

ENOSIS RESOLUTION BY **AKEL**

**At its 11th Congress
3-6 March 1966 Nicosia**

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AKEL and ENOSIS



AKEL mouthpiece, HARAVGI of 9 December, 1966

“There is no opposition to ENOSIS in Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot people, as a whole, want the annexation of Cyprus to Greece.”

Although this claim has been adopted and persistently used by all the Greek Cypriots, those misled by the Greek Cypriot “tactical propaganda”, have projected first Makarios and then AKEL, as champions of independence!

We can group these people in two categories according to their views:

Those who defend this view in their own interests, despite their full knowledge about the aspirations of Makarios and AKEL; and those who have been misled by the joint Greek - Greek Cypriot propaganda, owing to the vacuum created by us.

There is no need to prove that Makarios was an ENOSIS die-hard, bound by the ENOSIS OATH.

AKEL, on the other hand followed its Enosis policy very cunningly. That is why outsiders were easily taken in and regarded it as a supporter of “independence.”

This is due to the following reasons:

(i) AKEL, as is well - known, is a Communist party in the Moscow line. So AKEL's identity and line are the convincing factors about its support of independence.

(ii) Wisely, AKEL has found a better name for Enosis and has used it as a slogan in the international field. That was "self-determination."

(iii) AKEL's attitude toward the Turks has not really been hostile. For example, in villages totally dominated by AKEL, or where AKEL was in the majority, the Turkish Cypriots were not attacked. Because AKEL leaders and administration were wise enough not to antagonize the Turks and invite their resistance to ENOSIS. They knew the hazards of a possible Turkish Cypriot resistance to the Enosis cause.

We must state frankly right from the beginning that, although what we are presenting here are 'information notes', we shall at the same time strive to prove to you that AKEL is one of the extremist Enosist groups in Cyprus. We have to do this. For if we can convince outsiders that AKEL is a fanatic supporter of Enosis, we shall have reached a significant stage in explaining the causes of the Cyprus dispute.

When a political party entertains an aspiration inconsistent with its basic philosophy - a patently imperialist aspiration, such as Enosis - and yet it pursues this aspiration resolutely with more exacting demands than these of the nationalists, then the important significance of Enosis in the Cyprus problem and the kinds of danger it poses for the future become self - evident and need no further explanation.

We have no way of proving what we said in the introduction. We may mention a brief conversation which took place between a Turkish Cypriot journalist and a prominent commentator of HARAVGI, official organ of AKEL.

Turkish journalist — AKEL wants Enosis, and you support it in your paper. Does't this desire conflict with the principles of your ideology?

Haravgi commentator — No.

Turkish journalist — Why?

Haravgi commentator — Because I am a Hellenic Communist!

This understading and belief is incompatible with the anti-imperialistic principles of Communism. It is also irreconcilable with the principle of dividing nations latterally instead of horizontally..

We have to underline another important point here. Western Communist parties, parallel to the Moscow line, adopted a new concept and stand in 1977, described as "European Communism." A striking aspect of this new development, which was obviously brought about by the necessity of confirming to the prevailing trends, was the adoption of the "nationalistic view" by the Western Communist parties in international issues. In time, this tendency began affecting even East European countries - Rumania, for instance. Although Rumania adhered to the Moscow line, it gave priority to its own national interests in the Bloc. Whether this new trend is an evolution or a backward step is a matter conjecture. But it is consistent with the basic biological structure of man. Behaviour is, perhaps, a natural reaction to the imaginary evolution which is far more reaching than the

biologic evolution of man. Because, although social psychology commands most of man's feelings, it admits the naturalness of instinct in three cases. There are cases when he, his family and his community is faced with a threat. In such cases man adopts an opposing attitude. At this point ideological principles and communal (national) interests balance themselves in one direction.

The Greek Cypriot communists, long before Western communist parties, back in the 1931's, adopted nationalistic views and objectives and supported them even when there was no problem at all.

The reasons for this development may be explained as the necessity to conform to the dominant aspirations of the people, the effects of ancient institutions in the evolution of the Greek Cypriot community and the failure of the West to act in time. Or else, if the West have currently caught up with the facts, they have overdone things.

We do not intend to start a Scientific discussion. We simply wish to look into the Cyprus problem from a scientific angle.

What we are trying to say and prove is that AKEL does not only support national interests (which is natural) but it also supports national ideals and goals, which is unnatural. Because supporting national interests is one thing, and attempting to seize the rights of another national is another!

Had AKEL defended independence right from the beginning instead of Enosis, we could have said that we shared the same view and desire. For the Turkish community is quite sincere on this score, and has proved its sincerity and honesty. But, perhaps, failed to enlighten others on this point.

AKEL's Enosis desire goes beyond national interests and directly encroaches, upon the rights of another nation. It is a kind of an imperialist aspiration.

The following information, which is self - explanatory, originates from the Greek Cypriot press, and to this day it has not been denied or refuted.

AKEL AND ENOSIS

The Communist support for Enosis came to surface with the 1931 Greek Cypriot uprising, to annex Cyprus to Greece. The Communists who joined in the demand for Enosis in that year, later got organised under AKEL, and pursued this goal until the Turkish Peace Operation in 1974. AKEL did not confine its policy to words but it also actively supported the Enosis movement. It was easy for AKEL to explain its policy during the EOKA struggle, between 1955—59, which was presented under the guise of an "independence movement." Because the fight then was waged against Britain —an imperialist power— AKEL's explanation sounded plausible. But AKEL did not cease supporting Enosis even after the creation of the Cyprus Republic in 1960 and willingly contributed its share to the planning and implementation of the Akritas Plan in 1963.

The onslaught on the Turkish Community was stemmed with the resistance of Turkish Cypriots and the measures taken by Turkey. But eventually it led to the bitter 1963—1974 period.

While the Greek Cypriot living standards rose and the Greek Community prospered in those days, preparations continued openly for the union of Cyprus with Greece. Now, let us take a look at AKEL's attitude during that phase which is full of incidents which indicate that Enosis activities had been stepped up and expanded. We shall only deal with the 1966 - 1973 years. For what happened in between will be nothing more than a repetition of 1966 and 1974.

AKEL IN 1966

The 11th Congress of AKEL, which was founded in 1914 and formally established in 1941, took place on 3 March 1966.

During the four - day Congress, speeches supporting Enosis were delivered and, in the final resolution adopted at the end of the Congress, Enosis was given full support.

AKEL's Secretary General, Ezekias Papaioannou; his assistant, Andreas Fandis; and Andreas Ziartides, member of the Central Committee and Secretary General of PEO (Leftist Pancyprian Labour Federation), dwelt at length during their speeches on what was then a daily topic, "the type of Enosis desired."

These speakers declared that AKEL supported "unfettered, unconditional, uncompromising, unadulterated Enosis. The Union of the whole of the island with Greece. They criticised slogans such as "direct Enosis, immediate Enosis, and Enosis through fait accompli", claiming that these were tricks of "imperialists" who wanted the partitioning of Cyprus!

Secretary General Papaioannou said the following in his opening address before the representatives of Greece, Russia, France, Italy, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Britain, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria who attended the congress. It was published in full in the party organ HARA VGI, on 4 March 1966 :

"The only right and patriotic solution of our cause — the solution supported by the overwhelming majority and which is in keeping with the ambitions and interests of the majority — is a settlement free from the bonds of the Zurich and London Agreements, free from foreign imperialist bases; a demilitarised independent Cyprus where the people will decide its own future by exercising the right of self-determination and achieve ultimate independence.

"This is really an anti - imperialist solution and a remedy for national liberation. We do not suggest that this is an easy solution. On the contrary, we believe it necessitates a long term struggle. Nevertheless, this settlement is the only right way which will lead to the achievement of unconditional and immutable ambitions of the Cyprus people.

"The Cyprus issue is not a matter for negotiation. It is an issue of non - alignment, independence, sovereignty and self - determination.

The policy our party has been pursuing even since its establishment has been a policy of NATIONAL REHABILITATION AND UNION WITH GREECE."

"THIS POLICY HAS BEEN APPROVED BY ALL PARTY ORGANS AND WILL BE RATIFIED BY THE CONGRESS. THIS POLICY HAS NOTHING COMMON WITH ENOSIS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NATO. IN FACT IT IS ITS OPPOSITE. BECAUSE THE ENOSIS WE SUPPORT, IS UNADULTERATED, PURE, ANTI - IMPERIALIST ENOSIS.

"The people of Cyprus are not struggling to merely change masters. All this blood and tears were not shed to change masters. The Cyprus people did not fight to expell British imperialism to replace it with American or NATO imperialism under the cover of ENOSIS. The people of Cyprus are fighting to become their own masters and determine their own political future, as sovereign and free people.

"ENOSIS, GENUINE ENOSIS FREE FROM FOREIGN BASED AND FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS, AMOUNTING TO COMPLETE INTEGRATION WITH GREECE, WILL BE ACHIEVED THOUGH THE FREE WILL OF THE PEOPLE WHO WILL FIRST RID THEMSELVES OF TIES. OUR PARTY AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE SUPPORT THIS KIND OF ENOSIS, AND THAT IS WHY THEY ARE STRUGGLING. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO STRUGGLE UNTIL IT IS ACHIEVED.

"BUT WE HAVE TO UNDERLINE THAT THERE IS NO SHORT CUT WHICH WILL TAKE US TO THIS TYPE OF ENOSIS. WE SHALL HAVE TO GO THROUGH A LONG STRUGGLE WITH WARYING PHASES."

Assistant Secretary General, A. Fandis, speaking at the Congress said, "Our policy is, to achieve INDEPENDENCE, NON-ALIGNMENT, FULL SOVEREIGNTY, AND SELF-DETERMINATION, FREE FROM FOREIGN BASES AND INTERVENTIONS.

This policy and our national struggle is consistent with the contemporary anti - imperialist trends and efforts. WITH THE STRUGGLE THEY ARE WAGING AGAINST IMPERIALISM, WITH THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, OUR PEOPLE HAVE CHANGED ENOSIS FROM AN ABSTRACT SLOGAN INTO A BANNER AROUND WHICH OUR PATRIOTIC FORCES HAVE RALLIED AND HAVE TURNED IT INTO A BANNER OF THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM. This policy, which we proclaimed soon after the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements, today has become the common stand of all the patriotic forces, from the President down to government and our party. THE FIGHT WAGED AND WON AT THE UNITED NATIONS WITHIN THIS CONCEPT, HAS NOT ONLY MANIFESTED THE RIGHTNESS OF THIS POLICY BUT HAS ALSO PROVED THE SUCCESS OF OUR PARTY. WE SHALL REMAIN LOYAL AND ATTACHED TO THIS POLICY. THE GOVERNMENT, THE HONOURABLE NATIONAL GUARD and, in general, ALL PATRIOTIC FORCES WILL CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE ON A JOINT FRONT FOR THIS JUST AND PATRIOTIC SOLUTION."

A more important statement, than those quoted above which prove our contention that "even AKEL wants Enosis and in a chauvenistic manner", came from the Secretary General of PEO, Mr. Ziartides. When the three speeches are examined and assessed together, it becomes evident that, what appeared at first sight as a silly and crude game of words (Enosis desire) at the 11th Congress, was in fact a calculated move, formulating a new strategy for the Enosis policy. With its ostensibly paradoxical policy statement at the time, AKEL was intimating to the Greek Cypriots how they should go about the business of Enosis in an intelligent way. AKEL merely showed a way to Enosis. And it has done it in the presence of representatives of other Communist parties at the Congress!

The speech of Ziartides explained and showed the course to be followed in every detail. Addressing the 11th Congress, he said;

"Those who support the direct or fait accompli methods, claim that there is nothing easier than achieving Enosis. They try to convince the people that Makarios, his government, AKEL and the champions of the Zurich Agreements, are obstructing its realisation. According to these the House of Representatives should assemble and declare Enosis. And acceptance of this by the Greek Parliament would clinch the Union!

"But let us examine this formula in detail. Let us assume that the Greek Cypriot House assembled and proclaimed Enosis and that, after an hour, the Greek Parliament in Athens accepted it. What would happen then? What changes would there be in our cause? The Greek Line will continue to exist in Nicosia, the Turks of Famagusta will stay in their trenches, Akıncılar (Louridjina) and Lefka will stay closed. The Turkish Army Contingent will continue to remain in the Bogaz area and at the St. Hilarion, the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia will certainly not back up and go home with all its staff. In short, our cause will remain as it is, even become more complicated. It is evident that relations with the Turks will be further restrained and the situation will become more confused. The dispute will continue. WHO WILL ARGUE THE SITUATION? WHO WILL MAKE THE MOVE FOR A SOLUTION? AND WHO WILL TAKE PART IN THE TALKS? THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT? NO...

"BECAUSE THEN THERE WILL BE NO CYPRUS GOVERNMENT. ONCE WE DECLARE THAT WE HAVE INTEGRATED WITH ANOTHER STATE, WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT.

"IT MEANS THAT THE TALKS WILL NOT BE CONDUCTED BY THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT OR A GREEK CYPRIOT DELEGATION, BUT BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. It is possible that the talks will be attended by a Greek Government; like the Paraskevopoulos Government, which we learnt from a statement in the press today, had accepted to move NATO into Cyprus in 1964."

Concluding his speech Ziartides called on the Greek Cypriot people to rally round the INDEPENDENCE, NON - ALIGNMENT SELF - DETERMINATION and UNADULTERATED ENOSIS formula and to remain united.

(date of speech 4 March 1966, published in Haravgi on 5 March 1966)

ENOSIS IN AKEL'S 11TH CONGRESS

On 6 March 1966, HARAVGI (AKEL's organ) reported the proceedings of the Congress in banner headlines. According to the paper the Congress was taking historic decisions on the furtherance of the "Greek Cypriot anti - imperialist struggle." The historic decisions announced on 12 March and published in HARAVGI on 13 March 1966, concerning Cyprus, were as follows:

"THE CONGRESS REAFFIRMS AKEL'S PERSISTENT AND UNCHANGING ATTITUDE IN OUR LIBERATION STRUGGLE. IT FURTHER REITERATES AKEL'S EFFORTS AIMED AT A NON - ALIGNED INDEPENDENCE, ULTIMATE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS, REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN BASES AND RADIOS WHICH ARE USED FOR SPYING. IT IS ONLY AFTER THE REALISATION OF THESE OBJECTIVES THAT THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS WILL BE ABLE TO DETERMINE ITS FUTURE THROUGH THE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF SELF - DETERMINATION, FREE FROM THE SORTS OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND PRESSURE. ONLY WITHIN THIS CONCEPT WILL OUR PEOPLE ACHIEVE NATIONAL REHABILITATION — UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE — WITH ITS FREE WILL AND CONSCIENCE, WITHOUT ANY PRESSURE AND BLACKMAIL. THOSE NATO FORCES WHICH OPPOSE OUR POLICY ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE NATIONALISTIC FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE AND MAKING THE PROPAGANDA OF A DIRECT ENOSIS, OR ENOSIS THROUGH FAIT ACCOMPLI. OUR PARTY IS RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO SUCH ENOSIS. BECAUSE THROUGH THIS KIND OF ENOSIS AND UNACCEPTABLE NATO SOLUTION WILL BE IMPOSED ON OUR PEOPLE AND WILL BE PRESENTED AS THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE. IN FACT THIS WILL AMOUNT TO THE PARTITIONING OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE AND ITS LINKING WITH NATO.

"THE CONGRESS, HAVING IN MIND THESE EFFORTS IMPERIALISTS AND NATO FORCES CALLS ON OUR PEOPLE TO BE VIGILANT, TO FOIL THESE PLOTS AIMED AT OPPRESSION AND ENSLAVEMENT OF CYPRUS.

"WHILE THE CONGRESS APPROVES NON - ALIGNED INDEPENDENCE, FULL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE SELF-DETERMINATION POLICY, IT MAINTAINS THAT THIS POLICY SERVES THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF OUR NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND, IN GENERAL, WORLD PEACE IN FULL MEANING. IT SEES THE STRUGGLE AS THE ONLY RIGHT POLICY, REAL ANTI - IMPERIALIST NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND WHILE IT APPROVES THIS STAND, IT URGES THE PARTY TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THIS STRUGGLE AS IT HAS DONE, WITHOUT DEVIATION AND TO DO ITS UTMOST WITH ALL ITS STRENGTH."

One day before this resolution was adopted at the 11th Congress, the text of a letter addressed to Makarios by the former Greek Prime Minister, George Papandreou, dated 29 August 1964, was published in the Greek Cypriot press.

There is a close relationship between this letter and the slogans of "UNFETTERED INDEPENDENCE, UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND GENUINE INDEPENDENCE". Passages from Makarios' reply to George Papandreou also shed light on their links with Enosis, as indicated below. All Greek Cypriot papers carried the following quotation from George Papandreou's on 3 March 1966, attributing it to the Athens newspaper ETHNOS:

"Shortly the Turkish army contingent in Cyprus will be rotated. We feel it necessary to announce our joint decisions on the new crisis created by this development.

1. WE have reached agreement to have a recourse to the United Nations for UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE which provides for the exercise of the RIGHT OF SELF - DETERMINATION.

2. WE HAVE FURTHER AGREED TO MAINTAIN PEACE IN THE ISLAND UNTIL THE U.N. ADOPTS A RESOLUTION. WE SHALL NOT PROVOKE, ON THE CONTRARY, WE WILL LAUNCH A PEACE OFFENSIVE, PROMISE GENERAL AMNESTY TO TURKISH CYPRIOTS. WE SHALL TELL THEM THAT WE WILL SAFEGUARD THEIR HUMAN AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. WITH THIS APPROACH WE WILL FOIL THE AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS OF THE TURKS AND CREATE FAVOURABLE IMPRESSIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

3. TURKS can be expected to attack without provocations. But, as I said, in the event of such an offensive Greece will defend Cyprus with all her strength. AS THE GREEK ARMY CANNOT POSSIBLY FIGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF "UNFETTERED INDEPENDENCE", the parliaments of GREECE AND CYPRUS WILL PROCLAIM ENOSIS IMMEDIATELY AND THE FIGHTING WILL TAKE PLACE UNDER THE BANNER OF ENOSIS. THIS IS THE BANNER SUITABLE FOR A NATION TO FIGHT FOR.

4, 5, 6.....

I hope you will get the message in these clear statements. Our national oath will be based on these principles. Thus, a substantial security needed for the success of our joint struggle for Enosis will have been obtained. ENOSIS will give Cyprus a new and historic exercise. This exercise will be the duty of Cyprus, to become the centre for cultural expansion of Hellenism to the East."

Archbishop Makarios' reply, dated 21 Feb. 1966, was published in the Greek Cypriot papers on 3 - 4 March 1966, with an explanation for the delay. The letter, in brief, said:

"Your letter refers to the conducting of the Cyprus cause until the U. N. Security Council meeting, which has been adjourned for

months. However, I wish to take up certain views mentioned in your letter... It seems that you are adamant on these views despite the postponement of the General Assembly and the Cyprus debate. Efforts will continue to be exerted for the preservation of peace in Cyprus. We will continue to exercise restraint in the face of increased Turkish Cypriot provocations. In the event of an unprovoked attack by Turkey on Cyprus, as you repeatedly stated before, when Greece comes to the help of Cyprus with all her strength, I FULLY AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE FIGHT WILL BE FOUGHT IN THE NAME OF ENOSIS WHICH WILL IMMEDIATELY BE SIMULTANEOUSLY DECLARED BY THE PARLIAMENTS OF CYPRUS AND GREECE. FOR AS YOU HAVE POINTED OUT THE GREEK ARMY CANNOT FIGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF "UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

"OUR CAUSE MUST BE PRESENTED AT THE UNITED NATIONS AS A CAUSE FOR "UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

"BUT THIS BANNER IS NOT SUITABLE TO BE THE STANDARD OF A NATION IN WAR. MOREOVER IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS, EVEN IF THEY WERE LEFT TO STRUGGLE WITHOUT THE HELP OF GREECE, THEN THE AIM OF THIS FIGHT WOULD NOT BE UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE. IT WOULD BE ENOSIS ONLY. IN OUR WHOLE STRUGGLE ENOSIS HAS BEEN OUR ONE AND ONLY SLOGAN. EVEN UNDER THE IMPACT OF EVENTS AND IN ORDER NOT TO PLUNGE MOTHERLAND GREECE INTO ADVENTURES WHEN WE ACCEPTED TEMPORARY SOLUTIONS WITH THE ADVICE OF GREECE, OUR GOAL REMAINED TO BE ENOSIS..."

On 7 December 1966, HARAVGI carried the following report: "AKEL's Central Committee and the Central Control Committee held a meeting on 5 Dec. 1966, to discuss the present stage of the Cyprus question. The resolution adopted unanimously at the meeting will be published within the next few days."

The Central Committee's resolution was released on 8 Dec. and published in HARAVGI on 9 Dec. 1966. Its full text read:

"The Cyprus question is passing through an extremely uneasy phase. Those who encouraged and organised the Greek - Turkish talks (which have been going on for seven months and which have been kept secret from the public) have attached great hopes to the Çağlayangil - Tumbas meeting which will soon take place within the NATO framework. We believe that the plan discussed at the Turkish - Greek talks, foresees geographic and administrative concessions to Turkey. Reports that Dhekelia will be handed to the Turks are not unfounded. Anglo - American imperialists are exerting heavy pressure in order to have the Cyprus problem settled in keeping with NATO interests. They go so far even to threaten Cyprus with the 6th Fleet. They are preparing plots to be implemented at opportune moments.

THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY AKEL AT ITS 11th CONGRESS.

"The patriotic people of Cyprus are aware of and are watching closely the anti - Enosis movements of imperialism and its organs. The people of Cyprus know that the aim of these moves is to divide Cyprus and turn it into a NATO springboard. The Cyprus people know what lies behind the noise created over the import of arms for the police and the slander campaign against Makarios.

"THE PEOPLE OF CYRUS HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE IT CLEAR THROUGH MAKARIOS AND THEIR OTHER REPRESENTATIVES THAT THEY WILL NOT GIVE AN INCH OF TERRITORY TO TURKEY OR TO ANY OTHER POWER. THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS WILL ACCEPT NEITHER A GEOGRAPHIC NOR AN ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION. THE PEOPLE ALSO REJECT WITH INDIGNATION FEDERATION OR THE ISLAND'S ATTACHMENT TO NATO.

"THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS ARE ADAMANT ON ENOSIS FOR WHICH NO GEOGRAPHIC OR ADMINISTRATIVE CONCESSIONS WILL BE MADE. THEY WANT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE FREE FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. ANY OTHER PROPOSAL WILL BE REJECTED BY THE PEOPLE. AS THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY STATED CYPRUS WILL PREFER A HOLOCAUST TO SUBMISSION.

"The major duty, today, of the people, the army and the government, is to further strengthen our unity and solidarity, as well as THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

"The arms "imported" by the Cyprus government for the police solidifies the defence of Cyprus. And they must be used in the shortest possible time for this purpose. Opposition to the arming of the police is illegal and aims at undermining Cyprus and Enosis.

"The Turco - Greek talks HAVE NOT BROUGHT ENOSIS WITHOUT GEOGRAPHIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONCESSIONS AND WILL NOT POSSIBLY BRING IT. ON THE CONTRARY THESE TALKS CARRY THE DANGER OF COMPLICATING FURTHER THE CYPRUS ISSUE AND LEADING IT TO A PRECIPICE, FOR THIS REASON THE CYPRUS ISSUE MUST BE TAKEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS AGAIN QUICKLY,

"THE CYPRUS QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED THROUGH THE RECONCILIATION OF THE TURKISH AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AND THE SINISTER PLANS OF IMPERIALISM — JOINT ENEMY OF THE Turkish and Greek Cypriots — CAN BE FOILED,

"THE CYPRUS LIBERATION STRUGGLE FACES A NUMBER OF SERIOUS OBSTACLES, It may have to go through varying phases.

"BUT WE MUST COMPASSIONATELY BELIEVE THAT WE WILL WIN THROUGH OUR UNITY, THE HELP OF GREECE, THE WHOLE OF THE SOCIALIST AND ANTI - IMPERIALIST WORLD AND, PARTICULARLY, THE POWERFUL SOVIET UNION."

AKEL in 1973
AKEL'S NICOSIA DISTRICT CONGRESS

The Party General Secretary, Papaioannou, spoke on 22 April 1973 at the Congress. He strongly attacked and denounced violence within the Greek Cypriot community, as well as "sources which preferred a Nato Solution", and said that **AKEL CONTINUED TO SUPPORT UNCONDITIONAL, UNFETTERED AND GENUINE ENOSIS AS THE FINAL TARGET**, He concluded,

"Nevertheless, even the children can realise that to achieve this type of Enosis, in the prevailing conditions is impossible and efforts currently made will lead to either double Enosis or partition. Further, it is a fact that Enosis cannot be promoted THROUGH VIOLENCE AND COUPS, THE RIGHT COURSE TO FOLLOW IN THE PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE THE PROTECTION OF THE CYPRUS STATE WHICH IS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHICH CONSTITUTES THE STRONGEST TRUM CARD IN THE HANDS OF OUR PEOPLE,"

The following day (23 April 1973), the leader of EDEK party, Dr Lyssarides, made a statement on the internal squabble over self-determination, unconditional independence, non-aligned independence etc. and shed light on the true meaning of these slogans in the Greek Cypriot vocabulary.

His statement as published in TA NEA and other Greek Cypriot newspapers on 24 April 1973 was:

"The real cause of the trouble is the denial to use the right of SELF - DETERMINATION. Because of this various groups have turned to different targets and the crisis was thus created. PEOPLE ARE TALKING ABOUT ENOSISTS AND ANTI - ENOSISTS. THIS IS NOT RIGHT AT ALL. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AS A WHOLE ARE ENOSISTS AND ARE READY TO FIGHT FOR ENOSIS WITHOUT FLINCHING SO LONG THE CONDITIONS FOR THE REALISATION OF ENOSIS EXIST."

Dr. Lyssarides pointed out that the conditions and circumstances were not yet ripe for the achievement of Enosis and called support for the talks, for the establishment of a **UNITARY, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGN STATE**.

In the ensuing days the pro-Grivas press, GNOMI and ETHNIKI for instance, criticised the statements by Papaioannou and Lyssarides and said that their statements to in support of Enosis were far from the truth and labelled them as hypocrites.

The pro-Makarios newspapers on the other hand, welcomed and praised the statements by the leaders of AKEL and EDEK, especially "for having been made in the circumstances of the day". (ELEFTHERIA 25, April 1973).

HARAVGI reproduced on 4 October 1973, the interview granted by AKEL Secretary General Papaioannou to the Athens newspaper, VIMA.

Part of the interview relating to Enosis was published in HARAVGI as follows:

Question : What is, in your view, the present state of the Cyprus problem, specifically the intercommunal talks, their chance of success and the armed exploits of Grivas?

Answer : AKEL has, all along, been supporting this view: **THE BEST CYPRUS SOLUTION SHOULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE DETERMINATION OF THE FUTURE BY THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS, THROUGH THE SELF - DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE, AS A SOVEREIGN PEOPLE. IN THE EVENT OF THE USE OF THE SELF - DETERMINATION RIGHT, AKEL WILL MAKE A CALL TO THE PEOPLE TO VOTE FOR THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE.**

BUT THIS UNION MUST BE UNFETTERED, AND AT NO EXPENSE. SOME CLAIM THAT AKEL DESIRES THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH A SOCIALIST GREECE, THIS IS A LIE, AKEL HAS NEVER THOUGHT OF LAYING DOWN A CONDITION THAT BEFORE ENOSIS THERE MUST BE A SOCIALIST REGIME IN GREECE. THE REGIME IN GREECE, IS THE CONCERN OF THE GREEK NATION, GOVERNMENTS COME AND GO. BUT GREECE IS THERE TO STAY FOR EVER. IT IS ETERNAL. UNION WILL BE WITH GREECE, AKEL'S STAND ON THIS NATIONAL CAUSE IS CLEAR AND PLAIN.

BUT IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS HAVE NO POSSIBILITY OF USING THEIR UNDENIABLE RIGHT OF SELF - DETERMINATION. BECAUSE OF THIS IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ACCOMPLISH UNCONDITIONAL ENOSIS AT NO EXPENSE.

Today's "feasible solution" policy is followed with the aim of establishing a **UNITARY, INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN AND TERRITORIAALLY INTEGRAL CYPRUS STATE.**

(FOLLOWING INTERPRETATIONS ARE SUGGESTED TO THE STUDENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND OTHERS WHO HAVE HAD NO POSSIBILITY OF EXAMINING THE CONFLICT DETAIL:)

1— The speeches made by Papaioannou, Fandis and Ziartides at the 11th Congress of AKEL, if closely examined give us the following picture as to what they have in common:

a) **SUBJECT :**

To determine and come to a conclusion on AKEL's view on the union of Cyprus with Greece.

b) **MOTIVE :**

The need determine and announce the party views on the national cause (Enosis).

2— To dismiss and disprove claims and suppositions by rivals and groups with opposing ideologies that AKEL is against Enosis.

3— To confirm what the "overwhelming majority", as described by AKEL, want by Enosis and to deter and prevent fait accomplis and their supporters.

4. To defend the party; view at the top and in the most popular and effective manner.

c) **WHAT WAS SAID**

1. The only, right and patriotic settlement of the "cause", according to the desires and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Cyprus people, is in the achievement of **FULL INDEPENDENCE** where the people can use their right of self-determination and freely decide their future.

2. The policy followed by the party, from the date of its establishment, has been the "National Rehabilitation" of the people, and **UNION WITH GREECE**.

3. The policy has been approved by all party organs and emerged as a resolution at the party congress.

4. The objective is to turn Enosis from an abstract, idealist slogan, into a "STANDARD", rallying all nationalist forces around it.

d) **RESOLUTION**

AKEL Congress wants unfettered, unconditional, unadulterated Enosis, in line with the aspirations and interest of the overwhelming majority, **THE REHABILITATION OF THE PEOPLE, THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE ULTIMATE UNION, and CALLS THE PARTY TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE TO THIS END WITH ALL ITS POWER.**

e) **TACTICAL RESOLUTION**

However, in the present circumstances, there is no short-cut to such an Enosis (**UNFETTERED UNCONDITIONAL UNADULTERATED**), therefore :

1. Unfettered **INDEPENDENCE** and the right of self-determination must be attained in the first stage of free the people from all bonds and clean the way to Enosis.

2. AKEL's policy was described by right wing circles as anti-**ENOSIST**. A new condition emerged following the resolution by the Congress. According to the rightist, AKEL wants **ENOSIS**, "but wants to unite with a **SOCIALIST GREECE**".

f) **PROPOSITIONS**

1. **ENOSIS** is genuinely an anti-imperialist solution and a panacea for national liberation. (Papaioannou 3 March 1966).

2. This **ENOSIS** has nothing in common with **ENOSIS WITHIN NATO** framework. (Papaioannou 3 March 1966).

3. Because the **ENOSIS** Akel supports, is pure, unadulterated anti-imperialists **ENOSIS**. (Papaioannou 3 March 1966).

4. True enosis will come through the free will (conscience) of the people of Cyprus after they break away from their ties. (Papaioannou 3.3.66).

5. AKEL has made Enosis a rallying **STANDARD** rather than an abstract slogan (Fandis - 11th Congress Speech).

6. Before the removal of the Turkish element Enosis cannot be declared, because the most valuable trump card in the hands of the Greek Cypriots (Representing the state) can be lost. (Ziartides - 1st Congress speech).

7. Because of this, direct Enosis, or Enosis through fait accompli, at the present stage, will be a **NATO** solution. (AKEL's 11th Congress resolution).

2. OBSERVATIONS

We have tried to interpret the letter and spirit of the above mentioned speech and the AKEL resolution.

The whole of the above propositions are gross by deceiving. It is ironical that, although these were made before the representatives of 11 foreign communist parties there was no reaction from any one of them.

Apart from the considerations, the nation of "anti-imperialist ENOSIS", is downright absurdity.

What the three AKEL leaders attempted to do was, no doubt, to create the impression that ENOSIS would be made with a "Greece that would join the leftist camp".

Nevertheless, Papaioannou saw no harm in Uniting with a NATO member Greece! (Papaioannou's interview with VIMA reproduced in HARAVGI on 4 October 1973.)

The important point which should be noted here, is the reference by Ziartides to the Turks as the "only obstacle" in the way to enosis. How can one construe the party resolution for Enosis, Ziartides, description of the Turkish element as the sole impediment in the way to Enosis and his blunt statement that Enosis be achieved through a "long struggle" despite the Turkish existence?

Another point of vital importance is the discussion about independence. AKEL has clarified this matter as well.

The fundamental proposals by both sides (Greek-Turk) start with the same words "Independent, non-aligned etc... Cyprus". But the same words are used and presented by both sides with different shades of meaning.

The first word, INDEPENDENCE, is a complete paradox.. While the Turkish side demand the guarantying of the independence, due to its fear of Enosis, the Greek Cypriot side demands "unfettered, unconditional, true and full independence" without any conditions or guarantees, claiming that these could harm the independence!

The 11th Congress of AKEL, where the three leaders repeated with emphasis why they wanted UNFETTERED INDEPENDENCE shows clearly the reason for their demand. References to the freeing of the people from their fetters, and the Greek Cypriots becoming responsible for the independence, constitute an important tie for them. And this justified the Turkish Cypriot suspicions and misgivings.

The Greek Cypriot side as a whole, not only AKEL, know that an UNFETTERED INDEPENDENCE is the surest way to ENOSIS.

This is why they pay so much lip service to "Unfettered independence" at international forums. It is attractive and appealing.

The speeches and the resolution are so clear that they need no more comment or, interpretation. But it would be worth while to ask:-

— Who the Greek Cypriots fought in 1966, in their National War of Liberation?

— How could union with Greece (an Anglo-American satellite, apart from being a NATO member) be considered an anti-imperialist ENOSIS?

— Who really defended and fought for independence in Cyprus.