

We propose the following as the programme of the anti-imperialist front government:

1. Annulment of all the rights and the negation of all the demands of Turkey, Greece and England (and all the other imperialists that may get involved in Cyprus later on). Independence of Cyprus.
2. Nationalisation without compensation of all the properties of the big bourgeoisie who, through their alliance with the above mentioned imperialist powers have betrayed the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus.
3. Nationalisation without compensation of all the land and the properties on such land of the big land owners, including the Church and the Mosques. Nationalisation without compensation of all the land and the properties on such land of the military bases of Turkey, Greece and England. Distribution of all these lands and properties to the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus who have lost their personal property as a result of wars and genocides in Cyprus, to the landless peasants and homeless workers and state employees.
4. To guarantee the national rights of Turkish Cypriots, if need be in a federal state structure. The prohibition of all the organisations and activities that ferment national and religious enmities between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.
5. To take all measures needed to better the living and working conditions of the workers and the labouring masses of Cyprus who shall win and preserve the anti-imperialist united front government.

Let us all fight for a united front government, without delay, without any deviation.

Forward to victory.

THE SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

(Socialist Newspaper published in Northern Cyprus)

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CONTENTS

I. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.....	3
1. THE NATIONAL QUESTION.....	4
2. THE CREATORS AND THE PERPETRATORS OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CYPRUS	6
3. BOURGEOIS SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM—1960	11
4. BOURGEOIS SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM—1974	13
5. PROLETARIAN SOLUTION TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION	16
6. POLICY OF ALLIANCES IN CYPRUS.....	17
7. SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM IN CYPRUS: THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT	21
II. APPENDIX	26
1. LAND QUESTION AS THE BASIS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.....	27
2. GREEK CYPRIOT-GREEK? TURKISH CYPRIOT-TURKISH?	31
2.1. EQUALITY OF NATIONS –RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION RIGHT OF NATIONS TO INDEPENDENT STATE—RIGHTS OF COLONIES TO INDEPENDENCE –THE INVOLABILITY OF COUNTRIES’ BORDERS	41
2.2. FEDERALISM. UNITARY STATE.....	45
3. BOURGEOIS IMPERIALIST SOLUTIONS TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.....	46
3.1. NOT TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREED SOLUTION.....	46
3.2.1. DIVISION OF THE ISLAND THROUGH FORMATION OF TWO “INDEPENDENT” STATES.....	47
3.2.2. FEDERATION.....	48
3.2.3. CONFEDERATION.....	49
3.2.4. REACTIONARY, IMPERIALIST WAR	50

4. POLICY AND TACTICS.....	53
5. WAR OF LIBERATION OR IMPERIALIST WAR.....	56
6. THE BORDER INCIDENTS	57
7. THE SLOGAN OF DEMILITARISATION IN CYPRUS.....	59
8. TURKISH/KURDISH COLONISTS IN THE NORTH	62
9. ANOTHER BOURGEOIS SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM: EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP	65

I. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

1. THE NATIONAL QUESTION

What is known as Cyprus Problem is a national question. In other words, the question of the forms the relations amongst the nations take: Will these relations amongst nations be based on exploitation and force, or will they be based on voluntary unity and co-operative development?

Today's world is made up of bourgeois states forming an imperialist chain. If we take a look at the relations amongst nations presented to us under these bourgeois conditions, we see the following gloomy picture:

a) A few "Great" Powers which exploit and oppress the mass of dependent and "independent" (but in fact wholly dependent) nation states and the struggle of these powers amongst themselves and against the nation states for the monopoly of exploitation of the nation states.

b) Struggle of the dependant and "independent" nation states against the intolerable oppression of the "Great" Powers.

c) Struggle of the nation states amongst themselves for the extension of their own territories.

d) Struggle of "Great" Powers and the nation states, each in particular, against "their" own oppressed national minorities and the struggle of these national minorities against them.

All these are the inevitable results of organising the relations amongst nations on the basis of oppression and exploitation. So long as the private ownership and control of the land, factories etc. remain, so long as the struggle amongst the bourgeoisie for their ownership remains, in other words, so long as the organisation and governing of societies by the bourgeoisie remains, it is quite

understandable and indeed inevitable that the organisation of the relations amongst nations will be based on force and exploitation and will be within the framework of the picture presented above.

The bourgeoisie organise the relations of nations within this framework. To the bourgeoisie, this framework is the solution of the national question. Any other approach to the question is utterly impossible for the bourgeoisie. It is impossible for the bourgeoisie to organise relations amongst the nations based on voluntary union. History and the present day relationships amongst the bourgeois groupings make this crystal clear.

2. THE CREATORS AND THE PERPETRATORS OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CYPRUS

So far as the National Question is concerned, little Cyprus is a huge mirror of the bourgeois world. Let us take a look at the Cyprus of 1950's, up to 1960.

a) The sworn enemy of the peoples of the world, the colonial and murderous English Imperialism, possessed Cyprus as one of her colonies. Even today and in one way or another, Britain still controls Cyprus.

Before and during the First and Second World Wars, Britain half heartily promised "Greek Cyprus" to the Greek Bourgeoisie in order to draw them into these wars as allies against Germany. The Greek Bourgeoisie, which is supposed to love their Greek brothers in Cyprus, of course, refused to bite the bait.

After the Second World War, England lost her domination of the Middle East and the U.S.A. took her place. In Greece, that of the U.S.A. American imperialists wanted to get the English imperialists out of Cyprus too replaced English domination. As they could not achieve their aim through a direct war against England for the domination of Cyprus, they had to organise a war by proxy. This is exactly what they did; making full use of the positions they had gained in Greece and the United Nations.

b) Monarchist Greece become a semi-colony of the U.S.A. imperialism after the Monarchist Greek Bourgeoisie defeated the Greek Communists in the Greek Civil War which followed Second World War, with the support first of the English and then the American imperialists.

The EOKA movement was started with the slogan of unification of Cyprus with such a Greece and with such a Greek Bourgeoisie; the infamous slogan of ENOSIS.

(1) This movement was supported by Greece and the U.S.A. which used Greece as a proxy in its war against England, with all the means at their disposal: money, arms, taking the Cyprus Problem to the United Nations etc. The founder of this movement, Grivas, is known as an ardent anti-communist and an ardent supporter of U.S.A.

This movement had the appearance of a national liberation movement against the English Colonialism. In reality, it was nothing more than a means of satisfying the expansionist aims of Greece and the U.S.A.'s utilisation of this in its struggle against its English competitor in imperialist domination of other countries and nations. EOKA movement means the utilisation of the national question in Cyprus, the question of liberation of Cyprus from English Colonialism for these reactionary aims of Greece and the U.S.A. The reactionary content of the EOKA movement was declared openly through their slogan of unification with the anti-communist, semi-colonial and imperialist, monarchist Greece-ENOSIS¹.

c) The aim of the Greek Cypriot ruling classes was not to achieve the national liberation of "their" nation but to preserve and strengthen their own privileges. They were also quite weak in relation to the English bourgeoisie when they began to look for allies in their fight against the English colonists. So they did not seek these allies in the Greek and Turkish Cypriot working

¹ The slogan of unity with the motherland is neither revolutionary nor reactionary in itself. Its character depends on the character of the motherland one wishes to unite with.

class and in the working class of the world, but in the bourgeoisie of the world, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist Greek “motherland” and the U.S.A.

Two of the forces, which are responsible for the oppression and genocidal murder that the Cypriot labouring masses have had to endure, are precisely these imperialist forces (Greece and the U.S.A.). This fact, even on its own, proves that the Greek Cypriot ruling class is incapable of leading the Cypriot labouring masses to independence and freedom. They were “obliged” to sell their country and the Cypriot labouring masses to the imperialists right from the start, in order to preserve their own privileges.

d) English imperialism was fighting to preserve its colonial domination of Cyprus against the triangle of forces formed by the Greek Cypriot ruling classes, and Greece that stood behind them and the U.S.A. that stood behind both. Britain did not delay putting into operation the method which it is an expert in utilising: the method of divide and rule, the method of using each and every difference that exists amongst the colonial peoples to create enmities amongst them, in order to preserve its murderous colonial rule.

In 1950's, English imperialists have began to exacerbate the national and religious differences amongst the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to encourage the clash of reactionary nationalism and religion which are the ideologies of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot ruling classes. On this score, they opened the doors of Cyprus to Turkey, declaring that if they had to leave the island, they must leave it to the Turks, as Britain bought Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire.

e) These tactics of the English imperialists fell onto the fertile soil of the Turkish Cypriot ruling classes-afraid

of finding themselves under worse conditions of national oppression, including genocide if the English colonists were driven off the island as a result of the successes of the EOKA, even if ENOSIS was not achieved. These seeds have given fruit as VOLKAN, which has later on become TMT (“Turkish Resistance Organisation”).

f) In England, the English imperialist bourgeoisie which not only oppressed Cyprus but also many peoples of the world were in power. In Turkey, the republicanist Turkish bourgeoisie was in power. These national traitors, during the Second World War provided soldiers and provisions to the Nazi armies and after the war transformed the country into a semi-colony of the U.S.A. imperialists. TMT movement came into being declaring that, either the English colonial rule should continue in Cyprus, that Cyprus should be given back to Turkey, or that Cyprus be partitioned between Turkey and Greece (TAKSIM)¹. In other words, TMT was an openly and avowedly reactionary movement.

g) As the aim of the Cypriot Turkish ruling classes was not to achieve the national liberation of “their” nation, not to save their people from the genocide of the Greek chauvinist-fascist murderers, but to preserve and strengthen their own privileges. They were quite weak in relation to the Greek bourgeoisie, when they began to look for allies in their struggle, they did not seek these allies in the Greek and Turkish Cypriot working class and in the working class of the world, but in the bourgeoisie of the world, in bourgeoisie of their imperialist Turkish “motherland” and England.

¹ The slogan of unity with the motherland is neither revolutionary nor reactionary in itself. Its character depends on the character of the motherland one wishes to unite with.

Two of the forces, which are responsible for the oppression and genocidal murder that the Cypriot labouring masses have had to endure, are precisely these imperialist forces (Turkey and England). This fact, even on its own, proves that the Turkish Cypriot ruling class is incapable of leading the Cypriot labouring masses to independence and freedom. They were “obliged” to sell their country and the Cypriot labouring masses to the imperialists right from the start, in order to preserve their own privileges.

Thus the English, Greek and Turkish imperialist bourgeoisie and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie, as if in co-operation, have opened up the two other fronts of national question in Cyprus: one that took the form of genocide; the national question between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and the other which threatens to turn into a war between two relatively strong national states; the competition for the imperialist domination of Cyprus that exist between Turkey and Greece.

And of course, one must never forget the U.S.A.

3. BOURGEOIS SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM—1960

1960 London Agreement and the Republic of Cyprus that came into being from it, was a solution that the bourgeoisie of different nationalities of Cyprus and the bourgeoisie of the states which had an imperialist interest in Cyprus and which occupy different positions in the imperialist system formulated in accordance with their Gordian knot of relationships and their balances of power.

What are the characteristics of this solution of theirs?

This solution did not put an end to the national question, the colonial question Cyprus and England. It formulated a new relationship between Cyprus and England, one that legalised in the international law and perpetuated the domination of Cyprus by England precisely at a time when the colonial form of this domination was becoming impossible for England to defend.

This solution, by giving guarantor status to and placing the armies of Greece and Turkey on Cypriot soil legalised and declared as a fact of life the very struggle of Greece and Turkey for the imperialist domination of Cyprus.

The solution to the national question between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots was the practically unworkable and therefore phoney "Republic of Cyprus". This Republic meant nothing bar the declaration of mistrust between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie. This fact is very well reflected in the checks and balances of nationalities in every organ of this republic, all these of course, were supposed to be the recognition of the national rights of the Turkish minority.

The bourgeois mode of solving the national question in Cyprus is as above. It was and is no solution to the question as everyone knows.

The 1960 Agreement was the proof that the bourgeoisie is potentially bankrupt, a spent force in solving the national question.

England, Turkey and Greece guaranteed the existence and the rights of the nationalities of this Republic. The history of this Republic between 1960 and 1974 showed that the guarantee of these gentlemen meant nothing for the Greek and Turkish Cypriot labouring masses beyond genocidal murder. This history is one of Greek and Turkish Cypriots killing each other; of Turkey's and Greece's military and diplomatic interference in Cyprus; of England watching all this unending national bickering with pleasure and thanks to this, preserving her domination of Cyprus; and of the U.S.A. obtaining military benefits from Cyprus.

This history is a proof of the utter bankruptcy in solving the national question of the English, American, Turkish, Greek, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie. Cyprus is a perfect model of the bourgeois mode of handling and solving the national question. The bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the national question.

Whoever wants to solve the national question, must also solve the question of the bourgeoisie.

So says Cyprus.

Whoever loves their nation, should take a good look at Cyprus.

4. BOURGEOIS SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM—1974

If all that was not enough, let us carry on.

In 1974, the coup d'état of EOKA was initiated and backed by Greece- the “motherland” of Cypriot Greeks. The military invasion of the Island following this was carried out by Turkey- the “motherland” of Turkish Cypriots. Both these acts meant oppression, suppression, genocidal murder, and migration of Greek and Turkish Cypriot masses at the point of a Greek or Turkish bayonet.

The most radical solution of the national question in the bourgeois world is the formation of nation states however much these may be dependant on “great” powers and their bigger neighbours, however much they may be ready and waiting to make war on each other, however much they may oppress their own national minorities.

Then, the following question comes to mind: now that through their murderous operations of 1974 they have separated the national groupings of Cyprus, now that they have formed more or less ethnically homogenous territories, how come this doesn't solve the national question between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots through the formation of two so called independent states?

Especially now that the occupied North, the colony of Turkey has been declared to be the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (T.R.N.C.).

One of the reasons is that, the national question in Cyprus does not consist of just this problem. It has two other fronts. Whoever wants to solve the national problem in Cyprus within the bourgeois context has to

satisfy not only the demands of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie, but also the imperialist aims of England and the imperialist aims of Turkey and Greece.

Nor is this all. U.S.A. has imperialist aims in Cyprus. The European Union, (i.e., France and Germany) also has an imperialist interest in Cyprus. These are also doing all they can to be involved in the process of solving the "Cyprus Problem" to their own benefit. These "great" monsters are not to be dismissed lightly.

The national question in Cyprus has then three principle conflicts: England-Cyprus, Turkey-Greece and, Greek Cypriot-Turkish Cypriot, but it contains more variables than the elements involved in these conflicts. The U.S.A., E.U. (and others) are also involved in this complex equation.

Therefore, any solution proposed within the bourgeois context has to satisfy the aims of all the elements involved. The result is that they cannot solve not even one of the parts of the national problem in Cyprus.

In the bourgeois world, the satisfaction of one's needs is dependent on one's power, in the final analysis, on one's military power. One has as much right as one has might, and no more. Any solution to any problem is based on the balance of power of the bourgeois forces involved in the process.

Keeping this in mind, we can see that, the existing situation in Cyprus is the only solution that could be achieved given the balance of forces within the imperialist system. Everything is hanging in the air; everyone is doing whatever benefits and befits them; everyone is trying to change the balance of forces to their own advantage. Turkey and Greece are arming themselves against each other and testing each other's resolve; the North and the South of the Island are being armed more

and more and with more and more modern weaponry; everyone is trying to find new and “powerful” allies and isolate their opponent. England is encouraging both sides of the Turkish-Greek divide and is proposing, as a “peace lover”, that if they disarm she will preserve the peace and defend the Island on her own. U.S.A. is finding ways of keeping the Greek lobby in the U.S.A. quite and getting all it can out of Cyprus, etc.

In other words, what we have in Cyprus today-March 1997-is yet another bourgeois imperialist solution to the National question in Cyprus that has come into being in 1974, just as the formation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 was another solution. Winners and losers are happy. If anyone is not happy with the situation, all they can do is to huff and to puff, to look for allies amongst the “great” powers and of course, by arming themselves “just a little bit more”, to prepare for another war and genocide.

There is nothing else they can do.

The present situation is the bourgeois solution to the national question in Cyprus given today’s balance of forces.

Here is another proof of the fact that bourgeois society is utterly bankrupt in solving the national problem.

5. PROLETARIAN SOLUTION TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The utter bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie in solving the national problem, their utter incapacity to use nothing but the methods of exploitation and oppression as means of organising the relationships between the nations, gives rise to a political movement: the movement of the proletariat and of the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie led by the proletariat, against imperialism (against the world bourgeoisie, including the native big bourgeoisie) to form states (Soviet states) that will organise the relationships of nations based on voluntary unity and co-operative development.

This tendency, which came into being with the October 1917 Revolution, is today, imposing itself as the only possible solution to the national question. Either this tendency shall be victorious, or the relations amongst nations shall become one of further barbarism. As a result of the weakness of this tendency, these relationships are assuming barbarous forms right in front of our eyes.

6. POLICY OF ALLIANCES IN CYPRUS

In politics, it is impossible to avoid the question of alliances. The weaker a political force is, the more it needs allies. Otherwise, it becomes impossible to achieve the desired result.

For example, the Turkish and Greek bourgeoisie of Cyprus always abides by this political dictum. We have already talked about what forms of alliances they have formed, with what political forces and to achieve what aims. On the basis of these, we can safely say that the alliance policies of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie, and the Cyprus Problem that we have called the complex equation with three principle conflicts and many variables, is one and the same thing.

So long as the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie of Cyprus base their very existence and the future of Cyprus to the alliances formed with such allies and to their barbaric acts, it becomes impossible for the Proletariat and the labouring masses of Cyprus to form an alliance with them. The bourgeoisie, together with their allies, have taken their place amongst those who create and perpetuate the Cyprus Problem. The bourgeoisie are solidly placed in the imperialist camp and have no desire at all to brake from this. Their policy is tied to the policy of their allies with steel and the policy of their allies is not one of solving the Cyprus problem, it is a policy of gaining influence in Cyprus, of increasing that influence while reducing the influence of their opponents. It is a policy of wars and mass murder. It is impossible for the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie of Cyprus and their allies to act in any other way. Such is the nature of the beast.

If this conclusion is correct, if it corresponds to a truthful reflection of the history of Cyprus, of the positions

of the bourgeois forces in Cyprus, than two conclusions follow from this: First, the solution of the Cyprus Problem must be taken up by the proletariat of Cyprus. Secondly, as the Greek and Turkish big bourgeoisie of Cyprus have taken their place in the imperialist camp that creates this problem, the Cypriot proletariat cannot form an alliance with them to solve the Cyprus Problem.

We arrive at this conclusion. If it is possible to arrive at any other conclusion after a study of the policies of different class forces in Cyprus, after a study of the history of the world and of Cyprus, we would like to hear of it. After all, on such matters, there is no difference between making a "mistake" and being responsible for the murder of the people.

To continue: Even if the proletariat of Cyprus unites as a whole, as one organisation and fight in accordance with one correct political line, its forces would still be weak in comparison with the bourgeois forces that make up the Gordian knot of the world imperialist system in Cyprus. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie in Cyprus, just as anywhere else, does not stand still. It is working in the ranks of the working class, organising the workers in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook and thus using a section of the working class for its own aims.

Therefore, in Cyprus too, the principle duty of the working class is to defeat the bourgeois influences in its ranks, and thus to form a unity in its ranks which is in accordance with its class aims and interests.

Therefore, even the fulfilment of this very difficult duty is not enough for the Cypriot working class to defeat its enemies and thus to resolve the Cyprus problem. The question of alliances has to be handled properly.

These allies, besides the semi-proletarians, can only be the labouring masses of Cyprus; shopkeepers,

artisans, farmers and bourgeois intellectuals of Cyprus. These petty bourgeois classes and groups, or rather their revolutionary sections can only take part in an anti-imperialist front in Cyprus.

But, the bourgeoisie in Cyprus, just as anywhere else, does not stand still. It is working in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, organising them in accordance with the bourgeois world outlook and thus using a section of them for its bourgeois aims.

Therefore, in Cyprus too, one of the duties of the working class is to defeat the bourgeois influences in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, and thus to form a unity, an anti-imperialist front with them which is in accordance with its class policies and thus in accordance with the well being of the labouring masses and the country.

But, even if the proletariat of Cyprus unites as a whole, and unites with the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie in an anti-imperialist alliance in other words, even if the people of Cyprus unites as a whole, as one organisation and fights in accordance with one correct political line, its forces would still be weak in comparison with the bourgeois forces that make up the Gordian knot of the world imperialist system in Cyprus.

Therefore, the formation of the anti-imperialist front in Cyprus, very difficult as it is, is not enough for the Cypriot working class to defeat its enemies and thus to resolve the problem of Cyprus.

Therefore, the Cypriot proletariat cannot restrict its policy of alliances within the narrow bounds of Cyprus. It must look for allies outside of Cyprus.

Where, and amongst whom can such allies be found? The Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie find their allies in Greece, Turkey, England, U.S.A., Europe,

amongst the bourgeoisie of these countries, but by doing so, create the Problem of Cyprus.

The proletariat of Cyprus, and the people of Cyprus that they organise under their leadership shall find their allies in these countries too, but amongst the workers and the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie of these countries.

The Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie of Cyprus are creating the Cyprus Problem through their policies of alliance, while the alliance policy of the Greek and Turkish workers of Cyprus will put an end to the problem.

7. SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM IN CYPRUS: THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

The Immediate task that has to be fulfilled by the working class of Cyprus is not the confiscation of bourgeois property, is not to put an end to the bourgeois relations of production. This task is to put an end to Cyprus being a nest of weapons and military bases, to save the Cypriot people from the bourgeois barbarians, from their genocide and wars. This problem is not a problem of Cypriot proletarians only; it is a problem of the people of Cyprus as a whole.

What is known as Cyprus Problem is a national question. It is a problem of establishing certain forms of relationships amongst the nations. It is a problem of establishing not just formal, judicial equality of nations, but of establishing real, concrete equality of nations.

What are the forces, which turned Cyprus into an arms depot, which transformed the relations amongst nations in and around Cyprus into barbaric forms of relations, in short, what are the forces that create the Cyprus problem?

The Cyprus problem, in other words, the national question in Cyprus has three fronts: the front of the relations between England and Cyprus; the front of the relations between Turkey and Greece; the front of the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The national question in Cyprus has three fronts, but it contains more variables than the elements involved in these fronts. Other than the elements of these fronts, U.S.A., EUROPEAN UNION (and others) are also involved in this complex equation.

The Cyprus Problem, this national question, we have called the complex equation with three fronts and many variables, and the alliance policies of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie of Turkey, Greece, England and other imperialist countries is one and the same thing.

The immediate task of the workers and people of Cyprus, the task of the day, is to put an end to the imperialist interference of Turkey, Greece, England and their collaborators in Cyprus. It is this interference, which is turning Cyprus into an arms depot, ready to explode at any moment. The task of the day is to put an end to this imperialist interference, to the bloody games they play in Cyprus. This task can only be resolved by the overthrow of the rule of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie who feel "obliged" to invite these imperialist forces to interfere in the affairs of Cyprus, which feels "obliged" to form alliances with these imperialists against the independence of Cyprus, and against the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people.

Precisely because this is the immediate task of the Cypriot workers and people, the working class should concentrate all its efforts and energy into fulfilling this task. All attention should be directed to the formation of the anti-imperialist front under the leadership of the working class and to the formation of an alliance with the revolutionary forces of Turkey, Greece and England.

To defeat all the imperialist forces active in Cyprus, to defeat their Cypriot allies and thus to establish a unified and independent Cyprus is the task of this anti-imperialist united front. Only this organisation can fulfil this task.

The first task of the Cypriot revolutionaries is to win all revolutionaries to this policy. Their second task is to win all the trade unions to this policy. Their third task is to

win all the organisations of the people to this policy. Their fourth task is to win all the revolutionaries of Turkey, Greece and England to this policy.

The main thing that prevents the carrying out of these tasks is the barrier formed by the right wing politicians who have organised workers and people of Cyprus in their parties, in the trade unions, in other mass organisations and are afraid of “breaking their ties” with their own “national” bourgeoisie (be they Cypriot, or of the “motherland”), and the barrier formed by other right wing politicians who dare to think of breaking this tie only if they can find another “powerful” imperialist bourgeoisie who will hold their hand, who will defend them against these “national” imperialists of Cyprus and of the “motherland”.

The main political form these barriers assume, is the refusal to determine the enemy forces as we have done above. If our analysis is correct, then the solution of the Cyprus problem requires a struggle against these imperialist forces who claim to have rights in Cyprus and a struggle against the Cypriot Greek and Turkish big bourgeoisie who make such claims possible. This is the immediate task. The task of the day is to organise the forces that will struggle against these. Nothing should be allowed to delay this work.

These right wing politicians claim however without opposing the imperialist oppressions of these imperialist forces, without opposing their allies in Cyprus, that it is possible to have peace amongst nations in Cyprus, that a unified and independent Cyprus can be achieved without such a struggle. On this basis they declare that the immediate task of the revolutionaries is to “encourage” the native and foreign bourgeois imperialist forces to come to an agreement to solve the Cyprus problem. For

this reason, these right wing politicians, even when they talk of forming an anti-imperialist front, transform that task into a task of the future, a future that will arrive after the above mentioned agreement of our “beloved” imperialists and their Cypriot lackeys.

These political forces must be defeated and the formation of the anti-imperialist front be firmly put on the agenda of all the revolutionaries, all the workers and the people of Cyprus.

There is no other way forward for Cyprus but to wage an anti-imperialist struggle that shall be crowned with the formation of an anti-imperialist front government.

We propose the following as the program of the anti-imperialist front government:

1. Annulment of all the rights and the negation of all the demands of Turkey, Greece and England (and all the other imperialists that may get involved in Cyprus later on). The independence of Cyprus.

2. Nationalisation without compensation of all the properties of the big bourgeoisie who, through their alliance with the above mentioned imperialist powers has betrayed the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus.

3. Nationalisation without compensation of all the land and the properties on such land of the big landowners, including the Church and the Mosques. Nationalisation without compensation of all the land and the properties on such land of the military bases of Turkey, Greece and England. Distribution of all these lands and properties to the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus who have lost their personal property as a result of wars and genocides in Cyprus, to the landless peasants and homeless workers and state employees.

4. To guarantee the national rights of Turkish Cypriots, if need be in a federal state structure. The

prohibition of all the organisations and activities that ferment national and religious enmities between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

5. To take all measures needed to better the living and working conditions of the workers and the labouring masses of Cyprus who shall win and preserve the anti-imperialist united front government.

Let us all fight for a united front government, without delay, without any deviation.

Forward to victory.

KKK*KKK*KKK*KKK*KKK*KKK*KKK*KKK*

“The Communist Party will struggle for the fulfillment of the immediate economic demands of the workers and peasants, for the exposure of the betrayal of the “National-Unionist” leaders and their counter-revolutionary slogan(Union with Greece), for the united front against imperialism of the toiling Turks and Greeks(over the heads of the Nationalist leaders), for the Free Workers’ and Peasants Soviet Republic of Cyprus” (International Press Correspondence, 17 December 1931. The Manifesto of the Cyprus Communist Party (KKK))

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II. APPENDIX

1. LAND QUESTION AS THE BASIS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

The basis of the Cyprus Problem is the land question in Cyprus.

The causes of this problem are:

The big landowners,

The Church and the Vaqif, but particularly the big land ownership of the Church.

The estates, which use the land, they own and control for the benefit of big landowners.

The land occupied by the Greek Cypriot National Guards that are themselves controlled by Greek Generals and the land occupied by the Greek Armed Forces.

The land occupied by the armed forces of the TRNC, which are themselves controlled by Turkish Generals, and the Land occupied by the Turkish Armed Forces.

The lands occupied by the armed forces of the United Kingdom (England).

These are the main forces and they do not shrink from organising wars and genocides to satisfy their aim of owning and controlling large chunks of Cypriot lands. This causes the loss of land and property of and the immigration of the small landowners and other members of the working people. This creates the Gordian knot of national questions, which is known as the Cyprus Problem.

So long as these forces with their aim of owning and controlling the lands of Cyprus are active, the Cyprus Problem will remain. Solving the Cyprus Problem requires that they be defeated, and are not allowed to be active in Cyprus.

It is these reactionary forces that are at this very moment discussing the Land Question in Cyprus.

How do they do this?

The question is put as follows: how much should be owned by the Turkish side, and how much should be owned by the Greek side? This, we are told is the essence of the question¹.

The policy in the North is to achieve a legally recognised division of the island, preserving the present division more or less intact. This policy relies on the Turkish Armed Forces, and contains within it the seeds of occupation of the whole of Cyprus by the Turkish forces.

The policy of the South is to reduce the amount of land that is to be left to the Turkish side to the minimum possible. This policy relies on the Greek controlled National Guards and the Common Defence Agreement with Greece, and contains within it the seeds of occupation of whole of Cyprus by the Greek forces.

¹ No one of course is allowed to discuss how much should be owned by England. Neither Greek, nor the Turkish side touch upon that subject matter. Why? Because they do not want to lose the support of the English imperialists. What if England ends up supporting their opponent? "Nobody" wants to deny England her "rights" in Cyprus. Also, neither Greece, nor Turkey wants to lose their rights in Cyprus. If anybody says anything against the blatantly imperialist 1960 London Agreement, it is not only England that would end up losing their rights to interfere in Cyprus, so would Greece and Turkey. Well, you cannot be a Turkish and Greek imperialist nationalist and support that, nor can you be a Greek and Turkish Cypriot nationalist in slavery to Greek and Turkish imperialism and support that either. Let us be clear about it. These sorts of nationalism and national betrayal of Cyprus (and Turkey and Greece) go hand in hand. These sorts of nationalism also go hand in hand with the genocide of Turks and Greeks of Cyprus. These nationalisms on the part of Turks and Greeks of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus are tantamount to slavery to England.

Internationalists of Cyprus, the true patriots of Cyprus, the true Greek and Turkish nationalists of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus oppose all the imperialists, of Greece, of Turkey or England and defeat them to save their nations and countries.

When these forces negotiate “peacefully”, the arguments used are the same, with different figures.

1. The Turkish side declares that the land ownership by the Turkish Cypriots before 1974, especially before 1960, was somewhere around 33-37%, the present percentage of the division of the lands. The percentage of the population of the Turkish Cypriots was also more or less the same as above.

2. The Greek side declares that the land ownership by the Turkish Cypriots before 1974, especially before 1960, was somewhere around 20%, and that, the percentage of the population of the Turkish Cypriots was also more or less the same as above.

Thus comes into being the land question these people talk about. Thus comes into being the problem they do not seem to be able to resolve except by resorting to wars and genocide, for after all, that is the way they created it in the first place.

Here we must bring something to the attention of the Cypriot people: these gentlemen keep talking of the percentage of the lands of Cyprus that should be owned by the TURKS or by the GREEKS, as if all these lands will be owned by all the TURKS and all the GREEKS as their common property. Is it true that we shall own these lands in common? Have these gentlemen turned into communists? Of course not. The reality of the situation is that THEY own the lands, a handful of TURKS and GREEKS own and control the lands. They hide this fact behind the smoke screen of nationalism. The GREEKS' share should be that much says the GREEKS. No, say the TURKS, it should be less. The TURKS' share should be that much says the TURKS. No, say the GREEKS, it should be less. Who are these TURKS and GREEKS?

They are representatives of the big landowners, of the big bourgeoisie.

What is the real land question in Cyprus? It is the question of whom amongst the Turks and Greeks own the land. That is the question and if it is not resolved through the confiscation of these lands and their distribution to the people of Cyprus of all nationalities, the Cyprus Problem will not be resolved, for these big land owners will make war to enlarge the amount of land they own and control in the name of the nation, relying on nationalism.

An anti-imperialist united front government will have no problem in deciding the share of the land that falls to the Turkish and Greek working people. It would nationalise, without compensation, the land of all the big landowners and the military bases and give them to the Turkish and Greek working people. Then, the land shall really belong to the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus, and the question of the percentages that fall to the share of the Turks and Greeks will reduce itself to giving all the land to all the Greek and Turkish Cypriot working people. We have enough land to do just that, as soon as the working people own the land of Cyprus.

2. GREEK CYPRIOT-GREEK? TURKISH CYPRIOT-TURKISH?

Capitalism and its latest form, imperialist capitalism, have only one connection with humanity. It is a product of human society. Other than that, it belongs to the animal kingdom, to barbarism.

That is how it is in relation to the lives of nations too. It will not permit backward people to develop into fully pledged and cultured nations. It will keep some in perpetual poverty and bondage and it will exterminate some. Not even most modern nations will avoid its wrath. The Germans, Japanese and Italians are still under the military domination of USA. The most developed nation on earth, the Russians ended up finding themselves as minorities with no rights in many countries, as a result of the joint activities of all the imperialist countries. Nations are divided for no other reason than to satisfy their greed. God help the part of a nation that find itself in a position of minority in a country ruled by imperialists of all size and strength, etc., etc.

One of the processes that crop up under imperialism is that, nation states are formed, while part of the nationality that belongs to the same nation is left to live in another nation state formed by another nation. From the days of the feudal Ottoman Empire, Turks and Greeks have lived in lands, which are at present parts of Turkey and Greece. They have also lived in lands, which are no longer parts of Turkey and Greece. After the formation of Greece and Turkey, we still have Greek and Turkish minorities in Turkey and Greece and the other Balkan countries. The Greeks and Turks of Cyprus are part of this process of formation of nation states, with

nationalities belonging to these nation states being left in states formed by other nations. Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been left under the colonial rule of England. English imperialism wished it to be so, and so forced it.

After the Second World War, Greece and Turkey, these “motherlands” have become semi-colonies of USA, and as they were ruled by the bourgeoisie, and as even the petty bourgeoisie has an imperialist tendency, these countries had and have an imperialist tendency as well: A tendency to extend their own territories at the expense of their neighbours, and a tendency to oppress “their own” national minorities. Both Greek and Turkish minorities have been and are being oppressed in this way.

Greece invaded Turkey, “to save the Greeks from Turkish oppression” just after the First World War, at the instigation of English Imperialism. The result was opposite of what was hoped for by the Greek bourgeoisie. Turks threw almost all the Greeks out of Turkey. Wars, genocides, migrations. Nay more, even after the exchange of populations a large Turkish minority remained in Greece, while the Turkish bourgeoisie expelled the only big Greek population that was left in Turkey, making use of the Cyprus Problem, in 1956. This way, the Turks “solved” their Greek problem in a typically Turkish way. So they thought, for Greek imperialism has not given up the idea of regaining Greek lands from the eastern Black Sea costs to the southern Aegean, and transforming Istanbul, Constantinople, into her Capital city. Greek imperialism will not give up this megalomania. In other words, Turkish bourgeoisie has not been able to solve her Greek problem. The Greek bourgeoisie have “cleared” the Turks from Rhodes-they killed them all, in a typically Greek (Balkan) style. She is doing her best to

force the Turkish peasants in Greece to leave their lands. They tried to use the methods used in Rhodes to “clear” the Turks from Cyprus. All to no avail. Turks are still around, standing their ground. That is not all. Turkish imperialism has designs in the Aegean. In other words, the Greek bourgeoisie could not finish with their Turkish problem even if they got rid of their Turkish minorities in Greece and Cyprus, just as the Turkish bourgeoisie has not been able to end their Greek problem by murdering and expelling the Greek minority in Turkey.

There is only one force that can solve the Turkish problem Greece has and the Greek problem Turkey has: it is the only force that is opposed to imperialism to the end that is opposed to the oppression of nations. That force is the proletariat. Only Turkish and Greek proletarians can put an end to the Greek and Turkish imperialism and all the wars and genocides these ugly forces give rise to between the Turks and Greeks.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots could have lived in a Cyprus that is part of Greece. Greek Cypriots would be fully fledged Greeks, and the Turkish Cypriots, living in a Greece that does not oppress its national minorities and living next to Turkey which has no imperial designs on Greece, would not even think whether they are Turks or Turkish Cypriots, they would have been Turks living in Greece. But today, there are Turks living in Greece and they are oppressed and are thus suitable human material to be used by Turkish imperialism, for today Turkey is an imperialist country. And today, Turkey uses the Turkish Cypriots, declaring them to be Turks, to extend her territory. Greek and Turkish Cypriots could have lived in a Cyprus that is part of Turkey. Turkish Cypriots would be fully pledged Turks and the Greek Cypriots, living in a Turkey that does not oppress its national minorities and

living next to Greece, which has no imperial designs on Turkey, would not even think whether they are Greeks or Greek Cypriots; they would have been Greeks living in Turkey. But even as late as 1956, thousands of Greeks were forced out of Turkey, today a very few of them live in Turkey under very difficult conditions and today Greece is an imperialist country. And today, Greece uses the Greek Cypriots, declaring them to be Greek, to extend her territory.

England did not let Cyprus join either Turkey or Greece. It wanted Cyprus as its colony and kept Cyprus. What did that mean for Turkish and Greek Cypriots? It meant that they have had a different life from the Turks and Greeks of Turkey and Greece. After all that separation, they could have formed themselves into different nations as Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. But as we said, imperialism is not a peaceful process, it is a predatory process, and it is not only England that is imperialist, so is Turkey and Greece. Turkey, Greece and England could not create the conditions for Greek and Turkish Cypriots to be Turks and Greeks, nor would they allow these people to exert themselves as distinct nations. Greek and Turkish imperialism, together with the English imperialism will not let them become fully pledged Turks and Greeks, forcing a distinct life on them; nor will they let them become distinct nations, trying to force them to join imperialist Greece and Turkey.

Turks and Greeks of Cyprus do feel their Turkness and Greekness, but the effects of the separate life they lived, but much more than that, the effects of the imperialist activities of Turkey and Greece in Cyprus makes them feel distinct; distinctly oppressed by Turks and Greeks as Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, as distinct nations.

We have a double process amongst the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Not only separate individuals express Greekness and Cypriot Greekness, Turkishness and Cypriot Turkishness, at the same time, but also by the same individuals at different times and conditions.

This is a result of the activities of English, Turkish and Greek imperialisms. They cannot create conditions for the Turks and Greeks to live in peace and co-operation. Specifically for the Turkish Cypriots they cannot create peaceful and co-operative conditions for them to live as Turks and Greeks as part of Turkey and/or Greece and also will not let them live in Cyprus as distinct nations (or as Turks and Greeks) who could live on this small island in peace and co-operation. Neither is allowed to the Turks and Greeks of Cyprus. Not only the Turks in Greece, but also even the Kurds in Turkey are better off than Turks and Greeks of Cyprus. At least, they have an alien nation oppressing them, and “that is that”. With the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus, “their own” nationals are also two of their oppressors.

What should the Cypriots do?

Should we choose one form of nationalism as opposed to the other? Can it be sustained if we choose Cypriot Greekness and Cypriot Turkishness or Greekness and Turkishness? Is the process of development such that if we do not choose one of these we will not be able to move in line with the social development, in line with the requirements of the struggle of nations against imperialism?

Turks and Greeks of Cyprus are historically Turks and Greeks. So, we should choose Greekness and Turkishness, and go for TAKSIM-division of Cyprus between Turkey and Greece, if we are to be fair to each

other's "motherlands"(or how about unity with Greece-nothing for Turkey, or how about unity with Turkey-nothing for Greece, if we are going to be really "fair" to "our own motherlands").

But, Greeks and Turks of Cyprus have had a distinct life from the Turks and Greeks of the "motherlands" and thus we have our own distinctions and we have been suffering at the hands of these imperialist "motherlands". We should choose Cypriot Greekness and Cypriot Turkishness, and go for the independence of Cyprus from Turkey and Greece on the bases of our national differences from Turks and Greeks of Turkey and Greece.

Both these arguments reflect the reality of Cyprus and are correct from the bourgeois nationalist standpoint. The first form of nationalism reflects a distinctly reactionary and imperialist nationalism of Turks and Greeks. The second form of nationalism reflects the nationalism of the oppressed Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Both are the products of imperialism in Cyprus, of English, Turkish and Greek imperialisms. The first reflects the imperialist aims of Turkish and Greek bourgeoisie to extend their territory at the expense of Cyprus. The second reflects the aims of Cypriots to be free of these imperialists and is the specific product of the oppression of Turkish and Greek Cypriots by the Greek and Turkish imperialists.

And yet, neither on its own, therefore with their bourgeois content gives us a weapon to fight these imperialisms. We need them both, with a totally new content, a content that would make the imperialists of Turkey and Greece, and England wish that they never even heard of Cyprus.

Turks and Greeks of Cyprus must fight the pro-imperialist nationalism of Turkish and Greek bourgeoisie, and therefore the nationalisms of their own unionist bourgeoisie in order to defeat these imperialists not only in Cyprus but also in Turkey and Greece, in other words, in order to win Turkey and Greece to the workers of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. Cypriots, in fighting for the liberation of their country, cannot but fight for the liberation of Turkey and Greece from the oppression of Turkish and Greek imperialist bourgeoisie.

Cypriotness, as Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalism is not a solid form of, a settled form of nationalism in Cyprus, for very good reasons. The Turkish and Greek bourgeoisie have been working amongst the Turks and Greeks of Cyprus to spread its own brand of nationalism in order to achieve their imperialist aims. This has been quite successful, not only because Turks and Greeks of Cyprus have a common ancestry with the Turks and Greeks of the “motherlands”, but also the whole development of Cyprus under the nationalist-unionist bourgeois leadership have imbued the need for a strong “motherland” to defend one nationality against the other’s atrocities, or rather the other’s motherland’s and the national-unionist leadership’s atrocities. Furthermore, even if in spite of all that Cypriotness tries to exert itself in Cyprus, say amongst the Greeks, the “motherlands”, as if in utter agreement, also exert themselves to put an end to it. 1974 is a perfect proof of this fact. They will not allow Cypriotness to flourish. Cypriotness, if it is to flourish, has to put an end to the interference of Turkish and Greek imperialisms in Cyprus.

In Cyprus, we already have a division into the Turkish and Greek sections. We do not want, we cannot afford a

further division in the North between Turkishness and Cypriot Turkishness, and in the South between Greekness and Cypriot Greekness. We want all who feel Turk or Cypriot Turk, Greek or Cypriot Greek to fight imperialism of Turkey and Greece so that we can be whatever we want to be freely, without the interference of the Turkish and Greek imperialists and their Cypriot lackeys. We want to be free and we want our Turkish and Greek brothers in Turkey and Greece to be free. They can only be free by helping us to be free, we can be free only by helping them to be free, and free of imperialism we must all be.

Therefore, as Turks and Greeks of Cyprus we shall fight our national-unionist leadership, we shall fight against the imperialist bourgeoisie of Turkey and Greece. We shall fight hand in hand with our Turkish and Greek brothers in Turkey and Greece.

Historical development tends toward the breaking of national boundaries. Imperialism does this by force, giving rise to national enmities.

Socialism shall break the national boundaries through voluntary unity. We have to handle the many national anomalies created by imperialism. One of these is Cyprus. We cannot bet on the mode of handling this problem. Will it be through Cypriotness or Greekness or Turkishness? We cannot see this from today. What we can see today is this: the problem will be solved when the nations of Cyprus become socialist nations. We should recognise both; Cypriot Greekness and Greekness, Cypriot Turkishness and Turkishness, fighting the bourgeois content of both and strengthening the socialist content of both. Start the fight against Turkey, Greece (and England) because imperialists rule them and because these imperialists have no mercy on their own

workers and peasants in their own countries and especially have no mercy on Turkish/Greek national minorities who live in other countries. They drag them into imperialist wars, into genocides. That is why we need to fight Turkey and Greece (as well as England). Not because we are not Greek or Turkish. We are Greeks and Turks. We are Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks. And by fighting the imperialisms of the “motherlands” we do not deny our Greekness or Turkishness, we exert these in a fashion that befits workers and peasants, we exert these in a democratic, anti-imperialist fashion, we exert these in a fashion that will permit us, Turks and Greeks of Cyprus to live together and in peace on this island. To do this we must get rid of predatory imperialisms, be it of the motherland sort, be it of England. Furthermore, by so doing, we do not damage our Turkish and Greek brothers; on the contrary, we help them to free themselves from the yoke of Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie, these imperialists who have sold Greece and Turkey to the Western imperialists.

The KKK has begun the struggle in Cyprus as an anti-colonial struggle objecting to unity with the imperialist Greece. Not because the Greek Cypriots were not Greek, but because Greece was a reactionary bourgeois, monarchist, imperialist state. The KKK could not have objected to a unity with a Soviet Greece, had the Greek Communists won the Civil War, nor would it refuse to use the Greekness factor to achieve the desired result. Nor would the Turkish toilers object to a unity with a Soviet Greece so long as Cyprus was governed by the KKK and the likes of KKK ruled in Greece.

We shall win.

We shall win in Cyprus, we shall win in Turkey, and we shall win in Greece. What's more, we shall win in England.

2.1. EQUALITY OF NATIONS –RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION RIGHT OF NATIONS TO INDEPENDENT STATE –RIGHTS OF COLONIES TO INDEPENDENCE –THE INVIOABILITY OF COUNTRIES’ BORDERS

Let us have a look at Cyprus before 1960.

Who was it that owned Cyprus as a Colony? England. This was a violation of the rights of colonies to independence. Leaving aside the feudal history of Ottoman imperialism, this was the first violation of equality of nations in Cyprus.

Greek imperialists wanted to extend their territory incorporating Cyprus into itself. They have misused the right of nations to self-determination to unify Cyprus with Greece. This was a violation of colonies to independent existence.

Turkish imperialists wanted to extend their territory incorporating at least a part of Cyprus into itself. They (and England) have misused the right of nations to equality to stop the unification of Cyprus with Greece and to gain a foothold in Cyprus. This was another violation of colonies to independent existence

1960 London Agreement was an imperialist violation of the principle of colonies to exist as independent states. This was the first misuse of the right of nations to equality committed by England, Turkey and Greece. They claimed that they were producing a Republic of Cyprus that defended the equality of the nations of Cyprus. But they were defending the “sovereign bases” of England, and the rights of Turkey and Greece to interfere in the lives of Cypriot people.

The United Nations not only ratified this blatantly imperialist agreement, but also defends it every time it passes a resolution on Cyprus. Therefore, every time it passes a resolution on Cyprus, this U.N. that is supposed to defend the equality of nations undermines this very principle exposing itself as not the defender of nations and countries, but as the defender of imperialist intervention in the lives of nations and countries.

We shall not mention the numerous atrocities committed by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot unionist nationalists for they are the special product of Turkey, Greece and their Cypriot henchmen. All these are most disgusting forms of violations of the equality of nations and these will not come to an end until and unless the unionist-nationalist bourgeoisie are defeated.

The 1974 coup d'état was the second misuse of right of nations to equality by the Greek imperialists. They claimed that, they were defending the right of Greeks to unite with the imperialist Greece. But, they were trying to increase the rights of Greece in Cyprus and killed many a Greek Cypriot patriot. The 1974 invasion was the third misuse of right of nations to equality by the Turkish imperialists. They claimed that they were defending the lives of the Turkish minority and the territorial integrity and existence of the Republic of Cyprus. But, they killed many Greek Cypriots, caused the migration and death of Turks and Greeks of Cyprus and occupied the North of the island.

In Cyprus, the rights of nations are clearly misused by the bourgeoisie of England, Turkey, Greece and the Turkish and Greek unionist-nationalist bourgeoisie of Cyprus. These rights cannot be exercised with the participation of these bourgeoisies but only against them.

All the proposals that the U.N., the English, Turkish and Greek imperialists and the Unionist-nationalist bourgeoisie of Cyprus come up with are nothing but violations of the principles of the equality of nations, the rights of nations to self determination, the rights of nations to an independent state, the right of countries to territorial integrity, the rights of colonies to independence. You won't find a single proposal coming from these quarters that does not violate the rights of nations.

All that is easily understood. For the rights of nations are now being misused by the imperialist of all sorts in their fight for domination against each other. When it suits them it is the right of nations to an independent state, when it suits them it is the inviolability of the country's boundaries. And of course when it suits them they do not give a damn to any of these principles, for the real principle they adhere to, is the domination of other nations and countries. And the principle they adhere to is to preserve their rule against the people whatever the cost to the nation.

The right of nations to self-determination means getting rid of the Greek, Turkish, English imperialisms and their local henchmen. It does not mean unity with imperialist Greece, it does not mean unity with imperialist Turkey, it does not mean sovereign bases for England, it does not mean the right to separation of the North to become a colony of imperialist Turkey.

The right of nations to self-determination means getting rid of the native bourgeoisie who cannot help but call upon other imperialists to help them in their fight against one another and against the workers and peasants of their own nations. Without this content, the slogan of the right of nations to independent states loses its entire revolutionary content in Cyprus. Without this

content, it becomes a reactionary tool in the hands of the Greek, Turkish and English imperialists and their Cypriot henchmen.

Today, in Cyprus, the right of nations to equality means to defend the independence of Cyprus as a country of more than one nation. It means to expose the 1960 London Agreement as an imperialist violation of the principle of colonies to existence as independent states. It means the defeat of the local bourgeoisie as well as the Turkish, Greek and English imperialists. It means the establishment of the government of the anti-imperialist united front.

2.2. FEDERALISM. UNITARY STATE

What was needed before 1974 was the establishment of a democratic Greek Republic of Cyprus, a Republic of workers and peasants that recognised and applied the rights of national minorities. This would have met all the needs of the Turkish minority.

After 1974, after the ethnic division of the island brought about by the invasion, a federation could be used. But, only a federation ruled by the working people of Cyprus. Only such a federation has a chance to be a real federation of states, only such a federation can guarantee the rights of the Turkish minority and the existence of the Greek majority, for only such a federation can put an end to the imperialist interferences in Cyprus.

Under such condition, the distinction between federation and unitary state essentially disappears. It becomes a transitory form of a unitary state of different nations.

3. BOURGEOIS IMPERIALIST SOLUTIONS TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

There are three main forms of solutions proposed and acted upon by the bourgeois camp.

3.1. NOT TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREED SOLUTION

The present situation has come into being in 1974. It has been preserved for the last 22 years because of the balance of forces. This is a mode of “solution”, much favoured all over the world, not just in Cyprus. Whoever has the power, an excuse and an opportunity, can go in, grab what they can, and keep it as long as they can, even if it is illegal by international law, which of course is there to be bent in the direction of the powerful and mighty. The resultant situation is not accepted, is challenged by the party that does not like it, it is declared an unresolved situation, but it still imposes itself as a mode of solution which last much longer than the solutions they all agree to. In the case of Cyprus, compare how long the situation created after 1960 London Agreement lasted, with the length of time the situation created after 1974 invasion has lasted.

This present situation can still last for a while. It all depends on the balance of forces. A similar situation can come into being after another war, with changed borders, or one side grabbing the whole island etc., and the parties to the conflict not being able to arrive at an agreement after the war, and yet the newly created situation being imposed on the parties to the conflict on the basis of the balance of forces. Each side pull their horns in, and prepare to bring about another change in the balance of forces, just as they are doing today.

England, Turkey, Greece, Greek Cypriot side and the Turkish Cypriot side come to an agreement through peaceful negotiations. Whatever form this agreement may take, they all would need to contain and satisfy the following two demands.

a) All the rights of England, particularly her sovereign bases in Cyprus will need to be preserved. If anybody dared touch these, England could find ways of making the Turks and Greeks fight each other and forget about the English bases. They can do so, thanks to the present class forces who control the destiny of Turks and Greeks, be they in Cyprus, Turkey or Greece, for these forces are indeed national traitors.

b) The borders between the two sides, either in their present form, or in a changed form would have to be agreed upon and fixed legally in a way that is acceptable not only to the Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides, but also to Turkey and Greece.

On this basis the following modes of agreements are possible.

3.2.1. DIVISION OF THE ISLAND THROUGH FORMATION OF TWO “INDEPENDENT” STATES.

Greek Cypriot in the South, Turkish Cypriot in the North. Whatever forms these states assume-republican or monarchist, whether they join Turkey/Greece or have an agreement of autonomy with Greece/Turkey or remain “independent”, would be up to these states and Greece and Turkey to resolve during the negotiations or after the agreement.

This agreement would need no guarantors as such. Each state can form any relation with any other country as they

please. (Just like that?). Under these conditions only the Greek side can ensure that they join the European Union (E.U.) as they have more or less been accepted by the E.U. or because Greece is already a member and they, by becoming part of Greece, can become part of E.U.. While Turkish side, if they become part of Turkey, can only become a member of E.U. if and when Turkey becomes an E.U. member, or by staying Independent, they can apply to join E.U. on their own. Whichever side chooses to join their “motherlands,” automatically joins NATO as well.

Under these conditions, there would not be much need for United Nations (U.N.) or other foreign forces, but the parties may agree to have such forces placed at their borders. This would have to be agreed during negotiations.

3.2.2. FEDERATION

A Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot state are formed and they join in a Federal structure, which would be dominated by the Greek Cypriot state.

This excludes either side joining Turkey or Greece. Cyprus becomes an “independent” Federal Republic of Cyprus. In this case, the two sides and Turkey, Greece and England will have to agree during negotiations as to what sort of a Federal Republic this would be, what rights each of the states and the central federal state would have, what would be the borders of each state etc. This agreement would obviously need to be guaranteed by England, Turkey and Greece, just as they guaranteed the existence etc. of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 London Agreement. It is also most likely that, Turkey and Greece would, as guarantors, retain their right to station their

armies in the respective Greek and Turkish sides. Whether this republic should join the E.U. and/or NATO would have to be agreed during negotiations.

The history of federations proves that, for a federation to work, the states, which are joined together, should have a number of common aims, which unite them together and propel the federation forward. Indeed, the history of federations proves that, at the end of the day, federated states should all aim to strengthen the central federal government. If, in the case of Cyprus, both states do not wish to move in the same direction, which inevitably requires the strengthening of the central federal government, the federation would collapse. It only takes one side not wishing to move in the same direction, not wishing to strengthen the central government and the whole edifice becomes unworkable, it becomes not a federation in practice but a federation only on paper.

A federation in Cyprus, within the imperialist system, can only become viable if the Turkish side agree or are forced to agree to accept the dominance of the Greek Cypriot side and thus of Greece.

Of course, a travesty of a Federal Republic could be imposed on both sides and Turkey and Greece, just as 1960 London Agreement was imposed on them. But this would be as unworkable as the 1960 Republic of Cyprus.

3.2.3. CONFEDERATION

Everything is the same as option 2, with the difference that, the states unite in a confederation. What is particular to confederations is that the central government has almost no powers. That is why, the Turkish side, when forced to choose between a federation and a confederation, prefers the

confederation. This choice of theirs, is also the reason why a federation would be a waste of time, for they would not allow the federal structures to flourish. They would not allow the central government to become stronger each passing day.

But, even with the confederation, both states would need to have minimal common aims, and even with confederations, their history proves that they cannot remain as they are. Either they dissolve or they move in the direction of a federation and then of a unitary state. For that reason, everything we have said of the federation is valid for the confederation.

3.2.4. REACTIONARY, IMPERIALIST WAR

Turkey and Greece are preparing for war to resolve their conflict of interests in the Aegean and Cyprus, and the Balkans.

In Cyprus, as the Cypriot Greek bourgeoisie lose their hope of winning back the lands occupied by Turkey through negotiations and as they lose their hope of getting rid of the Turkish army from Cyprus through negotiations, they pursue a policy of armament to resolve the issue through war and as part of this policy they have signed a Common Defence Agreement with imperialist Greece and are trying to involve Russia in this development towards war.

On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie is quite happy with the piece of land they have come to occupy thanks to the Turkish invasion. For that reason they are acting as the side that does not want war, as the side that is trying to defend itself against a possible Greek attack thanks to the Turkish army's existence in

the North. At the same time, not agreeing to anything that might damage their own or Turkey's interests, or not agreeing to anything that might possibly be of benefit to Greek Cypriot side or to Greece, they are forcing the Greek side to obtain what they want through a war, not leaving any other alternative for the Greek side.

Any war in Cyprus will automatically involve Greece and Turkey and will quite possibly lead to a war between the two in the Aegean and the Balkans. A war by the South against the North cannot avoid such a development and the involvement of these two local imperialist states. By its very content it cannot avoid being an imperialist war.

If Turkey starts the war, even if that is done in the name of taking defensive action against the stationing of the S-300s (Russian Missiles) in Cyprus, it would obviously be an imperialist war.

If the war is started by the Greek Cypriot side for it has been left no alternative of winning back the lands it lost due to the Turkish invasion, it would still be an imperialist war due to the factors we have mentioned above, it would be an imperialist war because, the whole development of Cypriot history, responsibility for which rests with Greek Cypriot and the Greek bourgeoisie has led to Turkish Cypriots being forced to migrate to the North. From bourgeois standpoint, if the Greek Cypriot side has the right to liberate its occupied lands, the Turkish Cypriot side would have the right to defend its people's lives. Indeed, a war by the present Greek Cypriot government in collaboration with Greece (or not) against the North would force these people to defend themselves in order to stay alive, for this war would be led by genocidal murderers amongst the Greeks, not by the liberators of Turkish Cypriots and Cyprus from the

Turkish occupiers. A war by the South, however justified it may look, just can not assume the character of a war waged for the liberation of a country occupied by a foreign power so long as the present governments are involved in it. We could not avoid ending up in a war of mass murderers just as in Bosnia- and indeed in Cyprus so many times before, including 1974. The Greek and Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Turkish Cypriot and English bourgeoisie may gain something from such a war, but there is nothing that the Greek and Turkish Cypriot proletariat and people can gain from such a war.

A war for the liberation of Cyprus from imperial powers and occupiers can only be fought by the workers and working peoples of Cyprus. Any war fought by the Greek Cypriot, Greek, Turkish Cypriot, and Turkish bourgeoisie is bound to degenerate into a war of genocide and imperialist domination.

4. POLICY AND TACTICS

In Cyprus, anyone who is involved in political work amongst their people would be painfully aware of the weakness of their own forces and the forces of the people. A politician, who is not aware of this, knows not what they are doing. A politician, who does what they can to overcome this, is the politician suitable to Cyprus.

Weakness and strength are relative concepts. The people of Cyprus are not weak; they are only weak in comparison to the forces of imperialists and their Cypriot allies. In Cyprus, politics has to be practised under these difficult conditions.

This reality gives rise to what we come to call “politics of weakness” amongst some politicians who represent the working people of Cyprus. These politicians, in order to overcome the relative weakness of their position created by the imperialist forces that interfere in the affairs of Cyprus, end up seeking support amongst the outside bourgeois forces of exactly the same nature as those who cause this relative weakness in the first place.

This can be understood, but not accepted, for this policy does nothing to resolve the Cyprus Problem, it only perpetuates it. In today’s world, for those who want to defend their country and their people there is only one policy of alliances available: To unite with the workers and the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

Policy of alliances and tactics are two different things. We all know that, the shortest distance between the two points is not necessarily a straight line that connects these points. This is especially so in politics. Therefore, in politics, in order to reach one’s goal, tactics, which are apparently diverting one from the course chosen and yet, prepare the ground to reach one’s goal, are usually used.

Such tactics divide and disintegrate the forces of the bourgeoisie while uniting and strengthening the forces of the proletariat.

We are not opposed to the full utilisation of the tactics based on the experience and available forces of the proletariat and the people.

What we are opposed to is the POLICY of co-operation with the bourgeoisie in the name of being clever tacticians. The ones, who have tied themselves and their parties to the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, have acted and are acting as the enemies of the policy of the formation of an anti-imperialist front. They declare this policy of the formation of an anti-imperialist front as an ultra left tactic that does not tally with the reality of class forces of Cyprus.

The anti-imperialist front policy is not a tactic, it is a strategy, and it is a policy that has to be brought to life through the utilisation of many a different tactics. Tactics that shall divide and disperse the forces of the enemies of the people of Cyprus and unite and solidify the coherence of the Cypriot people.

We are not opposed to the utilisation of the organs of the U.N., E.U., the organs of the U.S.A., Turkey, Greece, and England etc. So long as this utilisation expose the creators and perpetuators of the Cyprus problem, so long as this is utilised to establish contact between the forces that will help us resolve the Cyprus problem, the forces of the workers and peoples of these countries and the world. We are not opposed to any work carried out in these places so long as it increases the forces of the anti-imperialist front while weakening the forces of the imperialist front. What we are opposed to is the utilisation of these tactics for the opposite aims, which end up strengthening the world bourgeoisie.

Whoever does not fight to build the anti-imperialist front, will end up in the laps of the imperialist enemies of Cyprus.

They will also end up in the Turkish-Greek chauvinistic camp, especially when it comes to the crunch: They will vote for the recognition of T.R.N.C., they will take part in the National Council, they will vote for the military budgets of their own imperialists, they will demand the Turkish/Greek guarantee etc.

5. WAR OF LIBERATION OR IMPERIALIST WAR

Is it possible to wage a war of independence, a war of liberation by the South, within the confines of present alignment of class forces?

If yes: all should join the NATIONAL COUNCIL and prepare to make war on the North.

if no: all should agree to our anti-imperialist united front proposal. In other words, any war between the North and South has to be an imperialist war. That, liberation of Cyprus cannot be achieved without overthrowing the present Cypriot allies of Greek/Turkish (and English) imperialisms.

This is the Achilles' heel of any policy on Cyprus. We have to be right here, or we commit a grave mistake, which is tantamount to outright betrayal of the Cypriot workers and the people.

If we are right, the policy of participation in the National Council in the South is the policy of social chauvinism. If we are wrong, ours is the policy of Left's phrase mongering. There is no real difference between the two, for their result is one and the same, betrayal of the people of Cyprus.

6. THE BORDER INCIDENTS

This is directly related to the above issue.

Either a war of liberation by the South against the North is possible, if such a war is not by its very content imperialist, then the border incidents, even in their present form is all right, they are part of a war of liberation by the South. Indeed, that is the reason why, even the left wing youth organisations in the South end up being involved in these Greek flag waving events. You cannot have a policy of taking part in the National Council, of supporting the armament of the present imperialist (and imperialists' lackey) government of the South and then avoid taking part in such events. Nor will getting rid of the Greek flag change the essence of these events so long as the class forces remain the same.

Or, a war of liberation by the South is impossible. A war by the South to liberate the North cannot avoid being an imperialist war (if for no other reason than the one that, it can not avoid the involvement of Greece and Turkey). In that case these border events in their present form are not helping the revolutionary forces in the South or the North to educate the workers in internationalism. They are playing into the hands of Greek bourgeois-imperialist/ Turkish bourgeois-imperialist nationalism.

We propose that the workers of the South and the North prepare for the 1 May 1998 demonstration that shall follow a route that passes through North and South; that they begin, through their mass organisations, through all the parties, groups, influential individuals etc., to agitate for such a procession of workers. The content of the demonstration's slogans should be the annulment of the 1960 London Agreement, to form unified workers'

organisations, peace, of course, should be a slogan against the warmongers, etc. The demand for such a demonstration should be taken to the Governments in the South and the North, to Turkey, Greece, England, U.N., E.U. and to all the workers organisations in all these countries, by all the organisations that want to be involved.

If our policy is wrong, if a war of liberation must be organised by the present South, we are betraying the workers and peoples of Cyprus. And if we are right, the others are betraying the workers and the people of Cyprus.

7. THE SLOGAN OF DEMILITARISATION IN CYPRUS

Anyone who knows of Leninism knows of the contempt Lenin had for this slogan under imperialism. Anyone who knows of Leninism knows also the contempt he had for dogmatism.

So, is it that there is something new in the life of nations that transforms this slogan into something that is useful for the proletariat and the nations of the world? Or is there something special about Cyprus that makes this slogan a useful slogan for the people of Cyprus?

Turn around as we may, we cannot see what these things may be.

Is not Cyprus the most militarised country in the world? Yes it is.

Do not imperial powers consider Cyprus as an unsinkable aircraft carrier, which to own they will go to any length? Yes that's how it is.

Does not many imperial powers interfere in the affairs of Cyprus by force of arms? Yes they do.

Is imperialism busily organising local wars right left and centre all over the world? Yes it is.

Is imperialism arming itself more and more even as it talks disarmament, and is it not particularly the imperialists of second and third rank who are arming themselves most heavily, relatively speaking, while their people are starving? Yes they are. Are not Greece and Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides arming themselves? Yes they are.

What is this demilitarisation then?

If those who come up with this slogan know something special, they should be so good as to tell us.

Lulling the workers vigilance while the imperialist of all sides are preparing for war can not be an honourable act—especially if the ones who are lulling the vigilance of the people are the same ones who give no bother to their own bourgeoisie when they want to arm themselves. You will go and vote for the military budgets of imperialists, and preach disarmament to the workers. This is not Lenin' politics. This is Kautsky's politics. This is the politics of the "socialists" who voted for War Credits in August 1914.

Either tell us what you know, and what we do not know, or be damned as the politician who disarms the workers.

No comrades, do not demand demilitarisation. Demand that you be armed, demand that you be allowed to choose your officers who will train you and lead you in battle, and in the meantime do not miss an opportunity to learn to shoot and to have weapons. All the imperialists are arming, and they are arming not only their armies and police forces, they are arming reactionary civilians too. They are forming fascist and reactionary-religious bandits all over the world.

Demilitarisation?

Oh yes. We forgot. These are some of those tactics. Demanding demilitarisation you shall get rid of the bourgeois armies, which are threatening to destroy Cyprus. Who will do this for you? The UN or EU? Or is it the USA or England? Who is going to disarm whom at the end of the day? You want to be the Costa Rica of the Mediterranean? Well, no one around is going to let Cyprus become a Costa Rica. A disarmed Cyprus would be invaded the very next day, and if nobody is invading Costa Rica, it is because it belongs to the USA. Is that what you are proposing, that Cyprus belongs to this or

that powerful imperialist which shall disarm her? If yes, we still have a problem. Unlike Costa Rica, the powerful imperialist would not leave Cyprus unarmed. It would use her as a military base for itself to attack the countries of the area. Is this what you mean by demilitarisation? If not, what do you mean, please tell us, we can't wait.

But of course, demand that all the imperialists and their armies be gone: Turkish, Greek, and English Armed Forces Out of Cyprus. Of course demand that all the military collaboration with these imperialists be ended: Greek and Turkish officers who command the national armies be sent off -All the military agreements with Turkey, Greece and England be terminated. 1960 London Agreement be annulled. It is an openly imperialist agreement. Either the UN rather than accepting it, as a basis for negotiations should terminate this agreement and declares all the rights Turkish, Greek and English imperialists demand on the basis of this agreement null and void. Or else the UN as an enforcer of imperialism on Cyprus should be damned.

Fight for these policies to build the anti-imperialist front. Fight for these policies by building the anti-imperialist front.

8. TURKISH/KURDISH COLONISTS IN THE NORTH

There are two basic reasons behind the migration of colonists to the North of Cyprus:

Turkey wants to settle a population that is obedient to it in the North, for it does not trust the Turkish Cypriots, for very good reasons.

Another reason is to mark the number of Turks living in Cyprus up to 33-37% of the whole population of Cyprus, as this percentage may become an issue during negotiations.

The Colonists are opposed in the North not by the defenders of unionist-nationalism, but by the defenders of Cypriotness. As always, even that opposition is tainted with a demand for the guarantorship of Turkey and thus is not a real opposition.

The Colonists are opposed in the South by both the defenders of unionist-nationalism and of Cypriotness.

Opposition in both parts is so much based on bourgeois nationalism that, in the North it assumes the form of opposing the workers that come to work, but not opposing the strike-breakers, while in the South, it is the accursed land question.

We must not bow to these.

The Colonist policy of Turkey is already facing problems. Colonists were brought in 1974 and later. At those times, the National Liberation Movement of the Kurds of Turkey was not as developed as it is now. The Turkish bourgeoisie, just as they have used a lot of Kurdish soldiers in the invasion, they have also used a lot of Kurdish peasants as colonists. These days, these peasants do not form such a solid base for Turkish nationalism as the Turkish bourgeoisie had hoped.

Most other colonists are also peasants who are inevitably facing problems. And these days they come as unemployed workers, ready to work for low wages, as they are desperate for work.

Leaving aside the out and out Turkish chauvinists and the religious reactionaries who are imported from time to time and leaving aside the section of the colonists who are out and out Turkish chauvinists and the religious reactionaries, what we have are working people, of Turkish and Kurdish origin.

Our policy of the anti-imperialist united front is based on the working class and all the toilers. This policy is also based on uniting all that can be united in the struggle against Turkey, Greece and England. Therefore, we shall not take part in the policies of opposing the colonists just because they are colonists. We shall not take part in the policies of opposing the colonists because they come to Cyprus as workers and “snatch our work” and cause a reduction in our wages.

Anyone, including the colonists who are ready and willing to participate in the anti-imperialist united front is most welcome, indeed we shall actively encourage the toilers amongst the colonists to join the front. Any other policy does not benefit the Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers. Any of the colonists who are active supporters of the Turkish imperialism, shall be treated just like their masters will be treated, as enemies of the people of Cyprus. Like master, like servant.

Such is our policy towards the Turkish and Kurdish colonist toilers. They are most welcome. But we shall fight hand in hand against those who are preparing wars and genocides at our expense, we shall fight against those who are making life so difficult for us even in times of “peace”.

As to the land question that is being created by colonisation, we shall stick by our land program. That means, the toiler colonists who join and fight for the united front are not the cause of the land problem but the solvers of the problem.

9. ANOTHER BOURGEOIS SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM: EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP

We are of course aware of the “lofty ideal” of being able to get rid of the threat of an imperialist war by Turkey that is dangling over Cyprus like the sword of Damocles, and the hope of preserving the Turkish Cypriots who are facing annihilation as a distinct national grouping, through the membership of EU, through the membership of this even stronger imperialist grouping.

Some people propose that, all these problems could be solved through the membership of this federation with EU. Thanks to this membership, it seems that both sides would have a common aim: to develop in a peaceful, democratic and civilised way.

Is this possible? What grounds do these people have to come up with this proposal to the people of Cyprus? Agreed that they have not the slightest knowledge of the tendencies of imperialist capitalism, but how about the simple facts that are looking us all in the face?

Where on earth is Northern Ireland? Where are Scotland and Wales? Basque Country, Catalonia, Corsica? What is happening with Gibraltar? What is happening in Northern Italy? What is happening with the Turkish minorities in Greece? Who unified Germany and was that a peaceful, democratic, civilising unification? Who is pushing the Germanness of Austrians? What is happening with the refugees and minorities all over Europe? Who are they that declare they have rights and interests in Cyprus, could they be members of E.U.? What happened in Yugoslavia and who made it happen? What happened to Czechoslovakia, who made that happen? Who has taken an active part in the destruction

and dissolution of the motherland of all proletarians, of the Soviet Union? etc. etc. Take note, we have not even touched upon the whole scale attack on the proletarians and other working people of each and every E.U. country. Nor have we touched upon what criminal activities European powers are engaged in other parts of the world, say in Africa.

If this project of joining E.U. as a Federal Republic of Cyprus succeeds, it will not resolve any of the national problems Cyprus is facing. Before 1960, Cyprus had to face only England. After 1960 Turkey and Greece have become parties to the Cyprus problem with legal rights. If this project of E.U. membership as a Federal Republic succeeds, more outside and imperialist powers will get legally involved in the affairs of Cyprus.

The E.U. is not a revolutionary project of the proletariat. It is a reactionary project of the European imperialist bourgeoisie.

People of Cyprus will not choose to unite with the imperialists of Turkey, Greece, England or E.U. They'll choose to unite with the proletarians and peoples of these countries.