

PARTICULARITIES

Turkey and the "Key Threes"

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If it is true that every country has its own "fateful dates", then in the case of the Republic of Turkey one should definitely not forget about the years ending with the number "three". The aim of this short reflection is to highlight the neglected events of 1963, which fundamentally influenced the direction of Turkey in the second half of the 20th century.

In 2023, the Republic of Turkey commemorated several important anniversaries that fundamentally shaped its development in the 20th century. It all began on 24 July 1923, the day the Treaty of Lausanne¹ was signed, replacing the unratified Treaty of Sèvres from 1920. Although the two documents were less than three years apart, their wording was diametrically opposed. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne was the last peace settlement negotiated at the end of the World War I and was a far cry from the 'dictum' that the Treaty of Sèvres represented for the Turkish side, which more or less mirrored the secret Anglo-French agreement of 1916². With the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which essentially established the present-day borders of the Turkish Republic, Turkey did not receive any compensation for war damages, but neither did it have to pay war reparations, and Turkey's share of the Ottoman debt was significantly reduced. At the same time, the vision, championed primarily by the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson,

¹ Societe des Nations Recueil des Traités et des Engagements Internationaux enregistrés par le Secretariat de la Société des Nations. Volume XXVIII 1924 nulos 1, 2. 3 et 4. Traité de Paix, signé à Lausanne le 24 Juillet 1923, No. 701. Société des Nations – Recueil des Traités 1924, pp. 11-114, available at:

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[cit. 15. 12. 2023]. cf. Treaty of Peace with Turkey, signed at Sèvres, August 10, 1920. London 1920, available at:

<https://treaties.fcdo.gov.uk/awweb/pdfopener?md=1&did=63986> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

² See more The Sykes-Picot Agreement: available at:

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sykes.asp [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

of establishing a so-called "Wilsonian Armenia"³ was abandoned. The document aroused similarly negative emotions among the Kurds and Greeks. It was not surprising, then, that the Lausanne Peace Treaty was seen by some as a diplomatic triumph and by others as a betrayal.⁴

Other changes did not wait long, they happened during October. On 13 October 1923, Ankara became the new capital of Turkey and a few days later, on 29 October 1923, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed and headed by President Mustafa Kemal, who in 1934 took the surname Atatürk⁵. On 1 December 1933, the first five-year plan for economic development was launched, which was preceded, among other things, by the establishment of İstanbul University by the 1933 reform⁶, and this could be continued until the second half of the 20th century, when Turkey started the process of convergence with united Europe⁷. The decisive date that began the turbulent relations between Turkey and united Europe was 12 September 1963⁸, when the two entities signed the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey⁹, the so-called 'Ankara Agreement'. For many years, this document became the primary document on the basis of which Turkey and united Europe defined themselves in relation to each other, often seeking unspoken or unintended.¹⁰ This state of affairs lasted for a couple of decades, until the mutual functioning of Turkey and united Europe, or rather the European Union, entered a new phase, which

³ See more map: Boundary between Turkey and Armenia: as determined by Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States of America, Copy 2, available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7431f.ct000197/> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

⁴ In the year 2017, "The Lausanne Project" was launched, which, among other things, also looks at how to teach the still delicate subject in Greek and Turkish high schools, see more at <https://thelausanneproject.com/teaching-resources/> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

⁵ Law No. 2525 of 21 June 1934, available at: <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2741.pdf> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

⁶ Laws No. 2251 and 2252 of 31 May 1933, available at: <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2420.pdf> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

⁷ The author uses the term *united Europe* to refer to the process of convergence of European states that began in 1952 and ended with the creation of the European Union on 1 November 1993.

⁸ Turkey submitted its application in the summer of 1959, just two years after the signing of the Treaties of Rome, and only two months after the Greek application. Turkey had several reasons, including: 1. the pro-Western orientation of Turkish foreign policy since 1923 (membership: 1949 Council of Europe, 1952 NATO, 1961 OECD), but also the adoption of Western models applied, for example, in the legislative, economic, cultural and social spheres, etc. 2. economic aspects, although political reasons were more important. 3. Turkey's desire to control Greece within the framework of Western European integration structures and economic interests.

⁹ Including their appendices available at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:f8e2f9f4-75c8-4f62-ae3f-b86ca5842eee.0008.02/DOC_2&format=PDF [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

¹⁰ See more MUSILOVÁ, J. (2015): *Hospodářské dějiny 20 století: Turecko a EHS v 60. letech 20. století* (dissertation). Brno: Masaryk University.

can be called *the escalation of demands* or the second European *no*. The first European *no* fell at the end of 1989 when the European Commission rejected Turkey's application for membership of a united Europe. The official justification referred to the failure to meet the political and economic conditions, as well as human rights violations in Turkey, and we certainly cannot forget the long-discussed Cyprus problem¹¹, which first escalated after the establishment of an independent state on the island of Cyprus in December 1963, an event that has been very often neglected, and the origins of the disagreements between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots often go back to 1974.

In 1960¹² the island of Cyprus gained independence from Great Britain¹³, which was guaranteed by several foundational documents¹⁴. The crown

¹¹ The involvement of today's European Union in the Cyprus problem dates back to the 1960s, when two guarantor powers - Greece in 1962 and Turkey in 1963 - became associate members of the EEC, and a third guarantor power - the UK - applied for full membership. The Cypriot economy was heavily dependent on the British economy and market. After the British application for full EEC membership in 1961, Cyprus sought to establish economic ties with the EEC. The EEC offered Cyprus full membership in 1962 (along with Great Britain), but this ended in early 1963 when French President Ch. de Gaulle vetoed the British application. In 1973 an Association Agreement was signed with Cyprus, six months after the Great Britain joined a united Europe (see more in MÜFTÜLER-BAC, M. - GÜNEY, A. (2005): The European Union and the Cyprus Problem 1961-2003. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 41, 2, 2005, pp. 281-193, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00263200500035462> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

¹² The decisive steps behind the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus were taken in early 1959 with the signing of a series of documents known as the London-Zurich Agreements, based on which the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus was drafted.

¹³ The Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923, among other things, revised Turkey's borders, and one of the key changes concerned the island of Cyprus, over which the British annexation of 5 November 1914 was confirmed under Article 20 (see more: Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and other Instruments. Signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, together with Agreements between Greece and Turkey signed on January 30, 1923, and Subsidiary Documents forming part of the Turkish Peace Settlement. [15r] (34/260), article 20, p. 23, available at: https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100000001491.0x00028f [cit. 26.9.2023] (or the Cyprus Convention of 1878 - see more at Cyprus: handbooks prepared under the direction of the historical section of the Foreign Office - no. 65. London 1920, p. 13, available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdclccn.a22000924/?sp=7&r=-0.741,-0.05,2.483,1.749,0> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. The British annexation of the island was never recognised by the Ottoman Empire. In 1925, Cyprus became a British Crown Colony.

¹⁴ Treaty of Establishment, signed in London, on 17 February 1959, available at: <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/treaty-concerning-the-establishment-of-the-republic-of-cyprus.en.mfa> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960, available at: https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR_600816_Treaty%20of%20Guarantee.pdf [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. Treaty of Alliance (with Additional Protocols). Signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960, available at: https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR_600816_Treaty%20of%20Alliance%20with%20additional%20protocols%29.pdf [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

colony¹⁵ became a separate bicomunal, federal republic¹⁶ with a Greek and Turkish community¹⁷.

The delicate and "artificial"¹⁸ balance guaranteed by the 1960 Constitution¹⁹ lasted only three years. A part of the Greek Cypriot population felt threatened

¹⁵ From the 1950s onwards, Greek-Cypriot resentment with the British administration escalated. The decisive moment was the change in the post of Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios III was a great supporter of *enosis* (annexation to Greece; henceforth *enosis*) and sought international support for the idea, and the subsequent establishment of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (henceforth EOKA), whose initial offensive actions affected not only the British, Turkish Cypriots, but also Greek Cypriots who were not supporters of *enosis*. Thus, initially it was not an ethnic conflict, but this began to change in the second half of the 1950s and gradually the primary target of EOKA became the Turkish Cypriots, which led to the formation of the Turkish Resistance Movement (hereinafter TMT), which was ideologically based on *taksim* (division of the island, hereinafter *taksim*). The dramatic situation eventually led to a series of negotiations that ultimately resulted in the decolonisation of the island. The UK 'settled' for the establishment of two Sovereign Base Areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the island of Cyprus (Akrotiri and Dhekelia), in which area it placed military bases (see more Treaty of establishment, signed in London, on 17 February 1959 and Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960), thus at least partially satisfying British interests in the strategic area of the Eastern Mediterranean.

¹⁶ The Republic of Cyprus was admitted to the United Nations on 21 September 1960, became an independent member of the Commonwealth on 13 March 1961 and joined the Council of Europe on 24 May 1961.

¹⁷ See more Article 21 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which declared the following: "*Turkish nationals ordinarily resident in Cyprus on the 5th November, 1914, will acquire British nationality subject to the conditions laid down in the local law, and will there-upon lose their Turkish nationality. They will, however, have the right to opt for Turkish nationality within two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, provided that they leave Cyprus within twelve months after having so opted.*" As a result, this article also supported the tendencies of Turkish politicians of the time and their efforts to repopulate the war-ravaged areas of Anatolia (see more: XYPOLIA, I. (2021): Imperial Bending of Rules: The British Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne, and Cypriot Immigration to Turkey. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 32, 4, pp. 674-691, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/09592296.2021.1996711?needAccess=true> [cit. 30. 1. 2023].

¹⁸ The establishment of the independent state was initiated more or less by other states, which were also signatories to the key documents mentioned above (i.e.: the Treaty of Establishment established a federal Republic of Cyprus, the Treaty of Guarantee made Turkey, Great Britain and Greece guarantors of the Republic, and the Treaty of Alliance allowed for the deployment of Greek and Turkish troops on the island), thus the majority of the Cypriot population certainly did not consider independence to be a sufficient atonement and their own decision and the 1960 Constitution was rather adding fuel to the fire, among others: the right to military intervention by the guarantors in the event of a threat to Cyprus' status.

¹⁹ For example, the constitution assigned the office of president to a Greek Cypriot representative and the post of vice-president to a Turkish Cypriot; each was elected by members of his own community and given veto power in the areas of foreign affairs, defence and security. The constitution also provided for a seven-to-three ratio for Greek Cypriots in the government, parliament, civil service, police and army of six-to-four. See more Kibris Cumhuriyeti, Anayasası 1960, Lefkoşa 1960, available at: https://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma_TU.pdf [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

by the constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriots²⁰ and *enosis* was in sight, which was especially a reason for the die-hard supporters of the idea to speak out against the constitution, which spelled the end for both *enosis* and *taksim*. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots became very determined to claim their constitutional rights. The first visible difficulties were not long in coming and in 1961-1963 the Republic of Cyprus faced a protracted and deep political crisis²¹.

By the end of the summer of 1963, the political situation had deteriorated dramatically. In August, President Makarios of the Republic of Cyprus announced his intention to revise the 1960 Constitution. The international conference held in Nicosia in September 1963 also intervened sharply in the already tense situation on the island. This was the assembly of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa²². Some of

²⁰ Turkish Cypriots represented less than one fifth (18% to be precise) of the total population of the island of Cyprus.

²¹ The 1960 constitution in its essence did not represent the interests of either the Greek Cypriots or the Turkish Cypriots, and difficulties were already evident in the first parliamentary elections in 1960, but more fundamental problems arose during 1961 when the Turkish Cypriots demanded too strictly that the quotas (numbers of civil servants) be respected, which resulted in obstructions in the passing of laws, and then in late 1961 Turkish Cypriot MPs refused to pass major tax laws (the government could not impose or collect new taxes) (see more HRADEČNÝ, P. (2000): *Řekové a Turci: nepřátelé nebo spojenci?* Praha: NLN, p. 88. and CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 339, available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]), which was a huge blow to the promising Cypriot economy. Cases in which the Constitutional Court settled disputes over the occupation of public office were the order of the day (see more MAYES, S. (1981): *Makarios: A Biography*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 153). The Cypriot political scene was also convulsed by a dispute over the organisation of the Cypriot army, when Vice President F. Küçük used his veto power to block the decision of the Council of Ministers to establish a mixed Greek-Cypriot army, or any army (see more HRADEČNÝ, P. (2000): *Řekové a Turci: nepřátelé nebo spojenci?* Praha: NLN, pp. 88-89). At the end of 1962, the situation on the island became very heated again. The atmosphere in Cyprus was shaken by another constitutional crisis involving the self-governing municipalities (see more. CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 339. available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]). President Makarios considered the establishment of self-governing municipalities in the five largest mixed Cypriot towns as the first step towards the partition of the island and demanded the continued existence of a single municipal authority with proportional representation of the two communities. While the Turkish side, led by F. Küçük, insisted on the establishment of separate self-governing municipalities (see more in IOANNIDES, Ch. P. (2008-2009): Cyprus before the Storm: The Kennedy Years, 1961-1963. *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 25-26, p. 9, available at: <https://journals.sfu.ca/jmh/index.php/jmh/issue/view/21> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]). The strife resulted in the inability of the Cypriot government to make any decisions, which already in 1962 led President Makarios to the idea of amending the 1960 constitution.

²² The Republic of Cyprus became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, even in the face of Turkish Cypriot opposition. Between 1955 and 1959, Makarios III travelled around the world trying to secure the support he hoped would help in the process of decolonising the island. In 1955 he attended, as an observer, the Bandung Conference, and in September 1961 Makarios, already in the role of President, appeared at the Belgrade Conference. Makarios

the statements made by high-ranking Greek Cypriots²³ at the Nicosia meeting caused a stir, especially as the pro-western direction of the island seemed to be in danger. The US²⁴ was alarmed²⁵ and the Turkish Cypriot reaction was also not long in coming, with Turkish Cypriot leaders taking a notoriously aggressive stance and even preparing within their community for a possible Turkish military intervention in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee.²⁶ In November 1963, President Makarios of Cyprus sent an outline of the 13 constitutional amendments²⁷ to Vice-President F. Küçük, which he officially considered to be the only solution to ensure a functional system of government, which consisted of devolving decision-making powers to the Greek Cypriots. The memorandum

established close relations with a key figure in the Non-Aligned Movement, Egyptian President Gamal Abd al-Nasser, and also "courted" the USSR and the PRC. Makarios' direction also marked a major shift in relation to Greece and *enosis*, with Greece working with the version that *enosis* should be implemented in cooperation with NATO. While Makarios' vision was the emancipation of a strong and independent nation, he found support in the Non-Aligned Movement and also in states where communists were in power, which was contrary to Greek politics at the time.

²³ For example, prominent leftist politician Vassos Lyssarides, see more CIA: Field Message. Trend of Communist Media Activity. 4 October 1963, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00803R000400150074-9.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

²⁴ During the Cold War, Cyprus was a strategic point and a guarantor of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Extensive American aid was directed to Cyprus between 1960 and 1963.

²⁵ CIA: Field Message. Trend of Communist Media Activity. 4. 10. 1963, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00803R000400150074-9.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023] and CIA: The Sino-Soviet conflict in the fronts, September 1962 - December 1963, Off. Ser. No, 14 OCI No. 1855/64, available at: https://archive.org/stream/ESAU-CIA/The%20Sino-Soviet%20Conflict%20in%20the%20Fronts%20-%20September%201962-December%201963_djvu.txt [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

²⁶ CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 340, available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

²⁷ 1. Abolition of presidential and vice-presidential veto power. 2. Granting the Vice President full authority to act for the President during his temporary absence or incapacity. 3. A change in the election of the Speaker and Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives. 4. The granting of full powers to the Vice-President of the House of Representatives to act for the President in his temporary absence or incapacity. 5. The repeal of the constitutional provisions for a separate majority for the passage of laws by the House of Representatives. 6. The establishment of unified municipalities. 7. The unification of the administration of justice. 8. The abolition of the division of the security forces into police and gendarmerie. 9. The number of security and defence forces to be established by law. 10. The ratio of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representation in the public service and the armed forces is to be adjusted in proportion to the actual population by ethnic group. 11. The number of members of the Public Service Commission is to be reduced from ten to five. 12. All decisions of the Public Service Commission are to be taken by a simple majority. 13. The abolition of the Greek Communal Chamber.

also included a secret²⁸ *Akritas*²⁹ plan drawn up by close associates of President Makarios.

Unfortunately, bloody clashes engulfed the island in late 1963. This happened shortly after President Makarios of Cyprus submitted a unilateral proposal with 13 constitutional amendments to Vice President F. Küçük to correct the communal segregation which, according to him, was preventing the smooth functioning and development of the country and was the source of constant friction between the two ethnic groups.³⁰ The Turkish Cypriots, however, saw these amendments as the first step towards *enosis*, the undermining of the bicomunal state and the suppression of the guarantees of the signed treaties, and rejected them, as Vice President Küçük was the first to do so. Given the pace of events, the Turkish Cypriot political representation did not have time to react adequately and on 16 December the MPs representing Turkish Cypriots rejected the memorandum as a whole.³¹ Inter-communal violence immediately broke out on the island and rumours spread of a Turkish invasion of the island, followed by Greek manoeuvres in nearby waters.³² On 21 December 1963, a Greek Cypriot police patrol in Nicosia stopped a car carrying Turkish Cypriots and, when the Turkish Cypriots refused a police

²⁸ The plan was first published in a Greek-Cypriot newspaper *Patris* on 21 April 1966 (see more:” KOOPS, J. - MACQUEEN, N. - TARDY, T. - WILLIAMS, P. D. (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 210 and AKSU, E. (2003):. *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 150. And Letter dated 30 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, A/33/115-S/12722 dated 30 May. 1978, pp. 3-9, available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/224913> [cit. 26. 9. 2023] and Written evidence submitted by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, President's Office Letter to the Clerk of the Committee from *M. Ergün Olgun*, Under-Secretary, 2004, available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmfaff/113/113we23.htm> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]).

²⁹ „*Its aim was to make first step towards the final and unalterable national objective, the union with Greece (enosis). The strategy was to cultivate the internationally the impression that the Cyprus problem has not really been solved and the solution requires revision. The proposed amendments should appear to be reasonable, just, and safeguard the reasonable rights of minority. The amendment of the negative elements of the (London and Zurich) agreements would include the abolition of the right for intervention for Turkey (Treaty of Guarantee) and the extended constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriots. After implementation of these measures, a referendum was to be held to let the Cypriot people decide on the future status of the island. In the case of Turkish Cypriot violent resistance, it was planned to overcome it by force in the shortest possible time (in one or two days).*“ Cited from: KOOPS, J. – MACQUEEN, N. – TARDY, T. – WILLIAMS, P. D. (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 209–210.

³⁰ 13 Points of 30 November 1963, available at: <https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/assets/pdf/cyproblem/13%20points.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

³¹ USLU, N. (2003): *The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish – American Relations 1959-2003*. New York: Nova Science Publisher, p. 21.

³² STERGIOU, A. (2007): Soviet Policy towards Cyprus. *The Cyprus Review*, 19, 2, s. 92, available at: <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/article/view/272/235> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

search, repressive treatment at gunpoint ensued. A crowd of Turkish Cypriots took to the streets to demonstrate against the police crackdown. The response from the Greek Cypriots was harsh, with Greek Cypriot police firing into the crowd and killing two Turkish Cypriots.³³ This event set off widespread inter-communal violence. The primary goal of the Greek Cypriots was the defeat of the Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia and the subsequent automatic surrender of the smaller Turkish communities scattered around the island.³⁴ The so-called 'Bloody Christmas' triggered an intense armed conflict in which the involvement of Turkish and Greek troops, hence the military clash between two NATO member states was a real threat. The dramatic end of 1963 thus definitively triggered the so-called Cyprus crisis of 1963-1964.

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³³ USLU, N. (2003): *The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish – American Relations 1959-2003*. New York: Nova Science Publisher.p. 21.

³⁴ *ibid.*

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdclccn.a22000924/?sp=7&r=-0.741,-0.05,2.483,1.749,0> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

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