



ZENITH

MARMARAMUN'26

JCC: CYPRUS CONFLICT

Agenda Item

Open Agenda

Head of Crisis

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BEYZA İŞİL GÜNEŞ

Board Member

TUĞŞAT CİNEK

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ÖMER ALP ŞİRİNGÖZ

Board Member

AZRA ECE ÖZTÜRK

Strive For Perfection

10th Anniversary



Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK (1881–1938)

Founder of the Republic of Türkiye and Its First President

Strive For Perfection

10th Anniversary

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1. Letter from the Secretary General

Dear Participants,

On behalf of the Secretariat and Organization Team, it is my great pleasure to welcome you to MarmaraMUN'26 Zenith. Following last year's pursuit of perfection, we now gather at the Zenith, the highest point, symbolizing our collective ambition in the 10th year anniversary of MarmaraMUN Society. As the Secretary General of the MarmaraMUN'26 Zenith and the Club President of the MarmaraMUN Society I am very pleased to host you at our university'

Zenith means the highest point, it comes from astronomy, where it describes the highest point in an arc traveled by a star or a planet or another celestial body. The sun reaches its Zenith when it is as high in the sky as it is going to go on that day. MarmaraMUN always represent the highest point, now we are putting a milestone for the MUN Community. You will gain experience from the best of the business in our country, almost every single one of our board members have secretariat experiences and they contributed to the community for years. This statement also goes for our organization team and its members. You will debate, meet qualified people and of course, have fun.

Our carefully selected committees and agendas promise an exceptional academic experience. I invite you to speak with courage, think openly, and engage with respect. Every single individual present in the conference is hand-picked from 1500+ applicants, so make it count and use the opportunity wisely. At the end of the day MarmaraMUN'26 Zenith is where ideas rise, friendships form, and legacies begin.

Welcome to MarmaraMUN'26 Zenith and be prepared to strive for perfection.

Sincerely,

Korcan Musa KARAŞAHİN

Secretary General of MarmaraMUN'26 Zenith

2. Letter from the Head of Crisis

Dear Delegates,

It is with my utmost gratitude to welcome you all to MARMARAMUN'26 ZENITH edition.

I am your Head of Crisis Berat Koyuncu and it is an honor to be a part of this year's conference in Marmara University. With my Deputy Head of Crisis Elif and our strong crisis team alongside your chairs, we are hoping to deliver an unforgettable experience. Our team has been working tirelessly to ensure that this conference is as rewarding to you as it can get. Even by just deciding to participate here, you have taken a big step forward to learn about our history and immerse yourself in Turkish history.

Following these three days, I really look forward to seeing you delegates in fruitful debates to writing directives that can change the course of your entire committee. This study guide will be your main source for any information that you might need when enacting your ideas into reality. I would also suggest you to extend your knowledge about the committee further by researching more into the topic. Even though we have worked tirelessly to explain every important detail in our study guide, history is not a brief part of mankind that can be explained in just a single document so it is crucial that you go beyond what this study guide offers.

Another point that I would like to mention is that sometimes you may feel overwhelmed and have questions or need assistance. In such a case, feel free to ask the crisis team for any help that you might need along the way. Our main goal is to give you an experience that is both fun and educational at the same time so if there is anything that does not sit right with you, please feel free to contact us.

As a final remark, I want to thank the secretariat for their amazing efforts in making these committees become more than an idea and giving me the chance to bring them into reality.

On behalf of my crisis team, I really wish that MARMARAMUN'26 ZENITH will be a conference to remember and inspire you to better yourself and the ones around you.

Best Regards,

Berat Koyuncu
Head of Crisis

3. Historical Background of Cyprus

The history of Cyprus has been fundamentally defined by the geography of the island. Situated at the Mediterranean -crossroads of the continents Europe, Asia and Africa- the island rarely functioned independently. Rather, as stated by William Mallinson, it has historically always served as a ‘‘Cat’s Pawn’’ for powers ruling over it. Its proximity to the Anatolian coast (70 kilometres app.), Syrian coast (105 kilometres app.) and Egypt (380 kilometres app.) made the island into a crucial logistics hub for various empires.

The island is first estimated to have been settled by Greeks in the second millennium B.C. giving it the character that would go on to endure millennia of foreign rule. By the medieval age, Cyprus had already passed through the Byzantines to Richard the Lionheart (briefly) to the Crusaders before it transitioned to Frankish and later Venetian control.

Prior to becoming Ottoman territory in 1571, Cyprus was ruled by the Republic of Venice. During this period, the island served as a military frontier against the expanding Ottoman empire. However, the internal administration was marked by a feudal system that alienated the Orthodox Greek population. When the Ottoman forces took control over the island, it marked a shift from European catholic influence to an islamic framework. This change wasn’t just a change of rulers, but a reorganisation of the island’s communal structure through the ‘‘millet’’ system which granted the Orthodox Church some degree of autonomy and political influence which it did not have under Venetian control. The Ottomans also utilised the timar system on the island, which was enforced through a governor (beylerbeyi) based in Nicosia.

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establish a form of colonial identity among Cypriots which eventually led to the emergence of nationalist movements due to the denial of political representation, the curtailment of civil liberties and the hardening of intercommunal boundaries.

Although Cyprus gained independence on 16 August 1960, this independence was severely constrained as three treaties (Treaties of Establishment, Guarantee, Alliance) signed between Cyprus, Britain, Greece and Turkey meant that the British kept control over their Sovereign Base Areas and could intervene alongside Turkey and Greece if they believed things went wrong, and that Greece and Turkey could station troops on the island. The constitutional framework also enshrined a communal separation which separated the islanders as ‘Greek Cypriots’ and ‘Turkish Cypriots’ This constitutional arrangement proved unworkable, as on 15 July 1974, a coup d’état organised by the Greek military junta overthrew Makarios, providing the trigger for Turkish military intervention. Turkey deployed soldiers on the island on 20 July 1974, ultimately occupying approximately thirty-eight percent of the northern part of the island. The occupation led to a massive population displacement, with Greek Cypriots moving south and Turkish Cypriots moving north.

The division established after these events has endured to the present day leading to two separate administrations on the island. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which was established in 1983, an entity recognised only by Turkey, and the Republic of Cyprus –internationally recognised and a member of the EU since 2004.

3.1 Cyprus Under Ottoman Administration

The Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 was a pivotal moment for the island’s history. However this rule evolved many times through shifting local social structures and the changing relationship between the Ottoman capital Istanbul and the island’s realities.

One of the first things Ottomans did was reorganise the island along existing imperial lines. It was constituted as a province under a governor (beylerbeyi) based in Nicosia. The land and revenue were controlled through the timar system which sought to incorporate Cyprus into the already existing imperial system while also using existing local institutions where beneficial. Non-muslims were granted autonomy by the millet system in matters of religion, education and personal law. For the Orthodox majority, this arrangement was more favourable compared to what they had under Venetian Catholic rule.

The Orthodox Church of Cyprus played an ambiguous but practically influential position under Ottoman rule. The Archbishop functioned both as a spiritual authority and an intermediary between the Greek Cypriots and Ottomans. However, the Church was not a fully stable administrative entity throughout Ottoman rule, as its position was contingent upon Ottoman approval. The Dragoman (palace interpreter) was also a key figure, sometimes even rivalling the influence of the Archbishop.

The 1700s were an unstable period for the Cypriot Governance. The erosion of central ottoman authority, local strongmen taking said authority, economic decline and struggles within the Church eventually led to the revolt of 1764. The vacuum created by the decentralisation of Ottoman provinces were filled with de facto power by local authorities. The execution of Archbishop Kyprianos and three bishops in 1821 after the Greek War of Independence was deemed by some to be the most tragic event of the later Ottoman period for the Greek Cypriots. Whilst Cyprus did not participate in the Greek uprising, the authorities feared a rebellion and moved quickly to take down the Church's leadership.

The 1800s brought structural reforms with the Tanzimat reform program, which was introduced in 1839 and later elaborated in 1856. These reforms were meant to centralise power, standardise taxation and establish civil equality across religious communities. But in Cyprus, this period corresponded with European commercial and diplomatic interest in the island. As the Ottomans tried to rationalise and address the persistent problems of rural indebtedness and financial irregularity, a governor of Cyprus was involved in concession negotiations for island revenues with European commercial interest. The tanzimat reforms also changed up the millet system, by extending civil equality formally and redefining the relationship between religious communities and the state, it inadvertently contributed to sharpening communal identities within the island.

In the second half of the 1800s, the Ottoman Empire was visibly in decline. Growing European pressure, financial exhaustion and the defeat against Russia in the war of 1877-78 eventually eroded the empire and caused it to struggle maintaining its structural integrity. The final years of the Ottoman rule on Cyprus are remembered for economic hardships and deterioration of Ottoman administration.

The acquisition of Cyprus by Britain was not actually by conquest or annexation, but through a diplomatic arrangement during the Congress of Berlin. Following the Ottoman loss in 1878 against the Russians, Britain feared the collapse of the Ottoman Empire would lead the Russians to control the route to India so they proposed to the Ottoman Empire that they would protect the Asia Minor region from the Russians, but they would need a place d'armes (military base) nearby to do so, and they effectively leased Cyprus which was particularly disorienting for the Muslim community who, for the first time in their history, became the religious minority instead of the ruling class and placed under a christian administration.

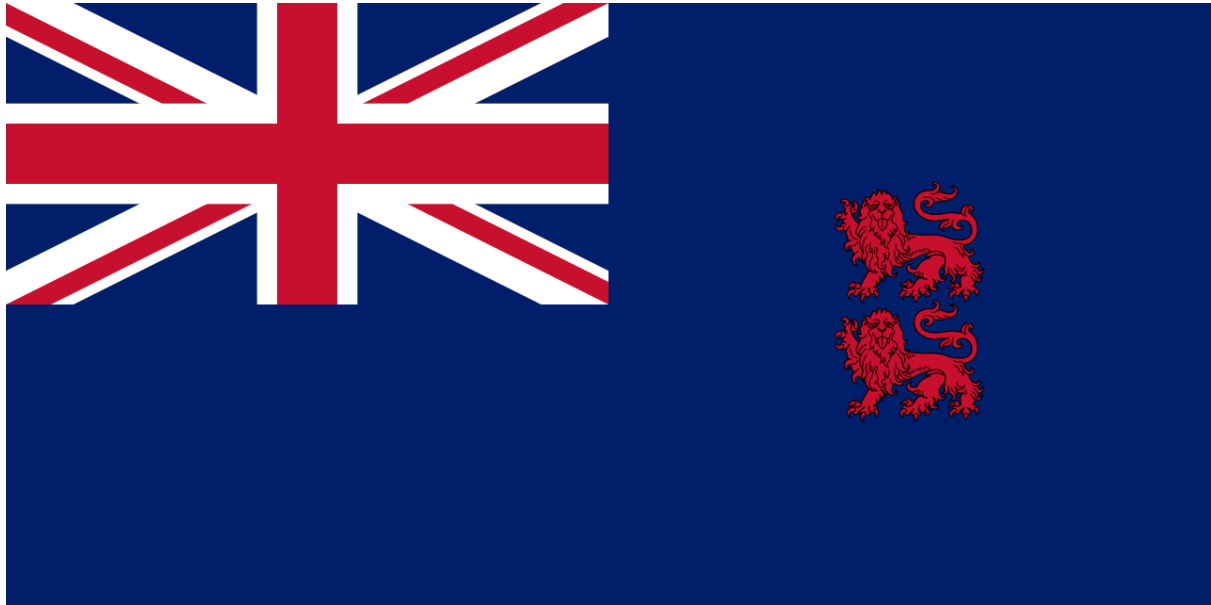
3.2 Cyprus Under the United Kingdom



With the Cyprus Convention signed on 4 June 1878, the British now had control over Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus, which formed a highly strategic arc across the Mediterranean. However this agreement – since it was a lease – meant that while Britain was in charge of running the island now, the formal ownership was still in the hands of the Ottomans and Cypriots would still have to pay taxes to the Ottoman Empire. For what seems to be the first and maybe the last time on the island, both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots agreed that this was unfair, and the British should be paying the tribute instead. While the local Cypriot government tried to take action on this issue, the British completely ignored them which meant that the tribute stayed in place and became a long-term source of resentment.

In the early years, the British did not want to spend too much money on the island so they adopted a “laissez-faire” (leave it alone) policy. During this period the Turkish and Greek Cypriots were allowed to run their own schools through religious institutions. However, as time passed, Britain wanted to seize control of important institutions, especially Evkaf, which was the religious and charitable property system used by the Muslims. It did not just control the religion, it controlled property and finances, funding schools, mosques and charities, so controlling Evkaf meant that Turkish Cypriots could not govern their affairs independently anymore. Since the Cyprus Convention did not clearly state who would be controlling the Evkaf, the British used this loophole to step in and take control. The Evkaf gradually changed from a community-based system into a British tool. The British relied on the convention as a

means to legitimize this action and make it seem acceptable, although it worked on a political level, Turkish Cypriots began to resent the British, showing early signs of political resistance.



Over time the Greek Cypriot community expressed their aspirations on uniting with Greece, through the enosis movement. This idea started to gain traction among Greek Cypriots very early under British rule since the British had given the Ionian Islands to Greece earlier in 1864. This idea was strongly rejected by the Turkish Cypriots, they argued that if Britain left, the control of the Island should go back to the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Cypriots then demanded to be recognised as a separate community and fair representation in government, essentially rejecting the notion that Greek Cypriots represent the whole island. During these events, Britain acted as a mediator, trying to keep tensions low. This approach led to even more intercommunal rivalry which continued for decades eventually turning into violence and division.

The Legislative Council established with the 1882 constitution provided an arena where communal politics were discussed under British rule. It consisted of nine elected Greek Cypriot members, three elected Turkish Cypriot members and six appointed British officials, with the High Commissioner holding a final veto. This meant that even if the council agreed on something, the commissioner could override it. This led to frustration between both Greek and Turkish Cypriots because although they had the voice, they did not have any power to change policies. In the legislative council, they argued about the Tribute (tax to the ottomans), Constitutional Reform and Enosis (Union with Greece).

From the early twentieth century onwards, the question of education became a serious topic in political life, as the emergence of sustained tensions between the British administration and the Greek Cypriot Community grew. Britain wanted to reduce the power of the Orthodox Church in education and control the curriculum, the Greek Cypriots opposed this as they wanted to preserve their language, history and identity but they could not stop Britain from

passing the 1923 Elementary Education Law, which centralised educational authority under the government, thus giving Britain more control over their schools.

The interwar period brought political frustration and economic hardships on Cyprus. Following the Ottoman Empire's entry to the First World War against Britain in 1914, Cyprus was formally annexed by Britain. And in 1923, Treaty of Lausanne confirmed Turkey's withdrawal of all claims to Cyprus and closing the doors to a union with Greece. The island itself became a crown colony in 1925, which marked the consolidation of British authority, while simultaneously radicalising Greek Cypriots.

The period under Sir Ronald Storrs (1926-1932) saw a sharp deterioration in the relationship between the Greek Cypriots and colonial administration. Especially, the decision to celebrate fifty years of British control in 1928 was met with resentment by the Greek Cypriots who described it as provocation, and tensions got worse after the administration's refusal to discuss constitutional reforms which shut down the idea of union with Greece. At the same time the economic hardships caused by the Great Depression, rural debt and a lack of investment by Britain angered the Greek Cypriots even more.

Following an island-wide revolt in 1931 where 5,000 Greek Cypriots marched in Nicosia and demanded Enosis, burning the Government house, Britain struck down hard which resulted in seven killed, thirty wounded, ten deported without trial and over 2,600 convicted. Called the worst blow to British rule by many, Britain decided to abolish the constitution, shut down the legislative council, cancelled elections and took control of the local government. But they did not stop there, going as far as making Enosis illegal, banning flags such as the Greek flag, limiting gatherings to no more than five people and censoring the press. Meanwhile the Turkish Cypriots who did not participate in these revolts also lost their rights. Britain then adopted the "Palmerocracy" approach which induced no political freedom, no elections and strict control of the country in order to improve the economy, reform agriculture, control education and create an obedient population. In order to achieve that, they changed the curriculum and removed Orthodox Church influence. The Greek Cypriots were resentful because for years, they had seen schools as a way of preserving their Greek identity and the British wanted no more than a British atmosphere.

4. Rise of Nationalism and Interethnic Tension

4.1. Enosis Movement and the Activities of EOKA

Megali Idea

Originating from the Greek Independence War to be won by Greeks with the Ottoman Empire as opposition nationalism increased within Greeks. Megali Idea is the ideology of uniting all Greek populated lands together and re-awaken Byzantine Empire with all of its old power. This ideology was the main source of motivation for the internal and external policies of Greece from the 1840s to the Balkan Wars. Megali Idea follows an irredentist strategy.



MAP OF GREECE, INCLUDING EPIRUS—BY THE NORTHWEST CORNER, THE BLACK AREA INDICATES THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY M. VENIZELOS AT PARIS, AND THE Hatched AREA THIS REGION WHERE THE GREEK AND FRENCH CLAIMS CONFLICT

By the 1922 Greco-Turkish War following a defeat and the population exchange Megali Idea lost its dominance in the Greece policies to a more defensive approach. In the current political climate Enosis Movement in Cyprus is the only prominent modern ideological example of this expansionist ideology.

Enosis Movement

Historical Origin

Enosis meaning “union” in Greek referred to the political movement for Greek communities outside of Greece to unification within the Greek State. It emerged from Greek nationalism and spread among Greek-Cypriot elites in the late 19th–early 20th century through education. The rise in nationalism in the Greek State was raised primarily by following Greece to be independent from the Ottoman Empire. Enosis ideology arises from the Megali Idea thinking and was the backbone of its framework by the belief of envisioning all Greek-speaking and Orthodox Christian civils to be gathered around in one unified Greek State.



Enosis had affected many regions like Crete, Ionian Islands, Epirus but had shown greatly in Cyprus primarily. Cyprus having a majority of Greek-Speaking and Orthodox Christian population was considered a great natural candidate for such unification by the defenders of the ideology.

Feature	Megali Idea	Enosis (Mainly Cyprus)
Primary Target	Constantinople & Asia Minor (Western Turkey).	Cyprus, Crete, Ionian Islands, Epirus.
Historical Heritage	Byzantium (Imperial identity).	Ancient/Modern Pan-Hellenism (Cultural identity).

<p>Opponent</p>	<p>Primarily the Ottoman Empire / Modern Turkey.</p>	<p>Primarily the British Empire (on Cyprus).</p>
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Political Climate At The Time:

After World War II, the principle of self-determination had gained significant power in people's perspectives and the founding of the UN and the language of the UN Charter has supported these ideals. Colonized and minority populations across the world were increasingly framing their political demands in terms of this principle. Post war political climate emerged nationalist political ecosystem to be set. Greek leaders who went through the war and a civil war not so long after that fueled the idea of independence of Greeks.

The refusal of Britain's ruling was one of the most important situations to be held accountable in this matter. Throughout the 1940s, Greek Cypriot political leaders repeatedly submitted formal requests to Britain asking for the right to self-determination. However all of this demand was faced with the rejection of Britain. Through Britain's perspective Cyprus was a Crown Colony and this position was not open for any negotiations at all. In 1948, Britain offered a limited constitution that would give Cypriot civilians some local self-governance but openly demanded the exclusion of any discussion of union with Greece. The offer was rejected from the Greek Cypriots side and by this way, the door of peaceful negotiations has been closed.

Greek Cypriot leaders observed that other peoples were successfully making self-determination arguments on the world stage and believed Cyprus had a legitimate claim to do the same. However, to make that argument credibly, they needed evidence of popular support. A formal vote would provide exactly that.

1950 Plebiscite

The rise of tension and frustration among Cypriots has been rising and the solution that Orthodox Church of Cyprus has come up with is to organise an unofficial referendum for Greek civilians of the island to express their side on union with Greece. With a high percentage of participation %95.7 approval rate has been gathered in the favor of Enosis.

Cyprus is a home for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots in its population. However at the plebiscite Turkic Cypriots did not participate in the voting procedure therefore they were not a subject to consideration by the Greek side. Even though the plebiscite did not hold any legal power it was still an indication of high support from the Greek Cypriots for the Enosis movement.

The Archbishop of Cyprus was Makarios III at the period. He was later regarded as the founding father of the Republic of Cyprus. As the most prominent political figure of the time Makarios's strategy was both seeking international recognition of the Greek Cypriot right to self-determination through the United Nations and also continuing diplomatic negotiations with Britain authorities. Even though Cyprus's self-determination was held on the floor of the UN through the years of 1954-1958, because of opposition from Britain and its allies in addition to the early periods of the Cold War, no effective action was absent.



Onto the other side island was also a home for a significant number of Turkic Cypriots. Turkey played a representative part for the Turkic Cypriots for the date. As stated Turkic Cypriots were not a part of the plebiscite to begin with. While the Greek side was in favor for Enosis, what Turkey sided with was Taksim. As Enosis means "union" in Greek, Taksim means "partition" in Turkish. This demand meant the division of Cyprus into one Greek side and one Turkic side. The idea behind the demand was solely meaning that if the whole island was to be united with Greece, Turkic Cypriots were not to accept being a minority in a Greek State.

The Zurich and London Agreements

Ongoing and unsolved negotiations led for representatives of Greece, United Kingdom, Turkey and Cypriot community leaders to gather on 19 February 1959 in Lancaster House at London to further discuss the future of Cyprus. The conclusion was not unionising with Greece but forming an independent state for Cyprus itself. Drafting a constitution for this reason was agreed on that day with Greece, Turkey and the guarantor United Kingdom. Cyprus became a proclaimed independent state on 16 August of 1960 by the name of the Republic of Cyprus. Makarios served as its first president and Fazıl Küçük served its first vice president. The constitution was based on sharing power between The Greek Cypriots, Turkic Cypriots with Britain and the guaranteeing of Turkey and Greece.

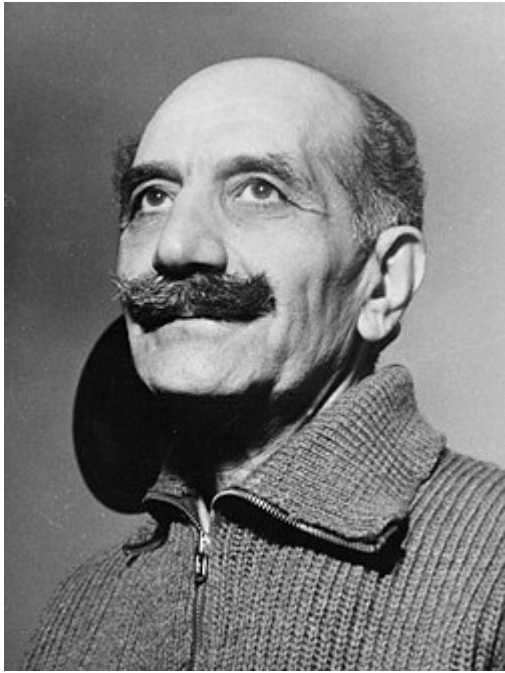
However this agreement could not last for long in peace. The Enosis Movement did not lose its status which resulted in tensions constantly rising between the groups and even further led to violence between communities within the 1963-1964 remark.

Ongoing mutual severe violence resulted in the separation of Turkish Cypriot communities and formation of United Nations peacekeeping force (UNFICYP) in 1964.

EOKA

Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston

EOKA, which translates into the National Organisation of Greek struggle established in the 1950's being fueled by the rising tension in the region. The primary aim of the paramilitary organisation was ending British colonial ruling at all cost and achieving Enosis. A retired general born in Cyprus and served in World War II leading a resistance group in Greece; Georgia Grivas founded and directed the organisation. The political leadership of the movement remained with Makarios. Makarios and Grivas are known for their frequent disagreements onto the situation because of their division on tactics. Makarios followed a more politically measured and taking care of international legitimacy while Grivas on the other hand prioritised direct armed action.



EOKA officially launched itself on 1 April 1955 with continuing attacks on British infrastructure and government installations across Cyprus. The first period of the organisation targeted property rather than individuals to not concern the international perception. However as time went on the attacks started also targeting British personnel, police officers and individuals with the reasoning of collaborating with British authorities in their defense.

On March 31 - 1 April 1955 at Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol EOKA coordinated 18 bomb attacks using timed explosives on police stations, post offices, and radio stations; Cyprus Broadcasting Station transmitter was demolished. Which resulted in the death of 1 Greek Cypriot. The motivation behind the attack was the official launch of the EOKA and paralysing British communication systems to declare war on the colonial system.

Into the late June of 1955 at Famagusta, Larnaca, Paphos several towns got bombed on police stations, army camps and British officers' homes and Famagusta police HQ got demolished by 208 bomb/grenade attacks. Many soldiers and police officers serving in favor of the United Kingdom got killed.

The brutality carried onto the 1950's killing hundreds of people and permanently harmed official and individual property.

The first Turk to be killed by EOKA on 21 June 1955 was a policeman. EOKA also killed Greek Cypriot leftist members of the Cyprus Communist Party. After the September 1955 Istanbul Pogrom, EOKA started its activity against Turkish Cypriots.

British administration officers responded to the attacks of EOKA by expanding its security measures and political initiatives. In October 1955 Field Marshal Sir John Harding was

appointed as a Governor of Cyprus. Following the appointment of Harding a state of emergency got declared on November 26 1955. Guarantor authorities increased arrests among civilians accused of part taking or providing support for EOKA members faced penalties.

With the accusation of Makarios being the one directing the EOKA activities and obstructing negotiation he got arrested and deported to Seychelles in March of 1956. He remained deported till 1957. Leading the operation by a pseudonym and such causes Britain military operations had difficulties holding Grivas accountable on legal manners. Till 1959 Grivas maintained leadership with EOKA militants.

Announcing a ceasefire in 1957 was followed by the official end point of EOKA right just a year before independence of Cyprus as The Republic of Cyprus. However with the leading of Grivas turning to Cyprus on 1971 EOKA-B has formed to fulfill the Enosis with its all aims and planned to overthrow President Makarios. After Grivas died in 1974 the activities continued under Athanasios Sklavenitis's command. Following a far-right nationalist ideology EOKA-B committed Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda massacre which 126 civilian Turkish Cypriots were killed. Accused of killing civilians, kidnapping, holding civilians hostage, assassination of US Ambassador Rodger Paul Davies and numerous following violence resulted with EOKA-B getting outlawed by the Republic of Cyprus.

4.2. Turkish Cypriot Response and the Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı

Crete Syndrome

The island that once was a home for Minoan civilisation which is one of the earliest civilisations of Europe; Crete Island. The population consisted of Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholic Italian authorities under Venetian Republic and muslims who are native to the island that converted to Islam after the Ottoman Empire took over the island from Venetian Republic from 1646 to 1897. There was no considerable migration from the Ottoman mainland to Crete, nor was there a pre-existing Muslim community on the island. By the early 19th century, it is estimated that approximately half of Crete's population was Muslim. However, this proportion steadily declined due to growing hostility and acts of persecution by the island's Christian Greeks. In 1897 when the great statesman of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, negotiated the independence of Crete. Crete was declared an autonomous state and, in 1913, it was united with the independent Greek State.

Moving forward to the 1900's in Cyprus Turkish Cypriots native to the island has being faced to a similar fate. The Enosis movement and EOKA's violence was a familiar situation within the senses of Muslim communities in former Ottoman territories that has been absorbed by Greece. "The Crete Syndrome" of Cretan Turks of Crete living the cooperation of the island to Greece was a living reference point for Turkish Cypriots.

Leading Turkish Cypriot figure of the time period Dr. Fazıl Küçük followed a political stance of not accepting the union of the island with Greece and reasoning it with Turkish Cypriot community of the island needed structural protection that couldn't be met in a Greek State.

Volkan

In 1955-1956 Volkan was established as the first organised resistance group among the Turkish Cypriots. Emerged from protecting the Turkic community of the island and its communal interests from EOKA and counter Enosis movement. With its limited resources and insufficiency Volkan stayed within its organizational structure. The unorganised form of the group was one of the causings.

TMT

Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı

In November 1957 founded by Rauf Denktaş and Turkish military officer Rıza Vuruşkan TMT has been established as an organised paramilitary resistance group. The organisation got financial and military help directly from Turkey. Turkey's Warfare Department, Turkish army as advisors and commanders played a huge role in the scene. TMT's establishment declared all of the Turkish Cypriots resistance groups to unite under one structure. Main aims of the TMT was to ensure the safety of lives and property of Turkish Cypriots, oppose Enosis movement, repel attacks against Turkish Cypriots, ensure the unity of Turkish Cypriot community against EOKA's activities which advocates Enosis and prevent its influence to divide the internal relations of Turks. It's mandate was rather presented as defensive.

TMT strictly followed the political stance of encouraging the partition of the island into two separate Greek and Turkish zones called as Taksim. Which later on can be observed in their motto of Ya Taksim Ya Ölüm translates into Either Partition Or Death.

5. Cold War Context and Regional Politics

5.1. Influence of the Cold War

Cyprus historically attracted a variety of international and colonial forces as a destiny and the "curse" of an alluring geographical location. It was geopolitics that attracted the British in 1878 and helped directly to Greek Cypriot desires for *enosis* in the 1950s. Likewise, with the ideological polarisation of the Cold War, a distinctly Western concern regarding the effects

that Cyprus could impart on mainland Greek-Turkish relations brought a broader space of NATO and the USA into Cypriot affairs.

The American concern was to prevent a situation in which Soviet troops could come onto the island. As foreseen in a British draft for the Security Council, American arguments against the withdrawal of Greek officers were expressed in the meeting. Kissinger thought it would be a mistake to present a resolution to the Security Council that, in effect, gave unqualified support to Makarios and committed the Council. The Americans, he said, were not taking any steps to produce a resolution themselves, but they were worried lest the US and British Governments take what were admittedly only diplomatic steps that were unlikely to succeed but which, through the Security Council, might give the Russians a legitimate excuse for interference in Cyprus, possibly even leading to their military intervention.

In conversation with British officials, he stated clearly that the CIA would prefer to see Cyprus ruled by someone who did not favour AKEL (The Marxist-Leninist communist party in Cyprus, which the Americans believed Makarios was supporting) and who would be more willing to make Cyprus a “client state” of Greece. Although the British dismissed this allegation, Makarios’s direct flirtations with the USSR were a significant concern in the 1960s, as they resulted in both public and political references to Cyprus as a new Cuba.

As a result, AKEL was defined as an ‘elderly and bourgeois party’ that was close to the USSR but not crucial to its interests. At the same time, Cyprus in general was not deemed to be as important to the Russians, who have bigger fish elsewhere in the Middle East. Indeed, for both NATO and the USSR, Cyprus was a much larger issue in the broader context of its geographical location.

5.2. Strategic Roles of Türkiye and Greece

Many historians believe that the Cold War started in 1947, and then President Harry S. Truman stated that the United States would support Greece and Turkey with military and economic assistance, where there were “free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures.”

Indeed, for both NATO and the USSR, Cyprus was largely a peripheral issue in the broader context of its geographical location. It has been noted that Turkish connections to the Soviet Union were far more concerning to the USA and NATO than those of Cyprus and the USSR. The British government viewed their strategic interests in both Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean as ‘relatively small’ in 1974, largely due to defence expenditure cuts. Henry Kissinger readily admitted, given strong US interests in the Middle East, that harmonious relations with Greece and, in particular, Turkey, which, if alienated, could adopt a position of ‘hostile neutrality’, took precedence over the internal issues of Cyprus.

British Prime Minister James Callaghan repeatedly pointed out that Turkey was at least as important to Western interests as Greece, and the NATO position was that Turkey was more

important for the Alliance than Greece. Throughout the discussions, Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit stressed that Turkish strengths had to balance those of Greece to achieve successful negotiations, and so Ecevit concluded that if Turkey accepted Kissinger's demands, it would be a sign of submission, not friendship, and would wreck US-Turkish relations.

6. Independence and the Cyprus Crisis (1960–1974)

6.1. Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus

The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in August 1960 meant that a great number of Greeks who had led the struggle for enosis, and a number of Turks who had led the resistance to enosis, would come together to collaborate in the running of the Greek State. Such collaboration could not be achieved easily in view of the recent enmity between EOKA and TMT, and more generally the relationship between the Greek and Turkish communities. Nevertheless, if these two separated communities, who were expected to operate the levers of power, had been prepared to throw away their old nationalist ideas and think of themselves as Cypriot ministers, legislators or public servants.

When the British left, many of the top jobs in the Civil Service and the Police fell vacant, and many more were created for the needs of the new State. These posts were actually filled by the appointment of Greeks and Turks, who had to be rewarded for their work in the Greek and Turkish nationalist movements, so that their loyalties to their respective leadership could be retained. Thus, in the first years of the Republic there was a situation in which not only were state jobs filled with Cypriots qua members of one or other of the two communities, but also it was understood that many of the occupants of these posts owed their career to their contribution to one or other of the two opposing nationalist movements. This practice indicated that a successful public or professional career depended, to a greater or lesser extent, on a record of nationalist militancy.



Photo from the signing of the Zurich–London Agreements that established the Republic of Cyprus.
Source: Center for Eurasian Studies (AVİM) analysis article “60th Anniversary of the Defunct ‘Republic of Cyprus’.”

In Public Service and in other walks of life it mattered tremendously in the early 1960s to be a person with an EOKA record or connections, and one might stand to lose by appearing less than a true nationalist. Thus, many people, especially people in positions of influence, did their best to publicize their nationalist background and convictions. Consequently, nobody appeared willing to defend the status of the new State in the Greek community, a fact that the Turks did not fail to notice.

The Turkish Cypriots watched Greek ‘internal’ politics and tried to maintain their unity in the face of their more powerful partners. They could very well see that the Greeks were far from satisfied with the constitutional settlement and that the desire for enosis was still in the air, encouraged by official Greek policy. Küçük, Dektaş and the other Turkish leaders could not be sure that the Greek side would be prepared to work with them under the rubric of the Constitution even for a period of time.



Central Press/AFP. (1960, September 5). *Cyprus’ President Archbishop Makarios reviews Greek Cypriot soldiers in Nicosia.* In Agence France-Presse, *Key dates in Cyprus’s post-independence history.* Neos Kosmos.

It was a known fact that there were Greeks who had not surrendered their arms after the end of the EOKA struggle and who met regularly in training sessions. So the Turks, while hoping for the best, had to plan for the worst. On two occasions during the interim period between the Zürich-London Agreements and the birth of the Republic, British coastguard vessels had

arrested Turkish boats attempting to smuggle into the island large amounts of arms and ammunition. Thus, intercommunal suspicion bred more suspicion, and the Greek and Turkish members of the Government were behaving as leaders of opposing sides.

From the Turkish point of view, Cyprus contained two ethnic groups, each belonging to a different nation, with different languages, religions, cultural traditions and loyalties. These two communities had to work together, through their elected representatives, for their mutual benefit, so the fact that the Turkish community being smaller than the Greek community was inessential.

Thus, the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus proudly cherished their different national consciousness; and neither was prepared to display any commitment to that legal fiction called the Republic of Cyprus. It should not be supposed that co-operation was not successful as far as it went. During this period the First Five-Year Plan was prepared and part of the necessary legislation was passed by the Greco-Turkish House of Representatives. Collaboration led in a number of cases to the formation of friendships between Greeks and Turks. But Cypriots in general were conscious of their Greekness or Turkishness - their nationalist leaders never stopped reminding them of that, and their first loyalties went to their own communities and leaderships.

6.2. The 1974 Cypriot Coup D'état and the Turkish Invasion of Cyprus

In late 1963, President Makarios proposed constitutional amendments which would have reduced Turkish Cypriot participation in the state institutions. The Turkish Cypriots rejected those proposals, and, in December 1963, their representatives withdrew from government and state positions and started to set up a separate administration in the Turkish Cypriot controlled areas. Civil strife broke out between the two communities and could not be effectively controlled by the British troops, nor by the Greek and Turkish contingents on the island. The UN Security Council (UNSC) seized the matter and established the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. However, the UN forces could prevent neither further fighting on the ground, nor Turkish air raids on the island until August 1964, which Turkey claimed were being carried out to protect a Turkish Cypriot enclave under attack by Greek Cypriots. Also in 1964, the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the National Guard, which subsequently became a solely Greek Cypriot army.

Inter-communal fighting resumed in November 1967, when in Greece a military junta had overthrown the civilian government in April and Cypriot President Makarios resisted pressure from the Greek junta to declare enosis. Greek Cypriot armed units began incursions into Turkish Cypriot enclaves, and Turkish aircraft bombed Greek Cypriot forces. Through international pressure the fighting could be contained.

The 'official' State of Cyprus was now left entirely in Greek hands and Makarios and his all-Greek Government continued to be recognized by foreign countries and international

organizations as the Government of the Republic. The all-Greek House of Representatives continued to pass laws under the 1960 Constitution laws which were enforced throughout the territory of the Republic except for the Turkish 'no go' areas.

The Turkish population did not have full citizenship rights in the official Greek-run state, so all Turkish Cypriots identified themselves and supported the unofficial Turkish-run quasi-State. From December 1963 onwards, the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots must be understood in terms of the relationship between two independent systems of formal institutions which claimed to express the national identity, will and interests of the two Communities. Indeed, most of the actual fighting that occurred sporadically until November 1967 was carried out by regular armies belonging to the two national States of Cyprus, the 'official' and 'unofficial'.

In February 1968 - at the time when an uneasy peace prevailed under the worried eyes of UN observers and troops - Makarios obtained through new Presidential elections a (Greek) popular mandate to negotiate with 'the cohabitant element' a settlement for a new unitary State. Since June 1968, representatives of the two sides met regularly in an effort to arrive at a new constitutional arrangement.

After December 1963 all Turkish Cypriots working for the Government of the Republic lost their employment; and only a fraction of these could be absorbed by the services of the newly-formed Turkish 'State'. Again, the majority of the Turkish Cypriots were farmers and about 20 per cent of all agricultural land is in Turkish ownership. However, after December 1963 large numbers of them retreated into the armed enclaves, thus abandoning 30-40 per cent of all Turkish-owned land to Greek Cypriots.

The Turkish Cypriot Administration lacked the funds, or the ability, or both, to plan and implement any serious programme of public works, or develop an economic infrastructure. Thus unemployment, or under-employment, remained very high in the Turkish community at the time when the Greeks had achieved full employment. The Turks repeatedly argued that their stagnation was caused by economic blockades and other discriminatory measures mounted by the Greek side.

Cypriot Military Coup of July 1974

In the spring of 1974, Greek Cypriot intelligence discovered that EOKA-B was planning a coup against President Makarios which was sponsored by the military junta of Athens headed by Military Police, Dimitrios Ioannidis believed that Makarios was no longer a true supporter of enosis, and suspected him of being a communist sympathiser. This led Ioannides to support EOKA-B and the National Guard, as they tried to undermine Makarios.

On 15 July 1974 sections of the Cypriot National Guard, led by its Greek officers, overthrew the government. Meanwhile, Makarios narrowly escaped death in the attack and the British managed to retrieve him to London by the next morning.

In the meantime, Nikos Sampson was declared provisional president of the new government. Sampson was an ultra-nationalist, pro-*Enosis* combatant who was known to be fanatically anti-Turkish and had taken part in violence against Turkish civilians in earlier conflicts.

Turkey issued a list of demands to Greece via a United States negotiator. These demands included the 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. Turkey, led by Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, then appealed to the UK as a signatory of the Treaty of Guarantee to take action to return Cyprus to its neutral status. The UK declined this offer, and refused to let Turkey use its bases on Cyprus as part of the operation.

- **First Turkish Invasion, July 1974**

Turkey invaded Cyprus on Saturday, 20 July 1974. Heavily armed troops landed shortly before dawn at Kyrenia (Girne) on the northern coast meeting resistance from Greek and Greek Cypriot forces. Ankara said that it was invoking its right under the Treaty of Guarantee to protect the Turkish Cypriots and guarantee the independence of Cyprus. By the time the UN Security Council was able to obtain a ceasefire on 22 July the Turkish forces were in command of a narrow path between Kyrenia and Nicosia, 3% of the territory of Cyprus, which they succeeded in widening. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the prisoners of war taken at this stage and before the second invasion included 385 Greek Cypriots in Adana, 63 Greek Cypriots in the Saray Prison and 3,268 Turkish Cypriots in various camps in Cyprus.

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- **Second Turkish Invasion, 14-16 August 1974**

The Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Güneş had said to the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, "When I say 'Ayşe should go on vacation', it will mean that our armed forces are ready to go into action. Even if the telephone line is tapped, that would rouse no suspicion." An hour and a half after the conference broke up, Güneş called Ecevit and said the code phrase. On 14 August Turkey launched its "Second Peace Operation", which eventually resulted in the Turkish occupation of 37% of Cyprus. Turkish occupation reached as far south as the Louroujina Salient.

In the process, many Greek Cypriots became refugees. The number of refugees is estimated to be between 140,000 and 160,000. The ceasefire line from 1974 separates the two communities on the island, and is commonly referred to as the Green Line (United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus).

After the conflict, Cypriot representatives and the United Nations consented to the transfer of the remainder of the 51,000 Turkish Cypriots that had not left their homes in the south to settle in the north, if they wished to do so.



The United Nations Security Council has challenged the legality of Turkey's action, because Article Four of the Treaty of Guarantee gives the right to guarantors to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs. The aftermath of Turkey's invasion, however, did not safeguard the Republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity, but had the opposite effect: the de facto partition of the Republic and the creation of a separate political entity in the north. On 13 February 1975, Turkey declared the occupied areas of the Republic of Cyprus to be a "Federated Turkish State", to the universal condemnation of the international

community. The United Nations recognises the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus according to the terms of its independence in 1960.

7. Aftermath and Division of the Island

7.1 Creation of the Türk Republic of Northern Cyprus:

Almost immediately after the conflict ended, the Turkish government formed the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration in October of 1974. The administration was formed to manage the daily works and needs of the people within the occupied northern territories in Cyprus. In 1975 the state was declared as the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. The declaration of absolute independence of the Turkish state was a direct result of the rising tension within Cyprus.

The growing domestic dissatisfaction pushed further for an established Turkish government within Cyprus. On 15 November 1983, the declaration of Independence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was established by the Turkish Cypriot Parliament. Rauf Denktaş took the role as the first president, which formed his political control. The supporters argue that the TRNC satisfies all traditional values and criteria for it to function as an independent state. Even with these arguments the declaration of independence in Cyprus from the Turkish Cypriot Parliament has been widely condemned by many other nations.

7.2. UN Involvement and Peacekeeping Efforts by the United Nations

UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus), like other U.N. peacekeeping operations, had the ultimate objective of creating and maintaining peaceful conditions favorable for a negotiated and lasting settlement of the problem. Besides supervising cease-fires and preventing the recurrence of fighting, the UNFICYP was also extensively and actively involved in humanitarian and relief efforts. These efforts were aimed at helping individuals and groups on both sides go about their daily business without disruption by the conflict.

Restoring basic civilian services and economic activities was a major concern for the force. Some of the measures taken in that direction included mediation and facilitation of exchange of hostages and prisoners; cooperation with the Red Cross, Red Crescent, and other relief agencies in helping refugees, protecting lives, and minimizing suffering; arranging for the supply of vital utilities, such as water, electricity, and telephone services; providing postal service, public benefits, and medical treatment; escorting people and convoys carrying medicine, food, and other essential merchandise; and enabling farmers to cultivate lands in the buffer zone.

In the declaration given in the UN Security Council and signed by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on 30 July 1974, it shows a picture of the UNFICYP by:

Annex 1

3. The three Foreign Ministers also concluded that the following measures should be put into immediate effect:

(a) A security zone of sizes to be determined by representatives of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom in consultation with UNFICYP should be established at the limit of the areas occupied by the Turkish armed forces at the time specified in paragraph 2 above. This zone should be entered by no forces other than those of UNFICYP, which should supervise the prohibition of entry. Pending the determination of the size and character of the security zone, the existing area between the two forces should be entered by no forces.

(b) All the Turkish enclaves occupied by Greek or Greek Cypriot forces should be immediately evacuated. These enclaves will continue to be protected by UNFICYP sad to have their previous security arrangements. Other Turkish enclaves outside the area controlled by the Turkish armed forces shall continue to be protected by an UNFICYP security zone and may, as before, maintain their own police and security forces.

(c) In mixed villages the functions of security and police will be carried out by UNFICYP.

(d) Military personnel and civilians detained as a result of the recent hostilities shall be either exchanged or released under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross within the shortest time possible.

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