Universiteit Leiden

Cyprus: An East-Mediterranean island seeking for independence. Between Empire and Cold War, 1958-1974

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[1] Painting by Giorgos Achilleos, *Liberty Victorius*, *Source:* https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Liberty-Victorius/95313/2765791/view*, 04/08/2019.*

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Introduction

As a result of its special location at the meeting point of Europe, Asia and Africa (on the major routes connecting the West and the East), as well as its proximity to the Middle East, Cyprus has always been considered important in the strategies of the world's great powers. Therefore, during the Cold War years, the status of Cyprus and its wider implications were of great concern for the two main opponents, the USA and the USSR.[2]

The conflict in Cyprus started during the 1950s and initially took the form of an anticolonial struggle of the Greek Cypriots against the British colonists, who had ruled on the island since 1878. However, four Greek recourses to the United Nations between 1954 and 1957 regarding the self-determination of the Cypriot people, combined with the armed revolt initiated on the island (1955 – 1959) transformed the Cyprus question into an international issue. This internationalisation marked the beginning of Turkey's active involvement in Cyprus and the anti-colonial struggle soon turned into an inter-communal conflict between the Greek Cypriot majority and the Turkish Cypriot minority. As a result, the relationship between their mother-countries, Greece and Turkey, was seriously endangered. The internationalisation of the Cyprus question was also a turning point for the involvement of other powers, especially the United States, who aimed to keep Cyprus in the sphere of NATO and sought to avoid an inter-NATO war between its members Greece and Turkey. When the USSR was also drawn into the picture, the island transformed into an international arena for great power antagonism, influenced by Cold War strategic interests. In 1959, the controversial Zurich – London Agreements appeared to put the Cyprus issue to rest. However, this proved to be but an interlude.[3]

The first post-independent period, between 1960-1964, represents a critical stage regarding the evolution of the Cyprus issue and was characterised by the newly established Cypriot government's attempts to maintain an independent Cyprus through international relationships, trying to balance in the bipolar international system. Meanwhile, the 1960 constitution of the new republic produced further divisions and conflicts between the two ethnic communities of the island. The Greek – Cypriot leadership's attempts to revise several of its provisions in 1963 led to the emergence of a new civil war between them. This period marks the beginning of active American involvement in Cyprus, as the island was transformed

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[2] Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?, Security Dialogue 35*: 1 (2004) 28.

[3] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 24.

into a Cold War arena, where the US was trying to prevent Soviet expansion and the USSR tried to benefit from the inter-NATO conflicts.

From 1967 until 1974, when the Turkish invasion took place, major international developments, such as the Soviet-Turkish rapprochement, the uprise of a military regime in Greece and two Arab-Israeli wars (1967, 1973) in the Middle East, strongly influenced the situation in Cyprus, as the Cold War intensified. On the island, a new violent conflict emerged in 1967. After the US intervention, the war was avoided but the first steps towards partition were taken. In 1974, after the Greek military government launched a coup against Cyprus' elected president Makarios, Turkey invaded the northern portion of Cyprus. Turkish forces remained after a cease-fire, resulting in the partition of the island. The state of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed in 1975 under the official name of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

The decolonisation of Cyprus from the British Empire is a complex process that was greatly influenced by a number of factors and events, mainly outside the island's internal affairs. The particular dynamics of decolonisation that prevailed in Cyprus foreshadowed the post-colonial future of the island and deterred the fulfilment of the Greek-Cypriot's expectations for unification with Greece. The main idea behind this thesis is that the process of the island's decolonisation should be examined in the context of the growing bipolar international system that was created after the end of the World War II and was mainly developed around the antagonism between the USA and the USSR. The Cyprus issue, an international matter that remains unresolved until today, was developed within this bipolar system and was inevitably affected by Cold War dynamics.

Over the most recent decades, the Cyprus dispute has attracted the attention of numerous researchers, scholars and historians. A number of scholars support the view that the fate (partition) of Cyprus was the immediate result of a well-planned western conspiracy between the USA, Turkey and the Greek military government. The most prominent of these studies are those of Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig[4] and Hitchens.[5] However, following the publication of American and British secret documents, other authors and scholars have now dismissed this argument as unproved. Most of the more recent studies attribute the Cyprus developments of 1974 to Kissinger's realpolitik approach and its failure. However, despite the fact that almost every aspect of the issue has been examined and analysed, there is still no systematic study of a very significant dimension of the problem, the way that Cold War

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[4] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, London 2001).

[5] Christopher Hitchens, *Hostage to history. Cyprus: from the Ottomans to Kissinger* (London: Verso, 1997).

interests affected the developments in Cyprus. In this context, the aim of the present thesis is to examine the role the Cold War played in the process of decolonisation of Cyprus, as well as the connection between this process and the subsequent post-independence developments on the island that led to the Turkish invasion in 1974.

The politicization of the Cold War history is demonstrated in the work of Cold War historian Odd Arne Westad. His book[6] explores the ways that the Cold War affected the developing world and the decolonisation of various third world countries (many of which was under British colonial rule). One of the most important contributions of his work has been the exploration of the different ways that it was experienced by different countries involved, demonstrating its international aspect. A wide selection of historical documents has been used to study different global perspectives.[7] The work of Westad has been a major inspiration for this study.

The declassified British and American documents that were used as primary sources for this thesis, although they allow a first-hand study of the objectives and motives of the involved parties, do have certain limits. The factor of their subjectivity is the most important one. Because of that, parallel study of various relevant secondary sources has been essential, in order to attain comprehensive information about the events that were studied and analysed in this thesis. The primary sources were read critically and were placed in context and compared with information given by the secondary sources in order to identify the hidden meanings or motives behind them. The primary source base for this study was augmented by documents from the archive of the Netherlands Embassy in Cyprus for the period 1955-1964, as well as historical documents that are included in various volumes of Foreign Relations of the USA (FRUS), CIA declassified documents, declassified documents of the British Cabinet, United Nations reports, and various communication documents (telegrams and letters) exchanged between interested parties.

In order to evaluate the credibility of the primary sources, historical background and possible hidden biases were taken into consideration. The wealth of literature about the Cyprus question includes a great variation of interpretations. The different interpretations concerning the role of the United States in the partition of the island are clearly demonstrated in the works

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[6] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third world interventions and making of our times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[7] Jussi M. Hanhimaki and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: a history in documents and eyewitness accounts* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

of O'Malley and Ian Craig[8] and Andreas Constandinos[9]. In this context, it would be limiting to include only Anglophone literature. For that reason an effort was made to include both Greek and Turkish secondary sources.

Landmark works on the Cyprus dispute include those of Robert Holland[10] and Tabitha Morgan[11], two detailed studies about the Cyprus question in the 1950s, the British policies and its international aspects. The British involvement and interests in Cyprus are highlighted by William and Bill Mallinson[12] in their book that is based on British diplomatic papers concerning Cyprus. Furthermore, the work of Clement Dodd[13] provides a better understanding of the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot approach to the Cyprus question, as the author utilises various Turkish sources. Although these works provide a deep understanding of the various factors that contributed to the present status of Cyprus as a divided country, they also create the need to put all the separate voices of the involved parties together and study them under the context of the Cold War dynamics.

The study is divided into three chapters which follow the chronological order of the events that occurred in and outside the island and represent three distinct phases of the Cyprus dispute. This allowed for cross-examination of the developments that occurred both on the island of Cyprus and the international background in order to underline how they affected each other.

The first chapter focuses on the events that occurred during the 1950s, until 1959 when Cyprus became an independent state under the Agreements of London and Zurich. The chapter attempts to place the reader within the general context of the Cyprus dispute and familiarise them with the events that occurred during the examined period while examining the crucial role played by the declining British Empire as well as the other interested parties. The chapter also underlines American and NATO interests in Cyprus as well as the diplomatic role played by Washington regarding Cyprus independence agreements in 1959, as the power was eager to achieve her main cold-war objectives in the Eastern Mediterranean.

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[8] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, London 2001).

[9] Andreas Constandinos, *America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Calculated Conspiracy or Foreign Policy Failure?* (London: Authorhouse, 2009).

[10] Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954-1959* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[11] Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and bitter island: A history of the British in Cyprus* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010).

[12] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005).

[13] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010).

The second chapter follows the events that occurred from the declaration of Cyprus' independence (1960) until the diffusion of the 1964 crisis. The chapter examines the situation that was developed on the island during this first post-independence period that was characterised by a constitutional crisis and, after Greek-Cypriots attempts to revise the constitution, it evolved into a violent inter-communal conflict. Furthermore, the Cypriot's government foreign policies are analysed in the context of the Cold War, along with the international factors, especially American and Soviet involvement, that shaped Cyprus' future.

The last chapter focuses on the events between 1964 and the 1974 crisis, when Greece launched a coup against the Greek-Cypriot President Makarios and Turkey invaded the northern part of Cyprus. The new international dynamics that formed America's position and actions concerning Cyprus are analysed along with major developments concerning the Greek regime. Overall, the chapters of this study aim at illustrating the way that Cold War geopolitical interests and strategies and power dynamics, influenced the developments regarding Cyprus' status from the mid-1950s until the tragic events of the summer of 1974.
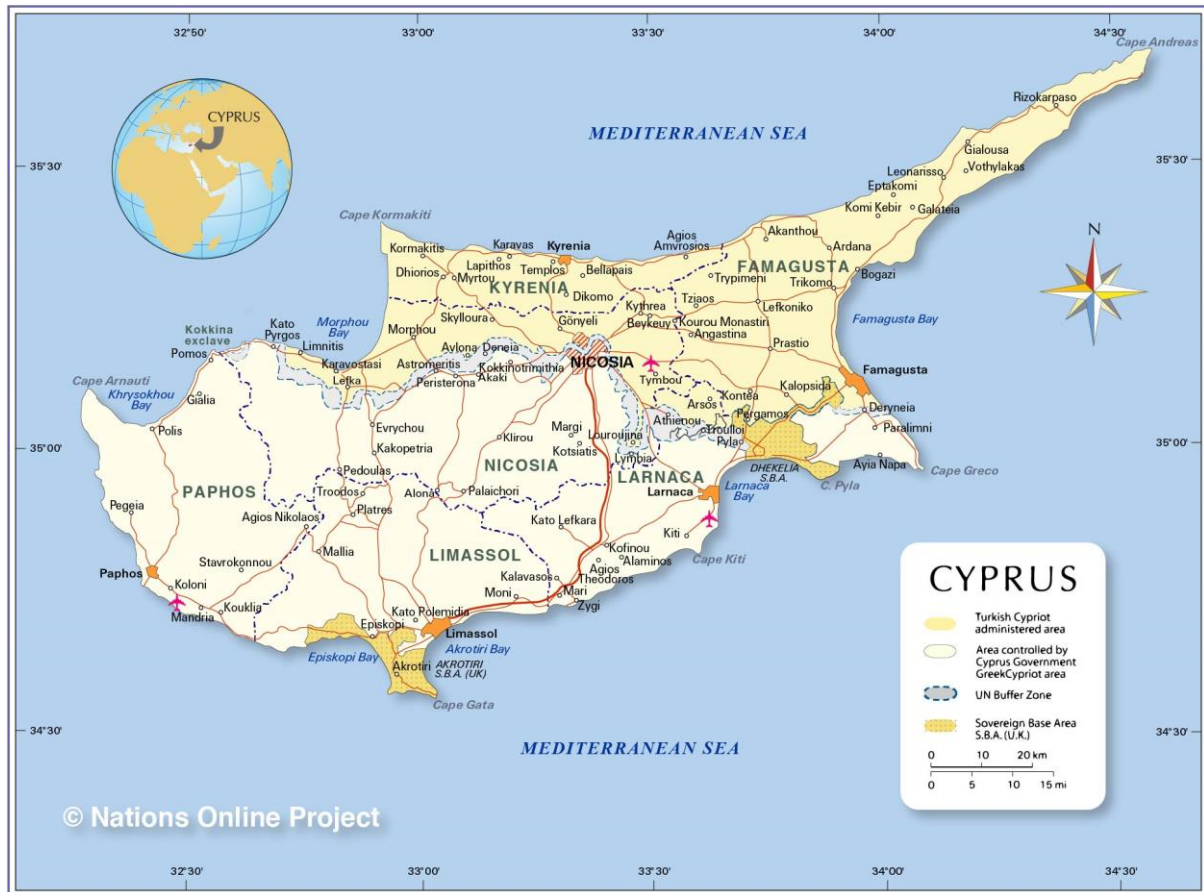
Figure 1: Contemporary map of Cyprus indicating the division of the island and the position of the British *Bases. Source: htt*p://nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/cyprus_map.htm*, viewed 10/09/2019.*

CHAPTER 1

TOWARDS THE ISLAND'S DECOLONISATION

1.1. Foreign domination in Cyprus and the demand for union with Greece

The island of Cyprus was first settled by Greek populations from Asia Minor and the Aegean during the second millennium BC. Located in a strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean region, the island had been occupied, during its history, by various major powers of the wider region. In 1571, Cyprus came under the rule of the Ottomans and was turned into a province of their empire, ending a long Latin – Venetian rule that lasted for almost four centuries. The Ottomans established their rule over Cyprus by colonising the island and in the following three centuries, rule a Muslim community that was established there.[14]

The British colonial rule of Cyprus began in 1878 (under the Treaty of Berlin), when Britain seized the island during the Great Eastern Crisis, after a very long period of Ottoman rule. The Ottomans having just been defeated in a war with Russia (1877-1878), needed British diplomatic support in order to keep control of their Asian provinces. As a result, the two countries signed the secret Convention of Defensive Alliance, which gave Britain permission to occupy and administer Cyprus in return for this support against Russia. However, formally Cyprus was still under the sovereignty of the Ottomans, until Britain annexed the island in 1912, when Turkey allied with the Central Powers, in the World War I. After the end of the war, Turkey was forced to renounce all her rights over Cyprus, so the island came formally under Britain's rule. Finally, the island was declared a Crown Colony in 1925.[15]

The new British rulers of the island were already since 1878 faced with the Greek-Cypriot's community demand for self-determination and union with Greece (which was called "enosis"), which was considered as their mother-nation. In 1925, the official removal of the Turkish sovereignty over Cyprus led to stronger calls for enosis. The emergence of the enosis movement in Cyprus, although it did not become a serious issue for the island's British colonial authorities until the mid-1950s, is rooted much earlier, at the start of the Greek Revolutionary War (1821), when the island was still ruled by the Ottomans. [16] At that time, the movement for unification between Greece and Cyprus was in fact an extension of the wider phenomenon

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[14] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 1-5.
[15] Ibid
[16] Paschalis Kitromilides and Theodore Couloumbis, *Ethnic Conflict in a strategic area: The Case of Cyprus*, Epitheorisis Koinonikon Erevnon 24: 24 (1975), 276.

of European nationalism that lasted during the 18th and 19th centuries, which also included the irredentist movements of the Balkan nations as well as the movement for the unification of Germany. As far as Greece is concerned, similar union movements had developed in Crete, Macedonia as well as the Ionian Islands. [17]

The demand for enosis was rooted in the Cypriot belief of belonging to the Greek culture and civilization. The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus played a prominent symbolic but also functional role in encouraging Greek nationalism among the Cypriot community during the period of Ottoman rule. The elaboration of the Greek culture with the Cypriot Orthodox society is often used as an explanation for the emergence of the demand for enosis. Ethnic, linguistic, literary and religious conventions were formed around a Hellenistic consciousness, in order to preserve a customary order from external and internal pressures.[18]

When the island came under British rule in 1878 and for the next 80 years, the enosis movement became more intense and the quest for union with Greece was widespread within the Greek-Cypriot community, forming the island's national policy. Given the British – Greek relationship and the fact that Britain had supported the independence of Greece in the early 19th century, new expectations rose that the country will also be supportive of Cyprus' quest for union with her mother country (which was always considered to be Greece). Possibly the closest the island ever came to enosis with Greece was in 1915, when, Britain, in an attempt to convince Greece to join the War on the Allied side against the Axis powers, offered Cyprus to Greece. However, by 1917, when Greece finally joined the war, the offer was off the table.

The enosis campaign in Cyprus reached its peak and became a violent uprising in October 1931, but was forcefully suppressed by the colonial forces. As a result of this revolt, the British authorities repressed the political and civil freedom of Greek-Cypriots, closing the door to any future change in sovereignty on the island. As Kitromilides notes, the British actions that followed the uprising of 1931 were largely responsible for Cypriots' intransigence towards the constitutional proposals of the British governments during the 1950s.[19]

After World War II ended, the demand of the Greek - Cypriot community for enosis with their mother state Greece arose even stronger, as a part of the general phenomenon of the international anti-colonial movements that characterised the 1950s.[20] During that time, many colonised nations around the world, especially in Africa and the Middle East, requested their

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[17] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 25-6.

[18] Holland, Robert, *NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus*, Journal of Modern Greek Studies 13: 1 (1995), 5-6.

[19] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken Ambassade Cyprus 1955-1964, No.98/27, Inv. Nr.: 6.

[20] Christos Ioannides, *Cyprus, British Colonialism and the Seeds of Partition: From Coexistence to Communal Strife*, The Journal of Modern Hellenism 30: 1 (2014), 46-47.

self-determination and independence after assisting in fight against the Germans and Japanese on the Allied side. Characteristic examples of these liberation movements have been the rebellions in Kenya against the British rulers and Nasser's evolution in Egypt in 1952. [21] However, contrary to the aspirations of most colonies, for nearly 80% Greek - Cypriot majority of the Cypriot nation the request for self-determination was not translated as a request for independence, but as rather as a union with Greece.[22] Under these circumstances, and given the fact that both Greek and Cypriot forces had joined the war aiding Britain against the Axis powers, new expectations rose, both in Greece and Cyprus, about a possible positive development regarding self-determination and enosis.[23]

With the Orthodox Church playing a prominent role in the Cypriots' struggle for union during the 1950s, the central figure of the union movement in Cyprus was without a doubt Makarios III, who was elected archbishop of the island in 1950 and strongly supported the view that enosis could be achieved by constant resistance. Shortly after Makarios' election, a referendum was run in 1950 among the Greek-Cypriots, the results of which were in favour of a union with Greece by 95.7%. From 1950 onwards, the archbishop made relentless attempts to engage Greece's strong support for enosis. During his frequent visits to Athens he managed to gain public support.[24] It has to be noted here that, until the mid-1950s, the conflict about enosis had remained mostly among the colonial rulers and the Greek - Cypriot community, while the Turkish-Cypriot community of the island remained mainly uninvolved.

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[21] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken Ambassade Cyprus 1955-1964, No.98/27, Inv. Nr.: 6
[22] Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955–1965* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 172.
[23] David Hannay, *Cyprus: The search for a solution* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005) 11.
[24] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken Ambassade Cyprus 1955-1964, No.98/27, Inv. Nr.: 6; Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 26.

1.2.   The interested parties

Britain's position regarding the Cyprus debate is strongly connected to the country's past position as a colonial power, as well as to the process of decolonisation that took place after the end of World War II, which seemed to gradually transform the previous empire into a "middle – ranking country".[25] After the end of World War II, Britain's economic, as well as military power gradually declined and the empire was losing its worldwide influence. The decline of the British Empire began with the decolonisation of India that led to India's and Pakistan's independence in 1947. British forces were evicted from Palestine in 1948, and after a while Persia and Egypt followed that example.[26]

Cyprus was of great importance to Britain's imperial interests for a number of reasons that mainly had to do with the island's strategic geopolitical location on the sea lanes to the East. On one hand, the increasing Arab nationalism in the area of the Middle East in the first post-war decade (enhanced by the establishment of Israel and the first Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948) had led to the emergence of many anti-colonial forces there that were led by Egypt.[27] On the other hand, there was an obvious transfer of Cold War antagonisms in the Middle East, as a result of the Soviet efforts to infiltrate the region mainly through military or economic aid and the turn of various Arabic countries towards the Soviet bloc (e.g. Egypt leader Nasser's purchase of arms from the Soviet bloc in September 1955).[28] In this context, Cyprus was gaining increasing importance as a British military base in the Middle East and Britain was definitely not willing to let her go. Especially after Britain lost her base in Suez in 1954, the importance of Cyprus for serving the British military needs in the region was enhanced, a fact that was also underlined when the British Middle East headquarters were transferred from Suez to Cyprus in 1954.[29]

Following the Turkish-Pakistani Pact agreement of co-operation in 1954, in 1955, Turkey and Iran signed a "pact of mutual co-operation", known as "the Baghdad Pact". Soon,

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[25] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 89.
[26] Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 113–27.
[27] FRUS, 1955-57, *Near East Region; Iran; Iraq*, Vol. XII, doc. 46, "National Intelligence Estimate".
[28] Abou-El-Fadl, Reem, 'Turkey's Cold War Alignment: Nation Building and the Utility of the 1957 Syrian Crisis.' In: Hinnebusch, Raymond and Tür, Özlem, (eds.), *Turkey-Syria Relations: Between Enmity and Amity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 44-46.
[29] Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *Cold War Pressures, Regional Strategies, and Relative Decline: British Military and Strategic Planning for Cyprus, 1950–1960,* The Journal of Military History 73: 4 (2009), 1148-1151; Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 29-30.

Britain, Iraq and Pakistan adhered to the Baghdad Pact, forming a military alliance that aimed to contain Soviet influence in the Middle East under British leadership and to ensure that Anglo-American friendly governments were controlling the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries.[30] The Baghdad Pact is widely seen today as the result of U.S. initiative in the context of American containment cold-war policy and is usually attributed to U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles *The pact bares great importance in the Cold war context as it marked a turning point in western defence strategy in the region that shifted from Egypt to what is known as NATO Northern Tier, and as a result, was freed from the complexity of Middle East politics. This alternative defence plan – that is widely attributed to Dulles – was actually based on traditional imperial British strategies of using forces transferred from the Indian subcontinent for the defence of the Middle East.[31]

The Baghdad Pact and the Northern Tier Defence concept is generally considered as a turning point in the British-U.S. relation regarding the Middle East and highlights the conflicting interests of the two powers in the region. Britain's imperial interests in the region were tied to the exploitation of the oil as well as the communication facilities that had been established there. Initially, Britain stood against the Northern Tier defence concept as it put at risk the country's efforts to renew the Suez base agreement. On the other hand, the main US objectives were regarding the containment of Soviet expansion in the area and the defence of Israel. Furthermore, the U.S. held a negative view over European colonialism and perceived the British-Egyptian dispute over Suez as a barrier to her plans.[32] In this context the Baghdad pact is widely perceived by historians as a victory of the United States over Britain. Jalal takes this argument one step further as she describes the pact as a U.S. attempt to remove Britain from the region.[33] The Baghdad Pact also marked Turkey's ascend as a regional Middle East power, endorsing her importance in terms of cold-war western planning, a fact that prompted British prime minister Anthony Eden to attach great significance to the country's interests in Cyprus.[34]

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[30] Ayesha Jalal, *Towards the Baghdad Pact: South Asia and Middle East Defence in the Gold War, 1947-1955, The International History Review 11*: 3 (1989), 409-433.

[31] Behcet Kemal Yesilbursa, *The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American Defence Policies in the Middle East, 1950-59* (London: Routledge, 2005), 9-30.

[32] Behcet Kemal Yesilbursa, *The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American Defence Policies in the Middle East, 1950-59* (London: Routledge, 2005), 45.

[33] Ayesha Jalal, "Towards the Baghdad Pact: South Asia and Middle East Defence in the Gold War, 1947-1955.", *The International History Review 11*:3 (1989), 432-433.

[34] Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and bitter island: A history of the British in Cyprus* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 207-208; Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 252.

Furthermore, retaining control of the Mediterranean island was not only of military or strategic importance for the declining British Empire, but also a matter of projection of national power and prestige. As the country's imperial influence on the Mediterranean had already began to decline, there was a feeling among the ruling Conservative Party's members that any more concessions on the Cyprus matter would be taken as a sign of British weakness.[35]

From the Greek perspective, the idea of unification has been on the Greek agenda since the start of the Greek Revolutionary War (1821 – 1829). Nevertheless, only in the early 1950's did enosis finally became a prominent demand for the various Greek governments. In 1950-1, after World War II and the subsequent Greek civil war (1946 – 1949), Greece's efforts to overcome the catastrophic divisions of the civil war and to build new internal and external affairs, led to a renewal of what is known as the "*meghali idea*" (the Great Idea), the aspiration of integrating the Greek speaking diaspora of the old Ottoman Empire.[36]

The Meghali Idea was born in the mid nineteenth century after the formation of the New Hellenic State and became the dominant ideology of the new emergent state, shaping the domestic and foreign politics of Greece. After being under the Ottoman rule for almost four centuries, the populations of the new state were in need of a common sense of identity. Although the ideas of nationhood and national identity, that were essential for the formation and the functioning of the new state, had been already spread among the higher, well-educated classes and those who were involved in the production of the Greek revolution, they were still non-existent within the rural populations that were sprinkled across the vast geographic expanse of the new state and whose dominant traditional values and local identities had little connection to the concept of the modern nation-state. Greece after being granted independence, had only managed to integrate just a part of the Greek populations that were widely scattered, the idea of integrating all the Greek populations still under foreign rule, forming a Greater Greece, has thus succeeded in creating a common objective, and new bonds for the new nation.[37]

Despite the fact that, in the context of the meghali idea, there were other areas of greater importance to Greece than Cyprus, such as Epirus or Istanbul, acting towards these fronts would cause friction between Greece and its neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia and Turkey,

[35] Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island: A history of the British in Cyprus* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 207.

[36] Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *Cold War Pressures, Regional Strategies, and Relative Decline: British Military and Strategic Planning for Cyprus, 1950–1960*, The Journal of Military History 73: 4 (2009), 1149-1151.

[37] Richard Clogg, *A concise history of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47-50.

respectively. Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the special relationship that had developed between Greece and Britain, combined with the fact that both states were NATO members, the integration of Cyprus appeared to be much more tempting for Greece.[38]

Indeed, the relationship of British and Greek governments could be described as cordial, a fact that was underlined when, in 1947, Britain handed the Dodecanese Islands to Greece. In this context, and in spite of the strong domestic demands from the Greek supporters of Makarios and his cause for immediate recourse to the United Nations, the Greek government was reluctant to internationalise the matter, hoping that union can be achieved by direct negotiations with its ally, Britain.

1.3. The internationalisation of the Cyprus dispute (1950-1959)

From the early 1950s until the end of the British rule on the island, Makarios attempted to internationalise the Cyprus problem, therefore transforming it from a domestic colonial dispute to one which had important implications on an international level. As it was mentioned before, up to 1954, the Greek government seemed reluctant to support Makarios' attempts to introduce the issue of Cyprus' self-determination and enosis to the United Nations (in spite of the strong demands of the Greek public), hoping to resolve the matter through direct negotiations with Britain. However, when Henry Hopkinson, British Minister of State for the colonies, stated in the House of Commons, on the 28th of July 1954, that «*it has always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth, which owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent*», the policy of the Greek government changed.[39] The statement that contributed to the increasing anti-British feeling in Cyprus and Greece, prompting the outbreak of anti-British demonstrations in Athens. In 1954, with meghali idea in mind and under pressure from the Cypriot leadership, the newly established Greek government under Alexandros Papagos moved towards the internationalisation of the Cyprus problem. On the 16th of August 1954, the Greek government appealed to the UN.

From the perspective of Greece and Greek - Cypriot leadership, both being politically weak in comparison to their powerful opponents, seeking the involvement and the support of

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[38] Robert Holland, *NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus*, Journal of Modern Greek Studies 13: 1 (1995), 34-35; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 115.
[39] Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955–1965* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 161-162.

other powerful nations within the framework of the United Nations, especially the United States, would place more pressure on Britain, persuading the country to review its policy concerning the self-determination of Cyprus. On the other hand, Britain claimed that maintaining control of Cyprus did not only serve its regional strategic interests but was also of great importance in order to prevent possible Soviet expansion.[40]

The prospect of *enosis*, led Britain to apply the diplomatic principle of "*divide et impera*" (divide and rule), driving the two local communities against each other. This tactic was by no means new to Britain as it had always been applied by the British colonists in order to maintain control of their various colonies around the world. During the 1950s this political strategy for colonial counterinsurgency was also applied by the British in Malaya and Kenya, exploiting the pre-existent divisions between the Malays and the Chinese and the Kikuyu and non-Kikuyu, respectively.[41]

Following the example of Malaya and Kenya, Britain attempted to undermine Greco-Turkish relationships to keep control of Cyprus. This integrated Turkey as an interested party of the Cyprus debate, extending the Cyprus issue from a colonial British-Greek matter to a Greek-Turkish one.[42] During the 1954 UN discussions concerning the political future of Cyprus, Britain attempted to persuade Turkey to make her interests in Cyprus clear. However, in spite of an aggressive speech by the Turkish representative S. Sarper during which he strongly supported the continuation of the existing situation on the island, Turkey did not wish to endanger her harmonious relationship with Greece and, therefore, left Britain to defend her interests in Cyprus. Indeed, British arguments highlighted the objections of Turkey concerning any future changes of sovereignty.[43]

British Prime Minister Anthony Eden along with his foreign secretary Anthony Macmillan, invited representatives of the governments of both countries (Turkey and Greece) to attend a Triple Conference in London in August 1955, in order to discuss the political situation in Cyprus. Both countries attended the conference, despite Makarios' attempts to convince Greece to deny attendance as the Cypriot side was not involved.

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[40] Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and bitter island: A history of the British in Cyprus* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 207.

[41] Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 255; Timothy Ang, *Lessons from the British: Counterinsurgency strategies applied in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus*, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces 39: 2 (2013): 54-55; For a detailed study of British colonial strategies in Kenya, Malaya and Cyprus see also: Victoria Nolan, *Military leadership and counterinsurgency: The British Army and small war strategy since World War II,* Vol. 1 (London: IB Tauris, 2011).

[42] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 29-30.

[43] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 29-30.

At the conference, the British officials made the proposition for a new constitutional government "*leading as soon as possible to the fullest measure of internal self-government compatible with the strategic requirements of the present international situation*".[44] The British plan provided for an Assembly with an elected majority, with a proportion of seats for the Cypriot-Turkish minority, which would enjoy substantial powers as it would control most departments of Cyprus government. However, Britain was to remain in charge of public security, defence and foreign affairs. The plan also included the establishment of a tripartite committee, based in London and not in Cyprus, a permanent body that would monitor the development of the new constitution and attempt to strengthen the links among the three parties.[45] Using western Cold War interests as an excuse for their imperial interests in Cyprus, during the conference, British representatives underlined the fact that British sovereignty over the island was necessary in order to serve the common purpose of the three parties and NATO members to defend NATO interests in the region.[46]

Despite the fact that the London Conference failed to achieve a solution for the Cyprus problem, it has been widely acknowledged that Britain had succeeded in her ulterior motive of legalising Turkish interests in Cyprus, thus creating new conflicts between the two other interested parties, whose views were diametrically opposed. In doing so, the British government succeeded in turning the interests of the Turkish side into a lever in order to apply pressure on Greece. Furthermore, Britain's initiative to propose and hold the triple conference enabled the country to demonstrate to the UN Assembly, prior to its meeting the following September, that she had engaged in serious negotiations with the other two parties in order to search for a solution for the Cyprus problem.[47]

Following the UN Assembly in 1954 and the London Conference in 1955, Britain's efforts to use the Turkish interests in Cyprus in order to block independence and enosis made the outbreak of inter-communal violence between Turks and Greeks inevitable. After the first diplomatic approach failed to achieve the island's self-determination, EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston* - National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), led by General George Grivas, started an armed revolt against the British and their Greek- Cypriot collaborators. On the 1st of April 1955, various bomb explosions occurred across the island,

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[44] Draft 'possible plan' for Tripartite Conference, 17 August 1955. In *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948, Part 1: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong Kong, Fiji, Cyprus, Gibraltar, and the Falklands*. No. 8. ed. Frederick Madden (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 340.
[45] Ibid, 340-341.
[46] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 32-33.
[47] Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955–1965* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 164.

marking the beginning of a three-year violent campaign.[48] In September 1955, while the London Conference was taking place, an anti-Greek pogrom against the Greek minority, organised by *Kibris Turktur* ("Cyprus is Turkish") organisation took place in Istanbul, with the support of the Turkish government, along with massive anti-Greek demonstrations in Izmir, demanding the immediate partition (taksim) of Cyprus.

In order to suppress the armed rebellion led by EOKA, Britain followed the example set in Malaya and Kenya emergencies. In 1955 Field Marshal John Harding, previously Governor of Kenya, was appointed as the new Governor of Cyprus. Harding, a military governor, applied a strict policy on the island, which included harsh punishment for offenders and economic repression, as a response to the ongoing violent crisis, which prompted EOKA fighters to intensify their actions from 1956 onwards. The British rulers fostered the intercommunal conflict between Cypriot-Greeks and Cypriot-Turks that was escalating on the island, after the anti-Greek pogrom in Turkey.[49]

At the same time Harding entered into long negotiations with Makarios in order to reach an agreement for constitutional change in Cyprus. Harding's proposals were based on the British proposals during the 1955 Conference and were strongly connected to the strategic interests of Britain in the context of both colonialism and the Cold War. Thus, any constitutional development in Cyprus should be consistent with the Baghdad Pact and NATO objectives and should ensure that good relations among all NATO allies would be retained. This meant that self-determination and, subsequently, enosis were off the table as Turkey, very important for NATO and Baghdad Pact, had to be kept satisfied. In the context of British counterinsurgency policy, after many negotiations attempts between Harding and Makarios failed, the latter was expelled in Seychelles in 1956. The removal of Makarios served the British and western interests as he would not anymore be able to support the struggle against the British rule on the island, nor to support the Cyprus case internationally, and thus putting the western Cold War interests in danger.[50]

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[48] Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island: A history of the British in Cyprus* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 214-216.

[49] Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 255-258; Victoria Nolan, *Military leadership and counterinsurgency: The British Army and small war strategy since World War II. Vol. 1* (London: IB Tauris, 2011), 170-185; Timothy Ang, *Lessons from the British: Counterinsurgency strategies applied in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus*, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces 39, no. 2 (2013): 50-59.

[50] For a detailed study of Harding-Makarios negotiations and the British strategy see: Andrew R. Novo, *An Insoluble Problem: The Harding-Makarios Negotiations, Turkey, and the Cause of Cypriot Enosis*, Journal of Mediterranean Studies 24:1 (2015),87-103.

Meanwhile, in Turkey the anti-Greek Istanbul pogrom of September 1955 transformed the slogan of taksim into a rallying cry for all the Turkish nation. Indeed, as a response to the Greek side's demand for enosis, Turkey was now in favour of partition. From then onwards, the idea of partition was used by Britain as a diplomatic tool in order to counter EOKA. Despite the fact that after 1956 the threat of partition greatly shaped the British policy on Cyprus "as a means of intimidating the Greek-Cypriot leadership", the concept was not entirely supported in diplomatic circles, especially by the USA. Therefore, Eden's government (Anthony Eden was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1955-1957) introduced an alternative plan of "double self-determination", that was actually suggesting partition through a different path.[51]

Meanwhile, by the end of 1957, the Cyprus dispute has been fully internationalised. Greece had already appealed to the United Nations three more times (1955, 1956, and 1957), while at the last UN Assembly (1957) Greece had achieved a considerable victory as a resolution regarding the self-determination of Cyprus was voted by a simple majority.[52]

In Britain, at the beginning of 1957, Harold MacMillan had replaced Anthony Eden, in the aftermath of the Suez misadventure. In the context of the re-evaluation of the British strategy that followed the British-French failure in Suez, British position regarding their imperial presence on the island changed. The new government appeared to promote a new position that was opposed to the previous belief that sovereignty over the whole island was required in order to support the British military needs in the area, mainly in the context of the Baghdad Pact. Sovereignty over certain enclaves that would accommodate the British bases on the island would sufficiently serve those needs.[53] The main objectives that shaped the policy of the British government in the post-Suez period were concerning the adoption of a final settlement that would be acceptable to all the interested parties and would secure the British bases that were essential for British and western interests in the region. Furthermore, in the Cold War context, a settlement on the Cyprus dispute was essential for achieving security and ally co-operation in such a vital region.[54]

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[51] Christos Ioannides, *Cyprus, British Colonialism and the Seeds of Partition: From Coexistence to Communal Strife,* The Journal of Modern Hellenism 30:1 (2014), 54-9.

[52] FRUS, 1955-1957, Vol. XXIV, Soviet Union – Eastern Mediterranean doc. 231-233; See also: Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955–1965* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 166-168.

[53] CAB 129/88, C (57)161, 9 July 1957. See also: Andrekos Varnava, *Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-196*0, The Cyprus Review 22:1 (2010): 87; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 31-32; Robert Hollan*d, European decolonization 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 256.

[54] FRUS, 1955-1957, Vol. XXIV, Soviet Union – Eastern Mediterranean, doc. 231-233; See also: Frederick Madden, ed., *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948, Part 1: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong*

This change in the British position regarding Cyprus and the country's willingness to settle under certain terms was underlined by Harding's replacement by Hugh Foot, the Governor of Jamaica. On one hand, this move can be described as an attempt to change the tense atmosphere that was created on the island by Harding's policy and act as a symbol of the renewed British policy on the Cyprus issue. On the other hand, the re-establishment of a civil government under Foot represented a veiled but clear statement that Britain was not willing to sacrifice more money or men in a civil war between the two communities. In general, this "double-code" prevailed in the history of European colonisation.[55]

In 1958 the British government introduced a "partnership" plan for Cyprus, which is widely known as "the Macmillan plan". The plan was based on the ideas that were presented at the 1955 Triple Conference of London and was largely conceived by John Reddaway, a member of the governor's staff. According to the plan the international status of Cyprus would remain unchanged for a transitional period of seven years. For this period, the plan provided for a triple condominium of Britain, Greece and Turkey. The plan also suggested the creation of a constitution that included two separate elected Houses for Representatives from the Greek and the Turkish communities that would have legislative autonomy in communal affairs. The governor would remain responsible for the external affairs, the defence as well as any internal security issues on the island. In addition, the scheme included the right of veto for the members of both communities in the Council that could be activated against any future discriminatory legislation.[56] Although it was presented as a new scheme, the Macmillan plan was indeed still encouraging the segregation of Cyprus, a fact that was more than obvious in its provisions and was even acknowledged by the British prime minister and the Colonial Office.

1.4.   NATO and USA involvement and the independence Agreements

Until the end of World War II, the United States had been hardly involved, historically or geopolitically in Cyprus' affairs. The island was a British colony until the late 1950s and,

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Kong, Fiji, Cyprus, Gibraltar, and the Falklands. No. 8. (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 451-452 [editor's notes].

[55] Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 256-257; Andrekos Varnava*, Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960*, The Cyprus Review 22:1 (2010): 90-91.

[56] Harold MacMillan, Commons Statement, 19 June 1958. In *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948, Part 1: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong Kong, Fiji, Cyprus, Gibraltar, and the Falklands*. No. 8, ed. Frederick Madden (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 451-453.

See also: Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Springer, Berlin 2010), 45-46; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 32.

therefore, for American circles it was considered to fall within the British sphere of influence. However, the end of World War II and the subsequent outbreak of the Cold War marked the beginning of the United States' involvement in the Cyprus debate.

On one hand, America was bound by its post-war commitment to the decolonisation and self-determination of the colonised nations across the world. Behind the moral façade of such commitment, the country's main objective was to access new markets, breaking Britain's "imperial preference". However, compared to other former colonies, such as India, Cyprus had a lesser market potential.[57] On the other hand, the Cold War shaped the great power's strategic interests to a great extent. In this context, the gradually increasing US concern about Cyprus can be seen as a part of the general "containment" strategy followed by the Americans, with the intention of preventing the spread of communism, especially as far regions that bore great strategic meaning were concerned.[58]

Furthermore, in understanding the position of the US, one should also consider the strategic role played by Cyprus, as well as the power that the Communist Party (AKEL) held on the island.[59] US strategic interests in NATO's southern territory combined with the growing tensions in the Middle East played an important role in intensifying the US concern about Cyprus. Moreover, the increasing popular support for AKEL combined with the build-up of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, were factors that caused even more anxiety among the US policy makers.[60]

In general, during the period examined in this chapter, the USA position regarding the Cyprus question can be described as that of a "bystander". For NATO and the USA, the Cyprus dispute had two dimensions. The first one was concerning the stability and unity of the organisation that could be seriously harmed by the ongoing conflict between two of its members: Greece and Turkey, two states that were vital in western cold-war strategic and military planning. American involvement in Greek and Turkish affairs began in 1947 when Britain ended her military and economic aid towards the two countries. Cold war interests, and the possibility of Soviet domination in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East led USA, under the Truman doctrine, to extend her military and economic support to the two Mediterranean countries, after an influential speech by American President Truman that is often considered

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[57] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 21.
[58] Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?*, Security Dialogue 35: 1 (2004), 28-9.
[59] Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955–1965* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), 163-164.
[60] Thomas W. Adams, *The American Concern in Cyprus*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 401: 1 (1972), 96.

by historians as the first US declaration of American Cold War geopolitical discourse and even as the declaration of the Cold War itself. Both countries were regarded as key states regarding the security of American interests and influence in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region. Their special role as barriers to the communist expansion in the Middle East was further highlighted in 1952 when both countries were accepted into NATO, in the aftermath of the Korean War. Furthermore, the announcement of the geopolitical Northern Tier concept in 1953, illustrated further the strategic importance of the two countries, especially Turkey's, in the American and British plans of "defending" Middle East.[61] The second dimension was related to Cyprus' own special role regarding the interests of the western alliance in the region of Middle East, under the framework of the Cold War.

When the government of Greece brought the Cyprus matter to the UN Assembly in 1954 and 1955, the USA appeared to hold a position that was strongly against the discussion of the issue. According to the American perspective, the dispute that was taking place between Britain and Greece - both members of NATO - regarding the Cyprus debate, could harm the relationship of the two states and, therefore, jeopardise its unity and prestige. Even when Turkey came into the picture, marking the transformation of the Cyprus dispute to an international matter, with the Anglo - Turkish side opposing the Greek - Greek-Cypriot side, the United States remained unwilling to take a positive stand in favour of either NATO ally.[62]

However, as matters escalated quickly, the USA was forced to play a more active but still background role, in order for a solution to be reached. After the deportation of Makarios in 1956, Greece used the threat of leaving NATO in favour of a neutralist stance in Cold War antagonisms, if the partition idea was processed further. During that time the main NATO and USA priority on the matter was to bring Britain back on the negotiating table, in order to avoid further conflict among their three allies and a subsequent instability within the organisation.[63] The State Department put pressure on Secretary of State Dulles in order to intervene and keep Greece in the alliance. For the USA, but also for other state-members, a NATO mediation in the Cyprus matter would also enhance its credibility. Following the pressure of the Greek Government in 1957 to stop the partition process, the US and NATO Secretary General Paul-

[61] Ayşe Ömür Atmaca, *The Geopolitical Origins of Turkish-American Relations: Revisiting the Cold War Years*, All Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy & Peace 3, no. 1 (2014): 22-25; David Binder, *Greece, Turkey, and NATO*, Mediterranean Quarterly 23: 2 (2012), 7-98.
[62] Thomas W. Adams, *The American Concern in Cyprus*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 401: 1 (1972), 96-97.
[63] Robert Holland, *NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus*, Journal of Modern Greek Studies 13:1 (1995), 40-2.

Henri Spaak supported Greece's position. Under this pressure the British succumbed, by leaving Makarios free, though they did not allow him to stay on the island of Cyprus.

At this point, one should consider the increasingly significant role played by Turkey regarding the US military planning. The Baghdad Pact almost collapsed in 1957, when the pro-British Iraqi government was overthrown and a neutralist regime succeeded to power. Turkey was now surrounded by neutral states while the western interests in the Middle East, defended until then by Britain, where in danger.[64] Since Turkey, had a more important role in the military planning of NATO, compared to Greece, supporting enosis was off the table for the USA. At the same time, partition would possibly mean that Greece would abandon the alliance. Therefore, independence seemed to be the only possible solution, providing that the strategic and military NATO interests in the area would be protected.

NATO Secretary General Paul-Henri Spaak actively supported independence during talks with the British government, also recognising that "*any proposed solution should have an element of attraction for the Turks*", even suggesting that an independence settlement for Cyprus might include the provision of NATO bases entrusted to Turkey (a suggestion that was rejected by the Greek officials).[65] The idea of independence was highly promoted within the NATO diplomatic circles, and in the end Turkey and Greece were convinced to compromise and adapted their policies.

As a result, the final agreement did not come through the United Nations, but rather within the NATO circles, with the United States applying extreme pressure to all sides. In the meeting of NATO in December 1958, the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey, Evangelos Averoff and Fatin Zorlu respectively, came in contact and informally suggested direct negotiations between the two parties. As a result, a conference was held in Zurich between 6 and 11 February 1959, which was attended by the prime ministers of Greece and Turkey, Konstantinos Karamanlis and Adnan Menderes respectively, as well as the foreign ministers of both countries. The British government was not involved in these negotiations and was indeed kept unaware of the discussions and the negotiations that were taking place in Zurich.[66] The two countries finally reached a preliminary agreement that together Britain, Turkey and Greece would guarantee the independence of Cyprus that would be governed from then on by a Greek-Cypriot president a Turkish-Cypriot vice-president and separate communal assemblies

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[64] Andrekos Varnava, *Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960*, The Cyprus Review 22: 1 (2010), 94.
[65] CAB 129/90 C. (1957) 276. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: 135-137.
[66] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 33; Robert Holland, NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus, Journal of Modern Greek Studies 13: 1 (1995), 304-6.

as well as a joint national assembly. In addition, 950 Greek troops and 650 Turkish troops would be stationed on the island and Britain would retain two military bases.

Finally, three treaties were signed according to which the future of Cyprus was determined: The Treaty of Guaranty, the Treaty of Establishment and the Treaty of Alliance. After the Zurich Agreement was reached, it was presented to the Cypriot and British sides as a "fait accompli". After Makarios' agreement was accomplished, the British prime minister initiated a new conference in London on 17 February 1959. The London Conference finalised the details of the Zurich Agreement. Cyprus was now entering a new era of her turbulent history.

The Treaty of Establishment was signed between Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. The Treaty defined the territory of the independent Cyprus. Most importantly, the treaty included the provision for the retainment of two military base areas under full British sovereignty. The Treaty of Guarantee was signed between Cyprus, and Turkey, Greece and Britain. The Treaty granted the three powers a right of joint or unilateral actions in order to re-establish the state of affairs created by the Treaty of Establishment. Any future activity promoting Cyprus' partition or union with other states was prohibited under that Treaty. The Treaty of Alliance was signed among Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and was concerning the three parties' agreement of co-operation in the common defence.

Despite the fact that the United States seemed to have remained outside the negotiation table during the Zurich – London Conferences, it is widely acknowledged that the great power played an important role in the production of these Agreements, while seemingly retaining a passive role in the background.[67] The US involvement in the events and the country's overall objective of preventing soviet expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, were clearly reflected in a secret "gentlemen's agreement" that was made between the Greek and Turkish officials along with the other agreements. This agreement was only made known to the British government and would remain unpublished and unknown to the Cypriot leadership. This secret document (that has since surfaced) clearly reflected and demonstrated that, even before the Republic of Cyprus was established, the US but also the Greek and Turkish governments aimed at the limitation of the state's self-determination in the name of NATO interests of western

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[67] See for example Holland, Robert. Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959. Clarendon Press, 1998: 306; Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 74-75; Robert Holland, *European Decolonization 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1985), 259; Giannis Sakkas, *Greece in the Mediterranean: 1950-2004* (Athens: SEAB, 2015), 63-64.

defence. [68] Both Greek and Turkish prime ministers agreed to apply pressure on the Cypriot government to join the western alliance, as well as to ban the popular Communist Party, AKEL, and all communist activities on the island.[69]

In addition to the gentlemen's agreement, the prevention of a communist or pro-Soviet government taking over the island was also ensured by the combination of two more factors: The presence of three NATO member forces on Cyprus (Greece, Turkey and Britain) and the granting of veto power to Turkish-Cypriot community – which could be relied upon to side with their mother country Turkey regarding foreign affairs.

Secondly, as O' Malley and Craig put it, a detailed examination of the Treaty of Establishment perfectly demonstrates "how incomplete was the independence that [Cyprus] had been granted"[70]. Out of its total 103 pages, more than half were about granting the British control of the two military bases.

Taking all the above under consideration, it becomes clear that the Zurich – London Agreements, although controversial regarding their objective in creating an independent state, ensured that the American cold-war interests in the eastern Mediterranean were served. Firstly, through achieving political stability in Cyprus, the three guarantor powers, Britain, Turkey and Greece were linked to the western efforts to resist to the Soviet expansion. Secondly, the British military facilities on the island would continue to be available for use from the western powers in order to promote their interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Conclusions

During the period examined in this chapter, two interconnected developments impacted the Cyprus problem. On one hand, a gradually declining British Empire struggled to maintain its primary position within the world's main military powers. In this context, Cyprus' importance was gaining ground in British imperial interests. On the other hand, NATO strategic interests concerning the Middle East became strongly connected to Cyprus, which

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[68] Ibid
[69] 'The Gentelemen's Agreements', 11 February 1959. In: In *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948, Part 1: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong Kong, Fiji, Cyprus, Gibraltar, and the Falklands*. No. 8., ed. Frederick Madden (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 461-462.
[70] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 57.

had to remain within the western alliance. The formation of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 and its importance for the western interests and objectives was a milestone in the impact of the Cold War on Cyprus' decolonisation. In this context, the status of Cyprus had to serve the relative British and US (NATO) interests and, as a result, the fulfilment of the enosis aspiration was not possible. The Suez Crisis in 1956 was also a crucial turning point for British policy towards Cyprus. As Britain was no longer in a position to maintain full sovereignty over the island, another solution had to be found. The London – Zurich agreements, that granted Cyprus independence after a long anti-colonial struggle, were in fact the outcome of Anglo-American Cold War interests, and as such they transformed the island into an arena of the Cold War.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1.5.   Cyprus as an independent republic

The constitution of the newly established Republic of Cyprus called for a government divided into executive, legislative and judicial branches and a Greek-Cypriot President and Turkish-Cypriot Vice President to be elected by their respective communities for a period of five years in the office. Archbishop Makarios, who had returned on the island on 1 March 1959 after three years in exile, was elected President and Fazil Küçük was elected Vice President. The executive power, except for communal issues, was placed in the hands of the President and the Vice President, who were granted a separate or joint veto right over certain laws. The constitution also provided for the formation of two separate communal chambers, formed by representatives elected by each of the two communities.[71]

The application of the constitution that was formed by the Zurich and London Agreements soon faced new difficulties that led to a constitutional crisis on the island. This crisis can be seen as the result of the lack of a shared national identity among the populations of the emergent state. The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus was not based on national homogeneity but rather on intra-community relations with the agreement of both communities needed in order for the new Republic to be able to function. Instead of building bridges in order to overcome the various national divisions and antagonisms between the two communities, the Zurich - London Agreements produced a complex structure of power-sharing (mainly through political vetoes), which legitimised and solidified these ethnic divisions and generated further conflicts and suspicions between the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot sides.[72] This weakness of the Cyprus Agreements to create a unified independent state was foreseen, already since 1959, by the U.S. officials. [73]

Indeed, various constitutional issues arose and soon a general atmosphere of disagreement and mistrust was prominent on the island. Furthermore, the disheartening

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[71] Ellen Laipson, "Government and Politics" in *Cyprus a country study*, ed. Eric Solsten (Headquarters, Dept. of the Army, 1993), 165-166.

[72] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 39-40; Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 87.

[73] Intelligence Report No 8047, Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, "Analysis of the Cyprus Agreements", 14 July 1959. Published in *Journal of Hellenic Diaspora, 11*:4 (1984), 5-31.

environment that was created after the independence Agreements were reached contributed in a great extent to the intensification of this atmosphere of disagreement. The disappointment that was created within the Cypriot Greek community during the first post-independence period was obvious. Indeed, for the Greek-Cypriots the regime, that emerged from the Zurich - London Agreements, was definitely not what they had hoped for during their anti-colonial struggle of the 1950s and it was widely considered as a betrayal of the enosis cause, which was still alive in the minds of the majority of the Greek-Cypriot population.[74]

The feeling of disappointment and unease was also prominent within the Turkish-Cypriot community, despite the fact that the Zurich - London Agreements granted them more privileges than they may have expected. In fact, the Turkish - Cypriot community constituted less than 20% of the island's population but was granted 30% of the seats in the House of Representatives along with main positions, as well as a veto right. However, the possibility of self-determination that was held out to them by Britain during the mid-1950s had succeed in arising many expectations within the community and its abandonment after the conclusion of the two agreements had created negative feelings. The majority of the Turkish-Cypriot community still viewed partition as its preferred solution.[75] Furthermore, the Cypriot-Turks were quite anxious and enthusiastic towards pressing for the full enjoyment of their privileges, while supporting that otherwise they would not be able to cope with the large Greek-Cypriot majority. As a result, they were suspicious and inflexible over any attempt to change the existing regime.[76]

The main constitutional controversies that arose during the first post-independence years were concerning the following issues: The application of the required proportion (70:30 favouring the Greek-Cypriots) regarding the positions in the civil service sector, the establishment of two different municipalities in each one of the five major towns of the island, the veto right of the Greek Cypriot President and the Turkish Cypriot vice president and the separate majorities requirement in the House of Representatives. The issue of the separate municipalities was possibly among the most important ones. The separate municipalities were largely viewed by Greek-Cypriots, as well as by various scholars, as a demonstration of the

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[74] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 54-55; Paschalis Kitromilides and Theodore Couloumbis, *Ethnic Conflict in a strategic area: The Case of Cyprus*, Epitheorisis Koinonikon Erevnon 24: 24 (1975), 280.

[75] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 54-55; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 34.

[76] See for example Paschalis Kitromilides and Theodore Couloumbis, *Ethnic Conflict in a strategic area: The Case of Cyprus, Epitheorisis Koinonikon Erevnon 24*: 24 (1975), 276; Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 40.

Turkish side aspiration of partition and as a first step towards achieving it.[77] As a reaction to the non-application of the constitutional provisions regarding the separate municipalities, in 1961 the Turkish-Cypriots Representatives voted the next Greek-Cypriot tax proposal down. This way the Turkish-Cypriot side attempted to apply financial pressure on the Republic of Cyprus, thus underlying the constitutional deadlock of the Republic and marking the beginning of a long Greek-Cypriot attempt to amend it. [78]

At the same time, while tension was building up between the two communities of the island, the foreign policy lines followed by the Cypriot government from 1960 onwards caused much controversy internationally and, as we shall see, contributed significantly to the developments of Cyprus during the following years. The Cypriot government, especially its Greek - Cypriot leadership, pursued a non-aligned foreign policy, in an attempt to enhance the independence of the emergent Republic of Cyprus and to disengage its affairs from NATO interests as well as Greek – Turkish affairs, keeping a neutral stance against the Cold War antagonism between the two main world powers and their ideologies. In 1961, Cyprus attended the constituent assembly of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade, marking the state's entrance in the Non-Aligned movement, while Makarios is widely considered as one of the founders of the movement. For Makarios, NATO involvement could alienate powerful UN members and jeopardise their support. The pursuit of the Third World's support seemed to the Cypriot-Greek leadership vital for maintaining an independent Cyprus, especially if one considers that the emergent Third World states were already numerically powerful within the United Nations.[79]

It is worth mentioning at this point that since the establishment of the independent Cyprus in 1960, the Soviet Union strongly encouraged Makarios' involvement in the Non-Aligned movement. This policy was the result of the fundamental changes in the USSR foreign policy that followed Stalin's death in 1953. Stalin's policy according to which "everyone who does not support the Soviet Union was an enemy" was rejected and the independence of new nations was now regarded as a positive step against the Western Bloc.[80] Therefore, the Soviet Union adopted a policy of "friendly approach" towards the non-aligned states during the 1960s,

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[77] Hubert Faustmann, *Independence Postponed: Cyprus 1959-1960*, The Cyprus Review 14: 2 (2002), 110-113.
[78] Angelos Syrigos, *The Legal Status of Cyprus of the Republic of Cyprus after 1963-1964*, in *1960-2010 History of the Republic of Cyprus,* Vol. 1 (Athens: Fileleytheros, 2011), 167.
[79] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 41-42; Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?*, Security Dialogue 35: 1 (2004) 29-30.; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 36-37.
[80] Aslım Ilksoy, *The Soviet Union and Cyprus in 1974 Events*, Athens Journal of History 2: 4 (2006), 250-251.

hoping to improve her "image" as a world superpower. The entrance of Cyprus in the Non-aligned movement presented Moscow an opportunity to subvert NATO plans concerning the full integration of the island by preserving cordial relations with the Cypriot leadership.

Another significant factor that shaped Cyprus' foreign policy during the first post-independence years and contributed to a great extent to the formation of a new order on the island, was the presence of the powerful Communist Party AKEL (The Progressive Party of the Working People). In fact, AKEL was at the time one of the most powerful communist parties within the non-communist world and very loyal to the Moscow ideology. Until 1959, AKEL was acting as the primary opponent to Makarios. During the pre-election period in 1960, it was known that AKEL represented about 30% of the electorate body. However, after the Zurich – London Agreements, and upon realising that Makarios was backed by the majority of the Cypriot-Greeks, the leadership of the Party forged an alliance with the Cypriot-Greek leadership in 1960, providing Makarios with constant support, in exchange for a guarantee for five seats in House of Representatives. Although this number of seats was not representative of the actual electoral power of the party, according to the western politics of the Cold War any higher representation of AKEL, as a communist party would not be acceptable to the outside powers involved in Cyprus. As a result, the archbishop's powerful position on the island was to a great degree based on AKEL's support.[81]

Makarios' independent foreign policy, combined with the presence of AKEL, was a source of escalating anxiety within the western alliance, especially the United States that had followed a rather optimistic policy towards Cyprus after the 1959 Agreements. After the Zurich-London Agreements were signed and Cyprus emerged as an independent state, the USA policy regarding the newly established Republic was based on the following main goals: Firstly, the development of political stability on the island was necessary in order to successfully contribute to the western struggle against the "expansion of communism" in the region. Secondly, the Republic of Cyprus should have a western orientation. Lastly and most importantly, the island should be available for NATO purposes, including the unrestricted use of its communication facilities by the USA, as well as, the availability of the two British military bases for serving the western bloc's purposes.[82]

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[81] Andreas Stergiou, *Soviet Policy towards Cyprus*, The Cyprus Review *19*: 2 (2007): 91; Hubert Faustmann, *Independence Postponed: Cyprus 1959-1960*, The Cyprus Review *14*: 2 (2002),103-104.

[82] FRUS, 1958-1960, Vol. X, Part 1, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Cyprus, pp. 819-828; See also Thomas W. Adams, *The American Concern in Cyprus*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 401: 1 (1972), 98.

Under these circumstances, it goes without saying, that Makarios' political manoeuvres concerning the Republic's international relations with the non-aligned countries and the Soviet bloc were not well-received by the Anglo-American powers, as they contradicted their NATO objective and interests, for which Cyprus' alliance with NATO was vital. American fears soon emerged, regarding the loyalty of the newly founded Republic of Cyprus to the western bloc. As a result, although the initial US policy on Cyprus was for US to retain a passive role and expected Britain – along with Greece and Turkey - to be in charge of covering Cyprus' military and economic needs, Makarios "East-West" game forced the US to actively support Cyprus' aid.[83] The government of John F. Kennedy in 1961 invested $ 15 million in the island of Cyprus for the construction of ports, airports and water supply and development of the agricultural sector. In addition, a large part of the economic support was given for the creation of a bank.[84]

Since Cyprus became an independent state, several investors also rushed to take part in the economic regeneration of the island. The German Federal Government wanted to financially support Cyprus in 1962. This economic support would include covering of the cost of projects for water development and harbor works. The cost of these developments was estimated to be about £3.000.000. From the eastern camp, there was an offer from Polish company for the extension of Famagusta Harbor with a £ 400,000 contract.[85]

Apart from seeking financial aid for the economic development of his Republic, Makarios also turned towards the international community in order to find political support for the Greek-Cypriots' case of constitutional change and self-determination. Apart from seeking the aligned support (including attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London in March 1961 and his visit to US President Kennedy in 1962), Makarios also turned to non-aligned states, including the Soviet Union for help. As mentioned earlier, Makarios also invested in the support of the Communist Party, AKEL.[86]

Initially, neither the United States nor Britain seemed willing to get involved into the island's domestic affairs and, thus, they did not support Makarios' intention to revise the constitution of the Republic. However, despite of their initial unwillingness to support the

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[83] FRUS, 1958-1960, Vol. X, Part 1, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Cyprus, Section 19 of 19, August – December 1960, tel.313 from US Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon to the US Embassy in Nicosia, 19 December 1960, 'Initial US Relations with the Republic of Cyprus'.
[84] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken Ambassade Cyprus 1955-1964, Archiefbloknr.: Z89, Inv. Nr.: 5
[85] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken Ambassade Cyprus 1955-1964, No 93/22, Inv. Nr.: 4
[86] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 89.

Greek-Cypriot leadership, the two countries, led by their Ambassadors in Nicosia, Sir Arthur Clark and Fraser Wilkins, finally agreed in letting Makarios process some revisions of the existing constitution.[87] Declassified documents from both British and US National Archives demonstrate that the Ambassadors' involvement in the revision of Cyprus' constitution was definitely led by both states' focus on the possible threat of communist expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and based on a miscalculation of the Turkish reaction to it.[88]

The position of the Greek government regarding Makarios' cause is inextricably linked to the governmental crisis that was taking place during the early 1960s. The position of the governing party, the National Radical Union (that had been in power during the Zurich and London Conferences in 1959) towards any change, and possible disturbance, of the existing situation in Cyprus, was strictly negative. The government's priorities at that time concerned the country's financial situation and its connection to the European Economic Community (E.E.C.). Under these circumstances, the government, seeking stability for its own country, could not afford getting involved in a new crisis concerning the Cyprus dispute.[89] In 1962, the Greek foreign minister, Evangelos Averoff, was strongly opposed to the Greek-Cypriot politics and during a meeting with the Greek-Cypriot officials he underlined the catastrophic consequences of a possible new conflict between Greece and Turkey. When, the issue of separate municipalities emerged the Greek government made clear its reluctance to support Makarios' cause, as this would lead to the abolishment of the 1960 constitution.[90]

Against this background, on the 30th of November 1963, President Makarios presented his proposals for constitutional reform to the Turkish vice president Fazil Kucuk. The proposed amendments included, among others, the abolishment of the veto right for both the president and the vice-president as well as the abolishment separate municipalities' provision. Furthermore, Makarios proposed the revision of the proportion of participation of the members of the two communities in the civil service sector as well as the security forces so as to reflect the actual ratio of the island's population.[91]

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[87] Andreas Constandinos, *US-British policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974*, The Cyprus Review *23:*1 (2011),18; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, Cyprus: A modern history (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 124-125.
[88] Foreign Office (FO) 371/168975, 'Cyprus: Municipalities Dispute, Constitutional Situation', C 1015/235, tel.926 from the British High Commission in Cyprus to the Western and Middle East Department at the Commonwealth Relations Office, 'Cyprus Constitutional Questions', 29 November 1963.
[89] Evangelos Averoff, *History of lost opportunities, Vol 2. The Cyprus problem 1950-1964* (Athens: Estia, 1982), 320-329.
[90] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* [*Το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα 1960-1974*] [In Greek] (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 54-55.
[91] For full text of proposed amendments see: Archbishop Makarios III to dr. Fazil Kutchuk, 29 November 1963. In *The End of Empire: Dependencies Since 1948, Part 1: The West Indies, British Honduras, Hong Kong, Fiji,*

For the Turkish Cypriot side, Makarios' proposals were viewed as a step towards achieving enosis and so Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community rejected them firmly. As a result, soon after Makarios presented his "13 amendments" plan, in early December 1963, the already existing tension and national sentiments between the members of the two communities escalated quickly. The constitution of Cyprus broke down and on 21 December 1963 intercommunal violence erupted once again on the island, when Greek-Cypriots launched a violent attack against the Turkish-Cypriot community. Under these circumstances, concerned about the security of the Turkish Cypriot population, Turkey, as a guarantor, warned that in case that violence against Turks continued, the Turkish state would take military action, calling the other two guarantors (Greece and Britain) to also intervene militarily.[92]

On 27 December 1963, the British troops stationed on the island established a partition line in Nicosia, known as "the Green Line", separating the two communities in order to re-establish order. Later on, Greek and Turkish forces assisted the British forces. As a result, the tension in the city was reduced. However, outside Nicosia, the violent conflict that actually took the form of a civil war continued. The Green Line still divides Nicosia into two separate parts, remaining an active symbol of ethnic division.

During this turbulent period, the possibility of a Turkish invasion on the island was obvert. Turkey had engaged herself in worrying practices, including infringement of Cypriot airspace by Turkish aircrafts. Furthermore, the Turkish troops that were located on the island according to the Zurich – London Agreements had been involved in the Greco-Turkish conflict. In general, the civil war that erupted between the two communities and the new situation that emerged on the island was an important step towards the partition of Cyprus.

1.6.   International factors

The constitutional crisis and the, subsequent violent conflict between the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities marked the beginning of a new phase for the Cypriot dispute, with the creation of new power dynamics on the island, always within the context of the Cold War. Most importantly, the international bibliography widely recognises that the outbreak of a new circle of intercommunal violence in Cyprus in 1963 was a turning point for

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Cyprus, Gibraltar, and the Falklands. No. 8., ed. Frederick Madden (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000).
[92] The Cyprus File Vol. 1 182-183.

USA involvement in Cyprus' affairs.[93] As it was analysed in the previous chapter, during the struggle for self-determination and enosis that took place in the 1950s, America, in an effort to retain NATO's unity and stability against the Soviet bloc, was not directly involved in the process of the island's decolonisation and only played a passive, behind the scenes role in the negotiations between Greece and Turkey.

By 1963, the situation developed in Cyprus after Makarios' proposals for the revision of the constitution and the outbreak of a new violent conflict between the island's two communities had, in the milieu of the Cold War, caused new concerns and anxieties about the western presence and power in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the American perspective, this regional conflict could lead to an armed national conflict between Greece and Turkey, a possibility that would definitely fatally harm NATO's southern flank, while benefiting the Soviet Union's influence in the region and even lead to a wider international conflict.[94] It was becoming clear to the western powers that immediate mediation would be necessary in order to avoid the catastrophic consequences.

In order to understand further this escalating anxiety about Cyprus that was growing within the western world, one should take into consideration the effects of what is widely acknowledged as "one of the most apocalyptic moments of the Cold War", the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. Although seemingly not directly connected to the Cyprus issue, the Cuban crisis contributed to a great extend to the creation of continuous American anxiety about a possible communist success in Cyprus.[95] The crisis emerged when the USA installed Jupiter missiles in Turkey, establishing a new US launch site on the Soviet border. In a move that is often perceived as a counteract, USSR, with the permission of the Fidel Castro regime, attempted to install nuclear armed missiles (IRBMs) in Cuba, in a close distance to the American shores in Florida. In response, the American government organised a naval blockade of the USSR ships carrying the missiles. The world faced the possibility of a nuclear war as the two great powers put their forces around the world on nuclear alert. Finally, the crisis was eased off at the last hour after USSR agreed to withdraw the missiles from Cuba and secret

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[93] See among others: Thomas W. Adams, "The American Concern in Cyprus." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 401*, no. 1 (1972): 98; Aylin Güney, "The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?", *Security Dialogue 35*, no. 1 (2004): 29-30; Monteagle Stearns, *Entangled allies: US policy toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus* (Council on Foreign relations, 1992): 35-36.

[94] Angelos Syrigos, *The Legal Status of Cyprus of the Republic of Cyprus after 1963-1964, in 1960-2010 History of the Republic of Cyprus,* Vol. 1 (Athens: Fileleytheros, 2011), 167-169; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 36-37.

[95] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 90.

agreements were signed between the two powers that included, among others, the withdrawal of the American missiles from Turkey.[96]

The Cuban Missile Crisis underlined the strategically important role of the South-eastern Mediterranean, especially Cyprus, in the international (nuclear) balance of power. The resulting acceleration of nuclear arms race between the two great powers made the electronic spying facilities in Cyprus vital for the western nuclear deterrent in the following years. In this context, Makarios' independent foreign policy and his ongoing flirtation with the Soviet bloc and the non-aligned countries added further anxieties to the already tense international climate. The presence of a powerful Communist Party (AKEL) in Cyprus politics contributed to a great extent to this general feeling that the island could actually be integrated into the Soviet bloc.[97]

In addition, the Cuban crisis highlighted Turkey's crucial role within NATO and influenced the US policy towards Turkey, which included the Cypriot problem. During long negotiations between Washington and Ankara, the US government decided to withdraw the missiles from Turkish lands without informing Ankara. As the missiles were perceived as very important for Turkish security against the Soviet Union, both by the Turkish government and public, their removal strongly displeased them, deteriorating the relations between the two countries.[98] As a result, Washington had to become far more cautious regarding the US position on the Cyprus issue. Initially the United States' objective was to put pressure on the Turkish government in order to constrain the Cypriot-Turkish leadership to follow a more conciliatory policy on the island. However, after the removal of the missiles, the US could not alienate such a precious cold-war ally as Turkey by challenging her policy in such a sensitive matter as Cyprus. The combination of these two factors, the need for ensuring Cyprus' integration into the western bloc along with the need for a conciliatory diplomatic policy towards Turkey, led Washington to reject Makarios' proposals for the amendment of the constitution that would endanger the Zurich – London Agreements.[99]

Under these circumstances, it became clear that western mediation was inevitable. The first mediating diplomatic attempt came from Great Britain. Following the collapse of the constitution in 1963, Britain initiated a Conference in London among the three guarantor

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[96] Süleyman Seydi, *Turkish–American Relations and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1957–63*, Middle Eastern Studies 46: 3 (2010): 433-450.

[97] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 107.

[98] Süleyman Seydi, *Turkish–American Relations and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1957–6*3, Middle Eastern Studies 46: 3 (2010): 440-455.

[99] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 107.

powers in order for a settlement to be reached between the Greek - Cypriot and Turkish - Cypriot sides as well as Greece and Turkey. During the conference, which started on 15 January 1964, Britain proposed the establishment of a peacekeeping force on Cyprus that would be consisted of NATO state members. In addition, Britain proposed the territorial division of the island that would be enabled by the voluntary movement of the populations.[100] The conference failed to reach an agreement. The Greek side supported the abrogation of the Zurich – London Agreements, while the Turkish side supported that the idea of Cyprus as a unified state had failed completely and the only solution would be federation, if not partition.[101]

In the end, both Greece and Turkey accepted the establishment of a NATO peacekeeping force on the island. The Cypriot Turkish side also accepted the plan, but the Greek Cypriot leader rejected it. Makarios' rejection of the establishment of a NATO peacekeeping force was motivated by several factors. Firstly, one should consider the fact that Makarios' ultimate goal was the amendment of the 1960 constitution of Cyprus in order to achieve union with Greece. Therefore, a solution within the NATO circles and the establishment of a NATO force would most definitely mean that the constitution along with the Treaty of Guarantee would be under protection.[102] In addition, the deadlock created at the London Conference presented the perfect opportunity for the British government to finally get the United States involved in Cyprus. On 25 January 1964, the British government asked for US assistance in order to avoid the outbreak of a civil war on the island.[103] Although at first the US seemed once again reluctant to intervene, it was soon obvious that the situation would get worse, thus endangering the stability of NATO as well as the US interests in this strategically important region.[104] Secretary of State George Ball was the first one to realise the importance of keeping the issue within NATO control and, therefore, to support US involvement. On 25 January 1964, he stated to US President Johnson over the phone:

"*The British Ambassador was in to see me this morning and he said that they are not prepared to continue alone to try to carry this because of the political problem they find*

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[100] Joana Amaral, *Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965*, The Cyprus Review 25: 2 (2013): 79

[101] Gurhan Yellice, *The American Intervention in the 1964 Cyprus crisis and the Greek political reaction (February-August 1964),* Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies/Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi 17: 35 (2017): 374.

[102] Tamer Balci, *The Cyprus Crisis and the Southern Flank of NATO (1960-1975)*, International Review of Turkish *Studies 3,* no. 2 (2012): 36-37.

[103] FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc.3, "Memorandum of Conference with President Johnson", 39-42.

[104] Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?*, Security Dialogue 35: 1 (2004): 29-30.

themselves in the history of the hatred of the British on both the Greeks' and Turks' side as far as the local population is concerned. And that he wanted is for as to agree with them in a proposal to try and internationalise the arrangement. Now, this would mean one of two things: NATO going in or the UN?"[105]

Finally, President Johnson was convinced that a US mediation would be necessary in order to prevent a possible Turkish intervention, as a guarantor power, a move that would seriously endanger NATO stability in the eastern Mediterranean and threaten American interests in the region. As a result, what was to be later known as the Anglo-American plan on Cyprus, was formed, proposing again a NATO solution to the Cyprus dispute that included the establishment of a NATO peacekeeping force and the appointment of a NATO mediator who would work towards a settlement serving the interests of all the involved parties.[106]

The Anglo-American Plan caused a great debate in the politics of Greece, as the country was already in the middle of a big political crisis. The main opposition party "Enosis Kentrou" led by Georgios Papandreou, strongly opposed to the plan, supporting Makarios' position for taking the matter to the United Nations. On the contrary, the National Radical Union and its leader Panagiotis Kanellopoulos clearly supported the plan and subsequent NATO involvement as according to his position, in the case of UN mediation, the Cyprus issue would be used as a propaganda by the Soviet Union. In the end, the caretaker government of Paraskevopoulos accepted the plan, under great pressure from the opposition, and declared the following conditions: Firstly, the Greek-Cypriot leadership should also accept the plan. Secondly, the peacekeeping forces that would be established on the island should not get involved in any way into Cyprus' politics. Thirdly, there should be no increase of the Turkish forces in Cyprus, claiming that forces from both countries (Greece and Turkey) should be removed. Finally, Makarios should hold his position as the President of the Republic of Cyprus. After a series of visits to Ankara, Ball also managed to gain Turkey's support for the Anglo-American plan, under the condition that the Treaty of Guarantee would not be impaired, along with Turkey's right of intervention. [107]

However, taking advantage of the Greek political crisis, Makarios rejected the plan and continued his actions in order to recourse to the UN. This position is in general terms

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[105] FRUS, 1964–1968, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, (Ed. James E. Miller), United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 2000, "Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and the Under Secretary of State (Ball)" Document No. 2, p.37-38.
[106] Joana Amaral, *Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965*, The Cyprus Review 25: 2 (2013): 79
[107]

understandable for a recently de-colonised state with a non-aligned foreign policy. In Makarios' point of view, a NATO solution would mean that the alliance's interests would take priority over the Cypriot-Greek interests, while would also favour the Cypriot-Turkish community as he believed it was the case with the 1959 Agreements. Furthermore, the United Nations overall decolonisation sentiment rose expectations that the cancellation of the Independence Agreements could be possible.[108]

On 29 January 1964, Makarios, under the threat of a subsequent Turkish invasion, appealed for help to the Soviet Union. For the Soviets, the Cyprus conflict created an opportunity to actually increase their influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, and therefore, they were willing to assist the archbishop if he managed to bring the matter to the United Nations agenda.[109] At the same time, the USSR President Nikita Khrushchev issued warnings towards the UN Security Council, as well as towards the USA, Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, objecting to NATO involvement in Cyprus and accusing the NATO members of aiming in dissolve the island's independence.[110]

At this point, concerns about the Soviet interference in Cyprus prevailed within the Anglo-American front. Under these circumstances the United States government continued taking initiative in order to resolve the situation. George Ball revised the scheme and attended various meeting with Greek, Turkish and Cypriot officials in Athens, Ankara and Nicosia respectively. Although Greece and Turkey agreed with the new plan, Makarios was not convinced, even though Ball revised the plan twice and a series of negotiations took place between the two of them in Nicosia.[111]

1.7. United Nations Mediation

Following the Cypriot government's refusal to accept the Anglo-American propositions, the British government, initially unwilling to accept a UN mediation out of fear for a possible Soviet interference, seemed to acknowledge the fact that, in the end, the establishment of an UN peacekeeping force in Cyprus might be the only solution. Therefore,

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[108] Eref Aksum. "The UN in the Cyprus conflict". The United Nations, intra-state peacekeeping and normative change, 2018, 132

[109] Gurhan Yellice, *The American Intervention in the 1964 Cyprus crisis and the Greek political reaction (February-August 1964)*, Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies/Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi 17: 35 (2017): 377.

[110] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 146.

[111] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 89.

just hours before the Cypriot recourse to the United Nations, on 15 February 1964, the British government put first the issue before the UN Council.[112]

As mentioned above, a great political crisis marked the political situation in Greece and had immediate effects regarding the country's position about Cyprus. Important developments occurred soon after the British and Cypriot recourse to the United Nations. On 16 February 1964, the opposition party Enosis Kentrou under the leadership of Georgios Papandreou, won the Greek elections with largest majority in Greek history and became the new powerful government of the country. At the beginning, the election of Papandreou was well received by the US officials, who believed that the election of a new powerful prime minister could play an important role in achieving a solution in the Cyprus problem.

In fact, Washington expected the new government to influence Makarios and cooperate with US and other NATO forces in order to avoid further conflict as well as Soviet interference in Cyprus. Shortly after Papandreou's election the US President, expressed his position about searching for a solution acceptable to all the involved parties in a letter to the Greek Prime Minister, reassuring him that the United States were not to take a stance favouring either Greece or Turkey. He underlined the necessity of an alliance among USA, Greece, Turkey and Britain.

Papandreou shared the same opinion with the USA, regarding the Soviet threat in Cyprus. However, he had apparently no intention of cooperating with the US, as he had his own agenda. During his election campaign he strongly opposed to the Zurich – London Agreements, accusing Karamanlis that he had "sold out Cyprus". He claimed that the current Cyprus crisis was an immediate effect of these Agreements and under his newly established presidentship he sought to "get rid" of the Agreements and achieve union with Greece.[113]

He made his intentions clear to President Makarios in a letter addressed to him on 25 February 1964, announcing his support to the Cypriot cause. [114] Just 2 days later, on 27 February 1964, the Greek Prime Minister informed the Ambassadors of the United States and Britain of his intention to support Makarios.

On the 4th of March 1964, the United Nations decided the creation of a UN (UNFICYP) peacekeeping force in Cyprus in order to "preserve peace and international security". This force

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[112] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 70.
[113] Kranidiotis Nikos, Apohiroti Politia Kipros 1960-1974, Tomos A, Ekdoseis Hestia, Athina, 1985, S.254.
[114] "Letter from Prime Minister G. Papandreou to President Makarios", 25 February 1964. In: Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), Appendix I, 263-264.

"should use its best efforts to avoid the fight and contribute to the maintenance of law and order in an attempt to return the island to normal conditions".[115]

The Soviet Union's role regarding the UN resolution is critical. Until 1964, the relationship between Cyprus and the Soviet Union was limited to commercial, financial and cultural exchange between the two states. However, the outbreak of intercommunal violence on the island and the latest developments that transformed the Cyprus dispute into an international matter of great importance, led to increased Soviet interest in Cyprus' affairs, especially in the context of international organisations. As a prominent member of the UN Security Council, USSR had to be consulted on the matter. Within the organisation, USSR strongly supported Makarios' request, thus enabling the peacekeeping force to be established on the island. Moscow's diplomatic approach demonstrated its solidarity with the will of the majority of the Cypriot population, while it simultaneously succeeded in stopping the establishment of a NATO force on the island, destroying the Anglo-American plans. For the Soviet Union, the plan was nothing more than a veiled excuse that would enable NATO to occupy Cyprus.[116]

1.8. American Mediation

Despite the establishment of the UN peacekeeping force, the civil war between the two communities escalated further, forcing Turkey to consider military intervention once again. On 4th of June 1964, Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu informed US Ambassador Hare about a planned Turkish intervention. From the US and NATO perspective, a Turkish invasion that would lead to a violent confrontation between Turkey and Greece should be avoided at all costs, therefore, on June 5th 1964, a letter from US President Johnson was addressed to the Turkish government in order to stop the Turkish plans. This letter was described by Ball as "the most brutal diplomatic note" he ever saw, is widely regarded as one of the most important incidents of American – Turkish relationship that would greatly affect, as we shall see, the alliance between the two states and the future developments on the island.[117]

The letter illustrated the dangerous consequences of the Turkish invasion on Cyprus, such as the segregation of the island and the possibility of war between the two NATO members and clearly stated that no such action should be taken without the agreement of the

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[115] UNSC. Resolution 186 of the UN Security Council (S/5575), adopted on March 4, 1964.
[116] Andreas Stergiou, *Soviet Policy towards Cyprus*,The Cyprus Review 19: 2 (2007): 94; John Sakkas and Nataliya Zhukova, *The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem, 1967-1974,* Les cahiers Irice 1*:* 1 (2013), 127.
[117] Andreas Constandinos, *US-British policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974*, The Cyprus Review 23: 1 (2011), 20.

USA. Most importantly, Johnson warned the Turkish Prime Minister that NATO forces would not defend Turkey in case of a Soviet intervention due to the Turkish actions. This American harsh intervention, although it seriously damaged the American – Turkish relations, succeeded in its aim to prevent the Turkish invasion in 1964.[118]

Following the Johnson letter, and while the Cyprus issue was already placed within the framework of the United Nations, initiatives for the solution of the matter within the western bloc continued. Some scholars and historians argue that the United States had favoured the partition of Cyprus already since 1960.[119] As claimed by various authors by 1964, the independence granted to Cyprus in 1959 seemed to have been a strategic mistake within the western bloc, while the division of the island between Greece and Turkey was gaining ground as the ideal solution to the Cyprus problem, in the milieu of the Cold War. This view is also supported by the American documents.[120] In this context, the first solid attempt from the United States to partition the island was made in 1964, through a plan conceived by former US Secretary of State Dean Acheson, widely known since as the Acheson plan.

On 19 June 1964, CIA stated that, taking under consideration the violent conflicts between the two communities on the island and the general hostility between them, a solution to the Cyprus problem based on mutual cooperation should be excluded. With this option eliminated, the other two options were either union with Greece with a compensation for Turkey or partition, and they should be imposed to Cyprus with the support of Greece and Turkey.[121]

In June 1964, George Ball visited Athens and Ankara in an effort to convince Greek and Turkish officials that negotiations between the two countries were essential in order to achieve a common agreement and a final solution for the crisis in Cyprus. Ball invited both prime ministers to Washington in order to discuss the matter with President Johnson. Both the

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[118] Letter to Prime Minister Inonu from President Johnson, 5 June 1964. In: Johnson, Lyndon B., and Ismet Inonu. *President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu: Correspondence between President Johnson and Prime Minister Inonu, June 1964, as Released by the White House, January 15, 1966*, Middle East Journal 20: 3 (1966), 386-387.
[119] For example, see: Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 187-190.
[120] CIA: FOIA: Special National Intelligence Estimate No 29.3-64, 'The Cyprus Dispute', 19 June 1964; FRUS 1964-1968, Vol. XVI Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 64, "Memorandum From the Under Secretary of State (Ball) to President Johnson"; See also: Giannis Sakkas, *Greece in the Mediterranean: 1950-2004* (Athens: SEAB, 2015), 65; Andreas Constandinos, "US-British policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974." *The Cyprus Review 23*: 1 (2011), 21; Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 187-190.
[121] CIA: FOIA: Special National Intelligence Estimate, 'The Cyprus Dispute', 19 June 1964.

Greek and the Turkish Prime Ministers accepted the invitation. After attending separate discussion with the US President, they were both advised to overcome their ethnic differences and view the Cyprus issue from the perspective of the Cold War and NATO's interest in the region. In this context, the prime ministers were advised to send out representatives to Camp David in order to negotiate with the former US Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and both sides decided to accept the American invitation.[122]

At the same time Ball began pressing the UN Secretary General U Thant to endorse a new American mediating attempt to take place at Camp David, Maryland. Greece and Turkey accepted to attend the negotiations but not Cyprus. Thant feared that he would be accused by USSR of allowing the USA to take over the diplomatic initiative, so he proposed the meeting to be held in Geneva, as a neutral ground and be led by a neutral UN mediator, Sakari Tuomioja. In the end the formal negotiations were held in Geneva (June 1964) and were attended by Greece and Turkey as well as Tuomioja and Dean Acheson. Despite the fact that, seemingly, the Geneva negotiations were held under UN aegis, Acheson was definitely the one who led the discussions, keeping UN and, therefore, Soviet influence, under his control.[123] As the American relevant documents illustrate, during the negotiations Acheson highlighted the American interest in Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean, while he claimed that the USA's primary objective was the preservation of peace in the region and the security of the western interests. Therefore, a harmonious relationship between Greece and Turkey was essential.[124]

Two plans emerged from the Geneva negotiations. The first one provided for enosis and a portion of the island to be granted to Turkey for the creation of a base. The Turkish Cypriot population was not to form a part of Turkey but was to remain on particular areas of the island (enclaves) with a degree of local autonomy. An appointed international commissioner would ensure the security of the Cypriot-Turkish community. According to some sources, the Greek island Kastellorizo was included in the deal. The second plan, that was actually a revision of the first, limited the extension of the proposed Turkish base on the island and provided that the base would be leased to Turkey for a period of 50 years. The concept of Turkish local autonomy was abandoned and was replaced by a provision for the

[122] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* [*Το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα 1960-1974*] [In Greek] (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 132-133; Douglas Brinkley, "The Cyprus Question: Dean Acheson as Mediator." *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora 15*, no. 3/4 (1988): 9.
[123] Joana Amaral, "Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965." *The Cyprus Review 25*, no. 2 (2013): 81.
[124] FRUS 1964-1968, Vol. XVI Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 82 "Memorandum for the record", 7 July 1964. See also: FRUS 1964-1968, Vol. XVI Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 78-79; 83-85.

establishment of a Turkish Cypriot Administrative Office in Nicosia to be in charge of educational, religious and legal affairs.[125]

The Acheson Plans were actually based on the Turkish idea of partition and, as O'Malley and Craig put it, "it reflected the general American military thinking" during the Cold War period. According to that thinking, the partition of the island between Greece and Turkey and the subsequent dismantlement of the Republic of Cyprus, would put an end to the Soviet attempt to get involved in the island's affairs and integrate Cyprus in the Soviet bloc.[126] It would also discourage non-aligned leaders', such as Egypt's Nasser, to interfere. Furthermore, partition would terminate the Cypriot Communist Party's attempts to gain more power within Cyprus. In fact, the so called "Double Enosis" had important military advantages for the USA and NATO, as after partition both sides of the island would be controlled by two NATO members, thus making it available to serve the western defence purposes in the region, exactly as it had been until 1959 when still under British control.[127]

It becomes clear that, in the midst of the Cold War, US intervention was guided by the country's interests that can be summarised as follows: prevention of full internationalisation of the Cyprus problem – through UN mediation – with the ultimate objective being the aversion of Soviet progression in the Eastern Mediterranean. In this framework, the Acheson plans can be considered as a classic example of great power diplomacy, where USA interests are pursued over all other interests, while the will of the Cypriot communities come only second to state interests.[128]

Both plans failed to achieve an agreement among the interested parties. Greece, affected by the position of the Cypriot leadership against the plan, strongly rejected the first plan under the suspicion that it would increase the Turkish presence in Cyprus, while Turkey accepted it as a general base for future negotiations. However, after the revision of the plan, both countries stood against it.[129] The US and Acheson persisted by suggesting further revisions of the plans that were all based on the same concept: union with Greece and territorial concessions for

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[125] US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Labouisse to the State Department, tel.171, 30 July 1964; The Cyprus File Vol. 1 284-286. See also: Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 68-70; Joana Amaral, "Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965." *The Cyprus Review 25*, no. 2 (2013): 81.

[126] Spyros Papageorgiou, *Τα κρίσιμα ντοκουμέντα του κυπριακού*, Vol. 2 (Athens: Politeia, 1983), 240-277.

[127] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 113.

[128] Joana Amaral, "Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965." *The Cyprus Review 25*: 2 (2013), 82.

[129] Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, Danwart Rustow. The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interests. September 1967: 9-10; The Cyprus File Vol. 1 183

Turkey.[130] In the end, they came to nothing else rather than highlighting the American change of policy concerning Cyprus. The Acheson Plans might have not succeeded in concluding an agreement, however they managed to contribute to the avoidance of the conflict's escalation into a war between Greece and Turkey.[131]

American documents illustrate that after the Geneva negotiations failed to reach an agreement on the Acheson plans, Acheson and Ball were actually planning the partition of Cyprus through Turkey's occupation of Karpass peninsula and Greece's removal of Makarios and the declaration of enosis. The prospect of Greco-Turkish war though deterred them from further discussions on the matter.[132]

Conclusion

As the Cold War intensified, its implications greatly affected developments in Cyprus. The non-aligned foreign policy followed by Makarios and the strong presence of AKEL, combined with an internal constitutional crisis and a violent civil war between the two communities, seriously challenged NATO interests concerning the island. Furthermore, the UN involvement enabled the USSR to interfere and openly support Makarios and condemn NATO mediation attempts, challenging further the cohesion of the Western camp. Under these developments American involvement in Cyprus transformed from passive to active intervention. The main illustration of this are the Acheson plans that can be described as the first step towards the final partition of the island, proving that western cold-war interests prevailed over the Cyprus dispute.

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[131] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 68-70; Joana Amaral, "Multiparty mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965." *The Cyprus Review 25*, no. 2 (2013): 82.

[132] FRUS, 1964-1968, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 131, "Telegram from the Embassy in Greece to State Department", 18 August 1964; doc. 132, "Memorandum of President's Special Assistants for National Security Affairs (Bundy) and Robert Komer of the National Security Council Staff to President Johnson", 18 August 1964; doc. 155, "Memorandum for the record", 8 September 1964.

CHAPTER 3

2. THE FINAL COLLISION

2.1. The Cyprus question between 1966 and 1967

As a result of almost nine months of intercommunal fighting, Cyprus ended up in 1964 bitterly disunified with the two communities on the island physically separated. The situation that emerged on the island following the 1960 – 1964 crisis has been described as "*a half-way stage between an integrated Cyprus and partition*".[133] During the following couple of years (1965-1966), the island experienced a period that can be characterised as one of "unstable peace". While intercommunal negotiations progressed slowly, the Turkish-Cypriot community was operating its own administration, acting separately from the internationally recognised government of Cyprus. The two communities remained completely separated.[134]

By the end of 1965 Makarios had already succeeded a "victory" in his attempts to preserve Cyprus as an independent, unified state while fighting off various western efforts to impose a NATO solution. The United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in favour of the complete independence of Cyprus.[135] In his final report that was submitted to Secretary General on 26 March 1965, UN mediator Galo Plaza (who was appointed after Tuomioja passed away), concluded that the solution to the Cyprus dispute should not be based on the reservation of the status quo ante but instead on a new agreement between the two interested parties. The report also discounted solutions including union with Greece, territorial compensations for Turkey and geographic separation of the two communities, which had formed the base of the 1964 Acheson plans.[136]

Following Galo Plaza's report in 1965, the government of Cyprus formally accepted the UN resolution that explicitly discounted the prospect of enosis, thus marking a turning point in its policy concerning the future of Cyprus. Instead of further pursuing union with Greece, Makarios realised that the pursuit of independent statehood was the safest and most realistic course for the country.[137] In the name of the pursuit of independence, Makarios' relations with

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[133] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 119.

[134] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 144.

[135] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 41-42.

[136] UNSC. Report of the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus to the Secretary General (S/6253), 26 March 1965.

[137] Paschalis Kitromilides and Theodore Couloumbis, *Ethnic Conflict in a strategic area: The Case of Cyprus*, Epitheorisis Koinonikon Erevnon *24*: 24 (1975), 287.

the Soviet Union and his co-operation with the non-aligned countries continued, as the Cypriot President attended the second Non-Aligned Conference in Cairo in October 1964. Except for the continuous Soviet support towards Makarios on UN level and through official announces, the parallel economic and trade relations that developed between Cyprus and the Soviet bloc created further concerns to the US. These relations were highlighted by a series of events in 1964 such as the renewal of the trade agreement between Cyprus and the USSR, the conclusion of transnational trade agreements with Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, and the conclusion of diplomatic relations with Cuba and East Germany.[138]

In the eyes of NATO allies (and especially the USA and Greece) Makarios seemed to drive Cyprus towards the Soviet bloc, however, his main objective was to keep NATO affairs outside the island as he realised that western interests presented a threat for the independence of Cyprus, a small, rather powerless country. On the other hand, while the US objective was definitely the full "NATOisation" of Cyprus, Moscow was trying to develop friendly connections with the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, thus supporting her independence. Cordial relationships with the Soviet Union were essential.[139]

From July 1965, a new political crisis broke out in Greece when Prime Minister Papandreou was forced to resign after a strong disagreement between him and the monarchy, regarding the control of the Greek armed forces that involved mutual accusations about attempts to politicise the officer corps by the palace and Papandreou's son Andreas. Between July 1965 and April 1967 Greece experienced a period of political instability that saw five governments come and go and overshadowed the country's concern for Cyprus.[140]

Makarios' took advantage of Greece's political instability in order to consolidate his position in the international arena. The US government was involved in Greek politics during that period, which marked the beginning of escalating tensions between Athens and Nicosia, rooted in the differences between the policies of the two states. On the one hand, Greece, being a member of NATO and greatly dependent on the USA and the western interests, followed an anti-Soviet foreign policy that was in line with that of her western allies. On the other hand, Cyprus, in an attempt to solidify her independence, was seeking help from the states of the Soviet bloc, thus conflicting Greek interests. The conflicting policies of Cyprus and Greece, which were greatly shaped under the framework of the Cold War, have been one of the major

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[138] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 44.
[139] Ibid
[140] Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, Danwart Rustow. The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interests. September 1967: 28-9

factors for the catastrophic consequences that the tense relations between the two countries would have on the developments regarding the Cyprus issue.[141]

Meanwhile, following the US President's intervention in June 1964 against the Turkish invasion in Cyprus as well as America's failure to sort out the Cyprus crisis in 1964, Turkey began to re-valuate her foreign policy, which was, up to this point, completely dependent on United States and Western politics. The Turkish government began to realise that the country's strict adherence to the western alliance had resulted in complete isolation within a fast-changing international system.[142] As a result, from 1965 onwards, Turkey's foreign policy became more independent and a rapprochement with the Soviet Union began to unravel. Turkey's main objectives regarding this rapprochement were the following: Firstly, in an attempt to press the USA towards her federate state solution, Turkey began building a more solid relationship with her historical enemy, the Soviet Union. Secondly, the Turkish governments hoped to achieve the support of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc regarding her position on the Cyprus problem in the United Nations.

Without a doubt, this development suited perfectly the Soviet interests in the region, as they were more than keen to exploit the differences among the NATO allies in order to encourage the disruption of NATO's south-eastern flank, while at the same time maintaining Cyprus' non-alignment. The prospect of detaching Turkey from NATO was therefore an important step towards achieving the Soviet objectives. In this context, Soviet officials visited Ankara in January 1965, followed by a series of visits throughout 1965 – 1967.[143]

Meanwhile, as Cyprus prevailed within Turkish politics and was a dominating factor of the instability of her governmental system, an anti-Greek atmosphere was created within the country. In addition, the aforementioned "international isolation" of Turkey prompted the country to also improve her relationship with the Third World states in general, and the Middle East states in particular (non-aligned states).

During the following years, the relations between USSR and Turkey evolved into substantial economic, trade and in a lesser extent even military co-operation. By the 1970s, Turkey had received huge economic aid from the Soviet Union, making the country one of the

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[141] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 144-145.

[142] John Sakkas and Nataliya Zhukova, *The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem, 1967-1974*, Les cahiers Irice 1*:*1 (2013): 127.

[143] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 120; William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 45; John Sakkas and Nataliya Zhukova, *The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem*, 1967-1974, Les cahiers Irice 1*:* 1 (2013), 127.

largest recipients of Soviet economic assistance, outside the Warsaw pact. As a reciprocation Turkey allowed USSR military over-flights carrying military equipment to the Middle East during the 1973 crisis.[144]

Further international developments regarding Britain's role in Cyprus produced more anxieties for Washington on the Cyprus matter. By the mid-1960s, the country's economy was in decline and under these circumstances the newly elected British government, led by Prime Minister Harold Wilson, decided to reduce the country's military presence around the world. In February 1966 the Wilson government announced its decision to reduce the British forces in Cyprus, as well as Malta, Guyana and the south-east Asia region. Overall, this period marked the beginning of Britain's gradual decline as a great military power, while at the same time fears grew in Washington about the possibility of a future loss of the British military facilities in Cyprus.[145]

As the developments described above transformed the international background of the Cyprus question, Greece and Turkey entered again into discussions about it. In 1965 Turkish press and public denounced the UN resolution, perceiving it as a violation of the Turkish rights in Cyprus and, thus, the Turkish government firmly rejected it, stating that a solution to the Cyprus problem could only be achieved by negotiations between her and Greece.[146] Meanwhile, the conservative ruling government, tied in the western ideologies and interests, began to express doubts about the involvement of international organisations in the Cyprus matter. As a result, a new series of discussions between the two counties started with the constant support of the US. During these negotiations, Greece's position was developed around the idea of enosis with concessions for Turkey. Greek officials supported the view that union with Greece would lead to the NATOisation of Cyprus, something that would also serve Turkey's defence interests, while an independent Cyprus would endanger western security in the region. Turkey on the other side strongly rejected the idea of enosis, despite the fact that even the British government agreed to discuss the integration of the Dakheleia base to Turkey.[147]

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[144] Zalmay Khalilzad, *The Superpowers and the Northern Tier*, International Security 4: 3 (1979), 14-15; Monteagle Stearns, *Entangled allies: US policy toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus* (Council on Foreign relations, 1992), 38.

[145] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 123-124.

[146] Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, Danwart Rustow. The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interests. September 1967: 33

[147] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 156-158.

While the negotiations between Turkey and Greece continued, the so-called "crisis of Czechoslovakian arms" unfolded in Cyprus. The Cypriot government, in an attempt to boost the Cypriot police force, closed a secret pact with pro-Soviet Czechoslovakia regarding the purchase of Czechoslovakian arms, which arrived in Limassol on November 1966. The arms deal between Makarios and Czechoslovakia illustrates the general Cypriot effort to cultivate cordial relationships with countries of the Soviet bloc. In this context, both the Greek and Turkish governments reacted strongly to the arrival of the arms, accusing Makarios of attempting to sabotage the negotiations.

Perhaps more interesting is the reaction of the Soviet leadership as it underlines the opportunistic approach followed the country regarding the Cyprus issue. As Soviet – Turkish relations solidified, USSR did not wish to endanger the rapprochement of the two states. As a result, the Soviet Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin, during a formal visit to Ankara, strongly criticised both the Cypriot-Greek leadership and the Czechoslovakian government for the arms delivery.[148]

2.2.   The events of 1967

While US relationships with Turkey and Britain were deteriorating and Greco-Turkish negotiations rea, in 1967 important developments occurred on an international and national level that greatly affected the situation in Cyprus and contributed to a great extent to the events that would follow. The first development that directly influenced Cyprus' future was a major change in the political life of Greece. On 21 April 1967 the weak Greek government was overthrown and a military regime was established in the country. The coup was masterminded by a group of mostly unknown, until then, colonels that had served in the Greek Intelligence Agency (KYP). Given the existing relationship and cooperation between the KYP and the CIA, the colonels had strong connections to the latter.[149] In fact, some historians claim that the leader of the regime, George Papadopoulos, who had reportedly acted as the "liaison officer" between CIA and KYP, had been in the payroll of the CIA since the 1950s.[150] The 1967 Greek coup

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[148] Aslım Ilksoy, "The Soviet Union and Cyprus in 1974 Events," *Athens Journal of History 2*, no. 4: 253-254.

[149] See, for example: FRUS, 1964-68, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 225, "Field Information Report", Athens, March 7, 1966 and doc. 245, "Field Information Report," Athens, December 20, 1966.

[150] Lawrence Wittner, *American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 305; Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 126; Louis Klarevas, *Were the eagle and the phoenix birds of a feather? The United States and the Greek coup of 1967*, *Diplomatic History 30*: 3 (2006), 480.

d'état marked another turning point in the Cyprus affairs and the existing geopolitical constellations.

It has been a common conclusion among the Greek public that the military regime in Greece was enjoying the tolerance, if not support, of the US government.[151] This does not necessarily imply that the American government was directly involved in the ascendance of the Greek junta on power. However, especially when compared to the international reaction to the Greek developments, the United States failure to strongly condemn the colonels as the New Greek regime was, at least in the short-term, serving their strategic interests in the Mediterranean. On the eve of another Arab-Israeli war an authoritarian, pro-US regime would allow America to use Greek airspace and maritime space to defend Israel.[152] However, American documents indicate that Washington was not expecting the coup and, although the US did not condemn the new regime, adopted a rather sceptical position towards it and ceased the provision of arms to Greece.[153]

The junta officials had made their position clear from the beginning, by demonstrating their alliance with NATO and the West as well as their strong opposition to communism. The strict anti-communist policy followed by the new regime and its strong connection/alliance to the west resulted in NATO – dependency for Greece. In this context, Greece dealing with the Cyprus issue developed completely under the prism of NATO interests.[154]

From the beginning of the junta regime in Greece, the new military government demonstrated very active interest and took an aggressive stance on the Cyprus dispute. The junta's ultimate objective was to achieve a settlement that would be based on the provisions of the Acheson plans, or more correctly, on a version of the Acheson plan that would be favourable towards Greece. The Greek military government resumed secret negotiations with the Turkish government, in an attempt to pursue enosis in exchange for territorial concessions to Turkey. As Turkey's demands were more than what the Greeks were prepared to give out, the negotiations continued on various occasions between 1967 and 1974, with the junta officials insisting on different version of the Acheson plan, infuriating Makarios.[155] According

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[151] FRUS, 1969–1976, Vol. XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, "National Intelligence Estimate", 29 January 1973.
[152] Konstantinos Svolopoulos, *The Greek foreign policy 1945-1981*, Vol. II (Athens: Estia, 2003), 167-168; Giannis Sakkas, *Greece in the Mediterranean: 1950-2004* (Athens: SEAB, 2015), 73.
[153] FRUS, 1964-68, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 273-276 "Telegram from Embassy in Greece to State Department", 21 April 1967; doc. 280 "Telegram from State Department to the Embassy in Greece", 24 April 1967.
[154] Konstantinos Svolopoulos, *The Greek foreign policy 1945-1981*, Vol. II (Athens: Estia, 2003), 168-169.
[155] Sotiris Rizas, *Realism and Human Rights in US Policy Toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018: 63-4; Vassilis Fouskas, *Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974*, Mediterranean Quarterly 12: 3 (2001), 21-2.

to the CIA declassified documents, the military regime's leader, George Papadopoulos, held the view that the continuation of the Cyprus dispute was harmful to Greece's long-term interests and a solution to it was essential, even if large concessions to Turkey had to be made.[156]

A few months after the establishment of the New Greek military and pro-NATO regime, important Cold War developments in the Middle East highlighted again the existing American interests concerning the Cyprus dispute. In June 1967, a new Arab – Israeli conflict widely known as the "Six Days War" became the turning point that greatly shaped the Cold War developments in the region. Israeli forces launched an attack against the Arabs and in a few days seized Palestinian territories. One important factor to be taken under consideration at this point is the centrality of Israel's protection within the US policy and strategic interests during the period of the Cold War. In fact, the "defence of Israel" against Soviet expansion and Arab nationalism had been one of the primary US geopolitical objectives, especially since the mid to late 1950s.[157] The Six Days War highlighted the strategic importance of Greece (along with Turkey and Iran) for the American interests in the Middle East. As a result, the American position towards the Greek regime was revaluated.[158] Furthermore, the Arab – Israeli conflict illustrated that the harmonious relations between Turkey and Greece were of vital importance for the US policy regarding defence of Israel.

During the following period the Cold War developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East intensified the need for an immediate solution, in the context of NATO, to the Cyprus problem. Already from 1967, after the Arab – Israeli conflict, the balance of power in the region was reshaped. On the one hand, Israel was strongly supported by the US, while on the other hand the Arabic states enjoyed close affairs with the Soviet Union, causing great anxiety to the western world. The Soviet influence in the region was enhanced further when Muammar Gaddafi seized power in Libya in September 1968, marking a new period for the countries relations with the USSR, opening new marine routes for the Soviets. Furthermore, the Soviet presence in Syria and Egypt, through military aid and equipment, increased, leading up to the Soviet – Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1971. On the same year, a socialist government won the 1971 elections leading to negotiations about the British bases

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[156] CIA: FOIA, National Intelligence Estimate, Number 29.1-68: 'Greece', 11 April 1968.
[157] Vassilis Fouskas, *Uncomfortable Questions: Cyprus, October 1973–August 1974*, Contemporary European History 14: 1 (2005), 56-7.
[158] FRUS, 1964-68, Vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc. 296, "Memorandum from Secretary of State Rusk to President Johnson", 21 July 1967.

on the island which proved to be burdensome for NATO. The Soviet penetration in the Middle East combined with the high concentration of Soviet naval forces in the region affected the pre-1967 balance of power, thus creating new needs and interests for NATO.[159]

Against this international background, back in the fall of 1967, another development, this time on the Cypriot island, further shaped the politics of Greece and Turkey, building up to the events that led to the 1974 Turkish invasion. On 15 November 1967 intercommunal tension in Cyprus rose once again when an organised attack against the Cypriot-Turkish community of the island took place in the south Turkish Cypriot villages Aghios Theodoros and Kophinou, under the direction of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, led by Georgios Grivas, and the Greek Police.[160]

The attack against the Cypriot-Turkish community prompted extended nation-wide anti-Greek demonstrations in Turkey and a strong public demand for military intervention on the island. The Czechoslovakian arms crisis of 1966 along with the fact that the Greek government presented the attack as a major military victory for Greece further escalated tensions. As a result, the Turkish government threatened for an immediate invasion – exactly as in 1964 – demanding the immediate withdrawal of mainland Greek forces (with the parallel withdrawal of Turkish forces), as well as the dissolution of the Greek Cypriot National Guard.

US mediation through the former deputy secretary of defence Cyrus Vance successfully deterred the possibility of a war between Greece and Turkey, during a period where the recent Arab – Israeli war could act as an example for both states. In the aftermath of the Johnson letter of 1964 and its consequences in the American-Turkish relations, the US policy regarding this new crisis of 1967 was favouring Turkey. Vance visited Ankara in late November 1967 and after tense negotiations that lasted ten days, he managed to defuse the situation. Greece finally accepted to remove her forces from Cyprus, apart from the contingent allowed by the Zurich – London Agreements, provided that Turkey would also remove he forces. The Turkish government agreed and within the next couple of months almost 10.000 Greek troops were withdrawn from Cyprus. Although the Cypriot leadership failed to disband the National Guard – something that Makarios would regret later – the crisis was over for now.[161]

[159] Giannos Kranidiotis, *The Cyprus Problem 1960-1974* (Athens: Themelio, 1984), 198-200; Giannis Sakkas, *Greece in the Mediterranean: 1950-2004* (Athens: SEAB, 2015), 9.

[160] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 127.

[161] Eugene Keefe and Eric Solsten, "Historical Setting" in *Cyprus a country study*, ed. Eric Solsten (Headquarters, Dept. of the Army, 1993), 37; Rizas, Sotiris. *Realism and Human Rights in US Policy Toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018: 67

2.3. Makarios and his policy at the centre of attention

The American policy on the Cyprus matter entered a new phase when in January 1969 Richard Nixon, a passionate anti-communist, was elected as US President. The election of Nixon was a turning point for the normalisation of the tense relations between the Greek military government and the United States. During the Nixon administration, US military aid to Greece was fully restored, and the arms sold to Greece reached unprecedented numbers.[162]

Both the Greek colonels and Nixon, regarded Makarios as a threat to the western interests in Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean, an opinion based on his numerous weapon deals with the countries of the communist bloc and his general independent foreign policy. In their point of view, the Cypriot President represented the threat of the island being absorbed into the communist bloc. Although Makarios was definitely not a supporter of communism, after the military junta seized power in Greece his reliance on the support of the left-wing parties strengthened, as the right-wing parties were very sympathetic towards the New Greek regime, thus turning against him. Furthermore, the colonels regarded him not only as a threat to their defence interests, but also as a threat to the regime itself. In their point of view, an independent Cyprus could act as a base for their democratic opponent's actions against it. In this context, Makarios represented a common problem for the Greek and the US government and thus, his removal from the Cypriot government was of great interest to both of them.[163]

During this period of time, a number of assassinations attempts against Makarios directed by the junta occurred, including an attack on his helicopter in March 1970 and a landmine explosion in 1972, just before his car drove by. Furthermore, attempts to remove him from the office, also took place, the most notable one in 1972 when a group of Greek Orthodox bishops demanded the resignation of Makarios as his political position was non-compatible with his ecclesiastical duties. The involvement of the USA, in the assassination attempts has been underlined by numerous scholars and historians (e.g. O' Malley and Craig). However, declassified American documents indicate that on various occasions the CIA attempted to inform the Cypriot President about the attempts against him. CIA documents justified this by claiming that Makarios' survival was "*vital for the stability on Cyprus*" that was "*for the*

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[162] Konstantinos Svolopoulos, *The Greek foreign policy 1945-1981*, Vol. II (Athens: Estia, 2003), 170-171.
[163] Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 131-133; Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?*, Security Dialogue 35: 1 (2004),33.

interest of U.S. foreign policy" and also that in case Makarios found out alone of the plot against him he would suspect US involvement, thus driving him towards the Soviets.[164]

Meanwhile Makarios close relations with USSR continued. In June 1971, the Cypriot President made an eight-day visit to Moscow, during which the Soviet Union issued an official statement declaring again her support of Cyprus as an independent unified Republic and her satisfaction over the fact that the island had not made an alliance with NATO. In the next year another weapon crisis broke off as, in response to the formation of the anti-Makarios terrorist organisation EOKA-B, led again by Grivas, the Archbishop imported $1.3 million worth Czechoslovakian arms.[165] Once again, Turkey threaten with an invasion if the arms were not given to the UN. The Greek government, in the wake of this new crisis, demanded Makarios departure from Cypriot political scene and his replacement by a "pro-Greek" and pro-enosis government. Again, the international developments discussed above forced America to intervene in order to avoid a coup against Makarios and a consequent Soviet reaction. The coup was prevented for now but it would take place two years later, in a different regional and international environment.[166]

The need to remove Makarios from Cypriot presidentship was made more imperative for U.S. officials in 1973, when another Middle East conflict transformed again the international balance of power in the region. In October 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces, supplied by Soviet arms, launched an attack against Israel in order to recover the territory that was lost in the 1967 Arab – Israeli conflict. During this incidence, which is widely known as the "Yom Kippur War", the US reacted by immediately supporting Israel, escalating the American-Soviet tension in the region. European NATO allies, excluding Portugal, did not allow American use of their bases. Even America's closest and most faithful ally, Britain, under the government of Edward Heath, did not accept the use of their Cyprus bases for Israel's defence. This reluctance on the part of the European states to assist Washington in the defence of Israel can be traced in their fear of a possible Arab economic retaliation by cutting oil supplies to Europe (80% of European energy needs were being covered by supplies from the

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[164] FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XXIX, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean 1969-1972, doc. 351, "Intelligence Information Cable", 4 February 1972.
[165] FRUS, 1969-1976, Vol. XXIV, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 389, "Intelligence Information Cable", 4 February 1972.

[166] Giannis Sakkas, *Greece in the Mediterranean: 1950-2004* (Athens: SEAB, 2015), 79.

Arab states).[167] Turkey also denied American access to her bases, under the excuse that the sole aim of their establishment was to serve the country's defence alliance with NATO and not USA external interests.

The Yom Kippur War illustrated the importance of western intelligence and logistics bases in Cyprus to the US and Europe. According to Fouskas, this denial especially from the British government to use Cyprus in order to support Israel caused great disorder in the Cold War US lines of deterrence. Thus, in order to amend the alliance in Eastern Mediterranean, a new planning system and new diplomatic initiatives on the part of the USA were necessary. Given the Cold War balance of power in the region, Turkey surfaced as the only alternative to Britain for serving western regional interests.[168]

The non-aligned, independent foreign policy followed by Makarios and the Cypriot government during the post-independence period as well as the possibility of independent military actions seriously endangered the United States objective regarding Israel.[169] By then, Cyprus' strategic importance regarding the protection and support of Israel was undeniable (as the military co-operation between Turkey and Israel was) and, under the circumstances described above, the removal of Makarios and the establishment of a pro-NATO Cypriot government, by either a union with Greece under the support of a US friendly government, or by a Turkish invasion, seemed the only option for Kissinger.[170]

2.4. Greek coup and Turkish invasion

In November 1973, decisive developments took place in the Greek political scene. Brigadier Ioannides replaced Papadopoulos in the premiership of the country. While Papadopoulos was a supporter of Cyprus' union with Greece mainly for NATO purposes, keeping a strong alliance with the US, the new regime took a more nationalistic and 'adventurous' (as described by US) position on the matter and with dealing with the US.[171] During the early months of 1974, the, already tensed relation, between Greece and Turkey

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[167] Sakkas, John. *The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974,* Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 6: 3 (2004),254-5; Vassilis Fouskas, *Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974*, Mediterranean Quarterly 12: 3 (2001), 123.
[168] Vassilis Fouskas, Uncomfortable *Questions: Cyprus, October 1973–August 1974*, Contemporary European History 14: 1 (2005): 56-7; Vassilis Fouskas, *Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974*, Mediterranean Quarterly 12: 3 (2001), 123-4.
[169] Vassilis Fouskas, *Uncomfortable Questions: Cyprus, October 1973–August* 1974, Contemporary European History 14: 1 (2005), 56-7.
[170] William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A modern history* (London: IB Tauris, 2005), 77.
[171] FRUS, 1969–1976, Vol. XXX, "Interagency Intelligence Memorandum", 18 April 1974.

became even more troubled over the two countries' longstanding conflicting claims about sovereignty in the Aegean Sea. The Turkish-Greek conflict reached its peak after oil discovery on the Greek island of Thasos suggested possible oil minerals in other Aegean locations.[172] These developments led directly to a new Cyprus crisis, when on 15 July 1974, the Greek junta staged a coup against Makarios, who was finally replaced by Nikos Sampson, a renowned EOKA terrorist and supporter of enosis.

Turkey was aware of the fact that the Greek military junta was behind the coup and almost immediately the Turkish troops went on alert. In addition, the ambivalent US position on the coup let Turkey to adopt the view that Washington favoured the Greek side and would soon recognise the Samson government. Under the provisions on the Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey requested joint intervention from Britain. During a meeting which was attended by officials from both countries, on 17 July, Britain denied use of her Cyprus bases to Turkish forces, asking for a new meeting that would include Greece as a guarantor power. Consequently, five days later, on 20 July 1974, Turkish troops intervened on the island, acting under Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, in the name of the protection of the Cypriot-Turkish minority.[173] As Fouskas highlights, Turkey's first invasion "*represented the implementation of a version of the Acheson plan, with its troops taking over the Turkish enclaves on the Kyrenia-Nicosia axis*".[174] It seems clear enough that Turkey took the first step towards the fulfilment of her long-standing aspiration of partitioning Cyprus.

Just days after this first Turkish invasion, on 22 July 1974, the military regime in Athens collapsed, leading also to the resignation of Nikos Sampson. Glafkos Clerides replaced Sampson and a new weak government under Karamanlis was formed in Athens, while the military presence was still strong.[175] Pressured by the United Nations resolution, Britain, Greece and Turkey entered into a new circle of negotiations that took place in Geneva, in order to restore peace in Cyprus. Despite the diplomatic efforts that followed this first intervention, on 14 August 1974 Turkey invaded on Cyprus again, assuming control of 40% of the island's territory in the north. In the aftermath of the invasion about 2.000 Greek-Cypriots were

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[172] FRUS, 1969–1976, Vol. XXX, doc. 15, "Interagency Intelligence Memorandum", 21 June 1974.

[173] Mallinson, William. *US interests, British acquiescence and the invasion of Cyprus*, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations 9:3 (2007), 495-6.

[174] Vassilis Fouskas, *Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974*." Mediterranean Quarterly 12: 3 (2001), 125.

[175] Clement Dodd, *The history and politics of the Cyprus conflict* (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 115.

assassinated and more than 200.000 became refugees, transferred to the free southern territories. Nicosia was transformed into a Mediterranean Berlin divided in two.[176]

The United States role during these events has attracted the attention of numerous researchers and it remains controversial until today. The reaction of Washington following the Greek coup on Cyprus demonstrated clearly that Makarios' removal from Office fulfilled the American objectives regarding his leadership. The USA refused to publicly condemn the coup, to the surprise of the international community, dealing with the events as an "accomplished fact". On the same day that the coup took place the State Department announced that the American policy on Cyprus remained that of "*supporting the independence and territorial integrity of the state and its constitutional arrangements*", urging the rest of the countries to follow a similar policy. In addition, the United States used their veto right to block a UN Security Council resolution that was condemning Greece for her participation in the coup.[177] According to Constandinos, Kissinger did not want to offend the Greek military government for military reasons, as "Six Fleet could be tossed out from Greek ports". As a result, US policy concentrated on preventing enosis, as it would most possibly result in a war between Turkey and Greece, harming NATO's south-eastern flank while benefiting Soviet interests.[178]

Many historians – among whom the majority of Greek sources - support the view that that Washington was informed about the coup before it happened, mostly pointing out that the 1974 coup and its following events were actually the realisation of the long-standing US plan of partitioning the island in order to prevent a communist expansion in the region.[179]

The official published Cyprus report of the Investigative Committee of the Greek Parliament also points out to various sources indicating US involvement in the coup, including declassified American documents and official depositions of members of the Greek junta. The testimonies of Greek President Gizikis and Greek commander of armed forces Bonanos, indicate they were both informed by Ioannides that US officials reassured him that the USA would prevent a possible Turkish invasion after the coup.[180] Other indications of US involvement in the coup include a secret telegram from Kissinger addressed to COS (CIA

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[176] John Sakkas, *The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974*, Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 6: 3 (2004).

[177] Aylin Güney, *The USA's Role in Mediating the Cyprus Conflict: A Story of Success or Failure?*, Security Dialogue 35: 1 (2004), 33.

[178] Andreas Constandinos*, US-British policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974*, The Cyprus Review 23: 1 (2011), 34.

[179] See among others Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus conspiracy: America, espionage and the Turkish invasion* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 94-95; *Hitchens, C. Hostage to history. Cyprus: from the Ottomans to Kissinger*. Quarter Books Limited, 1984, 165-6.

[180] The Cyprus File Vol. 1 373-4.

branch in the middle east) in which Kissinger asks to "*proceed to the final cure of the Archbishop Makarios*" as it was "*a decision of the National Security Council*".[181] In a later telegram, only three days before the coup against Makarios Kissinger addressed COS again, asking to "*clean the table for our Ambassador in Cyprus. The cleaning is a decision of the National Security Council.*"[182]. Furthermore, a secret document signed by NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns where he states that NATO had agreed with US Undersecretary of State Sisco to support "*the Turkish army during the landing as well as in the violent expulsion of Makarios.*"[183] However, other sources and historians contradict this view and support the position that the crisis of 1974 was the result of the miscalculated American – mainly Kissinger's - policy.

In any case, it becomes clear that the new power balance created in the Middle east after the results of the Yom Kippur War, that were in favour of the USA, had presented Washington with the opportunity to act more freely in the region than before, as Soviet Union's role and influence were greatly reduced. Additionally, the development of détente[184] between the two great powers combined with the improved Soviet-Turkish relationships, led US officials to believe that the USSR would not act decisively on the matter but remain an outside observer.

As one of the US main objectives regarding the Cyprus crisis had remained the stability of the eastern Mediterranean region and the prevention of a nation-wide war between Turkey and Greece and a possible subsequent USSR involvement, Washington's tolerance towards the Greek coup on Cyprus was followed by the same restraint towards the first Turkish intervention. This time America feared that another US mediation against Turkey in Cyprus would most possibly push Turkey closer to the Soviet Union. The Turkish invasion was considered at the time to be less harmful to American interests in the region than further alienating Turkey, especially when taking under consideration that Greece was not militarily prepared for a Greco-Turkish war.[185] On the eve of the second Turkish invasion Kissinger stated that although US does not wish for a Greco-Turkish war, in case this happens Turkey is far more important for US than Greece.[186]

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[181] CIA – Top Secret (4398), May 1974.
[182] CIA – Top Secret (6374), 4 June 1974.
[183] 5G/5D/WASHDC- 12/526-D48, NATO Top Secret, 12 July 1974.
[184] A diplomatic term describing a phase in the Cold War history during which the tension between the two main powers was eased as a result of diplomatic talks between them.
[185] Nasuh Uslu. The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish-American Relations 1959-2003, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003, pp. 131-132
[186] FRUS, 1973-76, Vol. XXX., Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, doc. 129, "Memorandum of Conversation", 13 August 1974.

On account of Turkey's importance for strategic American planning – especially as far as American relations with Israel were concerned – Kissinger did not wish to oppose Turkey. Furthermore, Greece was not in a position to act against Turkey, so the threat of a war between the two NATO allies was of a lesser concern now than before. Taking all the above under consideration, it becomes clear that the fact that Turkey occupied more than one third of Cyprus' territory did not contradict US interests.[187]

America was not the only power that failed to prevent the partition of the island. The role played by Britain during the 1974 crisis was also determining for the developments on Cyprus. Britain's failure to act as a guarantor power, thus preventing the Turkish invasion (although the country was legally required to act on the matter), is still today regarded as a "betrayal" among the Cypriot and Greek public[188], further enhancing the view that the 1974 crisis that left the island partitioned was actually the realisation of the long-standing Anglo-American Plan. Although this argument has not been clearly proven by evidence, Britain's foreign policy during the events of 1974 can definitely be described as completely dependent to US and Kissinger policy and to regional cold-war western objectives.[189]

The USSR strongly condemned the Greek coup demanding the restoration of the Makarios regime. USSR – whose main objective was to keep Cyprus from becoming a NATO territory, something that could be achieved by both enosis and partition – feared that the Sampson government would immediately declare union with Greece.[190]

The Soviet Union failed to condemn the first Turkish invasion as Soviet officials perceived it as a prevention to union with Greece, keeping an ambivalent attitude towards it. The Soviet press presented the Turkish invasion as a justified act against the Greek intention of annexing the island, turning it into a NATO territory. Under the framework of the recent developments in the Middle East, the Soviet government seemed to support the idea of Turkish invasion, as a possible enosis would contradict her interests on the region and on the island itself.

In general, the main USSR objectives regarding the Cyprus crisis in 1974 were to maintain the cordial Turkish-Soviet relations, while further exploiting the Turkish-American

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[187] Andreas Constandinos, *US-British policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974*, The Cyprus Review 23: 1 (2011), 40.
[188] The Cyprus File Vol. 1, 111-112.
[189] Mallinson, William. *US interests, British acquiescence and the invasion of Cyprus*, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations 9: 3 (2007).
[190] John Sakkas and Nataliya Zhukova, *The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem, 1967-1974*, Les cahiers Irice 1: 1 (2013), 132-133.

differences over the matter. In addition, the Soviet Union aimed at being directly involved in any future settlement regarding Cyprus preventing the enforcement of a NATO solution.[191] The détente also played an important role as the Soviets did not wish to disturb improving US-USSR relations, especially over a region that fell under the western sphere of influence.[192]

Conclusion

International Cold War developments contributed to the final partition of the island to a great extent. The Soviet – Turkish rapprochement, a partial result of the harsh Johnson intervention in the crisis of 1964, the economic decline of Britain and Greek political instability formed the background of Cold War antagonisms in Cyprus. The Middle Eastern crisis of 1967 and subsequent developments in the area not only illustrated the importance of the island for the strategic American planning, but also created a new international balance of power, improving Soviet influence in the region. By then, Makarios was a burden for the USA. The rise of the Greek military junta also in 1967 meant that Americans had an important ally in their war against Makarios. In 1973-74, the situation in the Middle East had changed in favour of the Americans after the new Arab-Israeli War. This new international balance deterred the U.S. and other powers to act decisively on the matter when Turkey invade Cyprus after the Greek removal of Makarios leaving the island bitterly partitioned.

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[191] Ibid
[192] Sakkas, John. *The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974*, Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 6: 3 (2004).

Conclusions

This thesis examined the effects that the Cold War had on the decolonisation of Cyprus from the end of World War II until the Turkish invasion that partitioned the island in the summer of 1974. Throughout the study, it has been argued that the events on the island during the turbulent period between 1955 and 1974 were greatly influenced by a number of factors that were shaped outside the island's internal affairs and are mainly connected to the events of the Cold War and the respective policies of the interested parties. The Cold War antagonism between the western and the eastern camps, led by USA and USSR respectively, defined the framework within which the Cyprus dispute developed and had a strong influence on the process of the island's decolonisation and the formation of the current situation in Cyprus.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the strategic position of the island within the Eastern Mediterranean region, in close proximity to the oil-rich Middle East – one of the primary arenas of Cold War antagonisms – meant that its status was highly affected by the objectives and the interests of powers involved. Furthermore, based on the facts discussed above, one can safely reach the conclusion that the Cyprus issue has mainly been developed under the context of the western alliance, while the Soviet Union, remained mostly on the outside – at least as far as major developments are concerned – representing the communistic threat that had to be dealt with.

During the period of the Cold War, the US policy of "containment", along with the importance of intra-alliance NATO cohesion, dominated any US diplomatic and strategic initiatives concerning the Cyprus issue. The centrality of Cyprus within the anti-communist American policy proved to be fatal for Cyprus as a unified republic. The main American strategic objective has been to prevent Soviet expansionism throughout the world. Under this context, the strategic and diplomatic lines followed by the US regarding the Cyprus problem, although they evolved from "passive" diplomacy during the early years to active diplomatic intervention during the period leading to the Turkish invasion, should be considered as an extension of their general policy. For the US the strategic location of the island meant that it should remain under NATO control for strategic and military reasons, or otherwise, NATO's south-eastern flank would be in danger.

Furthermore, both prior to the decolonisation of the island in 1959 and during the first post-independence decades, the continuous conflict and outbreaks of violence between the two communities of the island represented the threat of a possible conflict between the cultural mother countries of these communities, Turkey and Greece, both NATO members and very

significant to the US strategic and defence interests in the middle east. A war between these two countries would jeopardise the security of NATO's Northern Tier and the alliance's stability and, thus, it should be avoided at all costs.

The Cold War impact on Cyprus's decolonisation, in terms of the respective American and generally western interests, is perfectly reflected in the Zurich and London Agreements. These agreements, that granted Cyprus her independence, were designed in order to secure the NATO interests in the region, mainly by ensuring that the British bases would remain available for western use.

American eagerness to ensure Cyprus' alliance with NATO and unrestricted western use of the island's military facilities is illustrated during the first post-independence years. By 1963 a change in the position of the USA regarding Cyprus is noted. The intercommunal conflict that was triggered by Makarios' attempts to amend the constitution marks the first direct attempts by US officials and diplomats to get involved in the Cyprus affairs in order to stabilise the situation, always with their main objectives in mind. From then onwards, NATO and US presence in Cyprus remained really active, mostly in the form of diplomatic initiatives that varied in their direction dictated by various cold-war international developments.

In addition, it becomes clear that the Cypriot-Greek leader, Archbishop Makarios, the central figure of the pre-independence enosis campaign and the post-independence elected President of the Cypriot Republic, attempted to take advantage of the ongoing Cold War antagonisms in an effort to ensure the independence of his country by placing Cyprus in between the two international blocs, the western and the eastern one. Makarios' involvement in the Non-Aligned movement and his independent foreign policy caused repeated anxieties and concerns among the western alliance, especially in the wake of various crisis strictly connected to the Cold War, such as the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the Six Days War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973. All these incidents highlighted the vital importance that Cyprus held on the part of the western alliance and its interests in the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean.

Under this context, already since 1964, if not earlier, the USA began to realise that the independence of Cyprus was not the ideal solution, as the policy followed by Makarios was putting American interests under threat. From this moment on, the American policy on the Cyprus matter was greatly transformed and the partition of the island began to gain ground within the Anglo-American and NATO circles, as it would put Cyprus under the immediate control of Greece and Turkey, both NATO allies, securing the western interests in the area. The Acheson Plans of 1964 was the first illustration of that change of American policy, as well

as a perfect illustration of the contribution of cold-war interests in the shaping of Cyprus's post-independence status quo.

Following the unsuccessful attempts of 1963-64 to produce a solution to the Cyprus situation, another factor that seriously affected the USA views regarding the island was the Soviet Union – Turkey rapprochement. Following the renowned Johnson letter in June 1964, another proof of the active interest and involvement of Washington in Cyprus, American policy was concentrated on the reconciliation of Turkish – American relations, while the Cyprus issue remained on the background. This is perfectly demonstrated in the US intervention during the 1967 crisis, via Washington mediator Vance. This time concessions had to be made from the Greek side, while Turkey received support from the US. Although a greater crisis was prevented, Vance mediation proved to have long-term consequences for Cyprus as the Greek forces were removed from the island.

The attempts to fully integrate Cyprus into the NATO camp intensified after 1967 as a result of numerous factors, including the strict Kissinger – Nixon anti-communist policy, the uprising of the military regime in Greece that followed a NATO dependent foreign policy and the continuous Soviet-Cypriot and Soviet-Turkish relations that were solidified by economic and trade affairs. The Middle East cold-war developments greatly affected the American, but also the Soviet position in Cyprus. Finally, in 1974 when Greece and Turkey, in view of their own national interest in Cyprus, created the crisis that led to the island's final partition, the cold-war interests of the other involved parties overshadowed the Cypriot people interests, leading to the creation of the new status quo.

In sum, Cyprus' internal affairs and the Cypriot people's will did not manage to prevail against the American and NATO geopolitical interests in the context of the Cold War. The application of Realpolitik, power-based approach against a more idealistic one, deterred the U.S. to act successfully in order to avoid the 1974 crisis and the partition. As a result, the Cold War left a legacy on Cyprus which continues to haunt the state today. Although the Cold War is over, the Cyprus question continues to exist as a result of on-going conflicts that shape the power balance in the Eastern Mediterranean. The case of Cyprus serves as an indicative example of how the Cold War interests of the world's main power managed to shape the future of less powerful states.

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