

their efforts towards rescuing their country from economic ruin, deciding themselves, along with their Greek brothers, what is and what is not to be done and creating the pre-conditions for their social advance. Once the deadening influence of foreign rule is done away with, the people will be able to breathe more freely and work for their own salvation in their own way.

The Cypriot people view with mounting indignation the turning of Cyprus into an imperialist war base. We condemn that fact. We cannot overlook what that fact entails for our people. Union of Cyprus with Greece, irrespective of the attitude of the Greek Government, will strengthen the fight of the Cypriot people for peace and contribute to the world-wide struggle against a new war.

The Cypriot people are determined that their island should not become a war-base. They are fighting with all their strength in order to be spared the fate of becoming mere chattels at the hands of the war-makers in the grimmest of all games.

The Cypriot people have no quarrels with anyone. Their only quarrel is with the alien British rule from which they want to be liberated.

The demand of the Cypriot people for Union with Greece is unconditional.

They demand Union with Greece irrespective of the character of the regime in being in Greece.

They demand Union with Greece NOW and as a RIGHT, without secret agreements and without conditions.

As Greek people they want to be part and parcel of Greece.

This is the aim for which they are fighting. They will continue this fight until they achieve their freedom.

We trust that the whole of progressive humanity will assist the just cause of the Cypriot people.

# CYPRUS PRESENTS ITS CASE TO THE WORLD



Document  
prepared by the  
CYPRUS PEOPLE'S  
NATIONAL DELEGATION

*Limestone Female Head from Arson Cyprus. 4th Century B.C.*

**AND PUBLISHED BY  
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The Cyprus People's National Delegation represents officially the National Liberation Coalition of Cyprus.

It was proposed by the National Liberation Coalition and approved at hundreds of public meetings held all over Cyprus on March 25th, 1950.

The members of the Delegation are:

Mr. Adam A. Adamantos, Mayor of Famagusta.

Mr. E. Papaioannou, General Secretary, Progressive Party of Working People.

Mr. Evdoros Joannides, Secretary, Cyprus Affairs Committee.

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## CYPRUS

*On January 15th, 1950, the Cypriot people carried out an historic plebiscite.*

*The plebiscite was held under the auspices of the Ethnarchy, i.e., the Cyprus Archiepiscopate. All parties and organisations of the Greek Cypriots supported the plebiscite and took an active part in it.*

*The purpose of the plebiscite was to enable the Greek population of the island to declare in the only possible way what were their national aims and aspirations.*

*The people were asked to vote for Union with Greece or against Union with Greece.*

*Out of the 224,747 Greek Cypriots over the age of 18 who were eligible to vote 215,108 voted. AND ALL VOTED FOR UNION WITH GREECE. If the Government of Cyprus would have allowed the teachers who are government employees and the civil servants to vote then the result would have been almost a 100 per cent. vote in favour of Union.*

*The Turkish minority in Cyprus did not take part because the plebiscite was confined to the Greek majority only, which constitutes five-sixths of the people. However, a number of Turks, admittedly very small, voted for Union with Greece.*

*Ninety-six per cent. of the Greek Cypriots (79 per cent. of the entire population of Cyprus) declared for Union. Thus the Greek Cypriots, almost unanimously, have affirmed incontestably their long-standing demand to be re-united with their mother-country Greece.*

*The result of the plebiscite was communicated to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

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## THE CYPRUS CASE

The main and unalterable demand of the Greek Cypriots is "Union with Greece."

Every other consideration is subordinated to that fundamental demand. No other solution to the Cypriot problem will be acceptable to the Cypriots. No other solution can, in fact, be found. And those who toy with the idea that either self-government or joint Anglo-Greek overlordship over Cyprus will represent a solution, are grievously mistaken. The Cypriot people demand their immediate, unrestricted and unconditional incorporation into the Greek nation.

This is their national credo.

## BRITISH RULE

Cyprus at present is a British Crown Colony. It came under British rule in 1878 as a result of an alliance, secretly negotiated, between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire just prior to the European Conference at Berlin of the same year. Cyprus was handed over to Great Britain as a military base in exchange for a guarantee by Britain that she would assist in the defence of the Middle East Dominions of Turkey against Tsarist Russia.

Cyprus was, in fact, "rented" by Britain for the above purpose and an annual money tribute was paid to the Sultan. The payment of this tribute was imposed on the Cypriots.

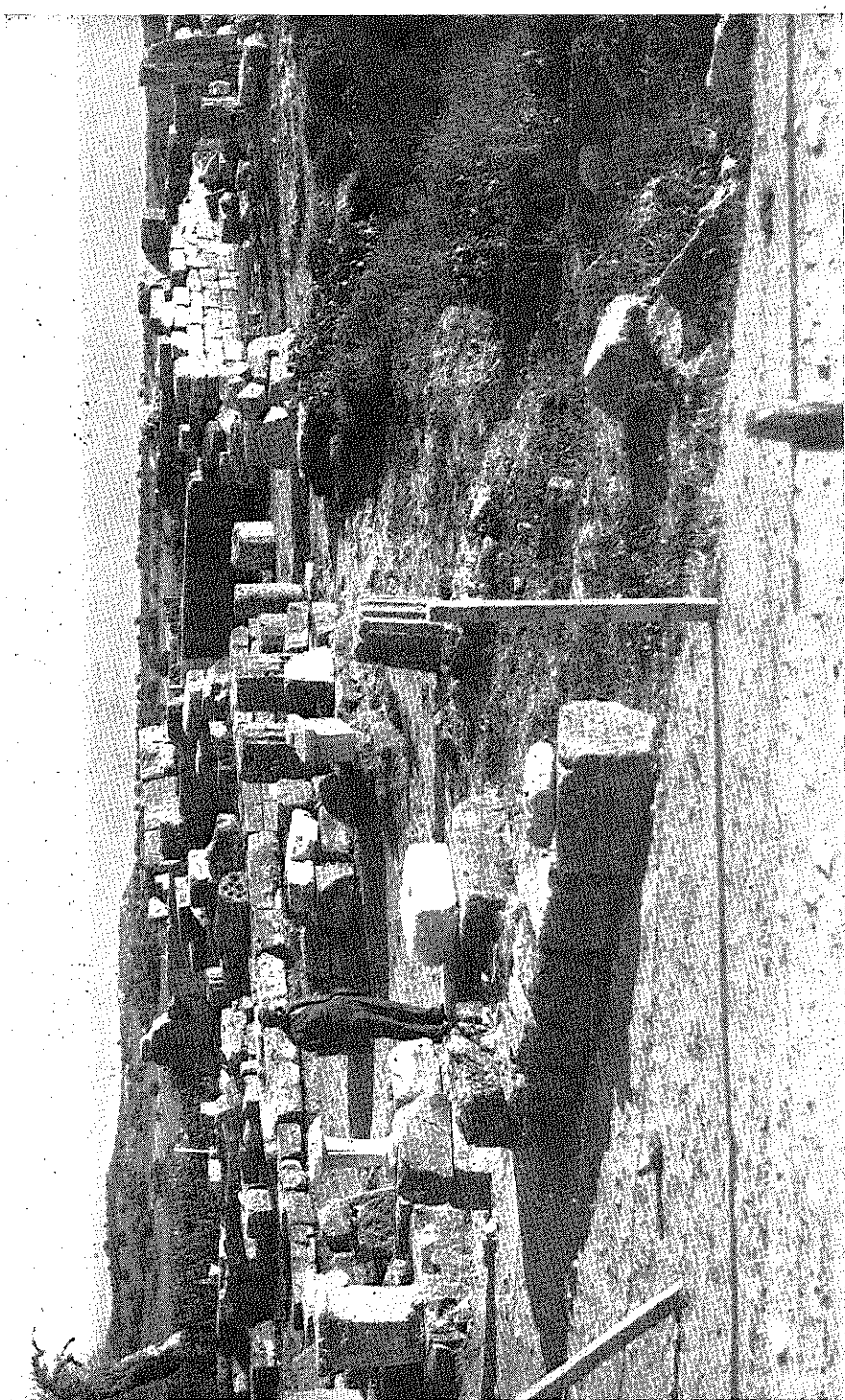
In 1914, on Turkey entering the war on the side of the Central Powers and against the Entente, Britain annexed Cyprus. In 1915 Cyprus was offered to Greece on condition that Greece would enter the war on the side of the allies and go to the assistance of Serbia. The Royalist Greek Government rejected this offer.

By the abortive Treaty of Sevres of 1920 and the ratified Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Turkey renounced all her rights on Cyprus, including the right to exact tribute, and recognised the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by Britain on November 5th, 1914.

In 1925 Cyprus was declared a "Crown Colony."

The Cypriots were never consulted on any of these changes in status. They have, however, never failed to raise their voice in protest against this treatment which was an affront to their dignity as an ancient and nationally conscious people, and to demand union with their mother-country, Greece.

British rule in Cyprus started with a great injustice. The British Government, by her secret agreement with Turkey, undertook to pay an annual sum of money, amounting to £92,799, as a tribute to the Sultan. That tribute, instead of being paid by Britain, was imposed on the Cypriots. And the Cypriots from 1879 to 1927—when the Tribute as such was abolished—paid £2,557,049 to the British Exchequer. The money was never actually paid to the



Temple of Aphrodite (Paphos).

Sultan but was kept in London and used for the compensation of the shareholders of the Crimean Loan who suffered losses through Turkish bankruptcy.

Great Britain has never remedied this injustice. And when finally the British Government abolished the Tribute in 1927—thirteen years after the annexation and three years after the declaration of Cyprus as a Crown Colony—a sum of £10,000 was imposed on the Cypriot taxpayers as an annual contribution for “Imperial Defence.”

One of the causes, and perhaps the most important, of Cypriot poverty and economic stagnation have been the exactions for the Tribute.

### POPULATION

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean. It has an area of 3,584 square miles. It is situated 60 miles west of Lebanon and 40 miles south of Turkey. According to the census of November, 1946, Cyprus had a population of 450,114, of whom 361,199 were Greeks, 81,137 Turks and 8,367 other nationalities.

The population, at the beginning of 1950, was estimated officially at 480,000. Its composition was as follows: 80½ per cent. Greeks, 17½ per cent. Turks and 2 per cent. other nationalities.

### BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Cyprus is administered directly from Whitehall. The Cypriot people have no voice at all in the direction of their affairs.

### CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

In 1882, four years after the British occupation, Cyprus was given a Constitution.

The Constitution created, besides an Executive Council composed entirely of officials to advise the High Commissioner, a Legislative Council under the Presidency of the High Commissioner composed both of official (appointed) and unofficial (elected) members. The Legislature was composed of six official members and twelve elected members of whom nine were Greeks, elected by the Greeks and three were Turks elected by the Turks. (The Turks constituted less than one-fifth of the population.) Suffrage was based on property qualifications and restricted to males. In 1925 the Legislative Council was enlarged with the addition of three official and three elected (Greek) members. It was now composed of nine appointed English officials, three Turks and twelve Greeks.

In both cases the number of Greek members was equal to the combined number of English and Turkish members. And the reason?

To give the impression that Cyprus was self-governed since the elected members, Greeks and Turks, were in the majority.

Theoretically the elected members, who were in the majority, could control the actions of the Government or, at least, those actions relating to local issues. But the communal constitution was designed to prevent precisely this. The Turkish members, usually feudal landlords, made common front, as was intended, with the British officials and the “theoretical” power of the Legislature was turned into fiction. The Greek members, first nine then twelve, were confronted with nine or twelve Turkish-British members. In addition, just to turn the balance if necessary, was the casting vote of the High Commissioner or Governor and if anything more was required there was always the “Order in Council” to enable the Executive to push through any measure however undesirable or despotic.

The 1882 Constitution was a clever political trick.

This constitutional farce lasted for fifty years. The fate of every bill, motion or resolution was determined in advance. It was always the same “turn,” the same squabble, the same division and the same result, i.e., victory of the Anglo-Turkish combination.

Only once in fifty years—in 1931—was a bill—referring to taxation—rejected by the Legislature. That was due to the fact of a Turkish member sided with the Greeks. But even so, the Bill was introduced by “Order in Council.”

### ABOLITION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution gave the Cypriots the right to talk but nothing else.

Economically Cyprus was in a very bad state. Britain occupied Cyprus for strategic reasons, and neglected Cyprus entirely. The only interest that the British officials showed in Cyprus was the collection of taxes. Such was the neglect that “The Times” in the 1930’s used to call Cyprus the “Cinderella of the Empire.”

In 1938 an investigation (the first ever undertaken by the Cyprus authorities) into the “needs of the Governed” revealed, after fixing a definite minimum average level of subsistence, that 25 per cent. of the people lived below that level—in a condition of chronic hunger—50 per cent. on that level and only 25 per cent. above that level.

A combination of all these factors, national repression, political frustration and economic desperation, produced the revolution of October, 1931, when practically the whole of the Greek Cypriot people rose (unarmed) against British rule and for Union with Greece.

The revolution was easily suppressed by armed British contingents hurriedly brought from Egypt. With the suppression of the

revolution the constitutional farce came to an end and a period of naked despotism began under which both Greeks and Turks suffered.

All legislative and executive authority was placed, by Letters Patent of November 12th, 1931, in the hands of the Governor. These powers were used very extensively. The Cypriot Statute Book is full of laws embracing every aspect of political activity, organisation and expression, the press, meetings and processions, the teaching of Greek history, the hoisting of Greek flags, freedom of movement inside the Island, entry of Cypriots who study or live abroad into Cyprus, laws affecting the inviolability of home and person, laws against possession or distribution of socialist literature, laws enabling the police to arrest on suspicion, or detain a person because he might use his relative freedom of movement in a manner prejudicial to law and order, etc., which made the Cyprus administration a "streamlined" dictatorship.

During the war (to which Cyprus contributed 20,000 volunteers) some of the harshest measures of dictatorship because of the insistent fight of the people themselves were relaxed.

The Press was freed from preventive censorship, trade unions were permitted to function legally and political parties were allowed to be formed. As a result, great strides were made in political and trade union organisation. For the first time since 1931 the Cypriots could, by means of the spoken and written word, voice their demands. And the principal demand voiced by them during this period was that Cyprus should, with the ending of the war, be allowed to be united with Greece.

On the morrow of victory, the Cypriots were literally on their feet demanding that the right of self-determination should be applied to Cyprus. They placed that demand before the British Government and before the delegates to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1946. They sought by every means at their disposal to bring it to the notice of the world and to enlist the support of all freedom-loving peoples. There was the unquestionable strength of their inalienable right as Greeks to constitute part of the Greek nation, and their right to freedom which they had won by their contribution to, and sacrifices in the war.

The British Government remained determinedly hostile to the national demand of the Cypriots. The Greek Government, unwilling to antagonize the British authorities, was equally indifferent, although the Greek people, no less than the Cypriots, wanted Union. Because of pressure of Greek public opinion, the Greek Parliament had to pass a resolution (February, 1947) in favour of Union.

In October, 1946, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech Jones, declared in the House of Commons that H.M. Government decided to establish a more liberal and progressive regime in the internal affairs of Cyprus, including the establishment of a Central Legislature, that it will initiate a ten-year plan



Rally for Union with Greece.

for economic development and that the anti-ecclesiastical laws of 1937, forbidding the election of a new archbishop, were abolished.

This declaration was deeply offensive to the Cypriots. It was made without any previous sounding of public opinion in the island and ignored entirely the national demand of the Cypriots.

Subsequently, the British authorities in Cyprus went through the motions of calling together a Consultative Assembly to frame constitutional proposals. Constitutional drafts were put forward by the British Government. Their sole purpose was to provide a fig-leaf to hide the nakedness of British rule enabling Britain to foist on the people a colonial constitution and thus bog the whole question in a constitutional morass.

The people rejected the Colonial Constitution. They declared that the only solution they could accept was Union with Greece and have redoubled their efforts for Union. Cyprus is still being ruled dictatorially.

All Legislative and Executive authority is in the hands of the Governor who is assisted by an appointed Executive Council. The Governor is the representative of the King, the Commander-in-Chief, the Cabinet and Parliament all in one. He enacts laws by the simple process of having them published in the official Gazette, he imposes taxes, he confirms or commutes death sentences, he controls education and is the final arbiter for every action of the elected municipal councils. The Governor of Cyprus has more power than a Roman proconsul or modern dictator. He is not responsible to the people for any of his actions. He is accountable only to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The limited political rights and liberties enjoyed by the Cypriot people, i.e., relative freedom of movement, of expression and association, exist on sufferance. They are not fortified by law. If the Governor so desires he can instantly put into force all the monstrous laws and ordinances still on the statute book and some which have temporarily been put aside.

Enforcement of these mean that:—

- (a) The Press will be subject to censorship.
- (b) No meetings of over five persons or processions of over fifteen will be allowed save as a result of police authorisation.
- (c) Political parties will be abolished and no public political meetings will be allowed.
- (d) The showing of the Greek flag will be a criminal offence.
- (e) The police will be able to enter any house and carry out a search and stop any person in the street and search him without a warrant.
- (f) Banishment or exile without trial.

That is not all. By a law of 1937 the Governor of Cyprus has the right to deny entrance to Cyprus to any Cypriot returning from abroad where he has been either on business, pleasure or as an emigrant—"if it is shown by evidence, which the Governor may deem sufficient that he is likely to conduct himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order."

By another law of 1939 the Governor has given unlimited authority to the police "to place under arrest or banish any person who works, or is likely to work in such a way or who might use his relative freedom of movement for the propagation of ideas detrimental to the defence of the State."

The "legal apparatus" to transform Cyprus instantly into a police state is there.

Some of these laws are gradually being enforced. During September and October of 1948, 238 people, mostly trade unionists, appeared before the courts accused of taking part in meetings and processions and have been fined, some of them heavily and a number imprisoned. The police were then given the right to arrest people on suspicion and a number of persons—mostly trade unionists—were arrested, kept in jail and sometimes beaten up. The purpose of these attacks was to weaken militant trade unionism. The attacks ceased or were lessened for a period because of strong protests from abroad, principally from the British Labour Movement.

In 1950 the Government of Cyprus again began tightening its dictatorial rule. The District Commissioners refused to grant permission for public meetings, even meetings of an admittedly economic character. They demanded that copies of the speeches be submitted to them in advance and they stipulated before granting permissions for meetings that the police will be present. In May, 1950, the District Commissioner of Nicosia banned the biennial congress of the National Liberation Coalition on the grounds that it was subversive. He refused to give any further explanation. In June, 1950, the Mayor, the deputy-Mayor and four Councillors of Limassol were jailed indefinitely because they refused a Government edict, confirmed by the courts, to rename one of the streets "Sir Richmond Palmer"—the name of a dictatorial Governor who ruled Cyprus with an iron hand from 1933-39. In the same month the Government threatened with suspension seven teachers, members of the Council of the Teachers' Association, because they sent the Greek Minister of Education a memorandum in favour of Union and protested against the deletions from Greek primers of certain chapters referring to Cyprus by the British Director of Education in Cyprus. The seven teachers were accused of "gross insubordination" by the Cyprus authorities.

All these are nothing but indications that the Government proposes to adopt sterner measures against the people and suppress the movement for Union.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE ISLAND

Cyprus is showing a most unfavourable trade balance. The total imports for 1948 amounted to £15,422,091 whilst the exports to only £5,678,617. Of the imports £8,844,085 came from the United Kingdom and the British Empire while Cyprus exports to the United Kingdom and the British Empire in the same year amounted to only £1,539,670. By a policy of unrestricted imports since the war the British authorities have been successful in exporting abroad, principally to Great Britain, all the money accumulated in Cyprus during the war. The above figures destroy the argument of material gains for Cyprus through being a Colony of Britain. They show quite clearly that it is Britain which reaps all the material benefits and not Cyprus.

Cyprus is rich in mineral resources. It produces asbestos, copper, pyrites and chrome. The asbestos mines, some of the biggest in the world, are owned by British and Dutch shareholders. The copper-pyrites mines at Mavrovouni, also very big, are owned by American shareholders. The total value of minerals exported during 1949 amounted to £3,675,990. Out of this only £32,742 went to the Island's Revenue in the form of Rent and Mining Royalties. If we take into account that the total estimated expenditure incurred by the mining industry in 1949 was £2,444,000 of which £1,969,200 was spent in Cyprus itself, it leaves the shareholders (mainly foreign) with a handsome £1,231,990 net profit in one year. Wages paid to miners are ranging from 8s. to 12s. per day.

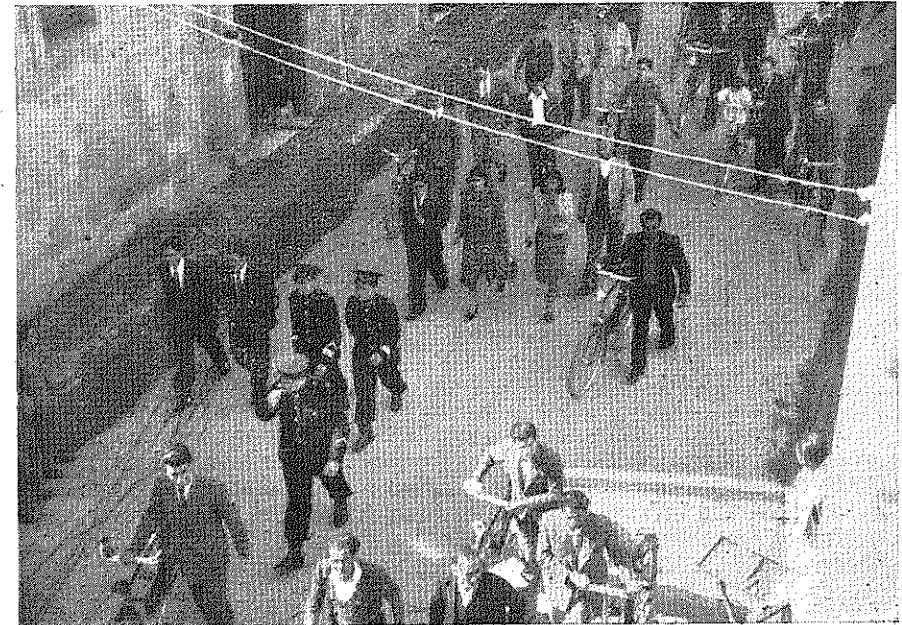
Unemployment is on the increase and according to official figures there were over 5,000 unemployed in the Island in 1949. No unemployment benefit of any description is paid to the unemployed workers whose condition is really deplorable. There are cases of as many as three or four and even more unemployed families living in one single room.

The vine growers are facing ruin through lack of markets for their products and because of very low prices paid for these products. Some sixty thousand people, one-eighth of the population live by this industry. Britain prefers to import wines from Portugal and Franco Spain rather than from Cyprus. The interests of the potato growers, the tobacco growers and other sections of the Cyprus farmers are jeopardized by the absence of a Government agricultural policy. Rural indebtedness is mounting and has in many instances assumed ruinous proportions. Due to the serious economic crisis now developing in Cyprus thousands of people are forced to emigrate every year to other countries in search of work.

Small industries developed during the war such as button and match factories have closed down and other handicraft industries face serious economic crisis.



Demonstration for Enosis.



Police Raid on Trade Unions.

The Cypriot people are linking their fight for national rehabilitation with the fight for economic survival and the abolition of all dictatorial laws and orders.

### NATIONAL DEMAND FOR UNION

We, the Cyprus People's National Delegation, consider that the demand of the Cypriot people for Union with Greece is a self-evident truth and requires no elaboration or explanation. The Cypriots as Greeks naturally want to form part of the Greek nation. Their cause is a just cause and their demand is a just demand.

No sensible person can today deny either the Greekness of the Cypriots or the inherent justice of their cause.

It ought to be sufficient for everybody that the Cypriot people themselves demand Union with Greece because they are Greeks, they feel Greek and are an indivisible part of the Greek people.

Nevertheless, there are still a number of people who seek refuge behind specious arguments that the Cypriots are not Greeks, that they have never formed part of Greece, that the fact that there is a Greek majority in Cyprus is the result of historical accident (New Statesman and Nation, June 10th, 1950) in order to deny the justice of the Cypriot demand for Union.

### CYPRUS IS A GREEK ISLAND

Cyprus is ethnologically a Greek island. It has been a Greek island for three thousand years and 80 per cent. of its people are today Greek in speech, feelings, sentiments, loyalties and culture.

Since pre-Homeric times the island has been Hellenised, i.e., inhabited by Greeks, and it gradually became a seat of Greek learning and culture. Cinyras, King of Paphos, is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad as being the donor of a breast-plate to Agamemnon. The Homeric hero Teucer, brother of Telamonian Ajax, founded Salamis, modern Famagusta. Greek art and culture blossomed in Cyprus, and during the few centuries before the Roman conquest, it became an important seat of Greek learning. Conquered by Cato the younger in 58 B.C. Cyprus was made a Roman province like the rest of Greece until almost the end of the fourth century A.D. when it was incorporated into the Byzantine (Greek) Empire. In its new relative freedom, as part of the Greek Christian Empire, Cyprus once more attained a certain distinguished height of culture and civilisation, and for eight centuries remained a Byzantine province, although several times during that period it was attacked and invaded by Mohammedan Arabs. In 1184 however, Isaac Comnenos, a member of the ruling dynasty of Constantinople, arrived in the island purporting to represent the Emperor, but soon revolted, declared his independence and proclaimed himself Emperor. In 1191 Richard Coeur de Lion, on the third crusade

to Jerusalem, landed in Cyprus, defeated Comnenos and occupied the island. Richard remained for some time in the island where he married Berengaria at Limassol. However, the British occupation was brief. Richard sold the island to the Knights Templar who, in face of the great popular opposition which they aroused by their tyrannies and exactions, were forced to evacuate the island. In 1192 Richard resold the island to Guy de Lusignan, a French nobleman and titular King of Jerusalem. The Lusignan family ruled over Cyprus from 1192 to 1489, although from 1378 to 1464 the Genoese Republic exercised a suzerainty over part of the Kingdom.

Cyprus invariably shared the fate of Greece and of the Greek islands. The Venetians ruled for many years over the Moreas, Crete and the Dodecanese. In 1489 they extended their rule over Cyprus. Like the rest of Greece when the Byzantine Empire was destroyed by the Ottoman Turks, Greece, from the fifteenth century and Cyprus since its conquest by the Turks in 1571, became provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

When the Greek people revolted in 1821 the Ottoman Government carried out a preventive but brutal suppression of the Cypriot national movement in order to prevent the Cypriots from rendering any support to the struggling people of the Greek mainland.

Part of Greece was liberated. Cyprus remained under Turkish rule till 1878 when it was occupied by Britain. Crete and several Aegean islands remained like Epirus, Macedonia and other Greek provinces under Turkish rule till 1912. The Dodecanese which passed in 1911 from Turkish to Italian control were re-united with Greece in 1947.

Since Richard's original conquest Cyprus has endured almost eight centuries of uninterrupted foreign domination, but throughout all this period, the people have clung tenaciously to their language, national attachments and beliefs and refused to be assimilated.

### BRITISH OCCUPATION

The second British occupation of 1878 was greeted by the Cypriots as the prelude to their freedom, i.e., their incorporation into the Greek State.

The first British High Commissioner to enter Cyprus was welcomed by the Greek Archbishop of the island with the hope that British rule would prove only an intermediate stage leading to the union of Cyprus with Greece. Since that day the Cypriot people have never failed to voice that demand.

Mr. Gladstone, when Prime Minister of England in 1881 gave, through the then High Commissioner of Cyprus, the following

reply to telegrams addressed to him by the Greek inhabitants of the Island praying for the union of Cyprus with Greece:

"I have received telegrams from the inhabitants of Larnaca, Limassol and Nicosia, advocating the union of Cyprus with Greece. I wish to inform the senders of those telegrams that Her Majesty's Government fervently wish the prosperity of Cyprus, but the inhabitants must remember that the Island is occupied by England as part of the Turkish Empire by virtue of a Convention with the Porte."

In October, 1881, the Greek Cypriots forwarded to the British Government a Memorial in which they stressed the fact that

"The Cypriots, mindful of their history, have never forgotten their Hellenic origin" and demanded that "their only aspiration is the union with their mother-country Greece in accordance with the precedent of the Ionian Islands."

Repeatedly the Cypriots placed the demand for Union before the British authorities and the British public. In fact, the demand was placed officially before practically all British Governments from that of Gladstone's in 1881 to that of Mr. Attlee's in 1947. Deputations and delegations, official and unofficial, have at intervals visited London to demand justice for the Cypriots, to secure support for the Cyprus cause from M.P.'s, political parties and organisations and to enlighten public opinion on the subject. In Cyprus itself, practically no week has passed during the last seventy-odd years without the question of Union with Greece being voiced through the press or at meetings and gatherings of the people.

The British Government has consistently maintained an aloof, almost scornful attitude towards the Cypriots. Whenever it deigned to answer the insistent Cyprus demand, its reply has been either evasive or negative.

### CYPRUS OFFERED TO GREECE

While Cyprus was administered by Britain as part of the Ottoman Empire, Union with Greece could only have been effected by both Britain and Turkey agreeing to hand Cyprus to Greece. But the annexation of 1914 made Great Britain solely responsible for the future of Cyprus.

A year after the annexation Great Britain offered Cyprus to Greece. The offer was conditional. Sir Edward Grey, writing to the British Representative in Athens (October 16th, 1915) made the following proposal on behalf of the British Government.

"Now that Serbia has been attacked by Bulgaria, if Greece is willing to come to her aid, His Majesty's Government is ready to cede to Greece the Island of Cyprus. If Greece joins the Allies for all purposes, she will naturally participate in the advantages secured at the end of the war, but the offer

of Cyprus is made by His Majesty's Government independently of this consideration, and on the sole condition that Greece gives Serbia her immediate and complete support with her army."

Thus only if Greece went to the assistance of Serbia would the offer of Cyprus to her be valid. And as the Royalist Greek Government felt unable to fulfil the condition demanded, the offer was withdrawn and never again made. This in spite of the fact that two years later Greece entered the war on the side of the Allies and rather belatedly fulfilled Grey's condition of assistance to Serbia.

The offer of Cyprus to Greece, though made by the London Government as quid pro quo, was in itself, an official admission by Great Britain that Cyprus is a Greek Island and an official acknowledgment of the justice of the demand of the Cypriot people for Union. That acknowledgment was further enhanced by the fact that, for a period, the British Foreign Office seriously entertained the idea of using Cyprus as a means of sweeping Greece into the war. The Archbishop of Cyprus was to board a British warship and be landed in Greece where he himself would have proclaimed the fait accompli of Union. In that case, it was expected that the Greeks, who desired the Union of Cyprus to Greece as much as the Cypriots themselves, would not have failed to rally to the Allies.

Cyprus did not figure at all in the negotiations for the treaties of peace in 1919. Venizelos, the Greek Representative, made no official demand for Cyprus. But in the memorandum of December, 1919, to the "Council of Ten" which formed the basis of the Greek claims, Cyprus was included in the table of distribution of "the Hellenic Nation" which in itself emphasised its Hellenic character. Though Cyprus was not officially included among the Greek claims it figured widely in Greek official and unofficial memoranda and was included in the notes exchanged between Venizelos and the Italian Tittoni in December, 1919, and January, 1920. By these notes Italy was agreeing to cede to Greece all the Dodecanese Islands except Rhodes, which was to remain in Italian hands as long as Britain remained in occupation of Cyprus. Although the notes were declared by the successor of Tittoni, Count Sforza, not to be binding on Italy, nevertheless, before the Treaty of Sevres was signed, Venizelos and Sforza agreed that Greece should have all the Dodecanese Islands except Rhodes which Italy was to cede to Greece when Great Britain ceded Cyprus to Greece.

### BRITAIN CLOSES THE SUBJECT

In 1915 Britain offered Cyprus to Greece. In 1919 a Cyprus Mission visited London to demand Union. The Prime Minister, Mr. David Lloyd George, did not receive the Mission but in a letter to them said that he was "fully aware of the sentiment which exists

among the Greek population of Cyprus for Union with Greece" and added that "the wishes of the inhabitants of Cyprus will be treated with the most careful and sympathetic consideration by H.M. Government when they consider its future."

The above letter was dated November 14th, 1919. Ten months previously, on January 16th, 1919, the War Office General Staff prepared some notes on "Greek war aims" for the instruction of the delegates to the Paris Peace Conference. The War Office Staff, although it admitted in those notes that the majority of the inhabitants of Cyprus have a strong desire for unity with Greece, it added that there were "strategic considerations for not parting with it." "The potential strategic importance of Cyprus is great both from a naval and an air point of view," an excellent base for destroyers and submarines could be made at Famagusta and "facilities also exist for aerodromes and a flying-boat base."

Thus the British War Office. The Cabinet endorsed the policy of the War Office and attempted to seal the fate of Cyprus by closing the subject.

On June 12th, 1925, the Colonial Secretary of Cyprus, writing to the Cypriot Archbishop who protested against the incorporation of Cyprus into the Colonial Empire as a "Crown Colony" wrote the following with brutal imperiousness. "... I am directed by the Governor to inform you that your memorial was duly transmitted to the Secretary of State who has requested His Excellency to intimate to you in reply that he has received your memorial and desires that you should be informed that you must clearly understand that, as has already been pointed out to you on more than one occasion, the question of the Union of Cyprus with Greece has been closed and cannot be reopened."

From that day to now "Question Closed" has been the repetitive and laconic British reply to the demand of the Cypriots for Union.

But the subject cannot be closed. The Cypriot people reopened it with their revolt of 1931, they have been constantly raising it whenever and wherever possible and they brought it to the notice of the world by their plebiscite of January 15th, 1950. They are determined to keep up the struggle until they achieve their national freedom.

Britain wants to maintain Cyprus as a base, or as an aircraft-carrier and a military outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean as "The Times" informed us on June 8th, 1950.

The U.S.A. have built a Radar station in the island ostensibly for monitoring purposes and have been earmarking land for the building of aerodromes. American military experts have been studying conditions in the island for themselves and American journalists have been vociferous in their demand for the banning of the people's movement in Cyprus.

Aerodromes built during the war are being maintained and military installations are improved and a military town is being built a few miles outside Famagusta. These run counter to the wishes of the people whose future is thus placed in extreme jeopardy. It constitutes in itself the crowning affront to the Cypriot people and it is also a challenge to them to win their freedom and thus help to save their island home from the destruction to which British rule appears to have condemned it.

## THE QUESTION OF MINORITIES

Less than one-fifth of the population of Cyprus are Turks. Both Turks and Greeks have been living together harmoniously and peaceably. Both Turks and Greeks have suffered equally under the dictatorial British rule. The friendly relations of the two co-habiting elements cannot be disturbed except as a result of the deliberate sowing of divisions and fomenting of antagonisms by outside influences.

The Turkish population of Cyprus, at least as far as the leadership is concerned, has declared against Union and has petitioned the United Nations to that effect.

We believe, however, that the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population cannot be overlooked because of this.

We equally believe that the Turkish population of Cyprus will have a better and a fuller life once Cyprus is nationally rehabilitated.

The Greek majority guarantees full equality of rights, full civil and political rights to the Turkish population and the unrestricted right to their own cultural development.

As a token of their desire to ensure full equality of rights to the Turkish population of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots will welcome a Charter of Turkish Rights to be incorporated into the Act of Union.

Both Greeks and Turks together, enjoying the same rights, privileges and freedom, will thus work in harmony for their own advancement and prosperity.

## WHY WE DEMAND UNION

We believe that by now it is obvious why the Cypriots want to be united with their Motherland Greece.

Union with Greece means national freedom for the Cypriots.

Equally, it means that the people of Cyprus, once they escape from Colonial rule, will be able, as free citizens of the Greek nation, to play their part in the economic and political progress of Greece, of which they will be a part. It also means that at long last they will be masters in their own home and give full scope to their own creative abilities. It means above all the direction of

their efforts towards rescuing their country from economic ruin, deciding themselves, along with their Greek brothers, what is and what is not to be done and creating the pre-conditions for their social advance. Once the deadening influence of foreign rule is done away with, the people will be able to breathe more freely and work for their own salvation in their own way.

The Cypriot people view with mounting indignation the turning of Cyprus into an imperialist war base. We condemn that fact. We cannot overlook what that fact entails for our people. Union of Cyprus with Greece, irrespective of the attitude of the Greek Government, will strengthen the fight of the Cypriot people for peace and contribute to the world-wide struggle against a new war.

The Cypriot people are determined that their island should not become a war-base. They are fighting with all their strength in order to be spared the fate of becoming mere chattels at the hands of the war-makers in the grimmest of all games.

The Cypriot people have no quarrels with anyone. Their only quarrel is with the alien British rule from which they want to be liberated.

The demand of the Cypriot people for Union with Greece is unconditional.

They demand Union with Greece irrespective of the character of the regime in being in Greece.

They demand Union with Greece NOW and as a RIGHT, without secret agreements and without conditions.

As Greek people they want to be part and parcel of Greece.

This is the aim for which they are fighting. They will continue this fight until they achieve their freedom.

We trust that the whole of progressive humanity will assist the just cause of the Cypriot people.