

BOOK I

CYPRUS
1878 TO 1960

Possible Title: "Cyprus: The Tortuous Road to Independence"

Stella Soulioti

Limassol, Cyprus, May 1998

BIBΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ - ΑΡΧΕΙΟΣΥΣΤΗΜΑΣ ΣΟΥΛΙΟΤΗ

BOOK I
CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I: <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1-10
GENERAL	<u>1</u>
BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	1-6
The Greeks	1
The Turks	1-3
Co-existence	3-4
Similarities and Disparities between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots	4-6
Population Pattern and Land Ownership	7
The Church	7-10

CHAPTER II: <u>PERIOD: 1878 TO 1954</u>	11-30
PERIOD 1878 TO 1931	11-19
<u>Appendix 2(1)</u> (p.13)	11-13
<u>Appendix 2(2)</u> (p.13)	
The Tribute	13-18
<u>Appendix 3</u> (p.18)	18-19
<u>Appendix 4</u> (p.18)	
<u>Appendix 5</u> (p.18)	

	PERIOD 1931 TO 1946	20-24
	Demands for Enosis	20-21
<u>Appendix 6</u> (p.21)	Denial of Democratic Institutions	21-23
<u>Appendix 7</u> (p.22)	Enosis almost achieved in 1945	23-24
	PERIOD 1946 TO 1950	24-26
<u>Appendix 8</u> (p.25)	Consultative Assembly for Constitutional Reform	24-26
	Emergence of Makarios: Plebiscite organized by the Church	26
	PERIOD 1951 TO 1954	27-30
	Contacts between the Greek Government and the British Government - 1941-1954	27-28
	Eden's Inflexibility and Hopkinson's "Never"	28
	First Recourse to the United Nations	29
	Evaluation of Events leading to Dynamic Action	29-30

CHAPTER III:	<u>PERIOD: 1955</u>	31-33
	EOKA STRUGGLE BEGINS	31
<u>Appendix 9</u> (p.31)	EVALUATION OF THE STRUGGLE	31-32
	THE TURKISH FACTOR	32-33

CHAPTER IV: PERIOD: 1955 TO 1956 34-51

	ATTEMPTS AT CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT - GENERAL	34
	FIRST ATTEMPT	34-36
	Tripartite Conference, August-September 1955	34-35
<u>Appendix 10</u> (p.36)	Evaluation of Tripartite Conference	35-36
	ANTI-GREEK RIOTS IN TURKEY AND CYPRUS	36-38
	SECOND RECOURSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS	38
	SECOND ATTEMPT	38-42
<u>Appendix 11</u> (p.38)	Harding-Makarios Talks October 1955-March 1956	38-40
	Makarios deported to the Seychelles	40
	Evaluation of Harding-Makarios Talks	40-42
	THIRD RECOURSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS	42
	THIRD ATTEMPT	42-49
	The Radcliffe Proposals, September-December 1956	42-45
	Consideration by Radcliffe of Turkish Cypriot claim to equal political representation - federation	45-47
<u>Appendix 12</u> (p.48)	British Government reference to Exercise of Self-Determination separately by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots - Partition	47-48

Reaction of the Greek Government, Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish Government to the Radcliffe Proposals	49
Evaluation of Radcliffe Proposals	49
APPRAISAL OF FAILURE TO REACH A SOLUTION IN 1956	50-51

CHAPTER V: <u>MAKARIOS' ATTITUDE TO VIOLENCE</u>	52-54

CHAPTER VI: <u>PERIOD: 1957 TO FIRST PART OF 1958</u>	55-56
MISCELLANEOUS HAPPENINGS	55
Termination of Makarios' Detention in Seychelles - March 1956	55
Fourth Recourse to the United Nations	55
Britain decides she only needs Bases in Cyprus	55
Sir Hugh Foot replaces Sir John Harding as Governor	55
FOURTH ATTEMPT AT CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT - THE FOOT PLAN	55-56

BIBΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΤΕΜΑΣ ΣΟΥΜΟΤΗ

CHAPTER VII; INTERLUDE: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
OF TURKEY AND THE TURKISH
CYPRIOTS, 1945-1958 57-70

	GENERAL	57
	TURKISH CYPRIOT ORGANIZATIONS	57
<u>Appendix 13</u> (p.58)	INVOLVEMENT OF TURKEY	57-58
	BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS TURKISH ACTIVITIES	58-59
	TURKISH POLITICAL OBJECTIVE OF PARTITION FORMULATED	59-62
	Means for achieving Partition	59
<u>Appendix 14</u> (p.59)	Open Demand for Partition	59-61
<u>Appendix 15</u> (p.61)	Consistency of Turkish Policy of Partition	61-62
	IMPLEMENTATION OF TURKISH POLICY OF PARTITION	62-68
	General	62
	Establishment of Separate Identity for the Turkish Cypriots	62
	Pursuit of Physical Separation of the two Communities and Territorial Division	62-63
	Turkish Cypriot Attacks on Greek Cypriots and Greek Cypriot Property in 1956-1957	63-64
	Turkish Cypriot Violence in 1958	64-65

	Denktash reveals that Turkish Cypriots planted Bomb to provoke the Anti-Greek Riots of June 1958	65-66
<u>Appendix 16</u> (p.66)	Geunyeli Massacre - June 1958	66-67
	Ousting of Greeks from Omorphita and other areas and Movement of Turks to northern part of the Island	67-68
	EOKA AND TURKISH CYPRIOT VIOLENCE	68-69
	CEASE-FIRE - AUGUST 1958	69
	SOME FACTORS UNDERLYING THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ACTS OF VIOLENCE	69
	DEEP AND LASTING EFFECT OF TURKISH CYPRIOT VIOLENCE AGAINST THE GREEKS IN 1956-1958	69-70

CHAPTER VIII:	<u>PERIOD: SECOND PART OF 1958</u>	71-78
	FIFTH ATTEMPT AT CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT - THE MACMILLAN PLAN	71-74
<u>Appendix 17</u> (p.71)	General	71-72
	Reaction of Turkey to the Plan	72-73
	Reaction of Greece to the Plan	73-74
	Reaction of Archbishop Makarios to the Plan	74
	FIFTH RECOURSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS	74

MODIFICATION OF THE MACMILLAN PLAN	74-75
General	74
Reaction of Archbishop Makarios to the Revised Plan	74-75
Final Positions of Greece and Turkey on the Revised Plan	75
SPAAK'S COMPROMISE PLAN	75-76
General	75
Reaction of Greece, Turkey and Britain to the Spaak Plan	76
Failure of Negotiations on the Spaak Plan	76
"IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE MACMILLAN PLAN	76-77
ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF THE MACMILLAN PLAN	77-78
CHAPTER IX: <u>PERIOD: THIRD PART</u> <u>OF 1958</u>	79-82
CYPRUS QUESTION ON U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGENDA	79
ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS' DECLARATION OF CHANGE OF POLICY	79-81
An Independent Cyprus under U.N. Guarantee	79-80
Reactions of Britain, Greece and Turkey to Archbishop Makarios' Announcement	80-81

**FATE OF RECOURSE TO
THE UNITED NATIONS** 81-82

General 81

Encounter of Foreign Ministers
of Greece and Turkey and
Adoption of Resolution on Cyprus 81-82

OPENING OF NEW CHAPTER - BACKGROUND 82

**CHAPTER X: PERIOD; LAST PART
OF 1958** 83-85

**MEETING BETWEEN THE GREEK
AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS** 83-85

General 83

Meeting at the United Nations 83

Meeting in Paris - Genesis of
Zurich Agreement 83-84

Subsequent Meetings 84-85

**CHAPTER XI: PERIOD; FIRST PART OF 1959
CONCLUSION OF THE ZURICH
AGREEMENTS** 86-92

AGREEMENT REACHED AT ZURICH 86-87

Summit Meeting in Zurich 86-87

	DOCUMENTS AGREED IN ZURICH	87-91
<u>Appendix 18</u> (p.87)	General	87
<u>Appendix 19</u> (p.87)	Unpublished Zurich Documents	87-88
	Published Zurich Documents	88-91
<u>Appendix 20</u> (p.91)	POSITION OF BRITAIN VIS-A-VIS THE ZURICH AGREEMENTS	91-92

CHAPTER XII:	<u>CERTAIN GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ZURICH AGREEMENTS</u>	93-104
	CRITICISM OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE AGREEMENTS WERE NEGOTIATED	93-96
	GREEK AND TURKISH EVALUATION OF THE ZURICH AGREEMENTS	97-99
	General	97
	Greek Evaluation	97-98
	Turkish Evaluation	98-99
	THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE - ARTICLE 3 (FINALLY ARTICLE IV) OF THE TREATY	100-104
	General	100
<u>Appendix 21(1)</u> (p.100)	Greek Interpretation	100-101
<u>Appendix 21(2)</u> (p.100)		
<u>Appendix 21(3)</u> (p.100)		

	Turkish Interpretation	101-102
<u>Appendix 22(A)</u> (p.102)	Objective Juridical Interpretation	102-103
<u>Appendix 22(B)</u> (p.102)		
<u>Appendix 22(C)</u> (p.102)	Evolution of Text of Article 3 after Zurich	103-104
	INTENTION OF TURKEY IN ENTERING INTO THE ZURICH AGREEMENTS	104
	CONCLUSION	104

CHAPTER XIII:	<u>PERIOD: LAST PART OF FEBRUARY 1959</u>	
	<u>THE CYPRUS CONFERENCE HELD IN</u>	
	<u>LONDON</u>	105-114
	MAKARIOS' RELUCTANT AGREEMENT TO ATTEND THE LONDON CONFERENCE	105
	CONVENING OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE	106
	THE LONDON CONFERENCE	106-110
	Backstage	106-107
	First Session of the Conference	107
	Backstage again	107-108
	Second Session of the Conference	108-110
	Backstage again	110
<u>Appendix 23</u> (p.110)	Last Session of the Conference	110

	FOOTNOTE TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE	110-111
	EPILOGUE	111-114
	Makarios' Message	112
	Debates on the Agreements in the Legislatures of Greece, Turkey and Britain	112-113
<u>Appendix 24</u> (p.114)	Grivas and the Agreements	113-114

CHAPTER XIV:	<u>MAKARIOS AND THE ZURICH- LONDON AGREEMENTS</u>	115-119
	GENERAL	115
<u>Appendix 25</u> (p.115)	EXTENT TO WHICH MAKARIOS WAS KEPT INFORMED OF DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE EXACT PROVISIONS OF THE ZURICH AGREEMENTS	115-117
	CONCLUSION	117
	ANALYSIS OF MAKARIOS' BEHAVIOUR DURING THE LONDON CONFERENCE	117-119

CHAPTER XV:	<u>THE LONDON CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS</u>	120-123
	DOCUMENTS SIGNED AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE AND PUBLISHED	120-121
	DOCUMENTS AGREED ON 19 FEBRUARY 1959 BUT NOT PUBLISHED	121-123

MEASURES AGREED AT THE LONDON
CONFERENCE TO PREPARE FOR THE
TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY IN CYPRUS 123

CHAPTER XVI: PERIOD; MARCH 1959
RETURN OF MAKARIOS

Appendix 26 TO CYPRUS 124-125
(p.124)

CHAPTER XVII: PERIOD: MARCH 1959 TO AUGUST 1960
PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS
FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE ZURICH-LONDON
AGREEMENTS 126-132

SETTING UP OF THREE BODIES 126-128

THE WORK OF THE THREE BODIES 128-130

The Joint Constitutional Commission 128-129

The Transitional Committee 129

The Joint Committee in London 130

ELECTIONS 130-131

General 130

Elections for President
and Vice-President 130-131

Elections to the House of
Representatives and the
two Communal Chambers 131

FINAL FORMAL ACTS BY THE UNITED
KINGDOM FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

		131-132
	General	131
<u>Appendix 27(1)</u> (p.132)	The Cyprus Act 1960 and	
<u>Appendix 27(2)</u> (p.132)	The Republic of Cyprus Order in Council 1960	131-132
	Date of Independence Set	132

CHAPTER XVIII: PERIOD: AUGUST 1960
INDEPENDENCE 133-135

INDEPENDENCE DAY:
16 AUGUST 1960 133-134

General 133

Treaties and other Documents
signed on 16 August 1960 133-134

FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE;
THE REPUBLIC ESTABLISHED
INTERNATIONALLY 134

Appendix 28
(p.135) BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF TREATIES
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS SIGNED
ON 16 AUGUST 1960 134-135

CHAPTER XIX: <u>CERTAIN FACTORS RELATING TO THE DRAFTING OF THE CONSTITUTION</u>	136-140
GENERAL	136
DIVERSITY IN THE LEGAL PHILOSOPHIES OF THE DRAFTSMEN OF THE CONSTITUTION	136-138
FIXING OF UNNECESSARY TIME LIMITS	138-139
LANGUAGE	139-140
CONCLUSION	140

CHAPTER XX: <u>THE 1960 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS</u>	141-146
GENERAL	141
BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF CONSTITUTION: SEPARATION	141-145
EVILS OF SEPARATIST PHILOSOPHY	145-146
EFFECT OF IMMUTABILITY OF BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS	146
CONCLUSION	146

CHAPTER XXI: <u>CERTAIN FACTORS AFFECTING FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS</u>	147-149
GENERAL	147
IMPORTATION OF ARMS FROM TURKEY: THE "DENIZ AFFAIR"	147-148
MENTAL ATTITUDES ON INDEPENDENCE	148-149
LACK OF EXPERIENCE IN GOVERNMENT	149
EPILOGUE	149

-----oooOooo-----

May 1998

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ - ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΣ ΣΟΥΛΙΩΤΗ