



# ***GCMUN '22***

***UNSC***

***STUDY GUIDE***

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## **Letter from Secretary-General**

Honorable participants,

My name is Arda and I, as the Secretary-General of the Gazi College Model United Nations 2022, am very honored to welcome you all to the fourth annual session of GCMUN on behalf of our Director-General Deniz Başak and also our well-prepared academic and organization team members.

While organizing GCMUN our aim was to provide all of our participants significant and remarkable experiences; and consequently, rising awareness through global issues that our world is facing has been our main purpose. In this conference, we ensure you that you will gain diversified world visions about the current situation from our agenda items and it will redound your debating and negotiating skills, therewithal your knowledge and sensibility.

As the academic team of GCMUN'22 we have chosen our committees in order to make you focus on various topics and they are suitable for various levels of MUNers, so you will be able to enjoy. We have 6 different committees for both highly experienced and unexperienced delegates. Our first GA committee is GA-1:DISEC and our second one is UNEP. Moreover we have United Nations Security Council, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, JCC: British Civil Conflicts and lastly a JR United Nations International Children's Emergency and Fund committee which we only opened for middle school students in order for them to state their opinions confidently about the current issue of the world since every child are affected from every single conflict that composed in our world.

I highly encourage all of you to be well-prepared and enthusiastic in order to be efficient during the conference.

Best regards,

## **Letter from Under-Secretary-General**

Most distinguished participants,

My name is Umay Alçin Göllü, and I am a Political Science and Public Administration student at İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University. I will be the Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations Security Council in this year's edition of GCMUN. I've been doing Model United Nations for about five years now, and it's easy to say that this GCMUN will be one of the best experiences in your academic career, as well as a rather fun one.

Even though the topic we expect you to discuss at this conference is a historical occurrence that was decades ago and the Crisis Dynamic will carry out from within the committee and along with the updates, I did my best to present a guide that would be beneficial to all of our delegates. As the United Nations Security Council, we will be expecting you to think fast and take actions that you believe will be the most beneficial for the diplomatic talks. Do not forget that your actions will have consequences- and do not forget that the United Nations Security Council is an international body that advises on international affairs, but does not directly intervene with them. I will be expecting all of your documentation parallel to the values of the United Nations Security Council.

I want to conclude my letter by thanking the Secretary-General, Arda Elibol and Deputy-Secretary-General Zehra Yıldırım for having me as part of the academic team, and our Academic Advisor Yusuf Buğra Koca for not only assisting me through the conference but also for being an incredible friend.

Should you have any inquiries, please do not hesitate to contact me via my email, [umay.gollu@ug.bilkent.edu.tr](mailto:umay.gollu@ug.bilkent.edu.tr) .

Umay Alçin Göllü

*Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations Security Council*

## 1. Introduction to The Committee

### A. History

Following the catastrophic loss of life in World War I, the Paris Peace Conference established the League of Nations to maintain harmony between the nations. This organization successfully resolved some territorial disputes and created international structures for areas such as postal mail, aviation and opium control, some of which would later be absorbed into the UN.<sup>1</sup> On New Year's Day 1942, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Maxim Litvinov of the USSR, and T. V. Soong, of China, signed a short document which later came to be known as the United Nations Declaration and the next day the representatives of twenty-two other nations added their signatures.<sup>2</sup>

The Security Council held its first session on 17 January 1946 at Church House, Westminster, London. Since its first meeting, the Security Council has taken permanent residence at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. It also travelled to many cities, holding sessions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1972, in Panama City, Panama. A representative of each of its members must be present at all times at UN Headquarters so that the Security Council can meet at any time as the need arises.<sup>3</sup>

### B. Scope

Under the United Nations Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are

1. to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
2. to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;

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<sup>1</sup> Paul M. Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (New York: Random House, 2006), 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1-55.

<sup>3</sup> "What Is the Security Council? Security Council," United Nations (United Nations), accessed November 14, 2021, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/what-security-council>.

3. to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
4. to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
5. to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
6. to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
7. to take military action against an aggressor;
8. to recommend the admission of new Members;
9. to exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas";
10. to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

### **C. Membership**

Being considered perhaps the most substantial part of the United Nations, the Security Council consists of fifteen members, five of which are permanent. The Security Council's five permanent members, below, have the power to veto any substantive resolution; this allows a permanent member to block the adoption of a resolution, but not to prevent or end debate. <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Linda M. Fasulo, *An Insider's Guide to the UN* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 40-41.

Country	Regional Group	Current State Representation	Former State Representation
China	Asia-Pacific	People's Republic of China	Republic of China (1945-1971)
France	Western Europe and Others	French Fifth Republic	Provisional Government (1945-1946)  French Fourth Republic (1946-1958)
Russia	Eastern Europe	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	N/A
United Kingdom	Western Europe and Others	United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland	N/A
United States	Western Europe and Others	United States of America	N/A

Each year the General Assembly elects five non-permanent members (out of 10 in total) for a two-year term. In accordance with the General Assembly resolution 1991 (XVIII) of 17 December 1963, the 10 non-permanent seats are distributed on a regional basis as follows: five for African and Asian States; one for the Eastern European States; two for the Latin American and Caribbean States; and two for Western European and other States.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Agenda Item: Invasion of Cyprus

Cyprus' chaotic political history reflects its geocultural ambiguity in many ways. With a geographic area of 9,251 square kilometers and a population of 784,301, this island-state has vexed the UN for more than half a century, receiving more than 120 UN Security Council resolutions between 1960 and 2008. Since the United Nations stationed its peacekeeping force on the island in 1964, the Cyprus issue has absorbed theorists and practitioners of conflict resolution. The Cyprus crisis has tested standard international thinking and defied established approaches to negotiation and peacemaking as a result of its aftermath. (Michael 2012, 2-3)

### A. Definition of Key Terms

- **Enosis:** The word Enosis is used in the sense of connecting the island of Cyprus to Greece". In actuality, it means to include, or unification.
- **EOKA:** *Ethniki Organosis Kiprion Agoniston*, meaning the Nationalist Organization of Cypriot Fighters.
- **Junta:** a military or political group that seizes power by force, or coup.
- **Megali Idea:** The Great Idea, the concept of wanting to revive the Byzantine Empire.
- **Mücahit:** The military personnel of TMT, the word meaning he who fights for a holy ideal.

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<sup>5</sup> "FAQ Security Council," United Nations (United Nations), accessed November 24, 2021, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/faq#membership>.



- **TMT:** *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*, meaning The Turkish Resistance Organisation.
- **UNFICYP:** United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, established in 1964.

## **B. History of Conflict**

Cyprus is the Mediterranean's third biggest island. Despite being only 70 kilometres from Turkey's southern shore, this distance may be considered a significant barrier to either casual or continuous contact, limiting the potential for widespread dispersion of kinds, technologies, and even individuals when compared to continental conditions. Geographically, the island is diversified. Natural resource distribution is important because the relative relevance or worth of various locations has varied through time as people's perceptions of the environment have evolved, as have agricultural and industrial methods (Frankel 2000, 169). Throughout its history, Cyprus has been a strategically significant country that has been sought by civilizations outside the island. Its geographical location has not gone unnoticed by the governments that shape global policy or have played a significant influence in shaping it. In practically every age, this scenario has led to the decision on Cyprus' future by cultures beyond the island (Özersay 2009, 1).

Cyprus is the place where copper ore was first processed in the world. The name of Cyprus also comes from copper. Copper is derived from Latin *cuprum*, English copper, and over time *Kıbrıs* (Oktay 2015, 13). Ancient Cyprus is widely considered to have had a complex multicultural and multilingual situation, as evidenced by archaeological finds and a voluminous epigraphic record. With the emergence of farming communities about 9000 BC, the island of Cyprus became populated for the first time. However, given the problems with the survival of epigraphic evidence and the dating of extant material, it is hard to determine the original inhabitants of the Island (Steele 2013, 237-9). Around 1400 BC, Greeks from Asia Minor and the Aegean settled in Cyprus. The island was Greek-speaking by the ninth

century BC, however, invasions by the Phoenicians, Egyptians and Persians a few centuries later have had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the inhabitants (Dodd 2010, 2). Cyprus was conquered by the Romans in 58 BC. Since the island eventually became part of the East Roman Empire, the Turks have referred to the Greek Cypriots as 'Rum.' The Cypriots converted to Christianity when under Roman authority. Their 'orthodox' Christian church was granted independence under the later East Roman, Byzantine, Empire, when the Council of Ephesus, in 431, awarded it self-governing authority (Dodd 2010, 1-3). In 648 Cyprus, which was introduced to Islam with the conquest of Hz. Osman, changed hands many times in the course of time, then passed under the rule of Venice on March 14, 1489, and was later conquered by the Ottomans in 1571 (Oktay 2015, 15-6).

The Greek Orthodox Church was freer after the conquest than it had been under the Latins under Ottoman rule. The burdens of serfdom were also lifted from the public, who were placed under the delegated authority of their religious leaders under the Ottoman system of religious grouping, the *millet* system, though subject to a special tax. A system of self-government that gave the Greek Cypriots a new, and large, degree of autonomy was established. The Ottomans had no intention of creating a Turkish majority or a powerful Turkish economic class, and the Turks remained mostly a minority (Dodd 2010, 2-3).

The nationalism current that emerged towards the end of the 18th-century can be seen as the product of contemporary phenomena such as capitalism and industrialization. Nationalism is the belief that nations are made up of people who are mutually exclusive in terms of language, culture, history, and communities who come together to strengthen their bonds and recognize the legitimacy of the political system. (Öz and Cebeci 2019, 670-1) Although the French Revolution is the one that is talked about the most, the nationalism movement also had a large impact on the Balkan ethnic groups that lived under a peaceful Ottoman rule.

Uprisings and economic troubles began in the Ottoman Empire with the modernizing movement that began at the end of the 18th century. Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro all revolted and gained their independence (Öz and Cebeci 2019, 672-3). The Greeks living on the Peloponnese Island (Mora) revolted against the Ottoman Empire on March 17, 1821. Thus began the Greek revolt as well, and they earned their sovereignty in 1832 (Oktay 2015, 27-8).

The Ottoman Empire had a number of internal and foreign affairs that were weakening the government to an extreme amount. The Russo-Turkish in 1877-8 resulted in a heavy loss for the Ottomans. The Russian army expanded to Batum, Kars, Ardahan and Edirne, almost making it to the then Capital Istanbul. Since they suffered such a staggering loss, they had to accept Russian demands reluctantly, with Britain as a negotiator and peace-maker. Cyprus was seen as the Key to the Middle East by then- so Britain requested the Island to themselves. Their request was accepted. According to the treaty of Yeşilköy, if Russia were to leave Batum, Kars and Ardahan, Britain would also hand over Cyprus. When Russia pulled their forces from the area in 1917, Britain didn't comply- in fact, they had announced that Cyprus was the property of England in 1914 already after the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War (Özakman 2012, 20-1).

Before the British took control of Cyprus, Greek Cypriot aspirations for self-rule and *enosis* confronted them. The British Government was cautious in 1911 in reaction to Greek Cypriot aspirations for political power and the union with Greece that would follow, and with good cause. The British could not be forced to restore Cyprus to the Ottoman government until 1914, when they conquered the island, hence Greek Cypriot requests had to be ignored. (Dodd 2010, 4) However, the British government did bring about fundamental changes in

Cyprus' social, political, and economic realms, which ironically aided the spread of enosis.  
(Michael 2012, 11-2)

After the Balkan Wars and the First World War, a new Republic of Turkey was established with the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Paşa and his comrades in the Turkish War of Independence. Turkey gained full independence with the acceptance of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and entered a period of peace after ten years of war made the Turkish Cypriots ecstatic. Cyprus was very important for the New Republic of Turkey because of the Turks on the Island and its strategic location. In 1925, the Turkish Consulate General in Nicosia was opened with a ceremony. The British had banned the usage of the Turkish flag in the island's premises years ago. Seeing the Turkish flag in front of the Consulate General was an important harbinger of hope for the Turkish Cypriots. Until 1931, no protests or violent conflict happened in Cyprus between the Turk and the Greek Cypriots, even if there were some arguments or non-violent conflict (Özakman 2012, 43-7).

On October 21, 1931, the Greeks started an uprising against the British under the leadership of the Ion Bishop Nikodimos Milanos and the Bishop of Kyre. Greek demonstrators, most of whom were students, burned police cars, set fire to the governor's mansion (which burned down in 10 minutes with the governor and his family barely escaping), and the police had to open fire on the demonstrators, and the rebellion was barely under control after requested help from Egypt. Many people were arrested and exiled, including the event's lead, Bishop of Kitium Nicodemus Mylonas. Seven people were killed, sixty-seven were wounded, and four hundred were arrested as a result of the events. The 1931 uprising drew attention as the first armed Greek action for Enosis. It was later understood that the Greek consul in Cyprus was also an active participant in the rebellion, meaning that the Greek government was still

actively seeking Enosis. As a result, the British administration began imposing sanctions on the Greeks in the island. Surprisingly, these sanctions were also imposed on Turks who had nothing to do with the uprising. The Constitution, the legislative assembly, the municipal elections, and the activities of political parties were all suspended as a result of the sanctions. Censorship of the press and education began. The British were correct to censor the Greek education system due to the prevalence of Enosis teaching. However, the same sanctions were unfairly imposed on the Turkish Cypriots in the island as well (Oktay 2015, 54-7).

The Second World War shattered Cyprus's somewhat stagnant calm and brought political effervescence in its wake, as it did throughout much of Britain's overseas empire. Unlike some of the other large Mediterranean islands—Crete, Malta, and Sicily—it was not the site of battles, but it was profoundly influenced by what happened around it. As such, during the Second World War, the fight for enosis in the island was temporarily suspended. In 1946, the British government announced plans to convene a Consultative Assembly of Cypriots to discuss a new constitution. The British also permitted the repatriation of the 1931 exiles. However, the Greek Cypriots were furious at the invitation and declined it since they wished to pursue Enosis (Holland and Holland 1998, 14).

Lord Winster attempted to include all groups in the 40-member Assembly he announced in 1947. The Turkish Cypriots took part, but the 19 Greek Cypriot nationalists did not, boycotting the assembly. As a result, in May 1948, the government was required to present its broad proposals for a constitution. These provisions allowed for an elected legislature with a Greek Cypriot majority, a significant concession for Greek Cypriots, though decisions in some critical areas were to be left to the Governor. In the United Kingdom, a conservative British government took power in 1951, noting that the failure of Labour government initiatives to promote constitutional reforms in Cyprus was due to the outright hostility of

Greek Cypriots on both the left and right, and distrust of the new Archbishop Makarios. (Dodd 2010, 12-3)

Michael Mouskos, Bishop Makarios of Kition (Larnaca), was appointed Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus on 18 October 1950. In his inauguration speech, he swore that he would not rest until unity with "mother Greece" was accomplished, supporting Enosis. Just as he would not rest, he would not let the Turkish Cypriots rest as well. The Republic of Turkey was busy with the Korean War at this time, and the Turk-Greek diplomatic ties were considerably neutral up until this time, compared to the past. What broke this was an acclamation made by the then Prime Minister Sofokles Venizelos. On the 15th of February, 1951, Sofokles claimed that Cyprus was Greece's, and the lands should join their motherland. This moved the Turkish government to great concern, and they had to break their silence in 20th of April after a series of protests in Ankara. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Fuat Köprülü claimed that If there was going to be any change in the status of Cyprus, it was not possible to do this without Turkey and in a way that is against Turkish rights. (Özakman 2012, 61-3)

When the Greek government did not receive a positive response from Britain, it brought the issue to the United Nations at the expense of confronting Turkey. Greece's UN representative formally requested that self-determination for the people of Cyprus be applied, so that they may open their path to Enosis. Turkish Head Delegate Selim Sarper fiercely opposed the Greek proposal and Greece's stance on Cyprus. He explained that Greece did not dominate Cyprus even for a day, whereas Cyprus remained under Turkish rule for 400 years. When told about the number of Turkish population on the island, the United Nations countries were surprised. UN Countries were given the impression that only Greeks lived on the island and that Cyprus was an ancient Greek island. (Özakman 2012, 65) During discussions, the United

States stressed its support for a step-by-step solution through direct talks between Greece and Britain. IN DECEMBER, the UN General Assembly declared that it would "not address the subject further for the time being, because it does not appear suitable to pass a resolution on the question of Cyprus." (Richmond and Ker-Lindsay 2001, 9-10).

Extremists in both Cyprus and Greece have been actively considering using violence to achieve enosis since 1951. The Papagos administration was aware of these operations and intentions but did little to stop them. Georgios Grivas, a rightist and fanatical Hellenist of Cypriot origin, recruited and trained resistance troops in Cyprus in October and November 1954. He founded the Nationalist Organization of Cypriot Fighters, also known as EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston*). On April 1, 1955, the insurgency began with violent deeds under the approval of Makarios. They signalled the start of a four-year campaign of violence and terrorism (Dodd 2010, 20).

In England, there was a change of administration in 1955. The Conservative Party, which constituted the new government, made the decision to resolve the Cyprus problem. The United Kingdom declared a tripartite conference in June 1955. Finally, on August 29, 1955, the meeting opened at Lancaster House in London. Greece pushed on the ENOSIS thesis at the summit. Turkey, on the other hand, has advanced a logical theory. This theory delighted England while shocking Greece. Britain, which was repeatedly hurt by EOKA actions, immediately adopted Turkey's side after hearing the Turkish argument. While the final declaration of the conference was being prepared on September 6, news that was heard and spread rapidly on the night connecting September 5 to September 6 gave goosebumps to all Turks. In Thessaloniki, Greece, a bomb exploded in the house where Atatürk was born, which was extremely important to the Turks. The Turks protested in the known Greek-influenced areas in Istanbul and İzmir, causing them to lose sympathy considerably.

On September 8, the conference broke up without issuing a final declaration due to the events in Turkey. (Oktay 2015, 66-71)

Following the April 1 bombings, British officials questioned if the organizers planned to continue their acts, and Governor Robert Armitage was advised by his security experts to expect a quiet in Greece after Easter. On May 29, Armitage petitioned the Colonial Office about the seeming impediment to political advancement inside the colony that had been erected in London. On September 24, Armitage was fired as a result of rising tensions and violence among Greek Cypriots, as well as his failure to deal with them (Holland and Holland 1998, 57).

The year 1956 was a dark year in Cyprus's history. Along with sanctions and boycotts imposed on Turkish merchants and artisans, the Greeks started to increase violent attacks and protests. Bishop Makarios was arrested after an investigation conducted by the governor, revealing his ties with EOKA and the violent protests. Through 1956 and 1957, various other United Nations assemblies and conferences were gathered once again to prove fruitless. Greece was ultimately able to persuade the General Assembly to examine its demand for Cypriot self-determination in 1957. Britain accused Greece of facilitating Cypriot terrorists. To Greece's disgust, London offered extracts from the kidnapped Grivas diaries as proof. Britain also chastised Makarios for the collapse of the Harding-Makarios discussions, as well as Greece for rejecting the Radcliffe offers in their totality. Turkey, which had supported the British all along, officially demanded the separate right of self-determination for the Turkish Cypriots and the separation of the island from the Greeks (Richmond and Ker-Lindsay 2001, 23).

Rauf Denktaş and Turkish military commander Rıza Vuruşkan founded TMT (*The Turkish Resistance Organization, Turk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*) in order to oppose the Greek Cypriot



Fighters Organization EOKA after rising tensions. This organisation was a highly secret and well-operated one with secret membership and careful planning. Even Turkish neighbours, family members or friends didn't know who their members were (Özakman 2012, 102-3).

The 1958 discussions for Cyprus in the United Nations General Assembly started out with the Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Averof going against the delegations of Britain and Turkey. He contended that, whereas Britain established the Turkish factor to justify its dominance, the Turkish government was utilizing the Turkish Cypriot minority to conceal its expansionist intentions. Commander Noble, the British representative, contended that the new position Britain adopted in 1958 was the consequence of failed consultations with the concerned states. Furthermore, according to the British representative, Greece was utilizing independence as a covert tool to attain enosis in the long term. Turkish Foreign Minister Zorlu shared Noble's concerns and campaigned for Turkish rights over the island once more. He further said that Greece desired Cyprus in order to control Turkey's communications with the Mediterranean. Turkey now accepted division of the island rather than annexation as a compromise, for which the British stance left the door open at the conclusion of the seven-year term (Richmond and Ker-Lindsay 2001, 32-3). The General Assembly wanted the conflict to be solved as soon as possible as it had worn off all parties involved considerably. Zorlu and Averof met in Paris once again to negotiate their terms, which resulted in both sides giving up the idea of partition and Enosis. It was decided that Cyprus would become a new, independent republic that would govern itself. This was later officialised in 1959 with the London and Zurich treaties. (Özersay 2009,7-51)

In 1960, The Treaty of Establishment defined the territory of the new Republic of Cyprus. This territory did not include two British military base areas, which were to remain under British sovereignty. The Constitution provided for a presidential system, the President being

elected by the Greek Cypriot, and the Vice-President by the Turkish Cypriot communities. Each had a veto on decisions relating to foreign affairs, defence and security in the Council of Ministers. The Council was composed of seven Greek and three Turkish Cypriot members. In the elected House of Representatives, the Greek Cypriots had 35 and the Turkish Cypriots had 15 members. This meant that The Greek Cypriots represented 78% and the Turkish Cypriots 18%. They were elected on separate, communal, electoral rolls. (Dodd 2010, 51-2)

Unfortunately, while Cyprus was hoping for peace, the Greeks began to display their weaponry once more. A nationalist Greek group, led by Minister of Interior Yorgasis and Clerides, agrees on a strategy and swears an oath which was known as the Akritas Plan. The goal is to "reclaim the privileges granted to the Turks, to transform Cyprus into a true Greek state, and to fulfil Enosis." Preparations were conducted within the context of the Akritas Plan and put in action three years later, in 1963. (Oktay 2015, 93) Makarios made public recommendations for constitutional revision on November 3, 1963, without consulting Vice President Küçük. Tensions had been rising between the two sides since Makarios' constitutional ideas, with both sides accumulating weapons since Zurich. Fighting erupted in the Turkish Cypriot section of Nicosia on December 21, 1963, prompting the Greek Cypriots to launch an all-out assault to subjugate and compel the Turkish Cypriot community into surrender. Fighting was also intense in Nicosia and Larnaca. The violence was precipitated by an event on 21 December in which Greek Cypriot police, whether official or not, murdered two Turkish Cypriots in a brawl after stopping a car in which they were travelling and asking for identity cards, which the Turkish Cypriots refused. Ultimately, Makarios realized that he could not get his demands accepted through negotiations and put the Akritas plan into effect (Dodd 2010, 52-4).

The Akritas plan started with full heat and violent attacks were conducted all overin Cyprus, starting from the 21st of December. On the Christmas night of December 24, 1963, a disastrous event took place in Cyprus. The house of Nihat İlhan, the doctor of the Turkish Cypriot Regiment, was raided by EOKA after they were given a tip by their Greek neighbours, informing them that a Turkish Officer's family and several other Turkish families lived there without protection. Nihat İlhan's wife, and children, one 6 months old, the others 4 and 7 years old, were killed and thrown into the bathroom in blood. One of the children, Hakan, didn't even have bullets on him. He had died by suffocating under his sibling's bodies. Their neighbours who were with them during that night because they thought that they would be safer together were also wounded. This event is now known as the Bloody Noel (Kanlı Noel). This house was later on turned into the Museum of Savagery. Raids to Kumsal, Küçük Kaymaklı and Lefkoşa continued without any mercy from the EOKA members for days (Özakman 2012, 181-3).

Following the constitutional breakdown as well as several months of intercommunal violence, the UN Security Council authorized the establishment of a UN peacekeeping mission on March 4, 1964, with the mission of "preventing a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, contributing to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions." Following United Nations Security Council Resolution 186, which was enacted on March 4, 1964, this UN peacekeeping force was designated UNFICYP (*The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus*) (Richmond and Ker-Lindsay 2001, 98).

The amount to which Turkey could rely on the US as an ally, as well as the efficacy of the UN force, were about to be put to the test. By June 1964, it was evident that the UN force was powerless to halt the violence against Turkish Cypriots, which had persisted without a stop. Members of the TMT and several Turkish army commanders from the 650-strong

Turkish army force present under the provisions of the 1960 Agreements proceeded to train the Turks (Dodd 2010, 67) The USA organized a conference in Geneva on 9 July with the participation of Turkey and Greece. At the conference, the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, presented a solution plan. Acheson presented his plan as an ideal solution within NATO. According to his proposal, the island of Cyprus would be divided between Turkey and Greece. Both sides refused this plan, and the Second Acheson Plan was proposed, which was also declined. At first, Turkey had accepted the first plan as the basis for negotiation. But Makarios strongly opposed it because their only concern was Enosis and only Enosis (Oktay 2015, 114).

Colonel Yorgo Papadopoulos took over the government of Greece during a coup d'état in 1967. Cyprus was the first case that these colonels who had captured Greece had to deal with. The junta's goal was, once again, Enosis. On November 16, 1967, the Greek Cypriot National Guard, led by Grivas, and men covertly arriving from Greece opened fire with heavier weaponry, resuming the armed conflict. The forces of Grivas took over the Turkish region after an 8-hour struggle. With 25 Turks dead, hundreds of injured, mostly military men of TMT (mücahit). They had also separated the women and imprisoned the men in a mosque. Unfortunately, Turkey was still not ready for an amphibious operation at this time, and political discussions were conducted once again to calm this conflict (Oktay 2015, 122-3).

By early 1968, Turkish Cypriots' living conditions had significantly improved, with embargoes on their settlements generally eased. They were also free to move in and out of their settlements, with many seeking jobs among the Greek Cypriots. Turkish Cypriot government officials, on the other hand, were not permitted to access Greek Cypriot-controlled territories. Greek Cypriots would be allowed to access Turkish Cypriot

regions if they followed local norms, as Turkish Cypriots had to do in Greek Cypriot-controlled areas, but they refused. A series of intercommunal talks in 1968 and 1969 with UN supervision also once again proved to be fruitless. (Dodd 2010, 91)

When Grivas returned to the island on August 31, 1971, he established EOKA-B instead of EOKA and joined the National Front in raids to collect guns but otherwise remained autonomous. Those responsible for the coup began to have a major confrontation with each other in 1973. The junta divided, and a Colonel called Ioannides (or Yuanides) deposed Papadapulos. Makarios had improved ties with Athens by mid-1973, but he was still suspicious of a Greek/Turkish solution. However, once Papadapulos was deposed, there was widespread speculation that there was a plan to depose Makarios as well. Makarios felt unlucky that Papadopoulos did not continue in power since the uncompromising Grivas died unexpectedly on January 27, 1974. In July 1974, Greece and the Cypriot National Guard launched a coup d'état that installed Nikos Sampson as president. The junta, with the National Guard under its control later assaulted the presidential mansion on July 15 1975, but, as is well known, Makarios miraculously escaped and was transported by the Royal Air Force to Malta and subsequently to London. The Greek coup caught the Turkish government off guard, but they quickly understood that something had to be done. Because there was a definite threat of enosis, there was room for appropriate action. Following consultation, each guarantor country reserved the right, under the terms of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, "to take measures with the sole objective of reestablishing the condition of affairs created by the present treaty" (Dodd 2010, 103-12).

On Saturday, July 20, 1974, at dawn, the Turkish fleet appeared on the coast of Cyprus with 2 thousand soldiers in 5 Destroyers, 4 Submarines, 5 Protection Assault Boats and 31 Landing Ships. The navy, which inspected the Cyprus coast with the naked eye, set its guns on their

targets. At 05.00, Rauf Denktaş's message started to be broadcast on the Nicosia radio: "...Today, the Turkish Armed Forces are carrying out airborne and seaborne landings all over Cyprus. May your Gaza be blessed..." (Oktay 2015, 134-6). Turkish troops strengthened their strategic position in both directions along the coast but had to withstand major Greek counterattacks, despite the fact that Greek and Greek Cypriot forces were disorganized and caught off guard. On the same day, the UN Security Council issued a plea for a cease-fire. The Resolution (353) also called for respect for the Republic of Cyprus's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, an immediate end to foreign intervention, the immediate withdrawal of foreign military personnel other than those stationed there under international agreements, and for Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom to 'enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional Government in Cyprus'. This resulted in the first Geneva Convention. On 23 July 1974 the Greek junta collapsed because of the events in Cyprus although the conference continued. After much deliberation, the Conference declared that the Turkish occupation zone should not be extended, that the Turkish enclaves should be immediately evacuated by the Greeks, and that a further conference with the two Cypriot communities present should be held in Geneva to restore peace and re-establish constitutional government. They made two observations prior to this, one defending the 1960 constitution and the other appearing to renounce it. They demanded that the Turkish Vice-President resume his duties, but they also stated that "two autonomous administrations exist in actuality". Seeing that the talks were once again fruitless, The Second Peace Operation to Cyprus was conducted in August of 1974 under the name "Ayşe goes on vacation", due to a suspicion of phones of military personnel and the government officials being wire-tapped. As a result of this, diplomatic ties between Greece and Turkey were heavily shaken, but Turkey occupied the areas that were in Turkish majority nonetheless,

securing the lives of Turkish Cypriots, and they immediately declared a ceasefire after making sure that the Turks were safe (Dodd 2010, 114-8).

### **C. Timeline of Events**

The events of the Historical United Nations Security Council Committee in GCMUN22 will be starting from an emergency meeting conducted by the delegations of the UNSC after the second Turkish invasion of 1974 (*30th of August*). As such, events after the start of the invasion do not take place in this study guide. Understand that the pages in the study guide also lack significant detail and is mainly the surface of most events, because if I were to write everything (especially since the history of violence in the island is freakishly long), the guide would be at least 45 pages. The following timeline of events are from the United Nations Security Council's official page regarding Cyprus, which will help you understand better and follow dates before and throughout the committee.

**1571:** Cyprus, at that time under the rule of the Republic of Venice, was conquered by the Ottoman Empire. It remained under Turkish rule for three centuries.

**1832:** Greece won its independence from the Ottoman Empire after an extremely bloody conflict with Ottoman troops that lasted from 1821 to 1829, which was only resolved by British, Russian and French military intervention in 1827 and 1828.

**1878:** The UK reached an agreement with the Ottomans to lease Cyprus and became effectively the administering authority on the island.

**1914:** Formal British annexation of Cyprus took place when the UK felt no longer bound by the 1878 agreement.

**1925:** Turkey relinquished its residual sovereignty with respect to Cyprus and the island formally became a British colony.

**1950:** The Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios III, arranged for a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots which revealed that 92 per cent favoured *enosis*—or union of Cyprus with Greece. He then pledged to work toward the achievement of this goal.

**1955:** The National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) was founded, seeking an armed struggle for independence and union.

**1958:** The Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) was established by Turkish Cypriots as a counterweight to the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters. It called for partition, or *taksim*.

**19 February 1959:** An agreement on independence for Cyprus was reached in Zürich and London between Turkey, Greece, the UK and the Cypriot communities (under the leadership of Makarios for the Greek Cypriots and Fazyl Küçük for the Turkish Cypriots).

**16 August 1960:** The Republic of Cyprus was founded by the Turkish and Greek communities who shared power as an independent state.

**20 September 1960:** Cyprus became a UN members state.

**November 1963:** Constitutional rule in Cyprus collapsed in the wake of intercommunal strife.

**25 December 1963:** Turkey intervened militarily (sending aircraft and troops to Cyprus) in support of the Turkish Cypriots, resulting in a confrontation between units of Greek and Turkish armies on Cypriot soil.



**4 March 1964:** Resolution 186 established the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) with a mandate to prevent a recurrence of fighting between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

**27 March 1964:** UNFICYP became operational.

**18 December 1965:** The General Assembly adopted resolution 2077 (XX) calling upon states to respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and to refrain from any foreign intervention or interference (a provision directed at Turkey).

**April 1967:** A military junta in Greece overthrew the civilian government.

**November 1967:** Inter-communal fighting resumed, sparked by the events in Greece in April 1967.

**July 1974:** A coup d'état by the Greek army officers stationed on the island overthrew the president of Cyprus. A subsequent Turkish military intervention led to a division of Cyprus into a Turkish Cypriot north and Greek Cypriot south.

**23 July 1974:** The military regime in Greece fell and was replaced by a civilian administration.

**16 August 1974:** Turkish forces declared a ceasefire.

### **3. Questions to be Addressed**

- What are the main challenges in aiming to build peace and resilience in Cyprus?
- What can be done to neutralise conflict in the region?
- How can diplomatic ties be normalised with all the countries involved to assure a better peace process?

- What are the domestic challenges in the dispute and how can they be solved?
- What are the possible details of an agreement between Turkey and Greece upon the Cyprus Dispute?
- What are the sides' priorities' in the past disputes and what do they add to the current conflict?
- What can be done about the plight of refugees shared between Cyprus, Turkey and Greece after the Turkish invasion?
- What kind of policy should the sides follow in the possible disagreements?
- What can be the short term solutions to the disagreements between all sides?
- What can be long term solutions to the disagreements between all sides?
- What is the role of the United Nations in the future of Cyprus?

### **I. Further Readings**

***Timeline of Cyprus from UNSC:***

<https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/cyprus.php>

***Timeline of UNFICYP:*** <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/timeline>

***To understand the Turkish Government's View on the Matter:***

<https://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-cyprus-issue-overview.en.mfa>

***To understand the Greek Government's View on the Matter:***

<https://mfa.gov.cy/turkish-military-invasion-and-occupation.html>

***Documentary by TRT:*** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tiPOMErXbwI>

*Kudret Özersay's book to Understand the Legality of the Cyprus Dispute: Kıbrıs Sorunu: Hukuksal Bir İnceleme*, ISBN: 978-975-482-820-7

*An extensive list of all United Nations Security Council Resolutions on the Matter of Cyprus:* <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/cyprus/>

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