

APPROACH TO CONFLICT

- The EOKA (Ethnike Organosis Kypriotikes Apeleutheroseos) terrorist action began with a bombing campaign in April 1955. Its objectives were to end colonial status and achieve *enosis* with Greece. The British military response was combined with attempts to achieve a consensus with Turkey and Greece on the political future of Cyprus. Faced with a protracted guerrilla war against EOKA, Britain concluded that its interests could best be served by retaining only portions of the island as bases. A compromise was therefore sought to satisfy both the *enosis* sentiments favoured by the majority of Greek Cypriots and the minority interests of the Turkish Cypriot community.

Turkey had not been actively involved in the affairs of Cyprus since its annexation by Britain during World War I. The agitation for *enosis* caused both Turkish and Turkish Cypriot leaders to re-examine their support for the *status quo*. In particular the prospect of their status as a minority within a larger Greek state was unacceptable. There were also strategic concerns about the extension of Greek territory to the southern flank of Turkey. A solution substantially agreeable to Britain, Greece and Turkey was developed at meetings in Zurich and London in February 1959. The role of the leader of the Greek Cypriot community, Archbishop Makarios, and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Fazil Kutchuk, was limited largely to signing the already approved documents.

Under the agreements, a Republic of Cyprus was to be created which would reject both partition (*taxim*) and *enosis*. Stringent safeguards for the Turkish Cypriot community were incorporated in government functions. This included the civil service (70 percent Greek/30 percent Turkish Cypriot), a 2000-man army (60 percent Greek/40 percent Turkish Cypriot), the House of Representatives (35 Greek/ 15 Turkish Cypriot), the Cabinet (7 Greek/3 Turkish Cypriot). The justices of the Constitutional High Court and the High Court of Justice were similarly apportioned. The President was to be a Greek Cypriot and the Vice-President a Turkish Cypriot both with veto powers. For its military requirements, Britain retained 240 square kilometres in two sovereign bases. Greece was permitted to garrison 950 soldiers on the island and Turkey 650. These arrangements were formalized in four documents signed in Nicosia on 16 August 1960: the Treaty of Establishment and the Treaty of Guarantee (signed by Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and Britain), the Treaty of Alliance (signed by Cyprus, Greece and Turkey) and the Constitution.

Thus the Republic of Cyprus which came into existence on 16 August 1960 had several limitations imposed on its sovereignty. Nevertheless, the solution was reasonably satisfactory for the guaranteeing powers—Britain, Greece and Turkey. It seemed to resolve the regional issues with provisions to protect all communities on Cyprus. The limitations on Cypriot sovereignty were regarded by the

guaranteeing powers as minor inconveniences to be accepted for the common good. Unfortunately, the constitutional arrangements could not be extended from theory to practice. The constitutional provisions proved less than practical and tended to further the estrangement of the two communities. Many Greek Cypriots resented the preclusion and future consideration of the option of *enosis* by what they regarded as undemocratic constitutional provisions. Because the constitution also precluded *taxim*, many Turkish Cypriots retained a general feeling of insecurity if not distrust of the intentions of the majority Greek Cypriot population. The resulting political estrangement led to a series of constitutional crises which, by the end of 1963, spilled over into intercommunal fighting which, in turn, paralyzed the government.

On 30 November 1963, the President, Archbishop Makarios, proposed constitutional amendments which would establish unified municipal administrations and eliminate the bi-communal provisions of the constitution. President Makarios stressed that his aim was to draw the two communities together by eliminating the provisions which split governmental functions on ethnic grounds, and by removing the veto provisions which had frustrated the process of government. Mutual suspicions had increased to the level that both communities were creating or expanding clandestine paramilitary forces. The Turkish Cypriot community did not accept the proposals which would have had the effect of reducing its role in government from a protected community to that of a minority. Serious disturbances broke out between the two communities. A violent confrontation in the northern suburbs of Nicosia on 21 December 1963 led to the deployment of the Turkish national contingent to that area on 24 December. Turkish aircraft overflew the island and military and naval concentrations were reported off the south coast of Turkey.

THE FORMATION OF UNFICYP

The governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey offered their good offices to restore peace and order. On 24 December, they proposed a joint peacekeeping force made up of troops already stationed on the island. The offer was accepted by the Cyprus government. By the end of December a truce had been arranged between the communal factions in the Nicosia area and a cease-fire line, "the green line," had been established to separate the communal areas by a neutral zone patrolled mainly by the British contingent. A conference of representatives of Britain, Greece and Turkey and the two communities of Cyprus was arranged for London in January 1964.

The London Conference took place against a background of increased intercommunal fighting and separation. The government of Cyprus rejected proposals to strengthen the existing peacekeeping force based on the contingents of the three guaranteeing powers or possibly other NATO nations, in favour of a force under United