

## ETHNICITY AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN CYPRUS: IN THE "STATISTICAL FOG"

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### POVZETEK

#### DEMOGRAFSKA STATISTIKA NA CIPRU – V MEGLI KOPRENI STATISTIČNIH PODATKOV

V nasprotju s podatki, ki jih zbira statistična služba večine držav sveta so podatki o strukturi in rasti prebivalstva na Cipru stvar, ki je v svojem bistvu izrazito političnega značaja. Podobno kot v primeru tragičnih dogodkov v bivši Jugoslaviji, so število in struktura prebivalstva, etnična sestava in geografska razporeditev rezultati vojnega posega, preselitev in vsiljenih migracij. Vprašanje beguncev, ki so se razselili po turški vojaški invaziji v letu 1974 ter organizirana naselitev anatolskega prebivalstva na severnem delu otoka so pritegnili pozornost svetovnih javnih medijev. Naselitev Turkov označuje grško-ciprska stran kot "demografsko ponarejanje". Ker je to dejstvo nemogoče negirati, je vprašanje števila ciprsko-turške etnične skupnosti toliko bolj vroča tema grško-turškega dialoga v katerem je stalno prisotna vojna številka, dokazov in protidokazov. Resnici na ljubo je treba povedati, da se je na Cipru desetletja dolgo uporabljalo statistične podatke kot orožje za manipulacijo javnega mnenja – zdaj v roki ene zdaj druge strani, oziroma v prid tej ali nasprotni politični stranki. Raziskava želi odgovoriti na dvoje vprašanj:

1. kakšni so bili motivi, strategije in tehnike statistične in literarne manipulacije, in

2. kakšna je realnost sodobnega demografskega stanja na Cipru, ob upoštevanju razpoložljivega materiala in ob uporabi objektivnih raziskovalnih metod.

Vzporedno s študijami, ki jih vodita specializirani instituciji Združenih narodov in Sveta Evrope na območju Republike Ciper se je raziskava osredotočila na proučevanje demografskih značilnosti "Turške republike Severni Ciper". Avtor ugotavlja, da predstavlja nerešeno demografsko vprašanje eno temeljnih ovir pri iskanju politične rešitve za Ciper.

### Preface

Dealing with demography and population change in Cyprus, any researcher will find himself within a highly controversial field. Even presumably harmless demographic figures turn out to be politically much more explosive than expected.

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Because they are used in an argumentative and propagandistic way in the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, just collecting demographic figures turns out to be a difficult and confusing undertaking.

There is good reason that the most up-to-date regular population census, whose results are in the main recognized by all sides in Cyprus, is 30 years old. It was held in 1960, at the very beginning of Cyprus' independence, with the help of the British. As the former colonial power, they had regularly held censuses, beginning in 1881. The results had always been considered correct and reliable. But the next attempt to hold a census – planned for 1970 – failed because of political tensions between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority. Following the violent clash in the winter of 1963/64, most of the Turkish Cypriots had moved to enclaves where Greek Cypriots could not enter. As the Turkish side only consented to hold a census on conditions which the Greek government refused to accept, the population data were only extrapolated. For the Turkish side they had to be estimated. The Turkish Cypriot administration did not publish any population data during those years, so that changes on the Turkish side, whether they took place by force or voluntarily, could only be deduced in an indirect way. The statements differed considerably, e.g. those about population development in Turkish villages in the Paphos district.<sup>1</sup>

After both the Turkish invasion in the summer of 1974, following the coup against President Makarios and the de-facto separation, the political situation in Cyprus, i.e. the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, were even more determined by confrontation and political tension than before. Demographic processes became more important in this context. First of all population changes, whether taking place by force or voluntarily, had sustainable effects on the distribution of population and therefore on the pattern of settlement and the economic structure. On the other hand, flight, expulsion, resettlement operations and immigration all influence the social life and cultural identity of a country in the end – reason enough to work on these processes thoroughly. Of course, this is what happened in the case of Cyprus, too. Taking a look at the relevant publications, numerous serious contradictions are to be found. It would be harmless, but wrong to explain this by pointing to the uncertain and inexact data situation. This does not mean, that the statistical figures about population development were not full of uncertainties and incorrectnesses. However, what is more decisive is, that the figures are used in the political debate and respectively are filtered by the perspective of special interests.

There is no lack of examples for this in Cyprus, although it could be considered too small and thus too easily overlooked for this kind of manipulation. In the following we try to shed light upon some of these contradictions. We intend both to get as

<sup>1</sup> See HEINRITZ 1975; DRURY 1977.

close to the truth as possible and to uncover the motives and techniques of the manipulators.

### Greek Cypriot Refugees

The Turkish military intervention in the summer of 1974 forced the Greek Cypriot population in northern Cyprus to a hasty flight. Details about the amount of people taking flight towards British military bases or the South of the island differed considerably in 1975 and still do today. Greek Cypriot official sources up to now estimate, with a surprising uniformity, about 200 000 Greek Cypriot refugees (or 40% of the total population).<sup>2</sup> So does TZERMIAS.<sup>3</sup> Referring to numerous sources, a number of about 200 000 refugees is mentioned. Other, non-Cypriot sources, have given lower figures from the beginning. The AMERICAN HELLENISTIC INSTITUTE<sup>4</sup> came to a total of 180 000 Greek Cypriot refugees, taking stock on 1 November 1974. This figure is later also cited by KING (1980) and DRURY (1981). WOLFE (1987) gives an amount of 162 000.

There would have been some reason for the administration of the Republic of Cyprus to correct the figures downwards in the years following 1974. A micro-census, held in September 1976, counted 141 000 refugees, a share of 29.5% of the total population. Even making generous estimates about temporary emigrants who might have returned to Cyprus after the census, the maximum number of refugees in the Greek territory of Cyprus was about 160 000 at the end of the seventies.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising that this census has never been published.

A current official government publication<sup>6</sup> dealing with refugees comes to the following conclusion:

A number of 162 000 refugees is given for 1974 while a footnote comments on the discrepancy to former statements as follows: "In 1974 the actual number of refugees was 201 000. But about 40 000 people, who became refugees in 1974 because they lived in dangerous areas close to the line of occupation, ... returned to their homes in 1977." However, there is no explanation for never having corrected the published refugee figures after 1977. Apparently because, at the time of the publication, it was not considered necessary anymore. In 1989 the number of refugees is 203 000 again, explained by the (objectively verifiable) immigration of the rest of the Greek Cypriot population, who, after the Turkish invasion in 1974, had stayed in the occupied area (here only 600 Greek Cypriots lived in December 1989 compared to

<sup>2</sup> See "Zypern. Das Flüchtlingsproblem", p. 3; "Zypern Nachrichten", No. 4/1992, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 991, p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> 1975, p. 19, footnote 2.

<sup>5</sup> See BREY 1983.

<sup>6</sup> "The refugees of Cyprus", 1992.

about 20 000 at the end of August 1974). Another reason is the natural population change of the refugees.

The quoted calculation shows clearly how statistical figures can be manipulated just by the definition chosen. Apart from the noble intention of identifying the truth, the government of the Republic of Cyprus had little reason to correct their refugee figures downwards. After all, the masses of refugees have not only moral but also political and monetary weight: moral, as an indication for the injustice suffered, political, as regards the right to return which is claimed for all of the refugees, and monetary, as a measure for the aid expected from foreign countries. The fact that this strategy of "holding-out" was successful, can be seen in the current reporting of western media. There, the "myth" of 200 000 Greek Cypriot refugees obstinately persists<sup>7</sup>.

### Population Changes in Northern Cyprus

It is now almost two decades since the invasion, the misery of the refugees, the de-facto separation and the withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from the south of the island. But the wounds have by no means closed or even healed. The government of the Republic of Cyprus still endeavours to resist the power of facts, on which the Turkish supported regime of Rauf Denktash in the north of the island apparently depends. One of the most important issues for the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC), proclaimed 15. November 1983, is without doubt the population. After 1974 the Turkish Cypriot administration was above all anxious for a strong population growth in the TRNC<sup>8</sup> in order to change the ratio to the Greek population in Cyprus in their own favour – a quite understandable aim in the face of the over-proportional share of territory the Turkish side had obtained through their military intervention (36.3% of the island's territory compared to 18.8% of the population).

As an increase in the Turkish share of population in Cyprus could not be expected from birth surpluses only, at least not in the short term, another possible solution was of course immigration. The assessment of migration politics in North Cyprus is highly controversial and yet so difficult because the figures used by both sides differ considerably. The Greek side tries to make the international community of nations recognize that the massive settlement and naturalization of Anatolian immigrants in the North of Cyprus has created a demographic situation that makes a solution of the Cyprus problem, which the UN has for thirty years tried in vain to

<sup>7</sup> See NZZ of 5.8.1992 "Noch kein Durchbruch in der Zypernfrage"; SZ of 28.2.1992 "Sehnsucht nach Harmonie und kultivierte Ängste".

<sup>8</sup> The common abbreviation for the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is in the following used without quotation marks. This does not implicate the recognition of the sovereignty of Northern Cyprus by the authors.

solve, more and more difficult or even impossible. On the other hand the Turkish Cypriot regime of Denktash first completely denied the settlement of Anatolians and until recently tried to make the immigration to northern Cyprus appear as a completely normal and, before all, quantitatively undramatic event.

In 1991 on request of the Greek side the Council of Europe started to work on the demographic development of Cyprus by its Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography. Since then, both sides have engaged experts and have published numerous reports. This makes it more and more difficult to distinguish between the truth and information used in a rather manipulative way. The questions concerned may under no circumstances be reduced to the number of Anatolian immigrants that have come from Turkey to Cyprus since the invasion. Rather, trying to check the different assertions concerning the number of Turkish settlers in Cyprus requires a very detailed knowledge of figures about:

- the natural population change in northern Cyprus, in particular the differences of birth and death rates between Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants;
- the extent of Turkish Cypriot immigration and possible remigration;
- immigration and remigration of Turks from Turkey;
- the methods and the extent of granting nationality to foreigners by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Information about population development in the TRNC can be found in a series of current publications used as a basis for the following analysis:

1. The "Statistical Yearbook" of the TRNC, published annually by the TRNC Statistics Department.
2. The semi-official North Cyprus paper "Turks as Part of the Demographic Structure of Cyprus", Lefkosa 1992.
3. A report by the German geographers B. HAHN and R. WELLENREUTHER "Demographical structures in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"<sup>9</sup>, Mannheim/Lefkosa 1992. This report was commissioned by the representative of the TRNC in Luxembourg.
4. A recently submitted diploma thesis by R. WELLENREUTHER "Development and patterns of settlement in the rural areas of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", Mannheim 1992.
5. The so-called "Cucò-Report" ("Report on the demographic structure of the Cypriot communities"), published by the the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 27 April 1992. The report contains, among other data, official demographic figures of the TRNC administration.
6. A study by the Department of Statistics and Research of the Republic of Cyprus:

<sup>9</sup> Translation by the authors (in the following all citations from articles in German language are translated into English)

"Population of Turkish Cypriots and Number of Settlers from Turkey", Nicosia, February 1991. The study was submitted to the committee engaged with the "Cucò-Report" on the 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1992.

7. A recent book by CHR. P. IOANNIDES "In Turkey's Image. The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province", New Rochelle 1991.
8. A booklet by the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus "Turkish Demographic Manipulations in Cyprus", Nicosia, June 1987

### Population growth in the TRNC

One statistical figure that is obviously not controversial and that stands out from the "statistical fog", created in the course of the Greek-Turkish dispute about the demographic development in Cyprus, is the number of Turkish Cypriots that lived on the island at the time of the Turkish intervention in 1974. According to TRNC statistics the number is 115 758, which is generally accepted on all sides. This is quite surprising, keeping in mind that the number is a result of an extrapolation from the census held in 1960 by the Greek Cypriot Department of Statistics and Research.

As the population change in the Turkish enclaves could only be estimated by the Greek side, as mentioned above, it would be quite surprising if the results of the extrapolation corresponded with reality. If the figure had been lower, the Turkish side would certainly have pointed out that. In the opposite case they would not have done so, as an overestimation of the number of Turkish population could only be to their advantage.

After the resettlement to the north, during 1975, of all Turks who had before lived in the south of the island was finished, the size of the Turkish population in North Cyprus after the de-facto separation is definite. It does not include the the Greek and the Maronite communities which remained in the north. The further population development in the TRNC may be described with the help of figures published in the North Cyprus "Statistical Yearbook". These figures are shown in table 1.

In general the Greek Cypriot side accepts these population figures, as the excessively high population growth is considered clear evidence of the high immigration of Anatolian settlers.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to that the government of the TRNC finds itself in a dilemma over the population figures published by themselves. On the one hand, they appreciate high population numbers as it gives demographic weight to the north. On the other hand, the persons responsible are aware of the fact that high population numbers, taken at face value, support the accusation of demographic manipulation by the means of

<sup>10</sup> See "Turkish Demographic Manipulations..." p. 6.

considerable immigration. Probably the only possible solution to this dilemma is a "strategy of obscuring the facts", or in clearer terms: calling into question the own official statistics. This has been done recently with foreign support. To substantiate the thesis we would first like to cite an official Turkish Cypriot voice:

Table 1: Population and Population Growth in North Cyprus (1974–1990)

Year	Population	Growth rate compared to previous year (%)	Crude birth rate	Crude death rate	fertility rate
1975	126 949	9.7	23.0	10.0	2.92
1976	130 136	2.5	22.0	10.0	2.80
1977	145 000	11.4	20.2	10.0	2.56
1978	146 740	1.2	20.2	9.8	2.57
1979	148 501	1.2	21.0	10.0	2.67
1980	149 610	0.7	20.0	10.0	2.51
1981	151 233	1.1	20.1	10.0	2.46
1982	153 239	1.3	20.0	8.0	2.34
1983	155 521	1.5	20.0	8.5	2.32
1984	157 984	1.6	20.5	9.3	2.34
1985	160 287	1.5	19.5	8.0	2.18
1986	162 676	1.5	19.0	8.0	2.08
1987	165 035	1.5	20.5	8.0	2.26
1988	167 256	1.3	19.2	7.0	2.07
1989	169 272	1.2	19.1	8.0	2.05
1990	171 469	1.3	20.05	8.0	2.18

Source: HAHN & WELLENREUTHER, table 10

"The Turkish population of Cyprus was 126 949 in 1975. Currently it is in the order of 170 000. The Turkish Cypriot population has in the meantime augmented with the inflow of Turkish Cypriots living abroad, Anatolian Turks marrying Turkish Cypriots and the naturalization of foreigners who have lived and worked in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus for at least 5 years. It is estimated that 17 000 Turks have either married Turkish Cypriots or earned citizenship together with their children who number about 5000 in North Cyprus. It is also estimated that, depending on the season, the country hosts 2000–5000 temporary seasonal workers on the average. Presently 3879 foreign nationals hold work permits in the Turkish Republic

of Northern Cyprus. The Government expels illegal immigrants from time to time."<sup>11</sup>

Typically this exposition does not start out from population figures of 1974 but quietly itself bases on those of 1975. This is one way to reduce the embarrassing high population growth by 11 191. The other way appears at the end of the quotation when official population figures are considered to include seasonal workers, foreigners with work permit and even illegal immigrants. HAHN/WELLENREUTHER argue in the same way saying "that the number of 171 469 in 1990 indicates just the de-facto population of Northern Cyprus."<sup>12</sup> The de-facto population includes all persons living in a country at a certain point of time". They define the more important figure of the de-jure population as de-facto population less the following groups:

- "about 4000 foreign students living in Northern Cyprus
- 913 Greek Cypriots and Maronites living in Northern Cyprus
- 3066 persons employed in Northern Cyprus
- 604 foreigners living in Northern Cyprus (excluding Turks)
- about 1500 illegal workers employed in Northern Cyprus".<sup>13</sup>

That yields 10 083 persons to be subtracted.<sup>14</sup>

This calculation, however, remains doubtful, as the statistics do not expressly indicate whether the above mentioned population groups are included. In any case, they were not brought into the game before the Council of Europe had made Northern Cyprus population figures an international matter.

Even if it was intended to show the de-facto population, which includes every person living in the country, it is still worth pointing out that the Turkish armed forces stationed in the TRNC, a quantitatively very important factor, were not considered. Oscar Camillion, representative for Cyprus of the UN Secretary-General, estimates about 30 000 members.<sup>15</sup> Even the Turkish ambassador in Northern Cyprus regards the Turkish armed forces as demographically relevant.<sup>16</sup>

Should the Turkish Cypriot leadership itself believe the population figures were too high, they could easily be corrected by a census. But up to now the results of a census held in January 1990 have still been held back by the government of the TRNC despite protest from the Turkish Cypriot opposition.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "Turks as part of the Demographic Structure of Cyprus", p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> § 106 (Translation by Brey/Heinritz).

<sup>13</sup> § 107.

<sup>14</sup> Cucò-Report.

<sup>15</sup> § 86.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* § 81.

<sup>17</sup> Yenidizen, 14.2.1990; cited from IOANNIDES, p. 44, footnote 9.



Regarding population size and growth in the TRNC we would like to emphasize the following:

(1) Figures about the present population vary, according to the interpretation, between the official number of 171 469 and a quite "generous" number of 161 386.

(2) The two alternatives result in growth rates of 48.4% or 39.6% from 1974 to 1990. All sources commonly believe that growth rates of this size are impossible to put down to natural population growth. Most striking are the rates reached in the years just after the Turkish invasion.

### **The Turkish Cypriots: Remigration to a "liberated territory" or massive exodus?**

There is no other question as controversial in the debate about the demographic changes in the TRNC as the increase or decrease in Turkish Cypriot population since 1974 due to migration. On the one hand we find the statement of a significant remigration of Turkish Cypriots, which up to now was used as the main explanation for the high population growth.<sup>18</sup> In October 1975 Vedat Celik, the Turkish Cypriot representative at the UN, replied to the accusation of an Anatolian colonization of Northern Cyprus, by saying that the vast majority of the immigrants who came to Northern Cyprus since August 1974 were Turkish Cypriots, "who had emigrated to Turkey, Great Britain and other Commonwealth countries in the past years under political, administrative, social and economic pressures by the Greek Cypriot Administration and are now being given the opportunity to return to their homeland..."<sup>19</sup> On the other hand there is a frequent accusation made by the Turkish Cypriot opposition. It says that the autochthonous Turkish Cypriots are increasingly being forced to emigrate because of economic and political pressure and are in danger of becoming a minority in their own country. Alpay Durduran of the opposition NCP asserts that the number of Turkish Cypriots had already decreased to 96 000 in 1985 because of emigration.<sup>20</sup> The Greek Cypriots, of course, adopt the "theory of demographic retreat".

What about the above quoted Turkish Cypriot assertion that the "Turks" immigrated to Northern Cyprus since 1974 were really remigrating Turkish Cypriots? The "remigration-thesis" is falsified by the Turkish Cypriot administration itself. According to "Turks as part of..."<sup>21</sup> the number of emigrants between 1955 and

<sup>18</sup> See quotation in the previous paragraph "Turks as part of..." and HAHN/WELLENREUTHER, p. 138.

<sup>19</sup> Cited from IOANNIDES, p. 3f.

<sup>20</sup> Cited from "Opposition Views on Key Issues", p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> P. 8, table 5.

1961 adds up to 9302, compared to 42 089 Greek Cypriot emigrants (a Turkish share of 18.1% of the total emigrants). Between 1962 and 1974 7804 Turkish Cypriots and 31 223 Greek Cypriots emigrated, which is a relation of 1:4. These figures explain two things:

- During the two decades between 1955 and 1974 both ethnic groups were similarly affected by emigration. The “EOKA-terror” did not lead to an *overproportional* emigration of Turkish Cypriots, as official Turkish Cypriot sources frequently stress
- the number of emigrated Turkish Cypriots is not high enough to constitute a source of a really significant remigration movement.

The North Cyprus annual statistics of arrivals and departures presents an approximate idea of migration streams to and from the TRNC after the de-facto separation. The annual balance of migration is the difference between registered arrivals and departures (see table 2).<sup>22</sup>

Table 2: Registered Arrivals and Departures in Northern Cyprus 1974–1987

Year	Turkish Cypriots			Turks			Others		
	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance	Arrivals	Departures	Balance
1974	5 098	6 093	-995	5 573	4 193	1 380	1 022	804	218
1975	13 635	29 842	-16 207	73 831	51 465	22 366	6 577	5943	634
1976	30 764	31 451	-690	83 440	80 347	3 093	4 552	4 985	-433
1977	33 570	34 540	-970	108 016	97 142	10 874	5 130	5 377	-247
1978	35 448	36 420	-972	104 738	103 128	1 610	8 172	7 722	450
1979	47 839	46 858	981	95 115	92 956	2 159	13 286	12 707	579
1980	51 201	53 245	-2 041	69 808	68 727	1 081	14 703	14 082	621
1981	53 233	52 371	862	62 660	63 913	-1 253	15 474	15 515	-41
1982	49 870	51 764	-1 894	65 018	66 166	-1 148	22 611	22 531	80
1983	58 918	60 660	-1 742	78 649	76 386	2 263	20 285	20 300	-15
1984	57 123	56 472	651	93 333	90 403	2 930	19 781	18 844	937
1985	53 860	54 599	-739	103 698	102 751	944	21 377	21 049	328
1986	55 076	55 788	-712	105 729	105 492	237	25 763	25 603	160
1987	59 297	61 319	2 022	147 965	—	—	36 372	—	—

Source: “Population of Turkish Cypriots and Number of settlers from Turkey”, edited by the Department of Statistics and Research, Nicosia 1991, p. 9, table 4. This publication bases on the following sources: For the years 1974–1977 data of the “General Directorate of Security

<sup>22</sup> From “Population of Turkish Cypriots...”, p. 9: arrivals and departures in the TRNC.

Forces" of the "Turkish Cypriot Administration" appearing in Yenidüzen and for the years 1978–1987 data from the Annual Statistical Yearbooks of the "Turkish Cypriot Administration".

For the time between 1978 to 1989 the Statistical Yearbook of the TRNC gives information about arrivals and departures, until 1987 distinguished between "Turks", "Turkish Cypriots" and "Others". The official figures available for this period have been cited in a variety of publications without any change.<sup>23</sup> These figures constantly result in a negative migration balance of Turkish Cypriots of – 9322 from 1978–1989. Thus, at least since 1978, emigration has been exceeding any possible remigration significantly.

The reason for not categorizing between Turkish Cypriots and Turks earlier than 1978 is probably not only due to the lack of an organized Turkish administration in the years just after the invasion. In any case, the figures for the period between 1974 and 1977 are much more explosive, as the "Yearly Action Report" of the "General Directorate of Security Forces" testifies.<sup>24</sup> According to this report, from 1974 to 1977 Turkish Cypriots suffered a dramatic wave of emigration, estimated at 18 862. Adding up the total emigration from 1974 to 1989 it numbers 28 184. This both verifies the assertions of the Turkish Cypriot opposition and falsifies official statements about a significant remigration, especially for the time just after the separation. In fact, the authenticity of the above mentioned figures is beyond doubt, although the original source can not be proved. There are indications for the correctness of the figures. The "Demographic Report 1980" by the Turkish Cypriot Administration contains the same information about the aggregated total of arrivals and departures. Therefore there is good reason to take the statements of the Turkish Cypriot opposition about the dramatic emigration of their own ethnic community seriously. The official reference to the lack of figures<sup>25</sup> cannot weaken this statement at all.

On the basis of the above mentioned statistics for arrivals and departures, as well as figures about the natural population change, the Greek Cypriot study "Population of Turkish Cypriots ..." has calculated the present number of Turkish Cypriots. It comes to the conclusion that autochthonous Turkish Cypriots number between 100 900 and 106 000 in 1990. The methodology of this study will be explained in the following. But first we should take a closer look at the available figures for the natural population change.

<sup>23</sup> IOANNIDES p. 21, table 3; HAHN/WELLENREUTHER, p. 21, table 12: "Population of Turkish Cypriots...", p. 9, table 4.

<sup>24</sup> Published in the journal "Yenidüzen" of 15.2.1989.

<sup>25</sup> See Cucò-Report.

### Natural population change in the "statistical fog"

The demographic development in the TRNC cannot be understood without knowledge of the natural population change. By disposing of figures about age structure, as well as birth and death rates, the corresponding migration balances could be deduced on the basis of the available population numbers. These figures have been made available lately by Northern Cyprus authorities for the Cucò-Report<sup>26</sup> and also published by HAHN/WELLENREUTHER<sup>27</sup> (see table 1 above).

HAHN/WELLENREUTHER apply the data for some of the above explained calculations. They work out annual and cumulative migration balances for the total population. With the number of persons entitled to vote for 1990 and the age structure, they try to support the thesis, mentioned above, that the de-jure population is much lower than the published population figures suggest.<sup>28</sup> Their results would be in fact of great interest if the underlying figures about natural population change, age structure etc. were reliable. But they must be called into question.

Table 3: Births and deaths, fertility in North Cyprus

Year	Births			Deaths			Fertility rate		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1977	2923	2923	3077	236	1450	944	—	2.56	2.25
1978	2613	2960	2751	287	1438	1148	2.38	2.57	2.30
1979	2808	3119	2956	241	1485	964	2.55	2.67	2.38
1980	2587	2992	2723	208	1496	832	2.28	2.51	2.45
1981	2648	3040	2787	281	1512	1124	2.25	2.46	2.36
1982	2501	3057	2633	340	1226	1360	2.02	2.34	2.50
1983	2571	3107	2706	333	1322	1332	—	2.32	2.48
1984	2658	3239	2798	490	2469	1960	—	2.34	2.48
1985	2629	3126	2767	415	1282	1660	1.93	2.18	2.38
1986	2558	3091	2693	561	1301	2244	—	2.08	2.40
1987	2416	3383	2543	489	1320	1956	1.70	2.26	2.32
1988	2638	3211	2824	505	1171	2020	—	2.07	2.41
1989	2502	3233	2634	570	1354	2280	—	2.05	2.34

Column 1: Number of registered births according to the "Statistical Yearbook" of the TRNC (various issues).

<sup>26</sup> Figure 5, table A.2. and B.2.

<sup>27</sup> Table 10 and 11.

<sup>28</sup> § 108ff.

- Column 2: "Official" number of births; source: Cucò-Report, app. 5, table B.2.
- Column 3: Estimate of "true" number of births, under the assumption that column 1 represents 95 % of the total number of births.
- Column 4: Registered deaths according to the "Statistical Yearbook" of the TRNC (various issues).
- Column 5: "Official" number of deaths, source: Cucò-Report, app. 5, table B.2.
- Column 6: Estimate of "true" number of deaths, under the assumption that column 4 represents 25 % of the total number of deaths.
- Column 7: Total fertility rate on the basis of columns 2 and 5; source: "Population of Turkish Cypriots...", table 2, p. 5.
- Column 8: "Official" total fertility rate; source: HAHN/WELLENREUTHER, 1992, table 10, p. 18.
- Column 9: Total fertility rate in the Republic of Cyprus (for comparison); source: Cucò-Report, app. 5, table B.1.

The Statistical Yearbook of the TRNC gives annual numbers of births and deaths. In 1989, for example, there were 2502 births and 570 deaths. It is emphasized that these figures refer to *registered* births and deaths (see table 3, columns 1 and 4). They are commented as follows: "The number of registered deaths represents only 25 % of the actual death numbers and registered births reflects 95 % of the actual birth numbers."<sup>29</sup> Thus it would make sense to project birth and death figures on the basis of the error assumed above. This is done in table 3 (columns 3 and 6). In the columns 2 and 5 the official figures from the Cucò-Report and from HAHN/WELLENREUTHER are cited. This shows most clearly the discrepancy between actually registered birth and death figures and the figures published recently. The two official versions (columns 1 and 2 or 4 and 5) are not even logically related. That shows, that the figures brought into the play recently are not based on empirical censuses but, for the most part, on post-assumptions about the natural population change. The figures about age structure are therefore problematic too.

There is another argument that reinforces the doubts about all official versions dealing with natural population change.<sup>30</sup> According to official statistics in 1982 fertility rates already fell below the reproduction level of 2.1 children per women and they were below fertility rates of Southern Cyprus (column 9). This would not even be plausible for the autochthonous part of the Turkish Cypriot population. But it is completely unbelievable considering also the immigrated, mostly rural, Anatolian population. Irrespective of the controversial *number* of this group (which is discussed below) their *existence* on a considerable scale is indisputable. Besides it is

<sup>29</sup> Statistical Yearbook 1989, p. 10, footnote.

<sup>30</sup> "Population of Turkish Cypriots..." p. 4.

beyond doubt "that the birth rate of the Turkish settlers, who for the most part originated from rural Anatolia, is significantly higher than the one of the Turkish Cypriots".<sup>31</sup>

Assuming further, that the share of registered births and deaths of Anatolian settlers is even lower than the general, already insufficient one, the official figures about natural population change become completely unbelievable. One visit to a village settled by Anatolians is enough to realize the absurdity of thinking of a Northern Cyprus population with less and less children. Why at all do Turkish Cypriot authorities provide these kinds of figures so obviously far from reality? We must leave the question outstanding. Of all possible answers the most simple seems the most probable to us: The government of the TRNC does not dispose of precise death and birth figures, but this might be too embarrassing to admit to the representative of the Council of Europe demanding them.

However there are quite serious and comprehensible attempts to draw conclusions about population development in Northern Cyprus on the basis of *reasonable* assumptions about natural population growth. In this respect the above mentioned study "Population of Turkish Cypriots ..." is quite interesting. On the basis of two alternative assumptions about the reproduction of Turkish Cypriots, as well as the available migration data (registered arrivals and departures, see table 2), scenarios for the population development between 1960 and 1990 are outlined. Regarding fertility and mortality, Scenario A assumes that reproduction rates of Turkish Cypriots do not differ from those of Greek Cypriots.<sup>32</sup> In contrast to that, Scenario B takes the projected registered birth and death figures for the time after 1975 as its basis (see table 3, columns 3.6 and 7). According to these scenarios the population figures of Turkish Cypriots for the end of a five-years-period are:

	1975	1980	1985	1990
Scenario A	100 600	102 600	106 600	106 000
Scenario B	100 600	102 800	104 800	100 900

These calculations are convincing if one accepts the underlying figures of arrivals and departures of Turkish Cypriots. The figures are interesting as well as explosive, as they not only clearly show the exodus of the Turkish Cypriot population but also reach conclusions about the number of mainland Turks living in the TRNC. Anatolian settlement in Northern Cyprus will be subject of the following chapter.

<sup>31</sup> HAHN/WELLENREUTHER, § 146b; Translation by Brey/Heinritz.

<sup>32</sup> A premise also found with other authors like ST. JOHN-JOHNES 1985, p. 176.

### Anatolians in Northern Cyprus: phantom or nightmare?

Population from Turkey has been transferred as settlers to Northern Cyprus since 1974. This is widely acknowledged today by Cypriots of both ethnic communities and by foreign observers of any shade. What remains controversial is whether it has been a massive and planned colonisation with the intention fundamentally changing the demographic situation on the island or a restricted immigration of a small number of urgently needed workers. Intention and extent of immigration from the Turkish mainland are probably the most precarious political subjects concerning Cyprus of all. In the following we would like to refer to the above mentioned figures of Anatolian settlers, as well as deal with *motives, intentions* and assumed *consequences* of the settlement and, if possible, try to get closer to the truth. Quite a difficult task as the "fog" is thicker in this field than anywhere else.

In the TRNC the total number of settlers is "kept like a state secret"<sup>33</sup>. The assertion that most of the immigrants were remigrating Turkish Cypriots has only recently been dropped. That is why figures are also only recently given. The quotation from "Turks as Part ..." (see above) admits "that 17 000 Turks have either married Turkish Cypriots or have earned citizenship together with their children who number about 5000". In addition there would be 2000 to 5000 regular foreign and some illegal workers. The demand for workers because of economic growth is mentioned as a reason for immigration. Altogether the Turkish side tries to play immigration down and make it appear as a completely normal event, i.e. by taking into question the "status of settler" of the immigrated population in general: "The acquisition of citizenship by marriage and following a fixed period of continuous residence and employment is an internationally acclaimed practice".<sup>34</sup> There are more detailed statements about mixed marriage between Turkish Cypriots and Turks from the mainland: according to the Turkish ambassador in the TRNC they number 1500.<sup>35</sup> HAHN/WELLENREUTHER stick to "official" figures and estimate Anatolian settlers in the TRNC at 17 000–19 000. This figure would go up "by a couple of thousands" if the children of the settlers were added.

From the point of view of Greek Cypriots immigration to the TRNC appears in a totally different light. Thus according to the booklet "The Cyprus Problem" reprinted in 1991, the P.I.O. claims to know about Ankara's plans to transfer 200 000 people from the poor provinces of Anatolia and the Black Sea Coast to occupied Northern Cyprus.<sup>36</sup> As the Greek Cypriot "Cyprus Bulletin"<sup>37</sup> states, "the number of settlers

<sup>33</sup> WELLENREUTHER, p. 49.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Cucò-Report, § 82

<sup>36</sup> The Cyprus Problem, 1991, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> 15 November 1991.

transferred from Turkey to Cyprus exceeded 80 000, without considering the 35 000 members of the armed forces illegally stationed on the island". According to the Greek Cypriot booklet "Turkish Demographic Manipulations ..." the aims of the "demographic adulteration" are:

- a change of the demographic character of the island so as to gain power to negotiate;
- the strengthening of chauvinistic elements of the Turkish Cypriot population, e.g. by influencing election results;
- the break-up of centuries-old ties of friendship between the two Cypriot ethnic communities;
- the strengthening of traditional and the weakening of the prevalent modern moral concepts of the native Turkish Cypriot population.

The Greek Cypriot side again and again points to the destruction, desecration and looting of orthodox churches and monasteries, e.g. the robbery of mosaics from the church of Kanakaria caused an international sensation.<sup>38</sup>

The Turkish Cypriot opposition also quite unanimously condemns the Anatolian settlement in Cyprus. Figures given by them lie between those of the Greek Cypriots and those of the Turkish Cypriot government. Opposition leader Mustafa Akinci talks about 40 000–45 000 settlers (to which illegal workers are still to be added). Alpay Durduran mentions 55 000 naturalizations since 1974. Other politicians estimate "only" 25 000 or 30 000.<sup>39</sup> The Turkish Cypriot Opposition and trade unionists unanimously lament that the presence of settlers and illegal workers has led to a decline in the general level of wages, as these people form a pool of cheap labour available anytime. This situation is considered as the main reason for the emigration of many Turkish Cypriots.<sup>40</sup>

Various resolutions of international institutions have condemned the presence of Turkish settlers in the TRNC. A resolution of the the European Parliament of 20. 5. 1988 explicitly demands the withdrawal of the Turkish armed forces as well as the Turkish settlers.

Taking an objective view there is no doubt about a planned settlement policy of the Denktash-administration. Motives for the settlement of additional population are obvious. In the course of the Turkish invasion in 1974 about 160 000 refugees definitely left their homes in the north of the island. However, the number of Turkish Cypriots resettling or fleeing in the opposite direction was only 44 000 up to the end

<sup>38</sup> See report by K. Gallas, FAZ-Journal, 13/1990 "Wo der Himmel unter die Räuber fällt"

<sup>39</sup> See Cucò-Report, § 69ff. and "Opposition Views on Key Issues"; similarly the Greek Cypriots strongly protested against the complete "Turkification" of all place names in North Cyprus, documented with its systematology by KING and LADBURY, 1988.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*



of 1975. So the flight of Greek Cypriots had left a population vacuum and a potential of houses and land etc. in the north that could not be filled with Turkish Cypriot immigrants alone. It required more people. This is the reason for the majority of the settlers coming to the island between 1974 and 1977, just following the Turkish intervention. The Turkish settlement policy was obviously a planned resettlement of the whole territory of North Cyprus. WELLENREUTHER, considering 40 000 settlers a reasonable number, concludes: "After the separation North Cyprus needed a planned settlement policy. It was also reasonable in order to prevent large rural settlement complexes from being deserted".<sup>41</sup> We cannot, however, share the authors approval of this policy, especially in the face of the present "ethnic cleansing" taking place in the Balkans.

A profound discussion of the problem requires the analysis of a whole lot of detailed questions, such as: From what group of people and of what social status are the immigrated Turkish citizens? To what extent and in what way did their naturalization take place?

But first we would again like to pay attention to the still outstanding question of the *number of Turkish immigrants from the Turkish mainland*. The Greek Cypriot study "Population of Turkish Cypriots ..." tries to find out the "number of settlers" following two different methods:

1. The number of settlers is figured out on the basis of the afore mentioned scenarios with the number of autochthonous Turkish Cypriots and the official figures of the total population as second quantity. The number of settlers results as follows:

	1975	1980	1985	1990
Scenario A	26 800	47 000	53 700	65 500
Scenario B	26 800	46 800	57 900	70 600

2. The second calculation is based on migration balances, i.e. the difference between registered arrivals and departures of Turkish citizens (see table 2). For each year the expected natural population growth for the immigrants is figured out on the basis of growth rates in Turkey. According to this method 55 500 settlers turn out for the year 1985, a number consistent with the results of method 1.

In order to put down a definite expected number of settlers a further 13 000 illegal workers is added by the authors of this report.<sup>42</sup> Altogether this yields an estimated 78 500 to 83 600 settlers. This "surplus", however, is not convincing as it assumes a great number of illegal workers that were not registered on arrival and therefore do not appear in the immigration statistics.

<sup>41</sup> Translation by the authors.

<sup>42</sup> Based on a report from the Turkish newspaper Cumhuriyet of 5.4.1990.

Due to the shown improbabilities, and to the TRNC's "policy of keeping secret", doubts about the real number of immigrants remain. Neither can we ourselves claim the ability to exactly identify the number of Anatolian settlers. But we find it reasonable to assume for 1990 that up to 70 000 mainland Turks – including their children and not including Turkish armed forces – were permanently resident in the TRNC.<sup>43</sup> In a recent interview, published in the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Yenidüzen*,<sup>44</sup> *Denktash* has confirmed this assumption for the first time, speaking of 60 000 to 80 000 settlers from Turkey.

In his detailed study *IOANNIDES* (1991) points to similarities between the Turkish settlement policy and the Ottoman settlement of Cyprus after the conquest of the island in 1571. Based on reports from the Turkish press and statements of settlers, he outlines the course and methodology of the colonisation. According to this, in the time just after the invasion, Anatolian farmers were systematically recruited in Turkey and then transferred to Cyprus.<sup>45</sup> Recruitment as well as settlement took place within the frame of a closely coordinated policy between the Turkish government and the *Denktash*-administration.<sup>46</sup>

A particularly precarious matter seems to be the naturalization of Turkish citizens. Naturalized Turks have, with reference to their civic rights (e.g. the right to vote), the same status as autochthonous Turkish Cypriots.<sup>47</sup> Because of the lack of international recognition the authorities are not in the position to issue a recognized passport; instead the new citizens receive a so-called "naturalization certificate". *IOANNIDES*<sup>48</sup> describes different ways to obtain this certificate. It was a frequently applied practice to register the (often illiterate) settlers right in their homes and then immediately issue the "naturalization certificate". Turkish press reports that before every election there were "naturalization waves" in the TRNC. According to the reports, before the election of the spring of 1980 within 5 days a total of 14.149 settlers were registered as citizens of the TRNC. *IOANNIDES*, however, points out that the naturalization was not carried out automatically but that proof has to be supplied for all cases.<sup>49</sup> The *Cucò-Report* deals with the relevant legislation in detail (§ 95f):

— "95. Nevertheless, the most important measure for the settlers has been the possibility of acquiring Turkish-Cypriot nationality. In 1975, the Turkish-Cypriot administration passed Act No. 3/1975, under which nationality could be given to

<sup>43</sup> J. CHOISI comes to a similar number in her latest study about the Cyprus Conflict (1993).

<sup>44</sup> *Yenidüzen*, 23 July 1993: "Kimin nereden geldiği anlaşıldı!"

<sup>45</sup> *IOANNIDES*, p. 28ff.

<sup>46</sup> P. 399.

<sup>47</sup> See *Cucò-Report*, § 95ff.

<sup>48</sup> P. 165.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

anyone who requested it and, in particular, to members of the Turkish armed forces who had served in Cyprus, the wives, children and brothers of members of these forces who had fallen in Cyprus between 20 July 1974 and 20 August 1974 or to persons who had served in the Turkish Resistance Organisation in Cyprus or Turkey.

— 96. In 1981, a regulation on the acquisition of the nationality of the state in exceptional cases supplemented these provisions. This text provides for the granting of Turkish-Cypriot nationality to persons permanently resident in the northern part of Cyprus for at least one year, to persons who have made or who could make an important contribution to the economy, to those who have contributed to social and cultural life, the development of external relations or the raising of the standard of education and to all those who have rendered services the continuation of which is vital to the security forces. Proof must, however, be supplied in all cases. One of the last provisions of this regulation also permits the granting of nationality to any person, when the authorities consider this to be necessary.”

The assertion that naturalization was only carried out after 5 years of permanent residence<sup>50</sup> does not seem tenable, considering the legislation. Certainly this practice was not applied when the “waves of settlers” came at the end of the seventies. Another part of the settlement policy was the issue of a so-called “concession certificate” for a house, agricultural land and other items. This document is only allowed to be sold or passed over to third persons after 20 years at the earliest.<sup>51</sup>

Quite a homogenous picture can be drawn of the social background and the social structure of the Turkish immigrants. Without doubt by far the majority of them are ordinary farmers and herdsman from rural Anatolia. According to official statements, in 1990 another 2750 regular Turkish workers and 126 businessman and managers were living in Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> Add to this an indefinite number of illegal workers of between 1500 and 13.000. A further considerable quantity are the former members of the armed forces. Their naturalization is laid down in Act No. 3/1975 (see above). IOANNIDES<sup>53</sup> estimates them, a part of whom have received land and houses in favourable locations, at about 10 000, an estimation we can neither verify nor falsify.

## Conclusion

There is still hope that the “statistical fog” will clear. This might happen, if the Turkish Cypriots, too, follow Resolution No. 789 of the UN Security Council of

<sup>50</sup> “Turks as Part of...”.

<sup>51</sup> Cucò-Report, § 94.

<sup>52</sup> HAHN/WELLENREUTHER, table 6.

<sup>53</sup> P. 28f.

23. 11. 1992, which, among other things, demands: "That both sides commit themselves to the holding of a Cyprus-wide census under the auspices of the United Nations." The Greek Cypriot Side has recently met this demand and held a census of population. Its preliminary results have been published recently.<sup>54</sup>

As long as this proposal is not realized, in the face of a war of facts and figures, it remains difficult to find the truth: The fears, above all, of many Turkish Cypriots regarding the "Anatolization" of Northern Cyprus cannot be ignored. Especially the pressure on wages caused by the great number of cheap Turkish workers, must be taken seriously, as it might support the decision of many Turkish Cypriots to leave their country.

Thus the effects of the Turkish settlement policy amount to more than simply an increase in demographic weight for the Turkish side in Cyprus. Nor does it only affect the question of the consequences this changed demographic structure will have on the development of the economy and the settlement structure. Rather what is at stake is above all the possibility of settling the Cyprus Conflict. All of the proposals made up to now provide for a bi-communal structure. That means they are based on the continued existence of the two communities. A Northern Cyprus, not only having sunk both economically and politically to the level of a Turkish province, but also having lost its Turkish Cypriot identity, would make any bi-communal solution impossible to realize.

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<sup>54</sup> REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS..., 1993.

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