUFAN Hüseyin – ÖZSEZER Mete – ÖZKUL Ali Efdal (2021) Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Dönemi'nde Suat Hayri Ürgüplü ile George Brown Arasında Kıbrıs Sorunu ile İlgili Önemli Bir Mektuplaşma, Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Cilt 17, Sayı 3, s. 901-928.

YEŞİLBURSA Behçet Kemal (2019) Greco-Turkish relations and the questions of Cyprus and Aegean islands according to British documents (1955-1975), Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi, Volume 8, Issue 1, s. 95-113.

YORGANCIOĞLU Cemal- KIRALP Şevki (2019) Turco-British relations, Cold War and Reshaping the Middle East: Egypt, Greece and Cyprus (1954–1958), Middle Eastern Studies, Volume 55, Issue 6, s. 914-931.

YUCEL Deniz- PSALTIS Charis (2020) The effects of direct and indirect contact on prejudice: 2007 and 2017 results among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, European Societies, Volume 22, Issue 5, 2020, s. 610-635.

Sürelî Yayınlar Alithia (Güney Kıbrıs Basın ve Enformasyon Dairesi'nden, 1931 yılı)

Cyprus Mail (Güney Kıbrıs Basın ve Enformasyon Dairesi'nden, 1963 yılı)

Akın (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti meclis arşivlerinden, 1963 yılı)

Bozkurt (KKTC meclis arşivlerinden, 1960-1963 dönemi)

Şevki KIRALP, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nde Etnik Uyuşmazlık ve Türkiye'nin... 661

Cumhuriyet (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960 yılı)

Eleftheria (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960 yılı)

Ethnos (Güney Kıbrıs Basın ve Enformasyon Dairesi'nden, 1950 ve 1960 yılları)

Fileleftheros (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960-1963 önemi)

Ethniki (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960 yılı)

Halkın Sesi (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960-1963 dönemi)

Haravgi (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1960-1963 dönemi)

Mahi (KKTC Milli Arşiv ve Araştırma Dairesi'nden, 1962-1963 dönemi)



Nacak (KKTC meclis arşivlerinden, 1960-1963)

Milliyet (TBMM Kütüphane ve Arşiv Hizmetleri Başkanlığı'ndan, 1955-1959 dönemi)

İnternet kaynakları "Cyprus/46 states, one Europe", Council of Europe,  
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/cyprus> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Anayasası", Cyprus Parliament, 1960,  
[http://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma\\_TU.pdf](http://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma_TU.pdf) (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"Memorandum of Conversation", Department of State, no: 260, 6 Haziran 1962,  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d260> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"Memorandum of Conversation", Department of State, no: 357, 26 Kasım 1963,  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d357> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"New Action Program for Cyprus", Department of State, no: 292, 28 Ekim 1963,  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d292> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"Resolution 2077 (XX)", United Nations, no: 5990, 18 Aralık 1965,  
<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/660053> (Erişim Tarihi 9.6.2023).

"Situation in Cyprus", Department of State, no: 289, 1 Ekim 1963,  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d289> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).

"Telegram from the Embassy in Cyprus to the Department of State", Department of State, no: 258, 7 Nisan 1962, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v16/d258> (Erişim Tarihi: 9 Haziran 2023).