

## Committee: Special Political and Decolonization Committee

### Issue: The Question of Cyprus

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## Introduction

The question of Cyprus is a very complicated one. To understand it, one must focus on the origins of the current situation as well as the development of the events during 1974 that led to the Turkish invasion. While preparing for and discussing this topic, one should attempt to constrain any patriotic feelings and look at the broader picture in order to use critical thinking and find a good solution to the issue that will satisfy and be accepted by both the Cypriot and the Turkish side. At its current state, the island of Cyprus is divided horizontally, with the north being occupied by the

Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a self-declared nation recognized only by the Turkish Republic, and the south being the Republic of Cyprus. It is important to note that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not officially recognized by any state, nor the United Nations, but many countries host diplomats of Northern Cyprus, like the United Kingdom. At the same time, there have been efforts of reunification of Cyprus,

facilitated by many parties (mainly the UN) with the most prominent one being the Annan Plan, a plan by the then United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, aimed at creating a unified Cyprus with a power sharing agreement. The effort started in 1999 but collapsed in 2004, after a peace deal that had been revised multiple times was rejected by the Cypriot side with only 24% of Cypriots voting in favor, while it was accepted by Northern Cyprus with 65%. After that, efforts for reunification have been limited to dialogue, with no real action or negotiations taking place. Unfortunately for the Cypriot side, Northern Cyprus has steadily become more involved in foreign affairs and gained unofficial recognition by great powers such as

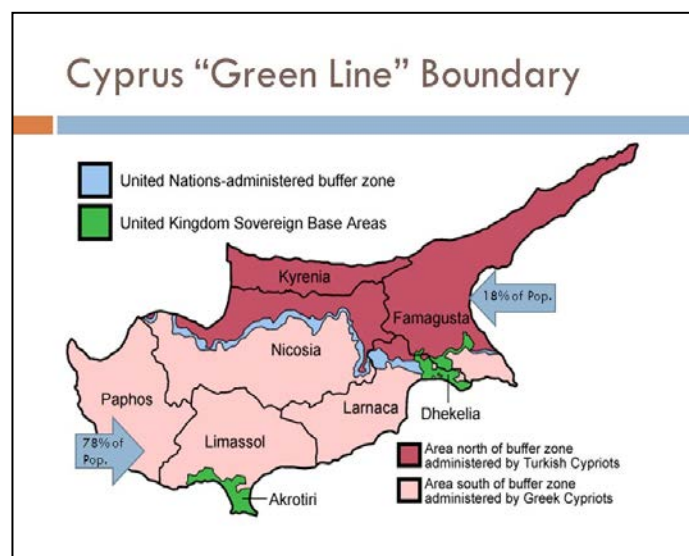


Image 1 - Map of Cyprus today

the United States of America and the United Kingdom. This would give it more power in negotiations than the power it had right after the self – creation of the state.

The Republic of Cyprus became a member of the European Union in 2004 with hopes of receiving assistance from the powerful union in its attempts at reunification. After 2004 efforts of reunification have been very scarce, because Cyprus became much less powerful after its economic crisis and Northern Cyprus gradually became more powerful due to the reasons outlined above. If an agreement is to be reached today, it will be much less favorable to the south side of Cyprus than it was before.

## Definition of Key-Terms

### Coup d'état:

“Coup d'état, also called Coup, is the sudden, violent overthrow of an existing government by a small group. The chief prerequisite for a coup is control of all or part of the armed forces, the police, and other military elements. Unlike a revolution, a coup is a change in power from the top that merely results in the abrupt replacement of leading government personnel. Basically, a coup occurs when an authority other than the government wants to seize power via violent means. An example of a coup is the one that took place when the Greek Junta assumed power.<sup>1</sup>

### Buffer Zone:

A zone of land between two countries that are engaged in war, facilitated by a third neutral power (in today's world mainly the United Nations), which separates the two countries and acts as a disincentive for further hostilities. The existence of a buffer zone occurs when two countries have signed a ceasefire but have not concluded a peace deal, as is the case in Cyprus and Korea.



Image 2 - The Green Line in Cyprus

### Peace Deal:

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<sup>1</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica

A peace deal is a document that two countries previously involved in war create, in order to declare the terms under which a long-lasting peace can be achieved. A peace deal's harshness is proportional to the extent of the victory of the winning side. In the case of WW1, Germany suffered a total defeat and was forced to sign the very harsh Treaty of Versailles. In the case of Cyprus, the Republic of Cyprus was not completely defeated, which resulted in a divided Cyprus with no harsh terms imposed on the south. **A peace deal is discussed only after a ceasefire is in place.**

#### Power Sharing Agreement:

An agreement under which two previously separated countries unite in one and the new country's institutions are, effectively, divided between the two counties. For example: a president will be Northern Cypriot for one term and the prime minister will be Cypriot and for the next term the roles will switch.

## Background Information

### Origins

#### Enosis & Conflict

Since Cyprus was under British rule, there was an idea created of achieving a so-called "enosis" with Greece. However, when the then government went to the British to ask for a referendum on the matter, the British rejected it. Thus, the church decided to conduct a "referendum" by collecting signatures on the matter and presenting them to the United Nations. After the British left Cyprus and the Republic of Cyprus was formed, the requests for enosis by the Greek government increased. However, the UN rejected the proposal since the "referendum" was not conducted in the legal manner of secret voting. At the same time, the United Nations stated that the referendum could not be considered valid, since Turkish Cypriots were excluded from the vote, which resulted in the opinion of the strong Turkish majority not being heard.

In 1973, Greece, Cyprus' most important and closest ally, was under the Junta, a dictatorship of three military colonels that assumed power via a coup d'état in 1967. The Junta was very favorable to uniting with Cyprus and



Image 3 - The Three Colonels of the Junta

achieving the so-called “enosis”. In the midst of opposition to enosis, the Greek Junta decided to force the unification and staged a coup d’état in order to overthrow the Cypriot government of Makarios III. He was replaced with Nikos Sampson, a pro enosis Greek, sent in by the Junta. Five days later, Turkey invaded Cyprus, citing the protection of Turkish Cypriots (who did not accept Enosis) and the violation of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, an agreement between Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, and the UK that states in its first article that Cyprus is banned from uniting politically or economically with any other state. If such a move was undertaken, the Treaty of Guarantee gives the right to intervene – politically or militarily - to the Guarantor Powers. This justification has been rejected by the International Community and the United Nations. In general, Turkey did not want Turkish Cypriots being subjected under Greek rule, because of historical conflicts. Seeing the rapid escalation from the Greek Junta in the form of the coup, Turkey had to respond, and it responded in a way that guaranteed its own interests.

### Peacemaking

On July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974, the first talks begin in Geneva between the foreign ministers of Greece, Turkey, and the UK to discuss the situation on the island. Nevertheless, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of the same month, the Council of Europe passed a resolution condemning the Greek coup and acknowledging the right of Turkey to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of Cyprus. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, the second Geneva conference took place. Most importantly, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, after the ceasefire that took place, the United Nations drew up the Green Line, a buffer zone between the two opposing nations, effectively partitioning the island into an area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The Green Line cuts right through the middle of Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus and stretches out for 180 kilometers. This demilitarized zone is facilitated by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. The population is now divided with 78% on the southern side, 18% on the northern side and the final 4% in the British Bases on the island. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus banned crossing the Green Line into Turkish Territory, a measure which was effectively lifted in 2003. Although the ceasefire agreed upon is still in place with no conflict interruptions, the two countries have yet to sign a peace deal, which would end the conflict.

## Peace Deal Negotiations: Annan Plan

### Negotiations and Rejection

Essentially, the one *real* effort from the international community and the United Nations to solve the Cyprus problem was the Annan Plan. From 2002-2004, the Annan plan was the UN's most detailed attempt to create a federal solution to the Cyprus problem. The plan, named after Kofi Annan, then Secretary General of the UN, was supported very heavily by the European Union, as Cyprus was set to join it in 2004. The first draft of the peace deal was presented by the Secretary General in November

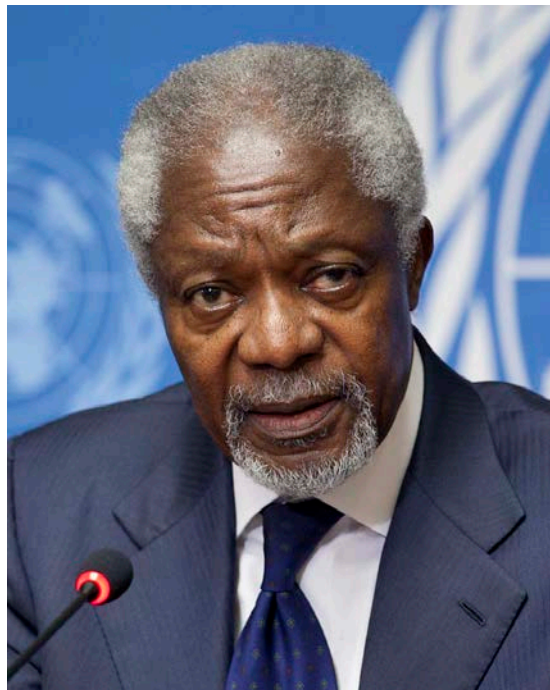


Image 4 - Kofi Annan - 7th UN Secretary General

2002, a plan which underwent 4 revisions, totaling 5 peace deal drafts. However, although Annan wanted the plan to emerge from discussions between the two involved parties, he had to finalize the plan himself, as the negotiations collapsed in 2004. Greece and Turkey were in favor of the plan, while the Greek Cypriots, after a call by their Prime Minister Tassos Papadopoulos, rejected the plan, with 76% voting against. The Turkish Cypriots were finally given what they wanted, official recognition and the isolation of other nations towards their nation would be ended. The Greek Cypriots, however, thought that the Annan Plan was too in favor of the Turkish side, and that they would have a much stronger hand after entering the EU, due later the year of the referendum. Greece had just had its elections in early 2004 with the New Democracy party, under its leader Kostas Karamanlis, and was not keen in engaging with an unstable island of Cyprus.

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The Annan plan proposal was to establish the United Cyprus Republic, “an independent state in the form of an indissoluble partnership, with a federal government and two equal constituent states, the Greek Cypriot State and

the Turkish Cypriot State”<sup>2</sup>. The new country’s structure would be based on the model used by Switzerland.

The new state was set up to have a parliament made up of two houses. A Senate (the upper house) would have 48 members with each of the two communities having 24 members, while a Chamber of Deputies (the lower house) was to have 48 members, with a minimum of 12 of them being Turkish Cypriots. Decisions by parliament would require a simple majority vote of



**Image 5 - Proposed Flag of the United Republic of Cyprus**

both houses to pass. Along the same lines, the two communities would have separate legislatures.

The executive power would lie in a presidential council of 6 members, which would elect the president and vice-president, who would switch positions every 20 months.

Furthermore, the plan included a close-to 10% increase of the land of the Greek-Cypriot side, as the ratio of the population of the two countries did not compare to the land ratio.

Finally, the plan included clauses depriving some Greek Cypriots the opportunity to return to their own homes. All citizens that had homes on the northern part of the island would be forced to abandon them.

<sup>2</sup> <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/12/29/peace-plans-2004-annan-plan/>

### Current state

After the official establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey started sending, often by force, settlers to the TRNC in order to increase the population of the north and try to balance out the imbalance of the numbers of the two populations. This process continues today. In general, Cyprus is one of the top issues of the politics of the Republic of Greece and also the relations of



Every year the Security Council reaffirms the condemnation of the occupation of Northern Cyprus and the declaration of the TRNC. From 2004, only the southern part of Cyprus is a member of the EU.

In 2017, however, talks were picked up between the two sides, with support from the guarantor powers of the UK, Greece, and Turkey. These powers, along with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, met at Crans Montana. However, these talks collapsed after Turkey continued to insist that occupation troops should remain on the island, even after a federal unification.

## **Major Countries and Organizations Involved**

### Greece

Greece is a very important ally to Cyprus and is working in tandem with the Republic of Cyprus in order to reach a solution to the Cyprus problem. Although the Greeks were somewhat responsible for the whole problem with the organization of the coup, relations between the Greek and Cypriot governments are very close, with both trying to achieve a favorable solution and accepting the fact that the goal of the Greek coup was enosis. Greece often participates in discussions with the Turkish side in order to resolve the Cyprus situation.

### Cyprus

Cyprus is the party directly involved in the issue, as it was the one invaded. Cyprus also is trying to find a solution in the Cyprus situation, albeit with sometimes blurred thinking. During the referendum of the Annan plan, Cypriots rejected the proposal made by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan which proposed a power sharing

agreement. The rejected proposal was a golden opportunity for the Cypriots, because now the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is now in a much more powerful position than before, the same terms with the Annan plan are now unfeasible and a potential deal will favor the north more.

#### United Kingdom (UK):

The UK is one of the guarantor powers in the situation of Cyprus. Cyprus gained its independence in 1961, after 83 years under the control of the British. Relations between the two countries are as close as ever. Almost 270,000 Cypriots are living in the UK and 70,000 Britons live in Cyprus, with over 1,000,000 visiting the island every year.



Image 7 - RAF Base in Akrotiri

Furthermore, Cyprus is the UK's 3<sup>rd</sup> most significant trading partner. Finally, the UK has two military bases on the southern part of Cyprus, which are used for operations in the Middle East and for combating maritime threats.

#### Turkey:

Turkey also is one of the guarantor powers of Cyprus. As a country, Turkey also wants to find a solution with Cyprus. However, it no longer supports the clauses of the Annan plan and is looking to get more out of a potential deal. Such a will is shown in the June 2017 negotiations on the Cyprus problem, which took place in Switzerland. Turkey also created and is the only supporter of the unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey's puppet state. The situation with Greek – Turkish relations, however, creates a more unstable environment around reaching a solution with Cyprus. Especially after the attempted coup in Turkey, and the fleeing of some Turkish military officials, followed by the refusal of Greek courts to extradite the officials back to Turkey, relations have worsened between the two countries with Turkey increasing the number of times its ships and planes violated the Greek border.



## Timeline of Events

Date	Description of event
1914	Cyprus is annexed by Britain, following 300 years of Ottoman rule
1925	Cyprus is declared a crown colony
1955	Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against the British. Guerilla movements, like the National Organization of Cypriots Combatants, want to achieve enosis. As a response, the British arm the Turkish Cypriots to form a paramilitary police force
1959	Archbishop Makarios III, deported in 1956 and head of the enosis campaign, returns to Cyprus and is elected president.
1960	After an agreement by the Turkish and Greek Cypriot sides, Cyprus gains independence. A Treaty of Guarantee allows Greece, Turkey, and the UK to intervene, while Britain keeps control of two military bases
1963	Makarios proposes a new constitution that undermines the power sharing agreement. Violence between the two communities erupts and the Turkish-Cypriots withdraw from the power sharing agreement
1964	The UN sets up the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
1974	The Greek Junta sets up a coup to overthrow Makarios, who escapes. Soon thereafter, Turkish troops land north of Cyprus. The coup fails, but Turkey succeeds in capturing 1/3 of the island. The border is set up along the Green Line, which had been agreed in 1963. Glafcos Clerides assumes the role of President until Makarios returns
1975	An independent Turkish administration is set up with Rauf Denktash as president
1977	After the death of Makarios, power is assumed by Spyros Kyprianou
1980-2002	UN sponsored talks between the presidents of the north and south are set up and collapse

2002-2004	UN sponsored talks resume and the Annan Plan is proposed
May 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2004	The south of Cyprus joins the EU, along with 9 other states
January 2008	Southern Cyprus adopts the Euro
2004 – now	Attempts are made for meaningful talks to resume, but a peace deal is not reached. The island remains divided

## Relevant UN Treaties, Resolutions, and Events

### United Nations Security Council Resolution 155

Adopted unanimously on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1960, the Security Council welcomes the Republic of Cyprus in the UN

### United Nations Security Council Resolution 186

Adopted on 4/4/1964, the Council states that the situation in Cyprus will likely threaten international peace. It contains requests to the government of Cyprus to adopt action to stop the violence and calls all member states to refrain from action that would worsen the situation. It also establishes the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

### United Nations Security Council Resolution 192

Adopted on 20/6/1964, it extends, with the consent of the Republic of Cyprus, the presence of the UN Peacekeeping Force

### United Nations Security Council Resolution 193

Adopted on 25/9/1964, it reaffirms a statement by the President of the SC that urges the "government of Turkey to cease the bombardment of and the use of military force of any kind against Cyprus and to the Government of Cyprus to order the armed forces under its control to cease firing immediately"

### United Nations Security Council Resolutions 353

Adopted on 20/6/1974, it calls for a ceasefire, demands an end to foreign military intervention, requests that Turkey withdraws military personnel and that Greece, Turkey, and the UK enter talks, and that all states respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

### United Nations Security Council Resolutions 367

Adopted on 12/3/1975, it condemns the decision that declares the north of the Republic of Cyprus as “Turkish Federal State”

### Previous attempts to solve the Issue

As mentioned previously, the UN has made just one substantial attempt to solve the Cyprus problem. However, the Republic of Cyprus never expected the TRNC to become more powerful. This opinion of superiority in the Annan Plan negotiations led to the continuation of the situation. Only now is Cyprus coming to its senses, something which is shown in the Crans Montana conference of June 2017 on the situation in Cyprus. However, due to the fact that the north is now in a more powerful position than before, having turned its back on the atrocities committed during the assault and the effective short-term war that occurred, it now is in a position to demand more than what the Annan plan gave it, and Greece and Cyprus are left in a deadlock, even though they are proposing mainly what the Annan plan proposed. If a solution is to be found, it will not be close to what Secretary General Kofi Annan proposed in his famous plan. The golden opportunity presented by the Annan plan, 30 years after the invasion, was not grasped by the Cypriot side, and now the events have turned against them. In any case, the populations of both south and north are pushing heavily for an agreement to be made by organizing demonstrations.

### Possible Solutions

One of the most prominent ways to solve the Cyprus problem is to try to reach a power-sharing agreement, much like what the Annan Plan tried to achieve. For this to happen, a coordinated effort must be made by all parties, in order to transform words into action. The United Nations also should have



Image 8 - Mr Gutierrez, Anastasiadis, and Akinci, Geneva, June 2017

an essential role and be present in the negotiations. However, if the proposed plan is a copy of the Annan plan, this will be much less likely to be accepted by the Turkish side. As mentioned previously, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is in a much

better position than before, and will have a stronger hand in negotiations. The population of Northern Cyprus will also be less likely to accept an Annan plan 2.0. However, if a solution more favorable to the north is put up for a referendum, the Republic of Cyprus will be much less likely to vote in favor for it, since this essentially shows a second defeat as a nation to the Turks. At the end of the day, though, such a solution is the only one feasible to reach a long-lasting peace. Attempts will have to be made in order to educate the public of the Republic of Cyprus to vote in favor of such a plan.

In case the above plan isn't favored by the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey, another solution is to agree on a permanent division of the country to end the current state of war and remove the Green Line buffer between the two countries. Such a solution, however, ultimately results in the acceptance of the loss of the northern part of the island for the Cypriots, something which would make them unlikely to vote in favor of in a possible referendum. For Turkey, this is the best solution possible, as it solidifies its conquest of land.

The final solution that can be proposed, but is extremely unlikely to be accepted, is the return of the land captured by Turkey to Cyprus and the dissolution of the unrecognized state of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Even though no member state of the United Nations or organization in general recognizes the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, it is highly unlikely that it will agree to a return of land, because Turkey is a much more powerful country and also because the coup in Cyprus was a violation of democracy and may have endangered the indigenous Turks, whose number has increased after the capture of the north.

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