Committee: Historical Security Council (HSC)

Topic: Cyprus 1974 (20th of July)

Student Officer: Maria Voulgari, Panagiotis Vakirtzis

Position: President, Deputy President

Personal Introduction

Dear delegates of the Historical Security Council,

Our names are Maria Voulgari and Panagiotis Vakirtzis and we have the honor of serving as the President and Deputy President of the Historical Security Council in this year's session of CSMUN. We are both 17 years old, thus we currently attend the 12th grade of the German School of Athens (DSA) and the IB2 of HAEF Psychico College respectively.

As far as our MUN career is concerned, our involvement adds up to over three years of experience and a significant number of attended conferences seeing as we both share an intense admiration for diplomacy and political affairs. In this sense, it is our utmost priority to properly guide and encourage you prior to and throughout the upcoming CSMUN conference in order to further strengthen your passion about MUN and its basic principles.

The following Study Guide aims at providing you with an overview of the question of Cyprus outlining the most essential information regarding the topic at hand. However, it is in your best interest and it is hence highly advised to conduct further research so as to compose qualitative resolutions and policy statements Similarly,

1

your country's policy must be formed based on this guideline. In order to fully grasp the political and diplomatic climate of the late 20th century further generalized research thereof is suggested.

We would like to express our optimistic attitude towards this year's session since both the topic and this particular committee are equally intriguing. We are looking forward to CSMUN and we hence hope that you share our excitement accordingly. Our contact information is listed below. Please, feel free to get in touch with us in case any questions arise.

Yours truly,

Maria Voulgari, Panagiotis Vakirtzis

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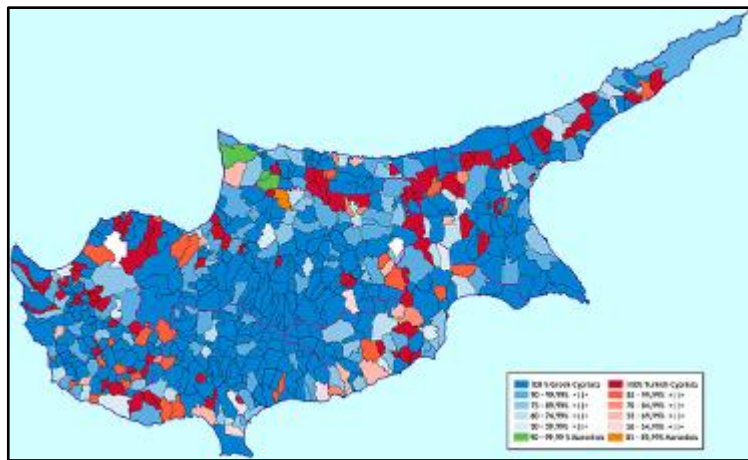
Committee introduction

The Historical Security Council is a committee new to CSMUN and has certain unique differences from the Security Council and other committees in CSMUN. The Historical Security Council operates under similar rules with the Security Council and it follows the same procedure. The unique difference between them is that the session of the Historical Security council is not set in current time rather it is set in the 20th of July 1974. This means that only events that have happened up to that point and only information that was known at the time can be used in the committee. In addition to that the countries that were members in the real U.N. Security Council at that point in time will be present. This means that when forming resolutions and debating, the historical and geopolitical background, along policies implemented at the time, have to be considered. This gives you the unique position to be able to rewrite history and discover another outcome of events.

Topic Introduction

Cyprus is an island on the Eastern Mediterranean located approximately 95 kilometers south of the Turkish coast. Its unique location allows close access to the Middle East, North Africa, Turkey and South East Europe, hence comprising an area of utmost geopolitical importance. At the same time, the island disposes a significant hoard of copper mines. In this sense, Cyprus has always been considered a valuable asset hence the apple of contention in the Mediterranean. As a result, the island came to know multiple occupiers, among others the Ottoman Empire and the British Colonial Forces. The United Kingdom, though, maintains two active military bases on the island under the Status of Free Association.

Currently, the newly independent state of Cyprus fosters two ethnic groups; Greeks and Turks, also known as, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Of the 573,566 people living in Cyprus at the time 442,138 are ethnically Greek, 104,320 are of Turkish descent and the remaining 27,108 consist of other ethnic minorities. The two major ethnic groups were able to leave in harmony for a very long time. Nonetheless, influenced by the rise of

Demographics of Cyprus in 1974

nationalism in the 2oth century intercommunal animosity increased significantly, seeing as the ideologies of Enosis (unification) with Greece and Taksim (Partition) between Greece and Turkey were further spread on the island among the Greek and Turkish Cypriots respectively.

3

The culmination of the conflicts was only a matter of time. On 15 July 1974 a coup d'état was organized by the Cypriot National Guard and backed up by the Greek military junta, which aimed for the Enosis of Cyprus with Greece. In an attempt to protect the Turkish community in Cyprus, Turkey operated the "Attila Plan" and invaded the island to allegedly guarantee Cyprus's independence and the protection of Turkish Cypriots. Until now it has occupied approximately 3% of the island's landmass.

Naturally, the ongoing military action may lead to detrimental consequences such as a humanitarian crisis, refugee influx as well as destruction of cultural heritage. Thus, a feasible long-term solution which will respect the right to self-determination while bearing in mind NATO's interests, Cold War implications, Greece-Turkey relations but above all the prosperity of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot population is absolutely necessary.

Definition of key terms

Guerilla Warfare

"the use of hit-and-run tactics by small, mobile groups of irregular forces operating in territory controlled by a hostile, regular force." [1]

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[1] "Guerrilla Warfare." *Dictionary.com*, Dictionary.com, LLC, 2005, www.dictionary.com/browse/guerrilla-warfare.

4

Coup d'état

"Sudden defeat of a government through illegal force by a small group, often a military one" [2]

Power Sharing Agreement

An agreement under which two previously separated countries unite in one and the new country's institutions are, effectively, divided between the two counties. For example: a president will be Northern Cypriot for one term and the prime minister will be Cypriot and for the next term the roles will switch.

De facto

"Practices that exist in reality, even though they are not official or recognized by law."[3]

De jure

"Practices that are legally recognized, regardless of whether the practice exists in reality."[4]

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[2] "COUP D'ÉTAT | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/coup-d-etat?q=coup+d%27état.

[3] "DE FACTO | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/de-facto.

[4] "DE JURE | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/de-jure.

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Refugee

"A person who has escaped from their own country for political, religious, or economic reasons or because of a war."[5]

Ceasefire

"An agreement, usually between two armies, to stop fighting in order to allow discussions about peace."[6]

Junta

"A government, especially a military one, that has taken power in a country by force and not by election."[7]

Free Association

"a nation with limited sovereignty, especially a former colony that now assumes responsibility for domestic affairs but continues to depend on the colonial ruler for defense and foreign policy." [8]

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[5] "REFUGEE | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/refugee.
[6] "CEASEFIRE | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ceasefire
[7] "JUNTA | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/junta.
[8] "Associated State." *Dictionary.com*, Dictionary.com, LLC, 2020, www.dictionary.com/browse/associated-state.

Proxy War

"A war fought between groups or smaller countries that each represent the interests of other larger powers, and may have help and support from these." 9

Right to self-determination

"The right, ability and power to make decisions for yourself, especially the power of a nation to decide how it will be governed."10

Background Information

Ottoman and British Rule

In the 13th century B.C Cyprus was ruled by the Mycenaeans. At the end of the 4th century B.C. Cyprus became a part of the Kingdom of Alexander the Great. Throughout the first century B.C. it became a province of the Great Roman Empire and remained as such until the 4th century A.D. when the Byzantine period began. In 1489 Cyprus was annexed by Venice and later on by the Ottoman empire in 1571 during the Ottoman - Venetian war of 1570-1573, thus turning into an eyelet (province) of the empire. At the time Sultans encouraged Turkish settlers to migrate to Cyprus and form a Turkish Cypriot community.

The island remained a province of Turkey for more than three centuries and during this period Turkish and Greek Cypriots were able to live side by side peacefully.

9 "PROXY WAR: Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." *Cambridge Dictionary*, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/proxy-war.

10 "SELF-DETERMINATION | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary | English Dictionary, Translations & Thesaurus, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/self-determination.

After 300 years of Ottoman Rule the mostly Greek-populated island of Cyprus was leased to Britain by the bilateral Cyprus Convention in 1878 and hosted two key military bases that guaranteed Turks in case of a Russian attack. As soon as the British governor came to Cyprus, Greek Cypriots requested the unification of Cyprus with Greece. Thus, the roots of the future intercommunal animosity can be traced back to this development. The Turkish community protested against such talks and argued that Britain should return the island to Turks if such a possibility occurs. After the First World War, Article 20 of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 marked the end of the Turkish claim on the island and its annexation by Britain since the Ottoman Empire had sided with the Central Powers.
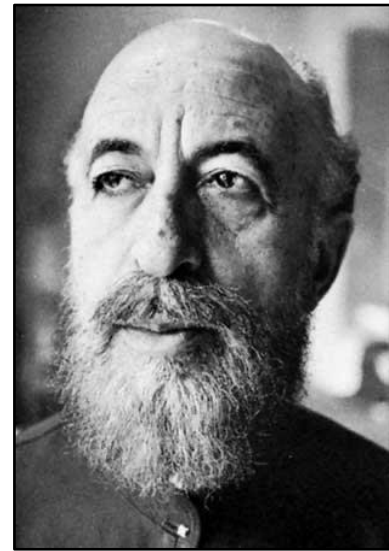
After the declaration of Cyprus as a British Crown Colony in 1925, the Turkish Cypriots were invited to choose between "repatriation" to Turkey or permanent settlement in Cyprus. During these years while the Turkish Government encouraged the suggested emigration, the British Government created difficulties in order to preserve a Turkish community in Cyprus against the Greek one. In this way, the British aimed at avoiding an overwhelming pro-enosis Greek population with no Turkish community to oppose it. A policy otherwise also known as "divide and rule".

Origins

Primary attempts at Enosis and Taksim

In 1950 the Greek Orthodox Church organized a referendum by inviting all Greek Cypriots to the churches and asking them to choose between the status-quo or "Enosis". As a result, 96% of those voting preferred Enosis. In the same year Archbishop Makarios III, who had been enthroned as the new archbishop of Cyprus, declared that he would spend all his life's energy for Enosis, hence undertaking the political leadership of the movement at the same time. The results of the referendum were presented to the United Nations Secretariat in New York, however Britain pointed out that the Cyprus issue was internal and was not subject to U.N.

Archbishop Makarios III

discretion. In 1953 Makarios was still hopeful that the U.N. would extend self-determination to Cyprus and for that reason he rejected the widespread idea of an armed rebellion. At the United Nations in 1954, the United States sided with Britain, in order to prevent the Cyprus issue from destabilizing NATO's southeastern flank. For the United States, Cyprus was still under Britain's sphere of influence and therefore, in order to not weaken the southern flank of NATO, the US neither objected to Enosis nor supported "taksim" (partition).

In 1954, upon realizing that diplomatic measures would not promote Enosis, Makarios changed his approach by siding with the armed rebellion sustained by the Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA), the National Organization of Cypriot Combatants, under the leadership of George Grivas. This strategic move indicated the beginning of a guerrilla war which continued for four years with mild civilian casualties.

9

As a response, the British armed the Turkish Cypriots to form a paramilitary police force. At the same time, a local initiative was formed, called: the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) to prevent the unification with Greece, which was perceived by the Turkish Cypriots as an existential threat. It was later supported and organized by the Turkish government and the TMT declared war on the Greek Cypriot rebels. Up to this point the Turkish government was in favor of British sovereignty over Cyprus as they believed that British political and military involvement on the island would function as a deterrent against Soviet expansionism in the Middle East. However, as the numerous armed conflicts escalated, Turkish claims for partition or integration of the island into Turkey began developing accordingly. Inter-communal animosity was further increased as economic growth and education promoted Turkish nationalism. Turkish nationalism was the core of the revolutionary program promoted by the father of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who was aiming towards enhancing the Turkish Identity of Turkish Cypriots in a way which reinforced their division from their Greek Cypriot neighbors.

In 1957 and 1958 Greece again adopted peaceful methods and appealed to the U.N. However, as in previous attempts, the members of the Commonwealth, NATO and the Baghdad Pact sided with Britain and Turkey, whereas the Soviet Bloc and most Arab States expressed their support for Greece's demands.

Cypriot Independence

By the beginning of 1958, the British government recognized the unsustainability of the ongoing Guerilla conflicts, seeing as it was both costly and troublesome. Rather than maintaining control of the whole island for their military needs, the British adopted the idea of arranging military bases instead. However, as previously mentioned Enosis or Taksim were not acceptable solutions on a diplomatic level. Under these circumstances the only alternative for the future of the island

10

seemed to be independence. Consequently, the British rule lasted until 1960 when the island was declared an independent state under the London-Zurich agreements and the Treaty of Guarantee.
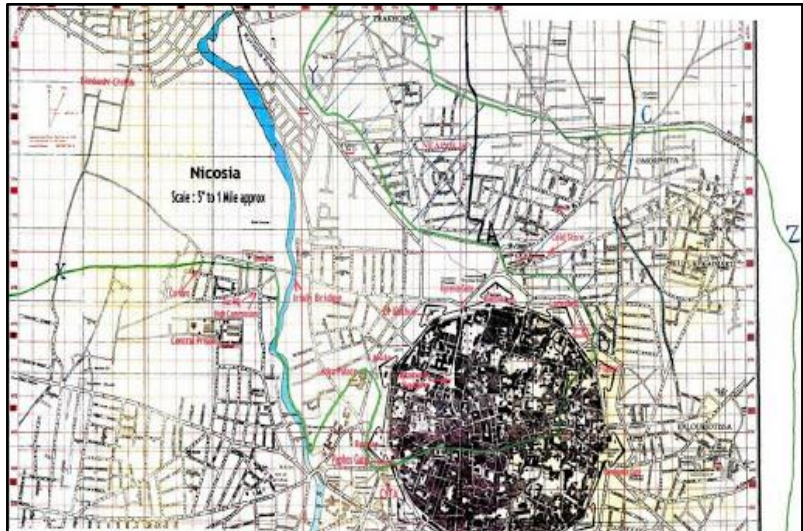
The agreement created the foundations for the Republic of Cyprus fostering both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, but the UK retained two sovereign base areas - Akrotiri and Dhekelia under the status of Free Association. In spite of this international effort, the 1960 constitution proved to be unsuitable seeing as its provisions favored the status quo, whereas the Greek Cypriots viewed Cypriot independence as the first step towards Enosis and the Turkish Cypriots strived for upholding the status quo or Taksim, namely partition between Greece and Turkey.

Failure of the 1960 Constitution and its implications

In December 1963 Makarios proposed constitutional amendments that undermine the Power Sharing agreement guaranteed under the 1960 constitution and the Turkish-Cypriot representatives withdrew from the government. However, it is disputed whether they withdrew or were forced out by the National Guard as a result communal violence erupted. In 1964 in compliance with US proposals and upon failure of all peaceful negotiations between the Guarantor Powers, the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Cyprus was initiated instead to promote and sustain peace. In addition, despite President Makarios issuing calls for peace amongst the communities, relations continued changing for the worse. At the time Turkish foreign policy started shifting. In light of the new constitutional amendments Turkey strived for Partition of the island. Following Turkey's invasion threats, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson stated that he was against any sort of invasion scheme and that the United States would not stand with Turkey in case of said invasion and such actions could also possibly lead to a direct involvement by the Soviet Union. In 1964, within the framework of a plan prepared by the US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, negotiations

11

with Greece and Turkey began which later this year led to the official end of the Turkish Cypriot involvement in the administration. The republic's structure was unilaterally changed by Makarios and Nicosia was divided by a buffer zone known as the "Green Line" in order to stop the escalation of tension between the two communities. However, as EOKA fighters alongside with the National Guard and the Cypriot Police continued initiating violent conflicts, Turkey and Greece were brought to the brink of war multiple times.

Original map of Nicosia where the Green Line was drawn

In 1967, Turkey threatened to invade Cyprus again, in 1 on the basis that it would be protecting the Turkish population from ethnic cleansing by Greek Cypriot forces.

Recent developments

Cypriot Coup d'état

After 1967 intercommunal strife was overshadowed. During six years of continuing peace, both Turkish and Greek Cypriots led a political life of their own. Peace prevailed between the two communities until the return of Grivas to the island in 1971.

During this period, Greece, Cyprus's most important and closest ally, was under the Junta, a dictatorship of three military colonels that assumed power via a coup d'état

in 1967. The Junta was very favorable to uniting with Cyprus and achieving Enosis. However, by 1974 a tense relationship between Makarios and the military government was developed. In particular, Makarios stance on Enosis started shifting. He began requesting the support of Greek Cypriots to establish an independent and nonaligned Cyprus instead.

The three Colonels of the Junta

Amidst suspected opposition to Enosis, the Greek Junta decided to force the unification and staged a coup d'état on the 15th of July 1974 in order to overthrow the Cypriot government of Makarios. He was replaced with Nikos Sampson, a pro enosis Greek, sent in by the Junta. However, Makarios survived and fled the island with British assistance.

Turkish Response

The Turkish Government proceeded with placing some demands towards the new government. The demands were the following: immediate removal of Nikos Sampson, the withdrawal of 650 Greek officers from the Cypriot National Guard, the admission of Turkish troops to protect their population, equal rights for both populations and access to the sea from the northern coast for Turkish Cypriots. After being rejected, the Turkish Government decided to seek British participation in a joint military operation, which was also refused.

On the 20th of July, only five days later, Turkey invaded Cyprus during a still ongoing operation called Atilla, citing the protection of Turkish Cypriots and the violation of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, that states in its first article that Cyprus is banned from uniting politically or economically with any other state. If such a move were undertaken, the Treaty of Guarantee gives the right to intervene – politically or militarily - to the Guarantor Powers in order to defend the status quo.

Major countries and organizations involved

Cyprus

Cyprus is of course the main pillar of the Cyprus dispute. Consisting of a Greek Cypriot majority the island has strived towards Enosis with Greece throughout the most part of its modern history. Intercommunal animosity is hence a usual phenomenon in the region, bearing in mind the Turkish Cypriot opposition as well as the failure of peaceful negotiations in terms of achieving Enosis.

On the other hand, Greek Cypriot leftists are not particularly fond of Enosis since the military Junta in Greece would silence their voices. Similarly, Greek Cypriots of higher socioeconomic classes prefer establishing an independent Cyprus with the provision of a special Commonwealth status in order to achieve favorable commercial conditions. Under these circumstances, Archbishop Makarios III appeals to their aspirations due to his recent shift towards pursuing an independent Cyprus instead of Enosis. Of course, this change of mind led to the breach of diplomatic ties with the Greek regime and to the Cypriot coup.

At its current state, upon the Sampson's administration denial to meet Turkish demands, operation Atilla is underway and Cyprus's future is uncertain. The island is defenseless at the hands of each of its occupiers.

14

Greece

Greece is the mainland of the Greek Cypriots, one of the three Guarantor Powers and simultaneously a NATO member. Its involvement in the dispute is hence crucial in terms of the future of Cyprus and the events leading up to the current state of affairs. Up to 1950s Greek Governments did support the Enosis struggle of Greek Cypriots on a political level, however Greece has always been a supporter of Enosis on an ideological basis.

Greece is now ruled by a militaristic, authoritarian and nationalist state. Expansion of its land and influence is one of the main goals of Enosis. Unification with Cyprus is part of the "Megali Idea", which translates to Big Idea. It is part of the Greek irredentist movement and attempt to unite all Greek peoples under one common government. The Greco – Turkish rivalry is also significant in Greece's case. Greek people were enslaved by Ottoman rule for approximately 400 years. Since independence Greece wants to restore its glory and borders of the Byzantine Empire. The Greeks would not like another Greek community to suffer under Ottoman rule.

The Greek Junta became the closest ally of the Greek Cypriots in their struggle towards unification with Greece. Upon rising suspicions in regard to Makarios' betrayal of the Enosis, the regime orchestrated a coup d'état to annex the island of Cyprus by overthrowing Makarios, subsequently breaching the Treaty of Guarantee. Notably the Turkish-Cypriots were not affected by the coup against Makarios since the regime did not wish to provoke Turkish retaliation. Its reaction to the Turkish invasion has not yet been clear.

Turkey

Turkey acknowledges Cyprus as a valuable asset and has attempted to expand its influence on Cyprus since its annexation into the Ottoman Empire in 1573 by

encouraging Turkish immigration to the island. On the other hand, Turkey was later in favor of British sovereignty over Cyprus as it believed that "British presence on the island would function as a deterrent against Soviet expansionism in the Middle East" [11]. However, as the numerous armed conflicts escalated and the 1960 constitution was basically unilaterally abolished, Turkish Cypriot claims for partition of the island transformed into an official scenario the Turkish government examined. Turkish nationalists argue that the whole island should be annexed by Turkey. This would give access to Turkey's mainland to all the trading and strategic benefits of Cyprus's location. Turkey desires to regain the glory of its Ottoman past and become one of the most influential powers in the Mediterranean and Middle East. Cypriot occupation would be proven of significant help for the achievement of this goal.

Another item that should be considered is the Greco – Turkish rivalry. Turkey does not want Greece to take any amount of land of the island, as it would strengthen Greek influence in the Mediterranean and the Greek Junta regime could potentially station troops in less than 100 km away from Turkish lands. Therefore, this could potentially be a great threat to their national security.

On the 20th of July, Turkey exercised its right under the Treaty of Guarantee by deploying troops in the region and capturing areas of the island in an ongoing operation named Atilla despite the UK's oppositions to this request. Ankara, being a Guarantor Power, claims that this specific development was crucial in order to protect Turkish Cypriots and to ensure the independence of Cyprus.

It should be noted that Turkey resorted to diplomatic measures before taking military action. Nevertheless, the Sampson regime did not meet their requests. Even

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11 "Turkish-American Relations Concerning the Cyprus Questions." *Turkish - American Relations Concerning the Cyprus Questions ......*, web.deu.edu.tr/kibris/articles/hist.html.

so, Tukey's multiple recent threats in terms of an armed invasion indicate that the coup served as a mere catalyst for Turkey's ultimate objective.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK)

The United Kingdom plays an active role in the question of Cyprus. In spite of their initial colonist policy, the UK later decided that opting for Cyprus's independence under the status of Free Association was in their best interest, taking into consideration the constant intercommunal dispute and Guerilla war. Nevertheless, the future of Cyprus still heavily concerns the UK due to its military bases in the area, its Guarantor Power status as well due to its economic ties to this particular member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Furthermore, its involvement in NATO comprises all the more of a reason thereof.

Within these margins, the UK declined Turkey's offer to take military action as a Signatory of the Treaty of Guarantee to return Cyprus to its neutral status. It, thus, refused to let Turkey use its bases on Cyprus as part of the operation. On the contrary, similarly to the United States, the UK encouraged peaceful negotiations.

The United States of America (USA)

At first, the United States were not directly linked to the Cyprus dispute. Nevertheless, bearing in mind Cyprus's unique geopolitical location, the US tends to object any decision which would possibly jeopardize NATO's interests. In this sense, political stability in the region as well as peace between Greece and Turkey was essential since they were both equally significant members of NATO. As a result, the US initially remained neutral on the status of Cyprus siding with Britain when Cypriot independence was raised at the United Nations Secretariat in New York. Even after the establishment of the Cypriot Republic the US abstained from intervening in Cypriot affairs fully trusting Britain's influence on the island.

17

However, as intercommunal animosity grew stronger the US decided upon directly mediating the conflict to ensure NATO's interests which were in correlation with CENTO's long-term influence in the region. Despite the United States peaceful approach, it certainly did not effectively hinder the military operations conducted both by Greece and Turkey. The aforementioned stance might appear as a paradox at first glance, however it heavily relies on the following strategic considerations: "Cyprus should not remain independent as, under the leadership of Makarios, it could become a communist base; Partition could only further complicate matters dividing the island between to separate political entities; Turkey should not intervene because such an action might cause war between Turkey and Greece and this would weaken NATO; Cyprus should be united with Greece".[12] This last item was again proved to be right when the US did not react during the 1974 coup in Cyprus. After all, the United States, during this period were trying to get rid of Makarios, who had the possibility of developing political ties with the Soviet Bloc. Due to this fact the US did not prevent the Sampson coup. If Makarios was overthrown, then a more loyal person to the U.S. interests could assume power and if Turkey intervened again then Cyprus would be in safe hands and the military junta might have been overthrown. Therefore, the question of Cyprus would have been finally settled either way.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The USSR is openly interested in expanding its political influence in the Mediterranean and Cyprus is considered an important ally. Subsequently, by supporting the Greek Cypriots' Enosis struggle throughout the 1950s and later on Makarios wishes for an independent Cyprus, under a Greek administration, it appears

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12 "Turkish-American Relations Concerning the Cyprus Questions." *Turkish - American Relations Concerning the Cyprus Questions ......*, web.deu.edu.tr/kibris/articles/hist.html.

as a more appealing ally. Obviously, it opposes CENTO's interests and is hence considered a threat by the US and its allies.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO is a political and military alliance, which consists of 15 members and aims at preserving freedom and security in the North Atlantic area. In terms of the question of Cyprus, it preserves a neutral stance seeing as all Greece, Turkey, the United States and the UK are significant member states of the alliance. The safety of its southeastern flank depends on Cyprus's cooperation as well as its favorable diplomatic ties with the US, Greece and the UK.

Timeline of events

Date	Description of Event
1571	Ottomans annex the island of Cyprus – end of Venetian rule
1877 – 1878	Russo – Turkish War
1914	Cyprus is leased to Britain, following 300 years of Ottoman rule.
1925	Cyprus is declared a crown colony according to the Treaty of Lausanne.
15th-22th of January 1950	An unofficial referendum on Enosis with Greece was held in Cyprus between 15 and 22 January 1950. Only Greek Cypriots could vote, and the proposal was approved by 95.71% of those taking part.
1955	Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against the British. Guerilla movements, like the National Organization of Cypriots Combatants, want to achieve enosis. As a response, the British armed the Turkish Cypriots to form a paramilitary police force.

16th of August 1960	After the London Zurich Agreement by the Turkish and Greek Cypriot sides, Cyprus gains independence. The Treaty of Guarantee allows Greece, Turkey, and the UK to intervene, while Britain keeps control of two military bases.
1963	Makarios proposes a new constitution that undermines the power sharing agreement. Violence between the two communities erupts and the Turkish-Cypriots withdraw from the power sharing agreement.
30th of December 1963	The Green Line is drawn.
1964	The UN sets up the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.
1967	Establishment of the Greek Military Junta
15th of July 1974	Coup d'état organized with the help of the Greek Junta in Cyprus with main goal the unification with Greece, Makarios III flees to London.
16th of July 1974	Makarios III appeals to the UN for help.
20th of July 1974	Turkish armed forces launch Attila Operation and invade the island – manage to conquer 3% of its landmass

Previous attempts to solve the issue

To this day little yet significant effort has been invested into resolving the intercommunal disputes within Cyprus as well as into determining the long-term political status of said territory. Nevertheless, none have been successful.

UN Peacekeeping Mission in Cyprus

The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established in 1964 under the UN Security Council Resolution 186. Its headquarters are located in the Blue Beret Camp inside the Nicosia International Airport. Its aims are to prevent any recurrence of fighting between Cypriot Greeks, to safeguard peace on the island, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and to facilitate a return to normal conditions. However, despite the peacekeeping troops best efforts violent conflicts as well as armed attacks are not successfully deterred.

London Zurich Agreements & Treaty of Guarantee

On the 16th of August 1960 Greece, Turkey and Britain signed the Zurich & London Agreements which enabled Cypriot independence from the United Kingdom. Britain would preserve two sovereign military bases, Akrotiri and Dhekelia. At the same time the Treaty of Guarantee was signed between the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece. The first article states that Cyprus is banned from uniting politically or economically with any other state. If such a move was undertaken, the Treaty of Guarantee gives the right to intervene, politically or militarily, to the Guarantor Powers in order to restore the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Green Line or United Nations Buffer Zone

The Green Line was created on the 30th of December 1963, after the agreement of the Greeks, Turks and British soon after the first intercommunal riots began on the island. It was formed in order to stop the escalation of tension between the Greek

23

Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots and apart from being located in Nicosia, the capital of the island, it extends to areas where Turkish Cypriot communities exist. It was named as such due to the fact that General Yang had drawn it with a green pencil on the map. Since March 1964 the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus took over as guards.

Relevant UN Resolutions, Events, Treaties and Legislation

Cypriot Enosis Referendum

An unofficial referendum on Enosis with Greece was held in Cyprus between 15 and the 22nd of January 1950. Only Greek Cypriots could vote, and the proposal was approved by 95.71% of those taking part. The results were presented to the United Nations Secretariat in New York, however due to the exclusion of the Turkish Cypriot minority and the lack of british permission the referendum was deemed illegal.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 155

Adopted unanimously on the 23rd of August 1960, the Security Council welcomes the Republic of Cyprus in the United Nations.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 186

Adopted in March 1964, the Council states that the situation in Cyprus will likely threaten international peace. It contains requests to the government of Cyprus to adopt action to stop the violence and calls all member states to refrain from action that would worsen the situation. It also establishes the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.

<u>United Nations Security Council Resolution 193</u>

Adopted on the 25th of September 1964, it reaffirms a statement by the President of the Security Council that urges the "government of Turkey to cease the bombardment of and the use of military force of any kind against Cyprus and to the Government of Cyprus to order the armed forces under its control to cease firing immediately".

Possible solutions

The question of Cyprus comprises an incredibly complex and multidimensional issue. Subsequently, it ought to be addressed thoroughly and realistically. This section aims at outlining the basic aspects in need of resolution concerning the Cypriot dispute.

Preservation of Peace

To begin with, relative peace is essential in order to facilitate constructive negotiations as well as any further actions towards the resolution of the Cyprus dispute. In light of the still ongoing military operation Atilla, which was initiated today by Turkey, attaining peace must hence be one's first priority when approaching the issue.

In this sense, calling for an immediate Ceasefire is of utmost importance so as to avoid further violent conflicts that could cost many people of both ethnic groups their life, a possible refugee crisis as well as the destruction of Cultural Heritage. Moreover, this measure would set the foundations for the initiation of peace talks as an alternative to military action.

Simultaneously, strengthening and redefining UNPFC's goals, operations and code of conduct under the new circumstances (dissolving conflict, etc.) would greatly contribute to the restoration of peace, especially since the current strategy of the UNPFC has not proven to be anything near to effective. The reconsideration of the

25

purpose and placement of the existing Green Line could possibly also comprise a significant tool.

Protection of Cultural Heritage

Furthermore, bearing in mind the continuous violent conflicts throughout Cypruses modern history, determining measures for the protection of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot monuments, mosques and monasteries from destruction and violation are absolutely necessary. This objective could be achieved both through international as well as local initiatives and non-Governmental Organizations. For instance, tools such as the UNPFC could be adapted and religious authorities could contribute to serve this purpose.

Political Leadership and Territorial Integrity

Undoubtedly, there are multiple possible scenarios that could reflect the political future of Cyprus based on each party's interests and aspirations. Nonetheless, each option variates in terms of its legitimacy under international law, to what extent its implementation is realistic and whether it actually would promote long-term peace among the parties. Subsequently, holding a legal, all-inclusive Referendum could certainly provide the international community with a clear picture of both communities' preferences and their collective decision.

Return to the status quo or redefined independence

This option suggests an independent Cypriot State fostering both ethnicities with a free Association status to the UK, as was the case since Cypruses independence in 1960. This entails a government divided into executive, legislative and judicial

branches. The President has to be a Greek Cypriot elected by the Greek Cypriots, and the Vice-President a Turkish Cypriot elected by the Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Cypriot Vice-President has the right to veto like the members of the House of Representatives. Greek and Turkish are chosen as the two official languages and both communities have the right to celebrate Greek and Turkish national holidays. The constitution requires that both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots be represented in the civil service at the ratio of 70 to 30 percent and civil disputes like religious matters and personal status were to be tried in communal courts. In this way, both ethnic groups are granted equality and the only other power on the island would be the UK which would still maintain its two military bases on the island as agreed in the Zurich London Agreement. However, despite the fact that the constitution can be subject to revision and amendments in order to provide equity rather than plain equality and that the Free Association Status can be reconsidered, this form of independence has proved to be unworkable in the past due to the strong Enosis aspirations of Greek Cypriots and the Taksim wishes of Turkish Cypriots. As a result, intercommunal violence is to be expected.

On the other hand, independence with a newly composed constitution benefiting the civil rights of the Greek Cypriots over those of the Turkish Cypriots and rejecting the Free Association status to the UK is also a possible scenario seeing as Archbishop Makarios III could possibly side with the Soviet Bloc, which aimed at increasing its influence in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the United States, Britain and Turkey would be highly unsatisfied with this turn of events rendering this option extremely unrealistic. If this were the case despite all odds, dangerous developments such as a proxy war between the parties could be expected.

Enosis
On the island of Cyprus there is an overwhelming Greek majority. It seems only natural for them to be united with the rest of the Greeks living in Greece. This would

significantly increase the influence of Greece in the Mediterranean and it would economically benefit the country. This would also increase NATO's power if we consider the fact that Greece is a full member of the treaty. Nevertheless, this would undermine the right to self – determination of the significant Turkish minority on the island. This could potentially lead to more tensions between states and hostilities between not only Cypriot Greeks and Turks but also between the countries of Turkey and Greece themselves. In the case of the annexation of Cyprus by Greece resulting into statehood for Greek Cypriots and forced repatriation of Turkish Cypriots a significant refugee influx would be created as well further burdening Turkey. Despite these issues the US did not necessarily oppose this plan since Greece is a trusted ally. However, the strong Turkish reaction to the Cypriot coup must have influenced its opinion negatively as NATO's interests might be endangered if Greek-Turkish relations deteriorate.

Partition between Greece and Turkey

This option suggests that the island be divided in between the two countries with or without a buffer zone. This solution takes into consideration the self – determination of the two communities and empowers both members of NATO. Sharing the island could potentially lead to a new beginning for the countries of Turkey and Greece as cooperation between the two for the maintenance of the island's resources and security for both communities would occur. But, this is not necessarily true. Hostilities between the two might continue for the full control of the island and its resources. Nonetheless, this option certainly comprises a plausible scenario.

Division into two separate sovereign states

Dividing the island to two new countries so that both Cypriot Greeks and Turks be ruled on their own. This is focusing on the right of self – determination and governance of the two communities. It could also enable them to connect better with their mainland

counterpart without fearing resistance from the other side. However, many of the island's residents want to be united and live peacefully together. It is true that the island would be stronger in all aspects if united. It should also be taken into consideration that hostilities might still take place to acquire full control of the island and its resources. Above all however, the newly formed states could be subjects to Soviet influence.

The Future of the Treaty of Guarantee

Lastly, suspending, withdrawing or amending the Treaty of Guarantee in accordance with the future political leadership and territorial integrity of Cyprus is essential. The items under consideration should among others be deciding on whether the status of Free Association to the UK should be preserved and whether the Guarantor Powers should, in light of recent developments, preserve their rights as such.

Naturally, this aspect of the Cyprus dispute alongside its political future can only be determined through all-inclusive and constructive negotiations between the parties. Communication is, therefore, key to tackling this particular issue, as is the case with any type of multilateral conflict.

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31

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34