



STUDY GUIDE: TURKISH PEACE OPERATION IN CYPRUS

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1-Introduction

1.1- History of Cyprus before the Ottoman Empire

1.1.1. Cyprus in Bronze and Late Bronze Ages

The first settlers arrived in Cyprus in the Prehistoric Era. They settled Cyprus around 10.000 B.C and lived as independent governments until 1500 B.C. Between 1500-1450 B.C Cypriots discovered copper reserves and this attracted their strong neighbors: Egyptians and Hittites. Pharaoh *III. Thutmose* of Egypt conquered Cyprus in 1450. Egyptians ruled the island for approximately 130 years. In 1320 Hittite King Tudhaliya the Third took Cyprus from Egypt and they met their copper needs from the island. Also they start using the island as a place of exile. With the end of the Hittites in 1200 B.C Egyptians captured the island again. Both Egyptians and Hittites used the island as a hub for trade as well. This helped the island to get into a cosmopolitical shape. Between 1150-1050 B.C big earthquakes occurred in Cyprus and these earthquakes demolished all the cities settled in Bronze and Late Bronze Age.

1.1.2 The Phoenician Era in Cyprus

The Phoenicians started visiting Cyprus for trade in 3000 B.C. And they settled a city called Kition in 1000 B.C -The Bible also refers to this city as Kittim-. After the establishment of Kition, the Phoenicians started to rule all of the island. In this era other settlers came from all over the Aegean and Mediterranean regions and they settled cities as well. These cities turned into city-kingdoms. 10 city-kingdom established at that era. These kingdoms and their ethnicities were:

- >Paphos (Greek)
- >Salamis (Greek)
- >Soloi (Greek)
- >Kourion (Greek)
- >Chytroi (Greek)
- >Kition (Greco-Phoenician)
- >Amathus (Greco-Amathusean)
- >Ídalion (Greek)
- >Ledrai (Greek)
- >Tamassos (Greek)

The Phoenician Era caused arguments between the Turks and the Greeks. After *ENOSIS* (unification of Cyprus and Greece) Movement began to become popular Turkish Cypriots said that the Phoenicians arrived to the island in 3000 BC and that is why the Greeks on the island are of Eastern and Phoenician origin rather than Greek. The Greek side tried to refute this argument by saying that the Phoenicians came to the island in 3000 BC for trade, not for settling. They established their first colonie (*Kition*) in 1000 BC so they argued that their origins are Greek and *ENOSIS* had to happen.

1.1.3 The Assyrian Era in Cyprus

Phoenicians ruled Cyprus with the help of the 7 city-kingdoms until 709 BC. In 709 BC Assyrians came to Cyprus and defeated the Phoenicians. They started ruling Cyprus with the help of the City-Kingdoms. They established 3 more city-kingdoms (*Kyrenia, Lapethos, Marion*). In this era the city-kingdoms gained autonomy. They were independent in their internal affairs. In return they paid tribute to Assyrian king and sent troops to the wars of Assyria.

1.1.4 The Egyptian Era in Cyprus

Assyrians started to lose power a century after they started ruling Cyprus. In 609 BC Pharaoh Amasis the Second beat the Cypriot Fleet and conquered Cyprus. The Egyptians started ruling Cyprus for the second time. King of the Salamis became the Governor of Cyprus and the Pharaoh let the City-Kingdoms to be independent in their internal affairs just like the Assyrians did. In this era Achaeans and Mycenaeans came to the island and with their arrival the island started to Hellenize.

1.1.5 The Persian (Achaemenid) Era and Alexander the Great's Conquests

In 525 BC Persian King *Cambyses* conquered Egypt. With that the Egyptian rule in Cyprus had come to an end. By the time of the reign of *I. Darius*, Cyprus completely became a part of Achaemenids. The Achaemenids made Cyprus their 5. Satrapy and they appointed a governor but they did not interfere with the internal affairs of the City-Kingdoms on the island, as the Egyptians and the Assyrians did. Persians army was strong but their navy wasn't so they made an alliance with the Phoenicians to gain supremacy in the Mediterranean against the Athenians. With that alliance, Phoenicians came back to the island and they started to control *Tamassos* and *Lapithos*. Persians also let them use the copper mines which are located on the *Tamassos*. Phoenicians and Persians were happy about the current situation. They were getting whatever they wanted: Natural resources, gold and all of the prosperity Cyprus has. But the Cypriots were not happy under Persian rule. The heavy taxes overwhelmed the City-Kingdoms and they started a rebellion under the leadership of the king of the *Salamis* but they failed and the king of *Salamis* executed by the Persians. They started to rebel regularly but all of their rebellions were suppressed by the Persians with the help of the Phoenicians. This continued until the arrival of *Alexander the Great*. He became the King of Macedonia in 336 BC after the assassination of his father *II. Philip*. With the Hellenic Union that his father unified, he started a long campaign against Persians. In the Autumn of 333 BC he beat *III. Darius* at the Battle of Issus and with that Cyprus escaped from Persian occupation. A year after the Battle of Issus, *Alexander* sieged *Tyre* -an important Persian city located on the Mediterranean coast-. City-Kingdoms of Cyprus helped *Alexander* with their fleet on this siege and because of their help *Alexander* granted them autonomy. This continued until *Alexander's* death in 323 BC.

1.1.6 The Ptolemaic Dynasty Era

After Alexander's death, his kingdom was divided into four. The Antigonos Dynasty located in Western Anatolia and the Ptolemy Dynasty located in Egypt wanted Cyprus because of its location and they made alliances with the City-Kingdoms. *Ptolemy* made alliances with the *Salamis*, *Paphos*, *Soloi* and *Amathus*. His rival *Antigonos* made alliances with *Citium*, *Laphetus*, *Marium* and *Krenya*. *Ptolemy* sent an army in 312 BC and defeated the City-States that supported Antigonos. But he waged wars with these states for approximately 30 years and in 294 BC he completely conquered Cyprus. These wars damaged Cyprus and Cypriots a lot. The City-Kingdoms got weakened and some of them got destroyed and many people died. During the two and a half centuries of rule of the Ptolemy Dynasty the remaining city-kingdoms were removed and a central administration was adopted. Also the Ptolemy's were Hellenes and with their inflation the island nearly became completely Hellenized.

1.1.7 The Roman and Byzantine Era

1.1.7.1 The Roman Era

After the death of *VII. Cleopatra* Cyprus was gifted to the Roman Empire by *Octavian*. After being governed by the Great Orator *Cicero* for a while, the administration of the island was given to a proconsul and the island was divided into 4 regions, with *Paphos* as its administrative center and *Salamis* as its commercial center. During this era Romans built mines, temples, roads, harbors and many other structures to Cyprus. With the help of the Romans Cypriots began to live in wealth and prosperity. Also, in 45 AD, Cypriots were introduced to Christianity through missionaries and the Christianity began to replace the Pagan faith. Cyprus was one of the first Roman provinces whose people accepted Christianity, and it was also the first Roman province to be Governed by a Christian Proconsul. In 70 AD Romans sieged and destroyed Jerusalem. As a result, many Jews ran away from Jerusalem and many of them came to Cyprus. But they did not stay calm here either and joined Jewish rebellions that occurred in *Cyrene* in 115 AD. The Jews massacred all the people in the *Salamis*, the heart of the trade in the island, until the Roman Legions suppressed the rebellion and killed the Jews on the island. After that rebellion Jewish people were banned from entering the island.

1.1.7.2 The Byzantine and Arab Era

After the separation of the Roman Empire into two, Cyprus became a part of the Byzantine Empire and the Byzantines ruled the island for 300 hundred years. After 300 hundreds of Byzantine rule, Muslim Caliphate conquered Cyprus and ruled it for 300 years. In Muslim Era Cyprus became a hub for trade in the Mediterranean again but Muslims and the Pirates that attacked the island harmed the Churches located on the islands. In 965 AD Byzantine General *Nicephorus Phocas* beat the Arabs on Cilicia and the island and with that Cyprus came under Byzantine rule again. They ruled the island until the arrival of the Crusaders. In the Byzantine Era, the Cypriot Church struggled against the pressures of the

Patriarchate of Antioch and strived to gain autonomy. In conclusion with the intervention of Emperor *Zeno* the Cyprus Church gained autonomy and they were considered equal to the Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Alexandria Churches. With the spread of the Christianity Byzantines returned *Salamis* -Capital of the Island- to its former glory and built many Cathedrals on the island.

1.1.7.3 The Isaac Comnenos Era

But what had happened to every Empire also happened to the Byzantine Empire as well: They suffered a massive loss of power around the 12. Century. In that era Governor of Tarsus, *Isaac Comnenos* lost a war against Armenians and became a prisoner. The Emperor decided that *Isaac Comnenos*' ransom would be paid by the people of Cyprus. After a part of ransom was paid *Isaac Comnenos* was released from custody and he tricked the Cypriots that he had been appointed as the Governor of Cyprus by the Emperor. Then he declared himself as the Emperor of Cyprus. The rule of *Isaac Comnenos*, who was known as a tyrant and brutal and who made the Cypriots suffer during the 7 years he ruled the island, collapsed when the Crusaders arrived.

1.1.8 The Crusader Era

Richard I, while on his way to the 3rd Crusade to take the Holy Lands, was caught in a storm in the Mediterranean in 1191 and had to take refuge in Cyprus, and This was the end of the reign of the cruel tyrant *Isaac Comnenus*. The incident that led Richard I to take action against Comnenus was the looting of his ships that had run aground by Comnenus' forces. One of the looted ships was a ship carrying Richard's fiancée, Princess Berengaria of Navarre, who had taken refuge in Limassol. Richard considered his fiancée's captivity as an insult, so he postponed the Crusade and married her in a small chapel. After the marriage, Richard I asked Isaac Comnenos to surrender Cyprus. However, Comnenos refused and resisted from the castle of Kantara in the Beşparmak (Pentadaktylos/Kyrenia) Mountains. With the support of the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan and the Roman Catholics in Cyprus, Richard I defeated Comnenos by taking the Kantara Castle. The defeat of Comnenus in this war led to the capture of Cyprus by Richard I and the end of Byzantine rule. After this war, Richard I made a large donation to the Cypriots for their support. After defeating Comnenus, Richard I appointed officials to govern the island, ending 800 years of Byzantine rule, and leaving a small garrison to establish his own authority, and continued the Crusade. The Cypriots, who were constantly under the yoke of other states, remained calm during the Byzantine period, but they could not stand the rule of *Richard I* for long and rebelled against him. Although the rebellion was suppressed in a short time, *Richard I* decided that the island was a great burden and sold it to the Knights Templar. But Cypriots rebelled against the Knights Templar as well. Templar Knights suppressed the rebellion with disproportionate violence. They made a massive massacre in the island and right after that they returned the island to Crusaders.

1.1.9 The Lusignan Era

When the Templar Knights left Cyprus, *Richard I* gave Cyprus to the controversial ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Frenchman *Guy de Lusignan* in 1192, and in return demanded that the Templar Knights pay him the amount they owed him. *Guy de Lusignan*, who was a ruler in Jerusalem and established a dynasty after taking Cyprus, first brought his own men from Palestine and granted them land, establishing the western feudal system. *Guy de Lusignan* died 2 years after taking Cyprus, but the dynasty he founded would rule Cyprus for about 300 years. During this period, Cypriots would be subjected to religious oppression. *Guy de Lusignan*, despite being a Catholic, was tolerant of the Orthodox religion that was dominant in Cyprus after he took over the administration, but his brother *Amaury*, who came to the throne after him, showed no tolerance and ensured the dominance of Catholicism. In fact, the Roman Catholic Church stepped in and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus lost its supremacy. This pressure started a new struggle between the people and the new and foreign rulers in Cyprus. After the Latin Bishopric of Cyprus was established, dioceses were also established in *Famagusta*, *Limassol*, *Nicosia* and *Paphos*, land was allocated to churches and the authority to collect tithes was given to the Latins. The pressure exerted by the Latin (Catholic) priests to gain control of the Church of Cyprus also increased the Cypriots' reaction against the Lusignans. Despite the pressure from the Catholic Lusignans, the Cypriots remained loyal to the Orthodox Church, and from the mid-14th century onwards, the efforts of the Latin clergy to Catholicize the Cypriots were in vain. The Latin Church's dominance officially continued for another 200 years, but the Cypriots remained loyal to their own clergy and rejected the religious beliefs of their Western rulers. During the Lusignan period, Cyprus came under the control of the Anatolian Seljuk Turks. The Lusignans, who met their food needs from Antalya, made agreements with them when Antalya was taken by the Seljuks, but from time to time they broke these agreements unilaterally. On the other hand, the Lusignans who ruled the island of Cyprus were not content with just this island, but also tried to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean region. The Lusignans gained political and economic power with the feudal system they implemented on the island, while also influencing the people of the island culturally. Especially the castles, palaces, huge cathedrals and monasteries built during this period were indicators of the magnificence experienced on the island and attracted many foreign merchants and entrepreneurs to the island, while also attracting the attention of powers that wanted to acquire it. Especially the Venetian and Genoese merchants from the Italian republics made large investments on the island, and even Famagusta was left to the Genoese in 1372 under threat, and the Genoese maintained their dominance in the port of this city until 1464. The prosperous life on the island began to come to an end when *King Janus I* was defeated by the Mamluks and began to pay large amounts of tribute. During the reign of *John II*, Cyprus entered a new and interesting period with the marriage of this king to *Helena Palaeologos*, the granddaughter of the Byzantine Emperor. This marriage resulted in *Queen Helena* taking over the administration of the kingdom and reviving Greek culture, which had been neglected and forgotten for 300 years. The deaths of *John II* and *Helena* within a few months of each other in 1458 and the accession of their 17-year-old daughter *Charlotte* to the throne, paved the way for the end of the Lusignan dynasty. *John II's* illegitimate son, not accepting his half-sister's accession to the throne, tried to

overthrow her and even collaborated with the Mamluks -rulers of Egypt-, and 6 years later *James II* ascended to the throne after ousting his half-sister. During the reign of *James II*, Cyprus was weakened by attacks from neighboring states and he asked the Republic of Venice to help him. Venice, which had already established a strong relationship with the island through trade connections, began to dominate the island more in 1468 when *James II* married *Caterina Cornaro*, the daughter of a Venetian nobleman, and when *James II* died in 1473, the island came under Venetian control.

1.1.10 The Venetian Era

With the annexation of Cyprus by the Republic of Venice, the islanders came under the control of a new foreign ruler, and the island was governed by a military governor chosen from the Venetian nobility. During this period, the oppression and exploitation of the previous period continued, the only difference between the Lusignan and Venetian rule was that the wealth acquired on the island was transferred to Venice, and Cyprus became the farthest outpost of the Venetian trade empire. During the Venetian period, the Lusignans did not leave the island and continued to live as landowners or farm owners. The Venetians continued the feudal structure of the Lusignan period, leaving the villages and small places to the landowners and only collecting taxes. Under the Venetian rule, the people of Cyprus were forced to work for the nobility two days a week, as in the Lusignan period. The Venetian control of Cyprus ended when the Ottoman Empire took over the island, and for the first time in its history the island came under the rule of a Muslim state for a long period. During the long Lusignan period and the 82 years of Venetian control, foreign rulers undoubtedly changed the lifestyle of Cyprus, but while this change was evident in city life, there was little change for the Cypriots living in the villages, who did not give up their Orthodox faith and culture.

1.2 History of Cyprus During the Ottoman Era

1.2.1 Seizure of Cyprus

The Ottoman Empire's interest in the island of Cyprus began after it had captured Rhodes, Crete and Egypt. While the Ottoman Empire was expanding in the Mediterranean, Cyprus remained among the Ottoman lands and the pirates who were based on this strategically important island attacked the Ottoman fleet and the passenger ships going on pilgrimages, the Venetians who ruled the island showed hostility towards the Ottomans and the Orthodox Cypriots asked for help from the Ottomans, which also led the Ottomans to turn to Cyprus. On the other hand, during the Venetian period, the Ottomans had already begun to organize regular raids on Cyprus, and in 1489, when Venice annexed the island, the Ottoman Navy attacked *Karpaz*, taking many war spoils and prisoners. After *Yavuz Sultan Selim* conquered Egypt in 1517, Cyprus came back to the agenda for the Ottoman Empire, and it was decided that the 8,000 ducats tax that the Venetians had paid to the Mamluks for Cyprus would be paid to the Ottomans. During the reign of *Suleiman the Magnificent*, with an agreement made with the Venetians, the tax collected from Cyprus was increased to 10,000

ducats in return for new rights being given to the Venetians in Istanbul. However, the Venetians took a side against the Ottomans out of fear of losing Cyprus. After the Ottomans conquered Rhodes in 1521, the Venetians built fortifications in the castles of *Famagusta* and *Nicosia* out of fear of losing Cyprus, and continued their oppression of the people. However, the fact that the Venetians fortified *Famagusta*, *Nicosia* and *Kyrenia* and neglected other cities made them easy prey for the Ottomans, and the Ottomans made their second attack on Cyprus in 1539, destroying *Limassol*. The Ottomans wanted to take Cyprus from Venice without bloodshed, but the Venetians did not agree to an agreement. So they launched attacks to capture the island. The Ottoman Army, consisting of 60,000 cavalry and infantry under the command of *Lala Mustafa Pasha*, landed in *Limassol* on July 2, 1570, without fighting an army in front of them. After Tuzla was captured on July 3, the Ottoman Army moved to besiege *Nicosia* and captured *Nicosia* on September 9, 1570. The support of the islanders to the Ottoman Army's campaigns provided significant benefits, and the Ottoman Empire later rewarded this assistance by making decisions that would leave the islanders somewhat autonomous. The Ottoman Sultan had made political and military attempts for the intervention of other countries during the Cyprus campaign and made an eight-year peace treaty with Austria in 1568, the Second Capitulation Treaty with France in 1569 and the peace treaty with Russia in 1570. After the campaign, the Venetians take action to get support from the Europeans and they get the support of Papacy, Spain and Venice. A Papacy fleet - which formed by the ships of Knights of Malta, Kingdom of Sicily, Republic of Genoa and Duchy of Sava- fought with the Ottoman Fleet at *Lepanto* (*İnebahtı*) and beat the Ottoman Fleet. But this did not prevent the Ottomans from taking the island.

1.2.2 Cyprus under Ottoman rule and the Ottoman contributions to Cyprus

1.2.2.1 Population changes in Cyprus during the Ottoman period

After the island was taken, Turks were settled in Cyprus from Anatolia. After the Ottomans took control of the island, many of the Latins living on the island were either killed during the campaign or left the island, and at least 76 villages or farms and many settlements in the city centers were emptied. The Turkish population first settled on the island with the members of the Ottoman Army and their families and became landowners. Then, Turks, especially from Anatolia, were brought to the vacant areas. The Ottoman settlement policy, which started in 1572, ended in 1689. Generally, those who wanted to come from Central Anatolia were brought first, and then those who suffered disasters. For example, as a result of the fire disaster in *Akşehir Sanjak*, which was affiliated to *Konya*, 130 houses were burned and people who were left homeless and unemployed were settled in Cyprus. According to the documents, a total of 1689 families from *Aksaray*, *Beyşehir*, *Seydişehir*, *Anduğı* (*Niğde-Altunhisar*), *Develihisar*, *Ürgüp*, *Koçhisar*, *Niğde*, *Bor*, *Ilgın*, *İshaklı* and *Akşehir* were sent to Cyprus in 1572. In addition, those who wanted to come from other provinces of Anatolia and Syria and Yoruks from the Taurus Mountains were brought to Cyprus. The Ottoman administration especially sent people who had a profession to the island and exempted them from taxes for three years. It is estimated that there were 30,000 Turks on the island in 1689. The Ottomans also sent non-Turkish subjects to the island. In the first settlements, two

Armenian families were recorded. The Greeks which had no profession inside the *Nicosia* and *Famagusta Castles* were removed and Turks were placed in their places for security purposes. The removed Greeks settled to the outskirts of *Nicosia* and *Famagusta Castles*. In Ottoman documents stating that there were 31 neighborhoods in *Nicosia*, it was seen that there was a large Armenian population in two neighborhoods of *Nicosia*. These neighborhoods are Ermiyan and Karaman neighborhoods. After 1570, the population structure on the island changed constantly due to natural disasters such as plague epidemics, droughts, famine and locust invasions that never ended on the island. In the census conducted after the Ottoman administration, the number of male population on the island was determined to be 120,000. The island received and emigrated from Anatolia and Syria. Almost all nations took part in these migrations.

1.2.2.2 Political Order on the Island

After the Ottomans established their rule on the island, they organized both social and political life on the island according to both the general Ottoman system and the structure on the island. During the Ottoman period, Cyprus was accepted as a Beylerbeyi with *Nicosia* as its center in the administrative structure and Muzafer Pasha, the Sanjak-Tsar of *Avlonya*, was appointed as the Beylerbeyi. For the development of the Beylerbeyi, the Sanjaks of Alaiye, Tarsus, İçil, Zülkadiriye and Sis were attached to Cyprus. The Karaman Province Law was applied on the island until its own law was prepared.

During the Ottoman rule, the people of Cyprus lived almost autonomously and comfortably. During the Beylerbeyi period, representatives from all communities were included under the name of Divan and the decisions they made were conveyed to the Sultan and if he approved, they became a decree. In 1670, when the Beylerbeyi status was cancelled due to the decrease in state revenues due to the Cretan War and was connected to Kaptan Pasha, a problem arose during the period when it was governed by a Müsellim appointed by Kaptan Pasha. The basis of this problem was the competition and injustice of the aghas who collected the taxes, which caused unrest among the people and this authority was taken from them due to their complaints. Thereupon, Cyprus, which was given as a “Has” to the Grand Vizier, was governed by a Muhassıl appointed by the Grand Vizier. When this was not effective either, in 1745 Cyprus was governed by *Ebubekir Pasha* with the status of a three-tuğlu pasha and became an independent province. However, when this was not successful either, it remained as the Has of the Grand Vizier again in 1748. However, when this also caused problems with the tax system, it was decided in 1785 that it would be governed by the Imperial Council and a Muhassıl was appointed to the island. During this period, the power of the Greek bishops increased because they were granted the privileges granted to the Muslim clerics and were given the task of determining and collecting the taxes of the Christian people.

In 1839, after the Tanzimat Edict, it was transformed into a district again under the province of Algeria and a governor was appointed with the title of Kaymakam. During this period, it was decided that in order to implement the Tanzimat reforms, it would be

represented by representatives of the community in Cyprus in the Divan-ı Hümayun. Four of the members of the Divan were Turks, two were Orthodox Greeks, one was Maronite and one was Armenian. However, in 1861, Cyprus was separated from the province of Algeria and its status was changed to a governorship under Istanbul. In 1868, it became a governorship under the province of Canakkale according to the Cyprus province system. When its remote administration became problematic, Cyprus was once again made an independent governorship in 1870 upon the complaints of the islanders and remained so until it was leased to the British in 1878.

During the Ottoman rule, the feudal system that began with the Lusignans in Cyprus was abolished and the serfs were freed and allowed to own land and work on their own lands. The religious oppression that the islanders were subjected to during the Lusignan and Venetian periods did not occur during the Ottoman period. The Orthodox Cypriot people, who were ruled by foreign rulers for centuries, were able to achieve real unity only during the Ottoman period, and this was made possible by the implementation of the "millet" system, which was applied throughout the empire and organized according to the believers of the three holy books, in Cyprus. The Ottoman administration granted rights to the Christians living on the island that were not granted in previous periods. Greek was also accepted as the official language, and speech and correspondence in government offices were allowed in Greek, and Greeks were given equal citizenship and education in Greek. As mentioned before, during the Ottoman period, an egalitarian practice specific to Cyprus was introduced, and the people of the island had equal participation in the administration, which they had not had before. Instead of imposing Islam, the Ottomans granted the Cypriot people a degree of autonomy in return for their compliance with the Sultan's wishes. With the implementation of the Millet System, the Church of Cyprus re-established its authority and appointed a Greek Cypriot Ethnarch as its leader.

1.2.2.3 Beginning of the end of the Ottoman Rule

Under Ottoman rule, Cyprus was in peace and prosperity. The Ottomans granted the Orthodox Cypriots more rights than any foreign state had ever given before. The people of Cyprus, whose rights were not restricted and who were freer than the other periods, lived in peace on the island until the 19th century. Until the 19th Century Island was considered as a safe and peaceful place of the Empire. However, things changed with the French Revolution in 1789. The Greek Cypriots, who were affected by the nationalist movement like other minorities of the Ottoman Empire, began to cause troubles on the island. The intervention of the Russians, who were Orthodox like them, increased these troubles and led to the Greeks wanting to be connected to Greece. This demand is connected to *Megali İdea* and *ENOSIS*.

1.2.3 Lease and loss of the island to the British

On May 10, 1878, British Foreign Secretary *Lord Salisbury* instructed Istanbul Ambassador *Layard* to initiate the settlement initiative in Cyprus. In his meeting with Grand Vizier *Mehmet Rüştü Pasha* on May 23, *Layard* stated that the *Treaty of San Stefano* would

be ignored by England and an agreement would be prepared “in favor of Ottomans”, and that England would prevent Russia from occupying any place other than Kars, Ardahan and Batum, and in return, he requested reforms for Christians in the East and the administration of the island of Cyprus to be given to England. Ambassador *Layard*, in his meeting with *Sultan Abdulhamid II* on May 25, conveyed his state's offer to the sultan and stated that the *Treaty of San Stefano* was detrimental to the Ottoman Empire, that England wanted to help the Ottoman Empire, and that in order for this to happen, equipment for the navy should be sent from Malta and London, and that the administration of the island of Cyprus should be temporarily left to England for storage. Although the Ottoman Empire opposed this offer, it was forced to accept it as a result of England's threats to "leave the Treaty of San Stefano as it is". Accordingly, England would occupy the island and govern it on behalf of the Sultan. The revenues remaining from the expenses would be paid annually to the Ottoman treasury, and the Ottomans would continue to administer the island's justice, religious and educational institutions. With this agreement, the Ottoman influence on the island was mostly reduced. The island came completely out of Ottoman rule and came out in the British rule in 1914, when the island was annexed by the British in the outbreak of World War 1. The British would govern the island until it became independent in 1960.

1.3 History of Cyprus under the British Rule

1.3.1 The British take over in the island

After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the British began to seek measures to ensure the security of the area and even considered taking Iskenderun for its security along with Cyprus. Therefore, considering its interests in the Mediterranean, England promised the Ottoman statesmen at the Berlin Congress that it would defend the interests of the Ottomans and protect them against the Russian Tsardom, and for this purpose, it requested a base in the Mediterranean, namely the Island of Cyprus. With the Cyprus Convention signed on June 4, 1878, the Island of Cyprus was leased to England. In this convention, the administration of Cyprus was left to England, but the island continued to be Ottoman property. According to this agreement, the income obtained from the island, other than the expenses made for the government, would be paid to the Ottoman Empire by England as a “fixed annual payment”. This article in the treaty showed that the Ottomans did not leave the island to England, but only leased it and temporarily abandoned its administration. In addition, with an additional agreement of 8 articles made on July 1, 1878, it was agreed that Britain would evacuate Cyprus if Russia left Kars and Eastern Anatolia, but this never happened. As a result of the negotiations, the annual fixed payment was determined as 92,799 pounds, 11 shillings and 3 pennies. However, the “*Cyprus Tax*” was also the main source of troubles in Cyprus. On the other hand, this convention made between the Ottoman Empire and England drew the reaction of other states, but they could not do anything when England established its administration on the island without delay.

Cyprus came under complete British control after its annexation in 1914.

1.3.2 Cypriots' reaction to the British

1.3.2.1 Reactions of the Greek side

The Greek Cypriots did not want the British, just as they did not want other foreign rulers. The Greek nationalism that developed in Cyprus from the 1820s onwards, and the *ENOSIS* policy related to it, showed itself from the very first day at the welcome meeting held for England. The Bishop of Larnaca said in his speech that he hoped that England would unite Cyprus with Greece, just as it had previously united the Aegean islands with Greece. Thus, the British saw from the very first days of their arrival on the island that the idea of *ENOSIS* was an indispensable reality for the Greek Cypriots. The Greeks continued their reactions to British rule throughout the whole British rule because the British abolished the right to use Greek as the official language and the tax collection authority of the Church of Cyprus, which was granted to the Greeks during the Ottoman period.

1.3.2.2 Reactions of the Turkish side

The Turks remained silent against the British invasion despite the strong reaction of the Greeks. The injustices and Greek violence that began with the British period affected the Turks psychologically and economically, and as a result, the Turks began to leave the island.

1.3.3 The activities of the British on the island and the policies they implemented

The British also introduced many innovations in education, architecture and transportation on the island, but the people of the island were restless. The British took advantage of the weakening of the Ottoman Empire in political, military and economic terms and began to put pressure on the island, and as if that were not enough, they began to divide the people of Cyprus into Turks and Greeks, and to implement the classic “divide and rule” policies of the British colonies. The British began to divide the people of the island into British, non-British Christians and non-Christians. After England removed the definition of Muslim, they began to use the name Turk. This also Turkified the non-Turkish Muslims living in Cyprus. In addition, when the British accepted all Christians as Greeks, the small Christian minorities were also melted under the name of Greeks. These practices further encouraged the Greeks to revolt for *ENOSIS*, and in return, the British took harsh measures on the island and this time began to put pressure on the Turkish Cypriots who did not rebel against them. In addition, in order to suppress the uprisings of the Greek Cypriots, they made changes in the administrative structure on the island as colony status, province status under the center, colony status under the king and province status under the king.

After Britain accepted Cyprus as its territory, it established a Legislative Council with 12 elected members and 6 High Commissioners, according to the 1882 Constitution. Three of the elected members were Muslims (Turkish Cypriots) and the remaining nine were Christians (Greek Cypriots). This distribution was made according to the British calculations in line with the 1881 Census. This arrangement was advantageous for the Muslims because in

practice, 3 Muslim members would vote together with 6 appointed members, thus providing 9 votes against 9 Greek Cypriots and the High Commissioner's vote. This decision was the most important indication that the British were using the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots, who were the majority, in line with their own interests. Then, on March 10, 1925, the Cyprus High Commissioner was abolished and Cyprus became a colony of the British Crown, and the highest British administrator and high commissioner on the island became the Governor of Cyprus. Cyprus was given the status of a Colony under the Crown in 1925 and the number of members of the Legislative Council was increased to 24 with constitutional arrangements, but the previous balance was maintained.

In the period after 1925, problems between the British administration and the people of Cyprus increased. The British took measures such as banning the teaching of Turkish and Greek history in schools to suppress the rapidly rising *ENOSIS* movement among the Greeks.

2. Independent Cyprus and events leading up to the operation

2.1 Independence

Following the signing of the treaties, a transitional government was established on April 2, 1959, with 7 Greek and 3 Turkish ministers, according to the Cyprus Constitution, which consisted of 199 articles. According to the constitution, Cyprus would be an independent republic consisting of a Greek president and Turkish vice president, a cabinet consisting of 7 Greeks and 3 Turks, and a 50-member parliament of representatives to be elected by the communities in separate votes at a rate of 7/3 in general elections. Separate majority votes of representatives of both communities would be required on important issues such as the implementation of laws and taxes. According to the Treaty of Guarantee and Alliance added to the constitution, Turkey, England and Greece could intervene in the island together or alone in the event of a violation of the constitution. The legal system would also be run under the presidency of the Constitutional Court, which would consist of one Greek and one Turkish Cypriot judge and would be presided over by a judge contracted from a neutral country. In addition, according to the constitution, the two separate communities, the Greek community, which included other Christians on the island, and the Turks, would have separate courts for religious, cultural and educational matters. The entire structure of the government emphasized the two-community structure in its formation and activities and protected the difference and distinction of the two communities. According to the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, the Turks were not a minority but were accepted as a national entity with equal rights and conditions, the "Entité Nationale". The Republic of Cyprus was established as a state with an official ceremony on the night of 15–16 August 1959. According to the constitution, in state affairs, the Turks would be less than the Greeks and would be conducted within the framework of rules such as 30/70 and 40/60 in military units, with a balance. According to the agreement, the Republic of Cyprus was shown as the "most privileged countries" for Turkey, Greece and England, and they were granted the freedom to provide financial assistance for their own communities.

The constitution came into force on August 16, 1960, the day Cyprus officially ceased to be a colony and became a republic. A month later, the new republic became a member of the United Nations and in the spring of 1961, it was admitted to the British Commonwealth. After Cyprus became a member of the UN, the UN intervened in every problem between the Turks and the Greeks. In December 1961, Cyprus became a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank

2.2 Organizations established on the island

2.2.1 ENOSIS

Enosis is one of the unchanging goals of the Greek *Megali Idea* and means the unification of the island with Greece. It can be said that one of the main reasons for the Cyprus problem, the effects of which continue today, is the *Enosis* effort and this ideal is, in a sense, a part of the ideal of creating a Greek nation.

The date when the demands for Enosis first emerged in Cyprus can be taken as the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. When the Greeks rose up in Mora with the support of Europe on this date, there was excitement about the rebellion in both Cyprus and Crete, but since the Ottoman rule continued on the island, this excitement and expectation did not have a serious effect. However, Enosis, which had started to take place in the minds of the Greek Cypriot people psychologically by the Church during the Ottoman period, would be brought to the agenda more frequently during the British rule period and in a sense, Enosis would gain the identity of an Anglo-Cypriot issue. So much so that when Cyprus came under British rule in 1878, Greece and the Greek Cypriots who supported *Enosis* considered this situation as an important stage in reaching *Enosis*. 1878 was the first important turning point for the Greek Cypriots regarding *Enosis*. However, contrary to the expectations of the Greek Cypriots, Britain had no plans to transfer Cyprus to Greece.

When England took over Cyprus from the Ottomans, there were approximately 200,000 people living on the island, 80% of whom were Greeks, 18% Turks and 2% others. According to Enosis supporters, being in the majority meant that they could determine the fate of the island and for this purpose, they would start to put pressure on Great Britain for *ENOSIS* from 1878 onwards, under the leadership of the Church.

The second important turning point in the Greek Cypriots' demand for Enosis in Cyprus occurred in 1907. On this date, Churchill visited the island and the speech he made there gave Greek Cypriots hope for *Enosis* again. When Winston Churchill visited the island on October 5, 1907 as Secretary of the Colonial Office, the population of the island was around 237,000 and when the general atmosphere of this period is considered, the Turkish Cypriots generally established good relations with the British administration, while the Greeks approached the Colonial Administration with resentment caused by the demand for Enosis, encouraged by the Church. Churchill made the following speech regarding the

demands for *Enosis* during his time here: “*For Cypriots of Greek origin, the ideal of acting with enthusiasm, zeal and sincerity with Greece, which they see as their homeland, should be considered natural. Such feelings are feelings that show a noble and patriotic devotion specific to the Greek nation... I can say that the thoughts conveyed to me are of a kind that the British government will not hesitate to respect.*” Although Churchill tried to show in the details of his speech that the real owner of the island was the Ottoman Empire and therefore the fate of Cyprus was not under the initiative of the British Empire, these words were enough to encourage the passionate *Enosis* supporters. In this speech, which can be considered as a promise for the *Enosis* supporters, Churchill also drew attention to the fact that two different ethnicities lived on the island and emphasized that a change in the status of the island could have bad consequences for both communities. The Greek Cypriots' demand for *Enosis* from Churchill was rejected with a kind, political language, but this speech would be an “*important milestone*” for the Greek Cypriots and the *ENOSIS* movement.

The Greeks began working to expel the Turks from the island for the *ENOSIS* movement. The violence that began with the Greeks throwing stones at a mosque during a Friday prayer in 1894 increased day by day and led to the establishment of the *EOKA* and later *EOKA-B* terrorist organizations. The Turks founded *TMT* in response to *EOKA*.

2.2.2 EOKA

The date of 18 October 1950 was a turning point for *enosis* because Makarios *III*, whose original name was *Mikhail Christodoulos Mouskos*, was elected as archbishop. Makarios was ready to use all the facilities of the church for *enosis*. *ENOSIS* was a historical task, a national and religious issue for him. For that reason, he regarded leading the struggle for *enosis* as a great honor. According to Makarios, there were two ways to achieve *enosis*: diplomacy or armed struggle. He applied all the diplomatic methods he knew between 1950 and 1955. In this context, he organized demonstrations in Athens and Nicosia; directed the public opinion, sought support from the Greek lobby in the USA; and pressured the British administration.

All the diplomatic initiatives of Makarios and Greece failed to persuade Britain for *ENOSIS*. Therefore, Greece applied to the United Nations to obtain the right of self-determination for Cyprus on August 16, 1954. However, the United Nations rejected Greece's application. In the same period, besides diplomatic initiatives, an armed terrorist organization was established to carry out terrorist acts on the island, but this organization declined to take any action until the United Nations made its decision on Cyprus. The name of this organization was *EOKA*. It was founded under the leadership of retired *Colonel Grivas and Makarios*, and its aim was to carry out *enosis* through terrorist attacks.

The establishment activities of *EOKA* began secretly in 1951, and had completed all preparations by 1 April 1955. *EOKA* carried out all its activities on the is-land mostly through youth organizations such as *PEON and OHEN*. The Cyprus Church provided financial support to *EOKA*. Thanks to this financial support, the necessary weapons could be

purchased. In order to become a member of *EOKA*, it was necessary to be Greek, a supporter of enosis and not be a communist. Therefore, *EOKA* was a pan-hellenic fascist organization whose purpose was limited to enosis. Consequently, *EOKA* cannot be described as an organization that is fighting against colonialism to gain independence for its own folk because it wanted only enosis, not national independence. It was clear that *EOKA*'s motivation to resort to armed struggle against the British colonial administration was never independence.

After its establishment, *EOKA* began to target British Commissioners, Communists and Turks. With the independence of the island in 1960, *EOKA* targeted the Turks on the island directly and carried out many dirty deeds such as the *1963-64 Bloody Christmas events* and the *Küçük Kaymaklı Massacre*.

The violence that *EOKA* inflicted on the Turks caused the Turks on the island to establish the *TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı)*.

2.2.3 The TAKSİM Movement

Taksim is the idea that aimed to annex Cyprus as a province to Türkiye before the Turkish Armed Forces' 1974 Cyprus Operation and the north of Cyprus after 1974. In 1951, Greece began to address the Cyprus issue and when it began talking about annexation in 1953, the Turkish press launched a campaign to annex the island to Türkiye if it were to leave the United Kingdom. When *Fatin Rüştü Zorlu* become Türkiye's Foreign Minister in 1955, Turkey officially began to pursue a division policy in Cyprus.

On August 29, 1955, Turkey and Greece were invited to London by the United States and the United Kingdom. Greece demanded that Cyprus be granted independence. Türkiye's preference was to maintain the current status, but if the United Kingdom withdrew from the island, it wanted Cyprus to be given to Türkiye.

Between 1956 and 1958, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Cyprus Turkish Party, *Fazıl Küçük*, nearly 50 "*Either Taksim or Death*" rallies were held in Cyprus and Türkiye. The Taksim thesis began to be supported by the Turkish public. However, since the negotiations with the United Kingdom failed to yield results, the Turks' Taksim thesis did not come true.

2.2.4 TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı)

The Turkish Resistance Organization or the *Turkish Resistance Organization* (TMT for short) is an armed organization that operates to realize the goal of division of the Turkish Cypriot community. Founded in 1957 to operate against the Greek Cypriot *EOKA* organization, *TMT* began its activities in 1958.

The Turkish Resistance Organization was founded on the evening of November 23, 1957, in Eylence, in the suburbs of *Nicosia*, at the home of *Mustafa Kemal Tanrısevdi*, an official of the Turkish Embassy in Cyprus. It was published by the *Nicosia Turkish High School* and on November 26, 1957, the organization published its first declaration calling on all Turkish Cypriot resistance fighters to gather under the roof of the *TMT*. However, since it was thought that a struggle not supported by Turkey would not be successful, no organization was established during this period and no leader was determined.

On January 2, 1958, Denктаş met with Turkish Foreign Minister *Fatin Rüştü Zorlu* in Ankara, where he went with *Fazıl Küçük*, and talked about the issue. When Zorlu asked Denктаş if they could get weapons if they sent them, Denктаş said they could. Zorlu reported the issue to the General Staff. After several months of evaluations on the issue, permission was granted for the establishment of the organization and Daniş Karabelen was assigned to this task. The TMT's Establishment and Working Plan was prepared and the approval of senior officials was obtained. According to this plan, the TMT leader would be directly subordinate to and responsible for the Special Warfare Department; but there would be no official connection in between, all connections would be conducted verbally.

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