

CYPRUS:

Makarios on ENOSIS?

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Defence Minister
Turkish Cypriot Administration



Printed and published by the
Public Information Office of
The Turkish Cypriot Administration
Nicosia

JUNE 1974

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The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

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PREFACE

The Problem:

Over twenty years have passed since the Cyprus question made its first appearance on the international platform. In September 1951 the newly elected Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios III, sent a cable to the President of the U.N. Committee for Non-Self-Governing Territories, denouncing British Colonial rule in Cyprus and demanding self-determination and (Enosis) Union with Greece.

This move followed the mock plebiscite organized by Makarios on 15 January, 1950, in his capacity as the Bishop of Kitium for the Greek Cypriot community who were called upon by the then Archbishop Makarios II of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus to vote for 'Enosis and only Enosis' under the threat of excommunication.

Since September 1951, Cyprus went through various stages ranging from civil strife and disorder to terrorism, and from terrorism to civil war between its two communities. At times it even threatened the international peace. Cyprus itself was transformed from the status of a Colony into an Independent State and a Full Member of the United Nations in 1960. Between the Greek Cypriot call for Enosis and the Turkish Cypriot rejection of it, 'independence' was found to be a welcome compromise.

After a short spell of Constitutional Government, from 1960 to 1963, and a comparative calm and order, Cyprus was again pushed into civil war and strife between its two Communities which at times turned into 'a small but savage massacre' (1) and 'a veritable siege' (2) of the Turkish Community. Thus activated the Cyprus question has been engaging the attention of the U.N. and the Security Council since February 1964. It has been the scene of operations for United Nations Peace-keeping Force as a 'most delicate' (3) mission for over ten years. Intercommunal talks were held between the Turkish and Greek Communities for its peaceful settlement from 1968 to 1971 without much success. The intercommunal talks expanded after 1971 with the participation of the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus as well as the representatives of Turkey and Greece have been going on at snail-pace since June, 1972. Yet in essence, the stage set for the Greek Cypriot Community by Archbishop Makarios way back in 1951, i.e. the demand for Enosis and only Enosis, remains the same.

What is Enosis:

In terms of international politics, ENOSIS (a Greek word for Union) is synonymous with 'ANSCHLUSS' (a German word for union); the only difference being in the territory to be usurped, annexed or occupied by a bigger foreign power i.e., Germany in relation to the territory of the Republic of Austria, and Greece in relation to the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. In both cases, however, the meaning and effect is the same and reflects the revival of old racialist ambitions for territorial expansion. This was best explained by the late Greek Premier, Mr. George Papandreu in Salonica on 27.10.1964 in the following terms: "Cyprus must become the spring-board for the dream of Alexander the Great in the Orient."

For the Greek Orthodox Church, which played and still plays the leading role in the formulation and execution of Greek and Greek-Cypriot policies, Enosis means the 'restoration of the Empire of Byzantium' which includes Cyprus. Thus, Muslim-Turks, who were mainly responsible for the defeat and subsequent liquidation of the Empire of Byzantium in 1453 A.D., are customarily regarded by the Greek Orthodox Church leaders as the 'natural enemy' who have to be suppressed or subjugated if the 'Dream of Alexander the Great' or the 'Empire of Byzantium' is ever to be realized.

For this reason they regard ENOSIS as the only sacred goal for which anything and everything may be sacrificed, any crime or violence can be committed and the culprits can be glorified as 'heroes'. High ranking Greek Cypriot clergymen take an oath to serve the cause of ENOSIS before they take up office in which they also undertake to pay with their lives for any betrayal of this sacred cause.

The most recent illustrations of this loyalty to Enosis are the inaugural statements of the new Bishops of Paphos and Kyrenia which re-affirm their dedication to Enosis. It is interesting to note here that these Bishops replaced the previous holders of the same posts (who still claim to be the rightful holders) after a rift between them and Archbishop Makarios on the point that Makarios had deviated from his oath, to work solely for the materialization of Enosis, and that his prolonged continuation in the post of Presidency of Cyprus was incompatible with his dedication to the cause of Enosis as a Church leader. Makarios always vehemently denies such charges and reiterates his continued dedication to Enosis. He made this point quite clear to Mme Maria Rejane of French magazine 'Le Point': "My national creed has never changed and my career as a national leader has shown no inconsistency or contradiction. I have accepted independence instead of Enosis because certain external conditions and factors have not allowed a free choice," he told her in an interview on 19 February, 1974.

For Greek Cypriot extremists and armed elements (Eoka B etc.) 'Enosis' means the long delayed opportunity to settle old scores with the Turks. They want immediate declaration of Enosis at all costs, no matter what the outcome may be.

For the Greek Cypriot youth and students, Enosis means the 'ideal' for which they parade through the streets, shouting and waving placards, urging their leaders to speed up the struggle for the realization of 'national aspirations' that would place "Greek Cyprus into the bosom of Mother Greece".

The anti-Turkish and pro-Enosis demonstrations held at Limassol by Greek secondary school students on 25 April, 1974, and the statement put out by them as published the next day in 'Agon' — a Greek daily (mouthpiece of Mr. Glafcos Clerides' Unified Party) — illustrates the attitude of the Greek Cypriot youth. This is what the students' statements said about the Turks: "Rightists, leftists, neutrals, independents!.. You must dash forward and cry out loud: Long live everlasting Greece!.. There is no place for Turks in Hellenic Cyprus!.. They should be thrown out!.. Istanbul, Thrace, Izmir, Cyprus, all of them are ours..."

For Greek Cypriot rightists, Enosis means 'Freedom' which they have for generations been indoctrinated by the Church and schools to believe to represent "the integration of this (Cyprus) southern outpost of Hellenism with the national trunk (Greece)".

They explain that: "Cyprus is too small and too insignificant to develop, outside the national framework (i.e. Greece) without historical tradition, national civilization or a national awareness of its own, three fundamental and indispensable elements of nationhood." "There can be no freedom for Cyprus", they say, "outside the boundaries of Greece". (Greek Public Information Office Press Release dated 23.10.1967).

For the left of the centre as represented by Dr. Lyssarides who is also the link between Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and Archbishop Makarios, ENOSIS is synonymous with 'Self-Determination'. When confronted with the inconsistency of this policy, i.e. the impossibility of seeking to apply the principle of 'Self-determination' to a state which is already an independent member of the UNO, they explain that the present international obligation undertaken by Cyprus to outlaw ENOSIS is a fetter to its independence and that once they have a change to exercise the right of 'self-determination' in its Greek sense, they would use it in favour of ENOSIS, i.e. to destroy that very independence.

For AKEL (The Greek Cypriot Communist Party) ENOSIS probably means a nationalistic slogan to be exploited for gaining popular support. For this reason, contrary to the Soviet understanding of the principle of self-determination, AKEL in Cyprus advocates the application of this principle but immediately explains that the re-application of this principle is the only way to achieve ENOSIS.

The following statement by Mr. Ezekias Papaioannou, the Greek Cypriot leader of AKEL, illustrates the point. In his statement dated 20.6.1970, which was given to CBC on the eve of elections, Mr. Papaioannou said: "It is the firm belief of AKEL that a just, equitable and final solution of the Cyprus problem would be found if and when the people of Cyprus is allowed to use the right of self-determination. When it is allowed to us the right of self-determination AKEL will cast its vote in favour of unconditional union of Cyprus with Greece." !

In an interview with the Athens paper 'To Vima', published on October 4, 1973, Mr. Papaioannou further elaborated on this point by stating that "Akeli has, all along, been supporting the view that the best solution to the Cyprus problem is for the people of Cyprus to decide their own future as a sovereign people in accordance with the principle of self-determination. In the event of the application of the principle of self-determination, AKEL will invite the people to vote in favour of the Union of Cyprus with Greece." !

In the same statement Mr. Papaioannou tried to refute the allegation of insincerity advanced against the inconsistency of his Enosis policy (i.e. union of a Communist Cyprus to a Fascist Greece) by the following words: "Certain persons claim that AKEL favours the Union of Cyprus with a Socialist Greece. This is a lie. AKEL has never contemplated to put forward a condition to the effect that a socialist regime should be set up in Greece before Enosis is attained." !

Whither Makarios?

Where does Archbishop Makarios stand in all this flury for Enosis? As we have seen Archbishop Makarios is the chief architect of Enosis movement on international plane. His name has become synonym for the world 'ENOSIS' in political dictionaries. Yet, he has managed to ride the tide of international public opinion, which is rightly in favour of the continued independence of Cyprus, as the champion of that independence.

Beside the fact that on his enthronement as the Archbishop of Cyprus on 18th June, 1950, he took an oath "not to rest for a moment in efforts to see the union of Cyprus with Greece achieved", Makarios kept reminding his flock at home that "Cyprus is Greek. Cyprus was Greek since the dawn of its history, and will remain Greek" and that "ENOSIS will always be (his) national aspiration." (4)

Many writers, diplomats, news reporters etc., who are not well conversant with the problem of Cyprus and are unaware of the psychological, social and religious factors behind the 'ENOSIS' movement, are inclined to believe that such statements as quoted above do not reflect the true aims of the Greek Cypriots and that, Archbishop Makarios, in fact, is not in favour of Enosis but merely wants independence. They further argue "Makarios is the President of an independent state, he is considered amongst the leaders of the non-aligned group of countries, he is looked upon by the Africans as the champion of free - dom etc., so could he really afford to lose all his splendour and become the Archbishop of a small island?"

On the surface, all these arguments appear to make sense. But those who care to scratch the surface a little, will see that plain facts are quite different. That is why 'ENOSIS' is a paradox, not to mention the myth and equivocation that twine themselves round the personality of its leading advocate.

In answer to the above mentioned arguments, one has to refer to Professor H. D. Purcell who has made a thorough survey of the situation and the personalities involved. Here is his account, "Since the Athens coup of April 1967 all the old anti-Enosis arguments have been more frequently repeated. The Turks have charged that in a united Greece Cyprus would be a distant province ruled by a governor from Athens; but Crete had thirty members representing it in the old Parliament, and when the Parliament is revived, Cyprus, as part of Greece, could look forward to having a larger proportion or a similar proportion of reduced number in the Parliament as a whole. And until that time individual Cypriots may be expected to have some influence over the ruling junta. The objection that Greece has lower social norms has been urged in the past, but is losing much of its force as the crime figures in Greece drop dramatically, almost to the Cypriot level. Interested parties still urge the economic objection as strongly as ever but, as Makarios has pointed out, in the long run Greece may be more prosperous than Cyprus. Despite official American disapproval, American firms are investing in the new Greece and her economy is stable. Cypriot prosperity has not escaped from heavy dependence upon British expenditure in the island and in view of the considerable British trade gap,

its continuance is not to be counted on. Besides, the government of Greece could offer Cyprus a special economic regime, as was done in the case of Rhodes. It is true that Clerides and others have said that there should be no Enosis while the price is too high, but overseas Greeks, like overseas Britons, are not necessarily disloyal because they wish to protect their own interest. Grivas and his supporters accuse members of the Makarios government of being at heart anti-Enosis for fear their own importance might diminish, but only time can tell whether the charge is justified. In any case, one cannot believe that Makarios is an anti - Enosist. His attitudes have been too consistent all along, and even if he stood down as President, as he has repeatedly said that he would do in the event of Enosis, he would still retain the position of Ethnarch by virtue of his ecclesiastical office." (5)

The Nature of Enosis Movement

What the uninitiated are probably loosing sight of, is the very nature of Enosis movement and the manner in which it has been championed by Archbishop Makarios and the militant terrorist organisation known as EOKA - the so-called National Organisation of Cypriot (Greek) Fighters.

EOKA, which was organized with the support of the Archbishop in early fifties and had his blessings, did not, as the Greek propagandists after independence were at pains to prove, stand for the liberation of Cyprus from the colonial rule, but quite the opposite - to bring about "Enosis and only Enosis", i.e. to replace the British colonial regime with that of Kingdom of Greece. Therefore, its prime concern was to curtail any peaceful constitutional development in the island which did not leave the door open to Enosis. That is why in its so-called liberation struggle up to 1959, Eoka murdered more Greeks than British and Turks put together.

Indeed, there is great merit in the argument of George Mikes in his delightful way of blending the shrewd and the benign when he says: "Leaving the moral judgement aside, one has the awful feeling that the whole Eoka struggle was a little pointless. They would have achieved independence without it. Malta became independent without an Eoka - indeed, without one single bomb being exploded. And scores of other countries, too. Why, oh why did Eoka occur in Cyprus, of all places? I do not know the answer." (6)

As we have seen, the answer to this question is very simple; because Eoka was dedicated to the "sacred cause of Hellenism" (not Cypriotism) and "uniting this outpost of Hellenism to the national trunk." In other words, it was the organ of the Greek Kingdom in Cyprus aiming at its re-colonisation.

Support for permanent Independence: A stigma of Disloyalty

Another important factor lost sight of by the uninitiated, is the fear of stigma of disloyalty to Enosis that had all through the years been deliberately cultivated by the Church, the schools and other social or cultural organisations in order to curb any trend or development towards a genuine Cypriot consciousness.

In fact the real strength of Enosis movement prior to the establishment of Eoka to terrorise people into supporting it, resided in the fear of this stigma of disloyalty to the so called 'national cause'. EOKA killed 278 Greek Cypriots as against 142 British and 84 Turks.

In 1952, soon after the first appeal was made by Archbishop Makarios to the United Nations, demanding Union with Greece, an impartial observer in Cyprus said: "Throughout the years public speakers have known how to guarantee a sympathetic hearing; speak in praise of the 'motherland' and at the end call for three cheers for 'ENOSIS' Union, other themes could be touched upon, even stressed, but to omit the note of patriotism has meant to run the risk of being considered lukewarm on the national question, let the speaker be an educator, a clergyman, a politician or a labour leader." (7)

Indeed this stigma-phobia was so widely and persistently used by the leading advocates of Enosis movement that, after independence and during the intercommunal negotiations which are based on the permanent independence of the Republic, it started to threaten its own creators. The report of Mr. Bruce Van Voorst from Nicosia, published in the Newsweek Magazine on 23rd August, 1971 (when the first phase of the intercommunal talks came to a dead end) is rather revealing. Mr. Van Voorst said: "Equally thorny was the problem of establishing guarantees for the island's continued independence. Under agreements setting up the Cypriot republic eleven years ago, Enosis - or union with Greece - was specifically rejected. And in the eyes of the minority Turks, any new constitutional arrangement should do the same. For their part, however, the Greeks have been unwilling to go along. And as Clerides himself hinted in a conversation with me, it would be political suicide for any Greek leader to go on record as opposing the union with the homeland."

To the duplicity and equivocation of advocates of Enosis we shall presently return. But, assuming for one moment, however far fetched an argument it may be, that what Mr. Clerides had said represented the truth about Arch. Makarios, as far as the Turkish Cypriot Community is concerned the situation does not change a bit. It may even be worse, because it immediately raises a series of questions. If, Archbishop Makarios, who boasts of being the strongest and the most durable leader in his own Community, cannot at this juncture dare to take a firm, categorical and definite stand to remove from the political horizon the shadow of Enosis what other lesser Greek Cypriot leader could do so in the future? And if the Enosis claim is as strong as all that, would it not be sheer naivety or, if the expression is pardoned, stupidity to pretend that it did not exist?

Playing false

"Morally and logically Makarios is in an untenable position. Either he is a failure and a deserter, who abandoned his cause, though he had solemnly sworn to fight for Enosis to the last and had called for the people's sacrifices to that end. Or he has not abandoned hope of Enosis and will repudiate the Zurich and London agreements at the right moment so playing false with Britain, Turkey and Greece. Or his campaign for Enosis, was never sincere, but only a cloak for his own ambitions. You may reject any two of these

statements, but not all three", predicted Mr. Stanley Mayes (8) a well known expert on Middle Eastern Affairs, soon after the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements.

From the events that have taken place since December 1963, when a well organized pre-planned attack was launched against the Turkish Community following the declaration of Archbishop Makarios that the Treaty of Guarantee ensuring the continuity of Independence of Cyprus was no longer in force, has become crystal clear, that the second alternative of Mr. Mayes' above quoted predictions (that Archbishop Makarios in fact had not abandoned 'Enosis' and that he was playing false when he signed the Zurich and London Agreements) was absolutely correct. In fact according to a secret plan of action — the AKRITAS PLAN — which came to light in 1966 from the publications of a Greek Cypriot newspaper, it is admitted that the whole of the problems artificially created in Cyprus by Archbishop Makarios and his followers is based on duplicity and false pretences. (See Appendix A for the AKRITAS PLAN). The main objective set about to be achieved by this plan is 'Enosis'. The plan gives extensive details how and in what manner this objective is to be concealed from world public opinion and it says that "under these circumstances we stand a good chance of success in influencing world public opinion if we base our struggle not on Enosis but on self-determination." (9)

No wonder why in the course of the implementation of this ghastly plan since 1963, in the vocabulary of Archbishop Makarios and his followers 'Enosis' and 'self-determination' have come to be used as synonyms.

As W.T. Adams, a student of Cypriot affairs, very rightly observed: "For most Greek Cypriots, however, 'self-determination', which the communists preach with ostensible enthusiasm, and 'Enosis' which they privately dislike, are one and the same thing." (10)

Unfettered Independence

During the present phase of the conflict a new word was added by Archbishop Makarios to his synonyms of 'Enosis', i.e. 'unfettered independence'. This had to be done because we had indicated to various U.N. authorities and officials that it was perhaps the first time in the history of U.N. that the head of an independent, sovereign republic was claiming from it the application of the principle of 'self-determination' to the state of which he was the head! The principle of 'self-determination' was incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure 'equal rights' to all peoples irrespective of their numerical strength and thus pave the way for their independence. The irony of the situation was such that Makarios had to adopt a different perhaps less contradictory, cliché to give a flavour of 'liberation struggle' to his 'putsch' for Enosis! So, it had been argued by the Archbishop's representatives at the U.N. that the present Constitution of the Republic and the Treaties giving birth to it, were a 'fetter' on its independence and Sovereignty and had to be discarded because they were contrary to Article 103 of the U.N. Charter. They said that "equal rights of full independence and sovereignty - as prescribed by the Charter - including, of course the right of "self-determination, automatically rendered the present Zurich - London Agreements invalid." (11)

As indicated by Professor Linda B. Miller along with many other eminent experts and jurists, "carrying these arguments to their logical conclusion would entail abrogation of the Austrian State Treaty as well as the Cyprus treaties. The Charter makes no presumption about the automatic invalidation of treaties concluded before a state joins the Organization, although Article 103 does place the Charter at the top of hierarchy of international agreements."

"Moreover, the Charter does not prescribe the right of 'self-determination' in Article 4 or in any Article." (12)

Now let us see how Makarios himself explains this equivocation at home to his own flock.

In an interview with the Greek Cypriot daily Eleftheria on 12th January, 1966, replying to a criticism that the resolution of non-aligned countries on Cyprus steered through the XXth session of the U.N. General Assembly should have included direct reference to Enosis, Archbishop Makarios, who had on 9th January, declared that the U.N. resolution did not exclude Enosis, stated: **"It has been said that the draft resolution ought to have spoken clearly of 'self-determination' - 'ENOSIS', and that in other words, we ought to have gone to the U.N. with 'Open books'. But the contents of our 'books', in order to be understood, should have been framed in a comprehensible language. In the language and terminology of the U.N. the term 'self-determination' applies to non-self-governing territories, while the word 'ENOSIS' is unknown in the terminology of the World Organization, and also a subject not coming under its jurisdiction."**

I know, I would not be doing justice to the Greek Cypriot born U.S. Professor, Stanley Kyriakides, in the eyes of his former compatriots, if I say that I could not agree with him more when he says that **"if by independence we mean 'unfettered' independence, where the majority rules and the minority's rights are guaranteed, this solution must be excluded.. 'unfettered' independence would entail the right of 'self-determination', which may lead to 'Enosis'". (13)**

Most recent example of duplicity and equivocation in the handling of Cyprus problem is given by Arch. Makarios on the occasion of his official visit to the People's Republic of China which took place from 17th to 24th May, 1974.

Seizing upon the Chinese policy to give support to the protection of the independence of small countries vis-a-vis threats from great powers, Archbishop Makarios attempted to enlist the support of the Chinese Leaders for his Enosis putsch.

This is his misleading statement at the official dinner of the Vice-Premier of China given in his honour on 18th May 1974.

"We are continuously threatened, and pressures are being brought upon us to accept a solution contrary to the will of our people. We shall resist threats and continue the struggle for the safeguarding of an independent, sovereign and

unitary state with the conviction that we are not alone but are supported by all countries adhering to the same principles."

No doubt, both Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot Community are in the vanguard of those adhering to these noble principles. Those who have followed the events taking place in Cyprus since 1963 will clearly understand that had it not been for the resistance of Turkish Cypriots and objections from Turkey, Cyprus would have long been united to Greece. In fact, a few days before his departure to China, Archbishop Makarios made this point quite clear by admitting that if he were to be given the freedom of choice between "Independence" and "Enosis", he would prefer Enosis. (See Greek P.I.O. press release No. 1 for 16th May 1974)

What about Grivas and Eoka 'B'?

Despite the fact that since 1968 no efforts have been spared by the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot side to bring about a peaceful solution to the problems confronting Cyprus, the same cannot be said to be true for the Greek Cypriot side. Although, intercommunal talks have been started with the blessings and welcome efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General in 1968, Archbishop Makarios and his colleagues never stopped publicly expressing loyalty for 'Enosis' and thereby kindling the fire of extremist feelings towards the Turkish Community. At the same time, war-like activities, such as importation secretly by the Greek Cypriot Administration or huge quantities of arms, continued.

Thus, the first phase of the intercommunal talks ended in deadlock in August, 1971.

Enter Grivas

General Grivas, the military leader of the 'Enosis' campaign who had by his own account, twice been 'betrayed' by Archbishop Makarios and made a 'scapegoat' for his misdeeds in the Ayios Theodoros and Kophinou incidents of 1967, 'clandestinely returned to Cyprus in September, 1971 with the connivance and active support of Greece.

The return of Grivas to Cyprus, in breach of the undertaking given by Greece to Turkey following the 1967 war crisis, caused a serious setback in the efforts that were being made for the reactivation of the intercommunal talks, apart from posing a serious threat to the general security situation in the island.

Although basically the two men had exactly the same objective at heart — the union of Cyprus with Greece — they differed in the manner and method of achieving it. It transpired from the meetings Makarios and Grivas had at the time that the latter was planning to use the 'deadlock' in the talks as an excuse to re-start an 'EOKA' style armed campaign to bring about 'Enosis' as **'fait-acompli'**. On the other hand Makarios, who had been rebuked in 1964 and 1967 by Premiers George Papandreou and George Papadopoulos for acting unilaterally and dangerously, already knew that in the face of determined reaction by Turkey, Greece would back down, so he disagreed with Grivas's demand for an immediate declaration of Enosis at all costs. His policy for achieving 'Enosis' was through a process of staged grinding pressure on the Turks — economic and political. But he told Grivas (in a letter addressed to him on 4.5.1972) that **'he would not hesitate to change the political line to 'Enosis', if the Greek Government was also agreeable to such a change'.**

Makarios was consistent in his tactics of achieving 'Enosis', because in October, 1971, he had declared that he would 'unhesitatingly proclaim 'Enosis', if Greece were prepared to share the responsibilities for the repercussions from such a venture.' But Grivas, whose pride had been deeply hurt because of the manner in which he had been removed from the scene in 1959 (following the Zurich Agreement) and in 1967 (following the Kophinou crisis), did not trust Makarios's logic or motive and, therefore, could not see that a head-on clash with the Turks over 'Enosis' would not be viewed in a favourable light by the Eastern-Western, or by the non-aligned blocs.

Another reason for which Grivas had to oppose Makarios and try to bring about his downfall, was the 'most favoured ally' treatment the latter had been according to the 'left' in and outside Cyprus. This was an aspect which had been worrying the Junta in Athens depending their suspicion of Makarios. The Archbishop's self-reliant, boastful assurances in private conversation, that he was merely using the left for "removing the many constraints on Cyprus's independence" (14) and that he would ease them out as soon as their usefulness was over, failed to make any impression on Grivas (who was a fanatical enemy of the communists) or the military government in Athens.

Whether Makarios is able to outsmart the communists now or later, is a controversial question, but Makarios is so deeply and irrevocably attached to the Enosis concept that he will, as he publicly declared many times, accept support and assistance from any quarter — without stopping to think about the consequences of such blind zeal. He told a German newspaper in 1963 and 1967 that he would prefer the communists to the Turks in Cyprus! Makarios's reluctance to accept the 'leadership' of the national centre — Athens — in the handling of the Cyprus issue is due to his fear that under pressure Athens might give some rights to the Turks that might prejudice his future plans for reaching out for 'Enosis', and getting, 'Enosis' without much opposition from the Turks in Cyprus and any danger from Turkey. This is the basis of Makarios's scheme and arguments.

Makarios openly claims that he works for the union of Cyprus with Greece without any concessions to or compromises with the Turks. He is convinced that he is the only man who knows how, in good time, to steer the helm of the Cyprus ship safely into the Enosis harbour, so he was not prepared to take any lessons from anybody on this score. This mentality of Archbishop Makarios is amply demonstrated in his many replies to Grivas and his supporters when they accuse him of selling out on Enosis. This is what he said on 5/11/1972 at Akaki village as reported in Greek Cypriot press: "Those who disagree with the way of handling of the Cyprus national problem and call themselves Enosists, accuse and call others - the overwhelming majority of the Greek Cypriot people - anti - enosists.

"The charge is false and inadmissible. All Greek Cypriots are and will be Enosists." Later in September, 1973, in an interview with a news correspondent he said: "... I would not disagree with General (Grivas) if, firmly adhering to Enosis, he rejected any other solution of the Cyprus problem. I am not in disagreement with the national target he is aiming at."

And, to the specific accusations this was his reply: "...I can now disclose that I have stated clearly and categorically to Greek Governments from time to time that I would unhesitatingly proclaim Enosis, if I had the consent to this end, that is if Greece were prepared to accept Enosis and share the responsibilities for the repercussions from such a venture." (15)

Could there be a more emphatic and clear statement from a man who has all his life tried to symbolise 'Enosis'?

On 25.4.1974, Archbishop Makarios declared that the 'EOKA B' terror organisation would be proscribed. This was taken in some diplomatic circles as a bold decision on his part to root out terroristic activities aiming at Enosis. But this optimistic hope was destined, to be of a very short duration. Because, no sooner had the said statement was made by Makarios than his Official Spokesman, to wit, the Director of the Greek P.I.O., Mr. Christodoulou, came up with the following explanatory statement to the Greek Cypriot news correspondents: "The real aim of 'EOKA B' is not Enosis. The true aim of this organisation is something else but it is trying to smoke - screen this under the Enosis slogan."

It is interesting to note that this statement was made in reply to a question inquiring whether after the proscription of 'EOKA B', any ENOSIS propaganda would be illegal too.

This statement, as published in all Greek Cypriot dailies on 26th April 1974, clearly shows that by proscribing 'EOKA B', Makarios did not at all intend to root out Enosis. On the contrary, he tried to emphasize his long term Enosis campaign by severing 'EOKA B' from such objective.

This is also confirmed by his own statement published just before he proscribed EOKA B. In reply to a question that the opposition accused him of going back on promises he gave to Gen. Grivas on Enosis, this is what Makarios said: "My whole life and conduct is characterised by consistency of words and deeds and especially by a sense of responsibility in the handling of the national problem of Cyprus (i.e. Enosis). Neither to Grivas nor to anyone else did I ever give a promise which I did not keep. The opposition's accusations are completely untrue."

Conclusion:

Unfortunately some people still argue even at this late hour that Makarios is not after Enosis but merely paying lip-service to it in order to keep his position.

As far as the Turks are concerned the material point is not what Makarios personally wants but what the 'President of Cyprus Republic' should do to remove Enosis from the political horizon once and for all. Apart from the fact that he does not do anything to that end, he still continues to repeat the same things which he has been saying since 1950 - 51. His attitude has been too consistent all along to allow any glimmer of hope in anybody that he will give up everything that he has stood for so long.

No matter what Archbishop Makarios may say to the foreign diplomats behind closed doors, as very rightly indicated by Professor Purcell, "his true sentiments are probably expressed in the speeches he makes to his own people. He works for Enosis, which will take time, for he is determined to bring the whole of Cyprus island into union with Greece." (16)

The purpose of this booklet is to help remove the flimsy façade behind which Archbishop Makarios has been endeavouring to appear on the international platform as the champion of freedom, democracy and self - determination, while aiming at the creation a of situation absolutely contrary to the *raison d'être* of these principles. It is also intended to familiarize the reader with the Archbishop's arrogant policy statements at home in favour of Enosis which have so far served no purpose other than bringing the intercommunal talks to a dead end twice in three years time.

For the Turkish Cypriot Community Enosis has meant, for generations, their complete destruction. After going through the bitter experiences of the last ten years of Greek assaults and brutalities which were carried out in the name of Enosis, despite the UN presence in Cyprus, Enosis for the Turks is the very question of life and death. Therefore, it is small comfort to them to be told to stake all their future, well-being and existence in their homeland, on the meagre assumption that Enosis may not be practically feasible. For, they know that Makarios, and the Greek Orthodox church which he represents are definitely bent on bringing it about in the long-run and they do not even make any secret of it.

Had this not been the case, the answer to be given by Makarios to the following question would have been a straight forward "Yes".

"Is the Cypriot Government willing to support the policy of independence in future by openly denouncing Enosis?"

Instead, his answer was in the negative. This is what he said:

"To me independence is a compromise.

In other words, if I had a free choice between Enosis and independence I would support Enosis." (cf. Greek P.I.O. Press release No. 1 of 16.5.1974, giving the full text of an interview with Mr. Peter Rhode of "Frankfurter Rundschau").

Writers always maintain that Truth is stranger than Fiction. The following pages, it is hoped, will help to prove it. Let therefore Makarios be judged by his own words because not even "the devil himself knoweth what the mind of the man is".

Osma N. ÖREK

Nicosia,
July, 1974

- (1) STEPHENS, Robert, *Cyprus: A Place of Arms*
London; Pall Mall Press, 1966. p. 181
- (2) U THANT, U.N. Document S/5950, 10 Sept. 1964, para 221
- (3) U THANT, U.N. Document S/5950, para. 389
- (4) cf. Greek Cypriot Official PIO Press release for 19.2.1973
- (5) PURCELL, H.D. *Cyprus*, Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1969, p. 389
- (6) MIKES, George, *Eureka!*, Andre Deutsch Ltd., London, 1965, p. 116
- (7) WEIR, W.W. *Education in Cyprus*, Nicosia Cosmos Press, 1952, p. 17
- (8) MAYES, Stanley, *Cyprus and Makarios's*; London, 1960. p. 249
- (9) cf. Appendix A.
- (10) ADAMS, T. W. Cottrel, Alvin J. *Cyprus Between East and West*, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1969 p. 23
- (11) Z. ROSSIDES. *The New York Times*, June 26, 1964 (A letter to the Editor.)
- (12) MILLER, Linda B, *World Order and Local Disorder*, Princeton University Press, 1967 p. 132
- (13) KYRIAKIDES, Stanley. *Cyprus, Constitutionalism and Crisis Government*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968. p. 169.
- (14) cf. Greek Cypriot PIO press release and Statement to "Le Point" on 19.2.1973
- (15) cf. Greek Cypriot PIO Press release on 29.10.1971 and Greek Cypriot newspapers for 16.8.1973
- (16) PURCELL, H. D. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

CHAPTER I

INTERNATIONAL OPINION ON MAKARIOS' STAND VIS-A-VIS ENOSIS

Percy Arnold:

"His successor was another Makarios, destined to become internationally known for his leadership of the Enosis movement."

"Cyprus Challenge" 1956
Hoggarth Press, p. 203

Harold Macmillan:

"The position of Archbishop Makarios, apparently the protagonist of the Enosis movement, was also complicated by his own interests and that of the Church."

Riding the Storm, 1956-1959
London, 1971
p. 658.

Anthony Eden:

"The Ethnarchy, headed by Archbishop Makarios, which had much influence upon opinion in the island, openly preached in favour of Enosis."

Full Circle,
London, 1960
p. 396.

Stanley Mayes:

"Morally and logically Makarios is in an untenable position. Either he is a failure and a deserter, who abandoned his cause, though he had solemnly sworn to fight for Enosis to the last and had called for the people's sacrifices to that end. Or he has not abandoned hope of Enosis and will repudiate the Zurich and London agreements at the right moment, so playing false with Britain, Turkey and Greece. Or his campaign for Enosis was never sincere, but only a cloak for his own ambitions. You may reject any two of these statements, but not all three. In the first chapter of this book — which was written before the settlement— I suggested that Makarios may be influenced as much by his eighteenth-century predecessors who dominated the Turks in Cyprus as by more recent Archbishops who have advocated Enosis. Yet Makarios's ambitions have gone beyond the borders of Cyprus. He may have seen himself as Prime Minister of Greece. The Greeks fear him more than Grivas, who is now dismissed as a buffoon. Even before the settlement, many Greeks spoke of Makarios privately as their country's 'evil genius'."

Cyprus and Makarios
London, 1960
p. 249.

George Mikes:

"Cyprus is an independent state, a member of the U.N., a factor in international politics: is it really such an attraction to become a province of Greece? Makarios is President of an independent state; does he really want to become archbishop of a small island? He says he does. He said so to me. Otherwise he speaks of 'unrestricted independence' only; once that is achieved, Cyprus will decide what to do."

Eureka
London, 1965
p. 113

**Florence Elliott and Michael Summerskill:
Makarios:**

"He advocated Enosis (Union with Greece) but opinion varied as to the extent of his responsibility for the acts of violence that took place in Cyprus."

A Dictionary of Politics,
Fifth Edition, Penguin Reference Books,
Bristol, U.K. 1966
p. 35

Cyprus:

"An Enosis uprising in 1931 reached such serious proportions that the legislative council was suspended and two bishops were exiled. Later the movement, led by the Ethnarch, Archbishop Makarios, q.v., united two parties; the right wing, pledged to support the Greek monarchy; and the Communist Reform Party of Working People, known as A.K.E.L."

Ibid: p. 29

**Queen Frederica of Greece (in a letter to Prime Minister
W. Churchill of England on 29th March 1956):**

"Since the Archbishop left there has been a minor clash between the Turks and the Greeks. Our Prime Minister in his declaration before the deportation of the Archbishop after the talks had broken down, expressed his sorrow over the breakdown of the conversations and mentioned that Greece would after all be willing to discuss the safeguarding of not only British bases in Cyprus but also anywhere they like. Some of our islands are far more suitable as a base than Cyprus itself. Greece is perhaps the only country that I know that says to the British, "Come in, we welcome your bases on our territory," while other countries kick them out."

"A Measure of Understanding"
Macmillan, London, 1971, p. 191

"To the astonishment of all, instead of the churches being crowded with worshippers, bullets suddenly began to sing into the Turkish quarters in Nicosia and, simultaneously into most

of their outlying villages and communities. Dead and wounded Turks were everywhere. This was a shocking experience, setting off a chain of events which finally compelled the President of the United States to invite the Prime Ministers of Greece and Turkey to come, successively, to Washington, with a view to establishing harmony out of the discordant cacophony."

"How could Makarios permit such a deplorable course to be embarked upon by the forces underneath his direct command? The answer lies in the medieval mind and ways of thought which he had inherited from his predecessors in his archiepiscopal seat. His thinking is definitely that of the sixteenth century, and hopelessly out of tune with the whole atmosphere and tenor of our modern democratic society."

Rev. Campbell McKinnon in
"Turkey and Greece,"
Vantage Press, New York, 1968
p. 47

"By the end of 1948, Bishop MAKARIOS organized the Ethnarchy Bureau with himself as Director. The Bureau published an illustrated monthly magazine, *Helleniki Kypros* (Greek Cyprus) to promote the ENOSIS movement. Makarios's youthfulness and administrative abilities, therefore, gave new impetus to ENOSIS."

Cyprus, Constitutionalism and Crisis Govern-
ment, Pennsylvania U.S.A., 1968 p. 35.

"In his powerful position as Archbishop, Makarios was able to unite the Greek Cypriot community in the ENOSIS drive against the British; and later on, as Archbishop-President against Turkish and Turkish Cypriot opposition."

Ibid: p. 29.

James A. Stegenga:

"By the mid-1950's Greece, no longer dependent on British aid and under great pressure from Makarios, began at last to take the side of the Greek Cypriots urging enosis."

The United Nations Force in Cyprus,
Ohio, U.S.A., 1968, p. 19.

Thomas W. Adams and Alwin J. Cottrel, of U.S.A.:

"The Communist Party of Cyprus still found it advantageous to continue — at least ostensibly — endorsing Makarios' pro-enosis arguments."

Cyprus Between East and West
Baltimore, 1968, p. 50.

Professor Franz George Maier of Germany:

"The Cypriot problem now grew into a continuous crisis, which only ended when Cyprus became an independent re-

public. The moving figure behind these events was the former Bishop of Kitium, who was elected Archbishop as Makarios III in October 1950. With this young, popular and energetic prince of the Church, Enosis not only gained a new impetus but also a universally acknowledged leader."

"Cyprus, From Earliest Times to the Present Day", London, 1968, p. 151.

Professor H. D. Purcell of Belfast University:

"Makarios' qualities of leadership and his zeal for ENOSIS soon became even more widely recognised, so that on 18 October 1950 he was elected Archbishop."

"Makarios was active from the beginning in promoting the Enotist course".

Cyprus, London, 1960, p. 252.

Andreas Papandreou:

"Makarios visited Athens in April (1964). He and my father, who was handling personally all aspects of the Cyprus problem, reached complete agreement on four principles:

- 1) To seek a solution of the problem only through the U.N.;
- 2) That the ultimate target, the basic orientation was ENOSIS;
- 3) That every effort should be made not to provoke Turks;
- 4) That Greece would come to the aid of Makarios' Government if Turkey attacked.

"Democracy at Gun Point" Andre Deutch, London 1970, p. 100

Fernand Gigon:

"The Chief of State, Ethnarch Makarios, His Beatitude, as he prefers to be called, enjoys unadulterated prestige among his compatriots. One could almost look upon him as a Cypriot, if he did not repeatedly declare: "We are fighting for Enosis until death." He is a subtle man and has a Byzantine style beard. He lives in contradictions like a fish in water. He immediately gives ten different answers to a question, each one cunning than the other..."

Extract from an article on Cyprus in Swiss periodical "Radio-TV Je Vois Tout" of 28th January, 1971.

Bruce Van Voorst:

"Don't forget that Makarios is a Byzantine", one Cypriot told me. "What he says is one thing, what he means is another, and what he'll do is a third."

Newsweek Magazine, 23 August, 1971, p. 17.

EXAMPLES FROM MAKARIOS' ENOSIS STATEMENTS PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE

"The actors of the [Enosis] movement are the Greek Cypriots through the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus, who received the British presence in Cyprus as an opportunity to achieve their long-desired aspiration to unite Cyprus with 'Mother Greece'."

Stanley Kyriakides-Cyprus, Constitutionalism and Crisis Government, 1968, p. 7.

"I take the holy oath that I shall work for the birth of our national freedom and shall never waiver from our policy of annexing Cyprus to Mother Greece."

On his election as Archbishop on 20th October, 1950.

"We denounce the British Colonial rule in Cyprus and we claim Self-determination and Union with Greece."

In a cable to the President of the Committee for Non-Self-Governing Territories in September, 1951.

"Our youth will give new support for ENOSIS. Let the young men of Cyprus hold high the standard of struggle."

In an address to Greek Cypriot Youth on 13th January, 1952.

"The Cyprus issue is a Panhellenic demand and the postponement of the settlement of this issue naturally poisons the relations between Greece and Britain."

From a statement to Athens Radio on 18 June, 1952.

"I warmly thank the Greek people, for the way in which they have indentified themselves with the cause of Enosis; your leaders however, did not respect your demand that the Cyprus question should be submitted to the United Nations."

From a farewell message through Athens Radio, to Greek People on his departure from Athens on 25th July, 1952.

"Our aim is ENOSIS and only ENOSIS.. We shall not struggle only abroad; we shall give the battle in our own country."

In the course of a sermon at Troodhitissa Monastery on 15th August, 1954.

"If the Greek application to the United Nations fails, the struggle must be continued by all means."

In the course of a sermon in Nicosia in September, 1954.

"Carry on the ENOSIS struggle, defying dangers and even sacrificing your lives for the cause."

In a speech on 1st May, 1955 to Greek Cypriot Youth.

"The epic grandeur and glory of EOKA's liberation struggle had laid the foundation-stone of national freedom. This freedom it was their sacred duty to safeguard and complete. National struggles never come to an end. They merely change their form, preserving deep down the same substance and the same content.. The realization of our hopes and aspirations is not complete under the Zurich and London Agreements.... The glorious liberation struggle, whose fifth anniversary we celebrate to-day, has secured for us advanced bastions and impregnable strongholds for our independence. From these bastions we will continue the struggle to complete victory. There is nothing impossible for man when he works for something and believes in it. Let us therefore work with faith for the future of our country and let us be certain that the task we began five years ago will soon be completed and bear fruit."

In the course of an address made at OHEN premises in Nicosia on 1st April, 1960 in celebrating the fifth anniversary of EOKA.

CHAPTER III

MAKARIOS' STATEMENTS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY RELATING TO ENOSIS AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN AUGUST, 1960 TO DECEMBER, 1963

"E.O.K.A. was acting not in the name of independence, which is common form in colonial agitations, but in the name of ENOSIS. Eoka received direct support from Greece in money, arms, organization and propaganda."

Eden, in Full Circle, p. 395

"For the first time in eight centuries the government of the Island passed into Greek hands."

On his election as the President-elect of the Republic on 13th Nov., 1959.

"The cause of Enosis has not died. I cannot say that Enosis has been forgotten."

In a statement to the New York Herald Tribune on 27th September, 1960.

"The noble struggles of the people never come to an end. These struggles, although undergo transformation, are never terminated. The struggle of the people of Cyprus too, will go on.

"The Zurich and London Agreements form a landmark in the course of this struggle, but, at the same time, are a starting-point and bastion for further struggles, with the object of capitalising on what has been achieved for further conquests."

From a speech delivered on 5th January, 1962

"The historical fate of our people has been directed towards the ideals which have inspired our 4000-year-old courageous struggle. We shall shape the national future of our people in the light lit by the sacrifices of our dead."

During the opening ceremony of an ecclesiastical building in Famagusta on 8th January, 1962.

"I am sure that the national ideals which took root during the brave struggle for freedom are guiding our people towards their historical fate by also inspiring our youth today. For us, these ideals are the seeds of our national life. They are the basis of our purpose and objectives. Finally, they are indicative of the grandeur of our race."

In a message to the First Youth Festival opened in Limassol on 25th March, 1962.

"During our heroic struggle for four years, the ideals which inspired our people created grandeur in the spirit of Cyprus with their godly flames. This sublimity will always light the national course of Cypriot Hellenes."

During the opening ceremony of a Cyprus Struggle Museum and the EOKA monument in the Museum's garden on 1st April, 1962.

"Greek Cypriots must continue to march forward to complete the work began by the Eoka heroes. The struggle is continuing in a new form, and will go on until we achieve our goal..."

During a sermon at Kykko Monastery on 15th August, 1962.

"Unless this small Turkish Community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated."

From a speech at Panayia village on 4th September, 1962.

"It is unnecessary to repeat that Cyprus has been united to this national Capital (meaning Athens) throughout centuries. Cyprus, living in the world of common Greek ideals, has arranged her existence according to the sublime ideals emanating from the shadow of Acropolis. Cyprus, since the dawn of history, has been Hellenism's bridge extending to the East. Our long history shows that Cyprus has intermingled with Greek ideals."

In a message to King Paul of Greece on 29th September, 1962.

"The Greek Cypriots will never turn their eyes away from this Capital (meaning Athens). The Greek Cypriot people, irrespective of the political qualification of Cyprus, have always regarded Greece as a motherland, and have borne her ideals. They have been inspired by these ideals. These common ideals form the strength which gives the Cypriot people the spirit of moulding their future."

In a statement to journalists at Irodotos Attikos building in Athens on 1st October, 1962

"The national direction and the goal of the struggle have not changed. Those who have shown the courage and the strength of turning a barn at Liopetri into a Thermophylae will guide us."

In the course of an address during a ceremony held for the unveiling of the bust of EOKA fighter Iliia Papakyriakou at Ashia village on 21st October, 1962.

"Even if the means and methods change or are postponed, the goal in an extremely tiring and arduous cause, such as the materialization of the national aspirations of peoples, never changes. Unity emanating from the common purpose, to which we are all attached, is necessary. We must, therefore, work constantly and firmly because struggles for freedom never end."

During the unveiling ceremony of EOKA fighter Marcos Drakos' bust on 28th October, 1962.

"We shall move ahead with determination towards the direction indicated by our dead heroes. Despite all difficulties we shall continue in this direction. With courage and determination we shall overcome obstacles, defeat hardships and mould our future according to our aspirations and hopes. Today's ceremony is not only to honour a hero but to reaffirm our adherence to the ideals and purposes for which this hero sacrificed his life."

During the unveiling ceremony of the bust of EOKA fighter Miltiades Stylianou at Tala village on 17th February, 1963.

"The aim of the Cyprus struggle was not the establishment of a Republic. These Agreements only laid the foundations."

From a statement on 13th March, 1963.

"As we kneel before the graves of our martyrs, we hear them shout: 'Forward, beyond the graves'. This voice, which is gushing out of the graves is urging us to strive forward. The struggle did not end. It is continuing. The armed struggle ended, but it is continuing in a different form so that the present may be appraised and the future conquered."

"Although this is incomplete, it is still victory. It forms a new epoch and a new chapter in our forward strides. It is a rampart on the course towards conquering the future. It is disclosing the nature of this future, the meaning and conception of the glorious anniversary which we are celebrating to-day."

From a speech delivered on 1st April, 1963.

"Union of Cyprus with Greece is an aspiration always cherished within the hearts of all Greek Cypriots. It is impossible to put an end to this aspiration by establishing a Republic."

In a statement to the correspondent of London TIMES on 9th April, 1963.

"The agreements do not form the goal, they are the present and not the future. The Greek Cypriot people will continue their national cause and shape their future in accordance with their will. The Zurich and London Agreements have a number of positive elements but also negative ones, and the Greeks will work to take advantage of the positive elements and get rid of the negative ones."

From a speech delivered on 27th July, 1963.

"It is true that the goal of our struggle is to annex Cyprus to Greece."

In an interview published in Uusi Suomi of Stockholm on 5th September, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

MAKARIOS' ENOSIS STATEMENTS AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF INTERCOMMUNAL FIGHT IN DECEMBER, 1963 TO DATE

"It was most unfortunate for us all that Makarios, in 1963 imagined that the flight created by Khrushchev at the time of the Hungarian rebellion had sufficiently evaporated for him to re-open the hostilities which the London agreement had temporarily interrupted. He then embarked on a course which utterly surprised the Turkish population in Cyprus. They never imagined that a Christian leader would choose the eve of Christmas to launch a blood-thirsty attack upon many Turkish communities simultaneously."

*Rev. Campbell McKinnon in
"Turkey and Greece,"
Vantage Press, New York, 1968
p. 47.*

"With regard to the solution of the Cyprus problem, the Union of Cyprus with Greece is the wish of the Cypriot people and myself."

*In an interview with 'Suddeutsche Zeitung'
Munich, 25th March, 1964.*

"We declare once again that the Parthenon is the final goal of our struggle and we shall reach that goal irrespective of the obstacles we might encounter."

*In a speech at Yeroskipos village on 6th May
1964.*

"My ambition is to accomplish the union of Cyprus with Greece. ... I will unite Cyprus integrally with Greece, and then the borders of Greece will extend to the shores of North Africa."

*In an interview with 'Mahl', Nicosia, 21st
August 1964.*

"It is my wish and prayer that you be the last, and your term of office, in this capacity, be of very short duration, with the early materialization of Union of Cyprus with Greece."

On the occasion of the presentation of credentials by the new Greek Ambassador in Cyprus, 27th August 1964.

"If I have any ambition, it is to link my name with the union of Cyprus with Greece. The expansion of Greece's boundaries up to the shores of North Africa, through the union of Cyprus. This is my only ambition, for the realization of which I shall continue to struggle till death."

In an interview with 'Apoyevmatini', 8th September 1964.

"I want something higher than being a temporary President of Cyprus. My ambition is to connect my name with history as the architect of Enosis."

In an interview with 'Washington Post' 20th September 1964

"The real victory will be achieved when Cyprus will be annexed to Greece without any concessions whatsoever."

In an interview with 'Ethniki', 1st October 1964.

"Greece has become Cyprus, and Cyprus is Greece. I firmly believe that the panhellenic struggle for the union of Cyprus with fatherland Greece will shortly be crowned with success, and its success will serve as the beginning of a new era of Greek grandeur and glory."

At a luncheon party in honour of the visiting Greek Defence Minister, 27th October, 1964.

"What is our desire? We have proclaimed it many times: Our union with the motherland, eternal Greece. What will our reply be if such a solution is made difficult and if some think compromises are required or that something should be given in return? No is the reply, and the struggle will continue until full justification."

Speaking at Paralimni Church, 3rd November, 1964.

"Greek virtue and Greek ideals will determine our steps and our steps lead to Greece, the eternal fatherland, and our national aspirations for which our heroes fight and die."

Speaking at Eylenja village, 15th November 1964.

"Perhaps many obstacles will be placed in the way of our national march to Enosis. However, I believe that in full co-operation and concord with Greece, and following the common course we have laid down together with the Greek Pre-

mier, we will overcome obstacles and arrive at the desired goal."

At a luncheon, he gave in honour of the visiting Greek Coordination Minister, 21st November, 1964.

"I am for Enosis and shall always stand for it. But it must be genuine Enosis without curbs or strings."

In an interview with 'Phileleftheros', 21st November, 1964.

"I emphasized that the union of Cyprus with Greece must be a union of the whole island, including all areas..."

In an official statement in Nicosia, 24th November, 1964.

"We shall reach our ultimate aim of Enosis.."

In his New Year's message. 31st December, 1964.

"We have drawn this strength from our Greek soul, and it is our firm and irrevocable resolve to continue resisting, defending, and fighting for the ideals of liberty and self-determination through which we shall accomplish the national aspirations and dreams of panhellenism — the Enosis of Cyprus with the great mother, Greece.

"United and with one mind, we will firmly march straight along the line laid down jointly with the Greek Government until the final goal. The goal and object of the struggle is and continues to be Enosis."

Speaking at the Greek Cypriot Young Women's Christian Orthodox Union, 3rd January, 1965.

"Our Enosis aim is getting stronger every passing day. This land is Greek since the beginning of history. The aim of the actual struggle is Enosis."

In a speech at Kyrenia, 10th January, 1965.

"The road to liberty may be hard and difficult to climb. But at the end of it Enosis awaits."

"The goal of the EOKA struggle and of all our struggles have been Enosis. Hellenism of Cyprus is determined to struggle until the victory, Enosis."

In speeches made at various villages visited on 13th January, 1965.

"Their existence here (the Greek Army Officers) is evidence not only of the support, but of the presence of Greece in Cyprus, and that the struggle is common and so are the aims."

Reported in 'Cyprus Mail', 5th February, 1965.

"Cyprus is part of Greece and Enosis is written in the future of Cyprus, the goal of our fight is always Enosis."

"Every moment we live today belongs to eternity. It is dictated by the past and it prescribes the future. And the future is our union with Greece, of which Cyprus is an inalienable part."

In a speech on 1st March, 1965.

"We stand united in the present struggle to ensure the security and integrity of our island and its union with motherland Greece. Enosis has been a goal aspired to and cherished by Greek Cypriots for generations. Each passing moment gives shape to our destiny; and this destiny can have no other meaning than Enosis. It can be nothing else than the union of Cyprus with Greece But before Cyprus could unite with Greece, Greece has already united with Cyprus. Greece has sent her sons to struggle and die if necessary for their beloved brethren on the island."

In a speech during a visit to the Greek Military Camps in Cyprus on 2nd March, 1965

"The happy end is Enosis".

In a statement on 14th March, 1965.

"I have already declared on previous occasions in most clear and unequivocal terms that I have always struggled for Enosis, and I declare now with the same emphasis that I shall continue this struggle until the end of my life. If it were not for Enosis, I would have had no serious reasons to enter into this struggle and lead the Battle of Cyprus."

In a statement to the Greek Cypriot press on 24th March, 1965.

"Union with Greece continues to be the goal of the Cypriot peoples' struggle The road to Enosis is full of obstacles, but nothing will prevent us from reaching it."

In a speech at the opening of a bazaar in Nicosia, 'New York Times', 5th April, 1965

"The Cyprus Government disagreed with the recommendation of the United Nations Mediator in his recommendation

that the exercise of self-determination should be short of Enosis."

Reported in the 'Cyprus Mail', 9th April 1965

"I have repeatedly declared that we accept demilitarization of the country on the understanding however that the island was united to Greece and formed part of the Greek State."

In a statement to Athens News Agency on 9th April, 1965.

"We shall not give an inch. The struggle will continue until genuine Enosis."

In a speech on 14th April, 1965.

"The ideal of Enosis . . . has not yet been realized. But the struggle for its realization continues and will continue . . . and no power in the world, no adversity, no obstacle, can deflect us from this destiny."

In a public address at Limassol Stadium on 27th April, 1965.

"The steady and ultimate aim of the struggle of the Cypriot people is the Union of Cyprus with the Greek motherland. No power whatsoever can divert us from the way leading to Enosis We shall struggle until the dream of Enosis becomes a reality."

In an address at the University of Salonica on 11th May 1965.

"No power can dictate a departure from the chartered course. We shall not accept any spurious solutions to serve foreign interests. We shall not give even an inch. The struggle will continue until genuine Enosis."

In a statement at the Nicosia Airport upon his arrival from a visit to Greece on 14th May 1965

". No power is able to close the Cyprus question. We shall keep it open and will never close it under any circumstances or conditions until we close it through our union with Greece, a genuine Enosis without exchanges. We have inherited an integral Cyprus from our forefathers and an integral Cyprus we shall bequeath to our children and posterity. We have known this country as Greek . . . and Greek shall we unite it to the rest of Greece."

In a public address at Larnaca on 16th May, 1965.

"Either the whole of Cyprus is to be united with Greece or become a holocaust The road to the fulfilment of national aspirations may be full of difficulties but we shall reach the goal — which is Enosis — alive or dead."

In a speech at Rizokarpaso on 26th May, 1965.

" At a meeting held under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios on 30th September 1965, the Greek Orthodox Council of St. Synod resolved unanimously, upon the proposal of the Archbishop himself that the people of Cyprus should continue their fight to bring about Enosis. Thus the Church of Cyprus under the leadership of Archbishop Makarios renewed its "oath of Enosis", which it had previously taken in 1950 when Makarios was elected Archbishop."

Reported in Greek Cypriot daily 'Mati' dated 1st October, 1965.

"We will continue the struggle regardless of sacrifices until the national dreams of all Greeks become a reality and Greek Cyprus is united with Greece."

In a speech during a luncheon in honour of visiting Greek Deputy Premier on 17th November, 1965.

"I am sure that the talks we are having in Athens will lay the foundations for the union of Cyprus with Greece—Enosis. . . . As the leader of the (Greek) Cypriot people, I wish to give the assurance once again that Enosis remains the unchanged goal of our struggle."

In a speech on his arrival at Athens airport for talks with the Greek Government on 29th January, 1966.

"The whispers that the Cyprus leadership and people aspire to objectives other than enosis is a blasphemy to truth and an unacceptable insult."

In an address at an official dinner given in Athens by the Greek Government. Times (London), January 21st, 1966. p. 9.

"The two Governments object to any solution ruling out the island's union with Greece..."

Joint Communique issued at the end of talks between Archbishop Makarios and the Greek Government on 2nd February, 1966.

"Enosis was our single slogan in all of our struggles. Enosis was our objective when, under the pressure of realities and in order to avoid leading our mother-country into adventures, we were obliged to accept temporary solutions on the persistent advice of the Greek Government."

In a letter to the Greek Premier, dated 21st February, 1965 and published on 3rd March, 1966.

"Do not consider Cyprus a foreign land, because this is nothing but a southerly extension of Greece. The ideals of Cyprus are the ideals of all Hellenism. Being inspired by these ideals the Greeks of Cyprus are struggling for the geographical and political union of Cyprus with Greece."

In an address to a group of Athens University students visiting Cyprus on 7th April, 1966.

"In the person of you all, I greet our Mother Country. I greet eternal Greece whose presence in Cyprus is becoming a reality the Greek Cypriots and the entire Greek nation are struggling so that this great island of Cyprus is united with Greece. Long live the nation, long live the King, long live the Army, long live Enosis."

Addressing the troops from Greece sent to Cyprus surreptitiously on 9th April, 1966.

"The demand for Enosis is based on the democratic principle of self-determination. . . ."

"The idea of Enosis is a right of the people..."

In an interview with Mr. Alan Hart of Independent Television News of London transmitted on 15th June, 1966.

"Cyprus is here today in this holy place to reiterate once again that she will continue with determination and perseverance her struggle for union with Greece. We shall not abandon our ramparts until the final victory, the realization of Enosis Cyprus always draws her inspiration from the struggles and sacrifices of Crete. The eternal desire of Cyprus is to unite with motherland Greece... We draw our inspiration from Greece. We live for Greece and fight for Greece. Our only and invariable aim is Enosis... The desire and aspiration of the Greek Cypriots is to unite Cyprus as a whole with the national body. We took over Cyprus as an undivided Greek

island. We have preserved it as such. Now, we shall deliver it undivided to the mother's bosom."

Speaking at Arkadi Monastery in Crete during the centenary celebrations of the movement for the union of the Island of Crete to Greece, on 8th November, 1966.

"The Greeks of Cyprus have a strong attachment towards Greece which they consider as their motherland. Cyprus has always been Greek and the national aspirations of its people have been to unite with Greece. This feeling and aspiration cannot be uprooted."

In an interview with Dr. Mario Caretti of 'Panorama' magazine of Argentina, on 8th February, 1967.

"Our struggle is not finished yet . . . Our struggle continues and will continue until the island's union with the motherland Greece. This struggle is guaranteed by the will and determination of the Greek Cypriots."

Speaking at Pelendri village on 18th June, 1967.

"Interpreting the age-long aspirations of the Greeks of Cyprus, the House declares that despite any adverse circumstances it would not suspend the struggle being conducted with the support of all Greeks, until this struggle ends in success through the union of the whole and undivided Cyprus with the motherland, without any intermediary stage."

Resolution passed unanimously by the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives on 26th June, 1967.

"It was established for yet another time . . . the need for close contact and sincere cooperation in the handling of the national issue so that it could be given its correct and definite solution, which cannot be other than Enosis."

In a statement on his talks with the Greek Minister to the Prime Minister's Office on 12th August, 1967.

"This Panhellenic aspiration (union of Cyprus with Greece) has not been realized yet and the struggle goes on with Enosis as its firm and immutable object."

In a message to the general meeting of the Greek Volunteer Fighters Association on 22nd October, 1967.

"These ideals, which for the Greeks of Cyprus are summed up in the aspiration of union with the mother country shaped Cyprus' personality . . . We reiterate our insistence on the ideal of Enosis. . . ."

In a speech at the unveiling of a statue of a dead EOKA terrorist on 28th October, 1967.

"I received your nationalistic telegram on the occasion of 28th October celebrations. I thank you all. I want to congratulate you for your attachment to our common struggle to unite Cyprus with the Motherland Greece."

Telegram dated 28.10.1967 sent to the Federation of Greek Reserve Officers.

"You have put on the honoured uniform of the soldier to defend the Greek altars and hearths, to preserve the ancestral heritage and the sacred Greek will."

In a speech at the Military Training Centre at Paphos on 10th October, 1969.

"Whatever the difficulties are, we, the Greek Cypriots shall remain attached to Greece, and continue to regard her as our motherland."

In reply to a question put to him by a correspondent of Athens Radio on 19th January, 1970.

"With the realization of Enosis, Cyprus will become a part of Greece"

In an interview with 'Acropolis', Athens, on 24th February, 1970.

"By my policy, or rather by my struggles, I constitute a restraining element not to Enosis, but to partition."

In an interview with 'Ta Nea', Athens, on 23rd March, 1970.

"Irrespective of whether Enosis is feasible or not, as a national aspiration it cannot die."

In reply to a question put to him by William Norris of London Independent Television News on 26th March, 1970.

" And brethren from Greece fought on Cyprus soil for the freedom of the island, for the one and indivisible Greek freedom The flag of the struggle for a happier national future shall not be lowered. And the national course shall not be halted."

In a speech at Famagusta on 17th May, 1970.

".... And our people's heart is part of Greece's heart... Even if the standard-bearer falls, the standard of the struggle will not be lowered. It will be kept flying high by the Greeks of Cyprus who will firmly continue on their national course, heartened and inspired by the struggles and sacrifices of the heroes...."

Speaking during an EOKA ceremony at Paleometochi on 7th June, 1970, soon after the abortive attempt to assassinate him.

"I have always been in favour of Enosis. But due to several difficulties, particularly coming from outside factors, it has not been possible to materialize Enosis. Nevertheless, there has been no change in my feelings towards Greece."

In a statement to James Cameron of the B.B.C. on 19th June, 1970.

"The hearts of the Greeks of Cyprus, of Rhodes and of all the Dodecanese islands have a common beat. You have achieved your aspirations, but we, beset by difficulties and frustrated by foreign meddlers, are still struggling for ours. But despite all difficulties Cyprus will march on to Hellenism."

Addressing a group of visitors from the Greek island of Rhodes on 29th July, 1970.

".... I shall never violate my oath, and I shall never deviate from my goal. I have always desired Enosis, and I have never struggled for anything else other than its achievement."

In an interview with 'Eleftheros Kosmos' and 'Ta Simerina', Athens, 19th August, 1970.

"Perhaps our struggle may be long. And this struggle requires patience, persistence, a firm line, courage and stamina..."

Referring to Greek Cypriot aspirations at the opening of a Charity Bazaar at Pallouriotissa on 3rd October, 1970.

"I have always been in favour of union with Greece. I realize, though, that because of extraneous difficulties such a solution is not attainable now."

In a statement to Albert Coerant, Representative of Dutch and Belgian Radio and Television, on 18th October, 1970.

"Cyprus is Greek. Cyprus was Greek since the dawn of its history, and will remain Greek.

Greek and undivided we have taken it over.

Greek and undivided we shall preserve it.

Greek and undivided we shall deliver it to Greece."

In a speech at Yialousa on 14th March, 1971

"National Restoration has not been completed yet. But Cyprus has faith and follows other's examples. With a solid internal front, with domestic concord and unity, as dictated by certain lessons of 1821 struggle, Cyprus will always remain faithful to Greece, its motherland, goal of its struggles and target of the sacrifices of its sons."

In a message to the Greek Cypriot people on the 150th anniversary of Independence of Greece, 25th March 1971.

"I am in favour of Enosis. Enosis is the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots."

In an interview with the ITN correspondent, Mr. Robert Southgate, published on 21.9.1971

"....I can now disclose that I have stated clearly and categorically to Greek Governments from time to time that I would unhesitatingly proclaim Enosis, if I had the consent to this end, that is if Greece were prepared to accept Enosis and share the responsibilities for the repercussions from such a venture."

In a statement on the internal situation in Cyprus on 29.10.1971.

"Greek Cypriots, aspiration is union with Greece.."

In a message to the National Greek Tribune of Canada, reproduced in the Greek Cypriot press on 22nd December, 1971.

"If your aim is the launching of a struggle for enosis, then both I and the people of Cyprus are ready to enter such a struggle provided it is backed by the Greek Government."

In his reply to the Greek Government's note of 11 February, 1972 as reported in the Greek Cypriot press on 16 March, 1972.

"The struggle of Greek Cypriots is a struggle not only for the motherland but also for faith."

"...The abolition of the Cyprus State is conceivable only through the union of Cyprus with Greece."

In his reply of 19th March, 1972 to the Bishops of Cyprus.

"The Greek Cypriots have always had as their national aspiration the union of Cyprus with Greece, enosis."

In an interview with the correspondent of "Rude Pravo" newspaper of Czechoslovakia, published on 12.5.1972

"I have repeatedly stated my position on Enosis very clearly and I do not think that it is liable to many interpretations. I always supported and I continue to support the Union of Cyprus with Greece."

In an interview with Mr. Leslie Payne of "Newsday" on 17 July, 1972.

"Those who disagree with the way of handling Cyprus national problem and call themselves enotists accuse and call the others, the overwhelming majority of the Greek Cypriot people, anti-enotists. The charge is false and inadmissible. All Greek Cypriots are and will be enotists."

In a speech at the unveiling of the statue of Eokaman Michalakis Savva at Akaki village on 5.11.1972.

"Those who disagree with the political course chartered jointly with the Greek Government pose and describe themselves as Enosists. And they accuse the vast majority of the Greek Cypriot people of being anti-national. We reject the accusation. As I declared in the past, Enosists are all the Greeks of Cyprus. It is to Greece that our soul and heart will always be turned. Greek ideals will always inspire our thinking and conscience. Greece will always be the feeder of our existence and life.

In a speech at the mass rally held in the Greek sector of Nicosia on 8.2.1973, the day of his election as President.

"Union of Cyprus with Greece has always been the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots."

In an interview with Mr. Otto Honegger of the Swiss TV, published on 18.2.1973.

"I have struggled for union of Cyprus with Greece, and Enosis will always be my deep national aspiration as it is the aspiration of all Greek Cypriots. My national creed has never changed and my career as a national leader has

showed no inconsistency or contradiction. I have accepted independence instead of Enosis because certain external conditions and factors have not allowed a free choice."

"...If I had any ambitions, my greatest ambition would be for my name to be associated with Enosis."

In an interview with Mme Maria Rejane of the French Magazine "Le Point", published on 19.2.1973.

"National aspirations are not determined by economic factors. Enosis is a profound national aspiration of all Greek Cypriots having nothing to do with any economic or other considerations."

"...In case of union of a small state with a bigger one, there are both disadvantages and advantages. But the case of Cyprus is different. We would not be united with just any country but with that which we regard as our mother-country, and in a broader Greek space we would be able to play a greater role both internally and externally."

In an interview with Mr. E.M.O. Williams, Programme Organizer, Greek Section of B.B.C., published on 20.2.1973.

"Enosis is the age-old national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots and as such it has great importance."

In an interview with Miss Erica Vexler, Israel Correspondent of the Mexican TV, published on 17.3.1973.

Question: "Your Beatitude, would you like to refer to a remark made by a British journalist in a B.B.C. broadcast that you have worked for the ruling out of Enosis?"

Answer: "The said journalist put a question to me and I replied that I was in favour of Enosis. In any case, the said remark is a personal view of the commentator, which I do not share."

At the monthly press conference at the Presidential Palace on 30.3.1973.

"I would say that General Grivas is rather in direct control of the Enosis campaign. He is a good patriot and he would desire to see, as all Greek Cypriots would, Cyprus united with Greece."

"...Union of Cyprus with Greece has always been the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots. This national feeling has deep roots and the Greek Cypriots would favour Enosis under any circumstances. Various factors, however and mainly the opposition of Turkey do not make Enosis attainable."

In an interview with Mr. John Harrison of the "Daily Express" of London, published on 6.4.1973.

"Grivas came to Cyprus in September, 1971, and started to form armed bands in order to fight, as it was alleged, for the union of Cyprus with Greece which is a deep-rooted national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots. They have always been in favour of Enosis, irrespective of any advantages or disadvantages."

In an interview with Mr. Dino Frescobaldi, of the Italian newspaper "Corriere Della Sera", published on 7.4.1973.

I have and shall always be in favour of union of Cyprus with Greece."

In an interview with Mrs. Karin Kaemmereit of the weekly German Magazine "Bunte Illustrierte", published on 19.4.1973.

"We, the Greek Cypriots, see in your persons, the presence of Greece. We, the Greek Cypriots, are still living the sorrow of the "Great Friday" of the Easter week. But our unshakable conviction is that national resurrection will follow our crucifixion. Our hard national path is lit by the light issuing from the Holy Sepulchre. We shall march on like Hellenes. The needle of our compass shall always point towards immortal Greece - our immortal motherland. At the end of our road is Acropolis. Acropolis is the symbol of our aspirations and dreams."

Addressing members of the Greek Army Contingent in Cyprus on 29.4.1973, on the occasion of Easter celebrations.

"What I meant was that although Enosis was the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots, this was not attainable. Various factors, and particularly Turkey's opposition to Enosis, were the grim reality to which I referred.

"...Although, as I stated, Enosis is not attainable, this does not mean that the Greek Cypriots should not feel as Greeks and their national aspiration should be uprooted."

In an interview with Mr. Dominick Coyle, Dublin Correspondent of the "Financial Times" of London, Published on 1.6.1973

"The slogans for Enosis will always appeal to the Greek people of Cyprus. Enosis is a deep-rooted national aspiration."

In an interview with Mr. Stanley Mayes of the B.B.C., published on 13.6.1973.

"Firm attachment to and insistence on Enosis constitute the main and primary factor. But this is not the only one."

"...Enosis is the compass of our national orientations. But Enosis cannot be realized unless the danger of another undesirable solution is first removed."

"I would not hesitate to change the political line immediately if the Greek Government also were agreeable to this."

In a letter written to Grivas on 4.5.1972 as published in the 'Cyprus Mail' on 17.8.1973.

"I cannot say that I am nationally satisfied with the development and course of the Cyprus question so far. I would be nationally satisfied, and so would all Greeks, only if the Cyprus problem were solved through union of Cyprus with Greece."

"...I would not disagree with the General (Grivas) if, firmly adhering to Enosis, he rejected any other solution of the Cyprus question. I am not in disagreement with the national target he is aiming at. I disagree with the manner and methods he is using which, I believe, place the target at a greater distance."

"...Enosis, regardless of whether it can be realized or not, will always be the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots and a spiritual creed which cannot be renounced either through a referendum or in any other way."

In an interview with Mr. Chr. Philippides, correspondent of the Athens paper "Acropolis", published on 2.9.1973.

"My wish is that I should live long enough to see Enosis achieved."

In an address to Greek journalists from Greece, as published in the local Greek paper "Makhi" on 23.9.1973.

"Olympiakos" of Nicosia has a long and brilliant record connected with athletic, political, social and noble struggles of all kinds, particularly national struggles.

"...These new premises will constitute a new hearth which will keep our national light burning. The Club will constitute in this part of the town a strong national bastion ensuring its Greek character.

"In our country, which laboured under foreign occupation for many years, Greek Athletic clubs were also centres for the promotion of our national ideals, centres fostering the national idea, centres of national inspiration... At

the same time, athletics served national ideals and contributed to the continuous revival of our national aspirations.

"...The Greek Cypriot people's struggle is not yet over and is now at a crucial point. The outcome of this phase of the struggle is by no means certain but the dangers ahead are clear enough and a great deal of care and prudence will be needed to avoid these dangers.

"...And this struggle will continue with boldness and wisdom, with courage and determination. In this struggle "Olympiakos" will continue to be not only an athletic but also a national bastion."

At the inauguration ceremony of the Greek Cypriot Olympiakos Club on 25.11.1973.

"The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios has said that the struggle of Greek Cypriots, despite obstacles created by internal and foreign enemies, would be continued until a happy outcome."

C.B.C. Greek Radio in its bulletin at 13.30 hours on February 10, 1974. Greek Press, February 11, 1974.

"Enosis is my, as well as all Greek Cypriots', national aspiration. This aspiration shall never die. The fact that this aspiration cannot be realised now due to certain difficulties beyond our control is another matter."

In an interview with A. Coerant, Netherlands and Belgian TV, 21 February, 1974.

"The union of Cyprus with Greece -Enosis- has always been the national aspiration of the Greek Cypriots, for the realisation of which they waged long struggle. They realise however, that difficulties beyond our control do not render Enosis feasible and thus face the situation with realism and support my approach."

In an interview with Mr. Harry Gerson, Athens Correspondent of Le Figaro, as published in Cyprus Mail of 6.3.1974.

"Enosis has always been for the Greek Cypriots a deep rooted national aspiration. To me independence is a compromise. In other words, if I had a free choice between Enosis and independence, I would support Enosis."

In an interview with the Correspondent of Frankfurter Rundschau as published in the Cyprus Mail on 16.5.1974.

"The Cyprus State should be dissolved only in the event of Enosis."

In a letter to General Gizikis, President of Greece, dated 2 July, 1974.

WHAT IS AKRITAS PLAN?

It is the plan of a conspiracy to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus, in predetermined stages and methods, and to bring about the union of Cyprus with Greece.

The plan was drawn up by the Greek Cypriot leadership in collusion with Greek Army officers in 1963. It provides, among other things, for the creation of an underground army which, as explained in the 'plan' would suppress any resistance by the Turks, most forcefully, and in the shortest possible time, and make the Greek Cypriots master of the situation "within a day or two, before outside intervention would be possible, probable, or justifiable". The plan was signed by "the Chief Akritas". It also explains the object of the 13-point proposal put forward by Archbishop Makarios for the revision of the Constitution.

This top secret document was first published by a local Greek newspaper —Patris— on 21 April, 1966, with professed intention of exposing the mishandling of the Greek Cypriot national cause by Archbishop Makarios. In a series of articles published subsequently by the same paper, it was disclosed that Archbishop Makarios had assumed the responsibility for the implementation of the plan, and that he had appointed Mr. Polycarpos Yorgadjis, who was the Minister of the Interior at the time, to be the Chief Akritas, together with other top ranking Greek members of the Government as officers of the secret organization.

The Akritas Plan, and the series of articles published in connection with it, were never disclaimed by the Greek Cypriot administration, or by persons who were said to have been connected with its preparation and execution. Nor have the Greek authorities ever disputed the authenticity of the English translation of the Plan published by the Turkish Communal Chamber with a view to enlightening world public opinion about the Greek conspiracy to make Cyprus a colony of Greece. On the contrary, Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives, admitted the existence of this plan during an official interview he had with the correspondent of the "Voice of Germany" in October, 1971.

Certain parts of the English translation of the Plan presented here have been set in heavy type in order to underline those salient points which clearly show the relationship between the plan and the various stages of the Cyprus crisis. This relationship is also very important from the point of the United Nations, because it shows how the Greek Cypriot leaders, while paying lip service to the U.N. Charter and to its principles, were trying to use the World Organization as a tool to attain their objectives.

AKRITAS PLAN

TOP SECRET

HEADQUARTERS

Recent public statements by Archbishop Makarios have shown the course which our national problem will take in the near future. As we have stressed in the past, national struggles cannot be concluded overnight; nor is it possible to fix definite chronological limits for the conclusion of the various stages of development in national causes. Our national problem must be viewed in the light of developments which take place and conditions that arise from time to time and the measures to be taken as well as their implementation and timing must be in keeping with the internal and external conditions. The whole process is difficult and must go through various stages because factors

which will affect the final conclusion are numerous and different. It is sufficient for everyone to know, however, that every step taken constitutes the result of a study and that at the same time it forms the basis of future measures. Also, it is sufficient to know that every measure now contemplated is a first step and only constitutes a stage towards the final and unalterable national objective which is the full and unconditional application of the right of self-determination.

As the final objective remains unchanged, what must be dwelt upon is the method to be employed towards attaining that objective. This must, of necessity, be divided into internal and external (international) tactics because the methods of the presentation and the handling of our case within and outside the country are different.

A. METHOD TO BE USED OUTSIDE

In the closing stages of the (EOKA) struggle the Cyprus problem had been presented to world public opinion and to diplomatic circles as a demand of the people of Cyprus to exercise the right of self-determination. But the question of the Turkish minority had been introduced in circumstances that are known, inter-communal clashes had taken place and it had been tried to make it accepted that it was impossible for the two communities to live together under a united administration. Finally the problem was solved, in the eyes of many international circles, by the London and Zurich agreements, which were shown as solving the problem following negotiations and agreements between the contending parties.

- (a) Consequently our first aim has been to create the impression in the international field that the Cyprus problem has not been solved and that it has to be reviewed.
- (b) The creation of the following impressions has been accepted as the primary objective:
 - (i) that the solution which has been found is not satisfactory and just;
 - (ii) that the agreement which has been reached is not the result of the free will of the contending parties;
 - (iii) that the demand for the revision of the agreements is not because of any desire on the part of the Greeks to dishonour their signature, but an imperative necessity of survival for them;
 - (iv) that the co-existence of the two communities is possible, and
 - (v) that the Greek majority, and not the Turks, constitute the strong element on which foreigners must rely.
- (c) Although it was most difficult to attain the above objectives, satisfactory results have been achieved. Many diplomatic missions have already come to believe strongly that the Agreements are neither just nor satisfactory; that they were signed as a result of pressures and intimidations without real negotiations, and that they were imposed after many threats. It has been an important trump card in our hands that the solution brought by the Agreements was not submitted to the approval of the people; acting wisely in this respect our leadership avoided holding a referendum. Otherwise, the people would have

definitely approved the Agreements in the atmosphere that prevailed in 1959. Generally speaking, it has been shown that so far the administration of Cyprus has been carried out by the Greeks and that the Turks played only a negative part acting as a brake.

- (d) Having completed the first stage of our activities and objectives we must materialise the second stage on an international level. Our objective in this second stage is to show:
 - (i) that the aim of the Greeks is not to oppress the Turks but only to remove the unreasonable and unjust provisions of the administrative mechanism;
 - (ii) that it is necessary to remove these provisions right away because tomorrow may be too late;
 - (iii) (Omitted)
 - (iv) that this question of revision is a domestic issue for Cypriots and does not therefore give right of intervention to anyone by force or otherwise, and
 - (v) that the proposed amendments are reasonable and just and safeguard the reasonable rights of the minority.
- (e) Generally speaking, it is obvious that today the international opinion is against any form of oppression, and especially against oppression of minorities. The Turks have so far been able to convince world public opinion that the union of Cyprus with Greece will amount to their enslavement. **Under these circumstances we stand a good chance of success in influencing world opinion if we base our struggle not on ENOSIS but on self-determination.** But in order to be able to exercise the right of self-determination fully and without hindrance we must first get rid of the Agreements (e.g. the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, etc.) and the provisions of the Constitution which inhibit the free and unbridled expression of the will of the people and which carry dangers of external intervention. For this reason our first target has been the Treaty of Guarantee, which is the first Agreement to be cited as not being recognised by the Greek Cypriots.

When the Treaty of Guarantee is removed no legal or moral force will remain to obstruct us in determining our future through a plebiscite.

It will be understood from the above explanations that it is necessary to follow a chain of efforts and developments in order to ensure the success of our Plan. If these efforts and developments failed to materialise our future actions would be legally unjustified and politically unattainable and we would be exposing Cyprus and its people to grave consequences. Actions to be taken are as follows:-

- (a) The amendment of the negative elements of the Agreements and the consequent **de facto** nullification of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance. This step is essential because the necessity of amending the negative aspects of any Agreement is generally acceptable internationally and is considered reasonable (passage omitted) whereas an external intervention to prevent the amendment of such negative provisions is held unjustified and inapplicable.

- (b) Once this is achieved the Treaty of Guarantee (the right of intervention) will become legally and substantially inapplicable.
- (c) Once those provisions of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance which restrict the exercise of the right of self-determination are removed, the people of Cyprus will be able, freely, to express and apply its will.
- (d) It will be possible for the force of the State (the Police Force) and in addition, friendly military forces, to resist legitimately any intervention internally or from outside, because we will then be completely independent.

It will be seen that it is necessary for actions from (a) to (d) to be carried out in the order indicated.

It is consequently evident if we ever hope to have any chance of success in the international field, we cannot and should not reveal or proclaim any stage of the struggle before the previous stage is completed. For instance, if it is accepted that the above four stages constitute the necessary course to be taken, then it is obvious that **it would be senseless for us to speak of amendment (a) if stage (d) is revealed, because it would then be ridiculous for us to seek the amendment of the negative points with the excuse that these amendments are necessary for the functioning of the State and of the Agreements.**

The above are the points regarding our targets and aims, and the procedure to be followed in the international field.

B. THE INTERNAL ASPECT

Our activities in the internal field will be regulated according to their repercussions and to interpretations to be given to them in the world and according to the effect of our actions on our national cause.

1. The only danger that can be described as insurmountable is the possibility of a forceful external intervention. This danger, which could be met partly or wholly by our forces is important because of the political damage that it could do rather than the material losses it could entail. If intervention took place before stage (c), then such intervention would be legally tenable at least, if not entirely justifiable. This would be very much against us both internationally and at the United Nations. The history of many similar incidents in recent times shows us that in no case of intervention, even if legally inexcusable, has the attacker been removed by either the United Nations or the other powers, without significant concessions to the detriment of the attacked party. Even in the case of the attack on Suez by Israel, which was condemned by almost all members of the United Nations and for which Russia threatened intervention, the Israelis were removed but, as a concession, they continued to keep the port of Elat in the Red Sea. There are, however, more serious dangers in the case of Cyprus.

If we do our work well and justify the attempt we shall make under stage (a) above, we will see, on the one hand, that intervention will not be justified and, on the other hand, we will have every support since, by the Treaty of Guarantee, intervention cannot take place before negotiations take place

between the Guarantor Powers, that is Britain, Greece and Turkey. It is at this stage, i.e. at the stage of contacts (before intervention) that we shall need international support. **We shall obtain this support if the amendments proposed by us seem reasonable and justified. Therefore, we have to be extremely careful in selecting the amendments that we shall propose.**

The first step, therefore, would be to get rid of intervention by proposing amendments in the first stage. Tactic to be followed: (Omitted)

2. It is evident that for intervention to be justified there must be a more serious reason and a more immediate danger than simple constitutional amendments. Such reason can be:
 - (a) The declaration of ENOSIS before actions (a) to (c).
 - (b) Serious intercommunal unrest which may be shown as a massacre of Turks.

The first reason is removed as a result of the Plan drawn up for the first stage and consequently what remains, is the danger of intercommunal strife. We do not intend to engage, without provocation, in massacre or attack against the Turks. Therefore, (section omitted) the Turks can react strongly and incite incidents and strife, or falsely stage massacres, clashes or bomb explosions in order to create the impression that the Greeks attacked the Turks and that intervention is imperative for their protection. Tactic to be employed:- Our actions for amending the Constitution will not be secret, **we would always appear to be ready for peaceful talks** and our actions would not take any provocative and violent form. Any incidents that may take place will be met, at the beginning, in a legal fashion by the legal security forces, according to a plan. Our actions will have a legal form.

3. (Omitted)
4. It is, however, naive to believe that it is possible for us to proceed to **substantial actions for amending the Constitution, as a first step towards our more general Plan as described above**, without expecting the Turks to create or stage incidents and clashes. For this reason the existence and the strengthening of our Organisation is imperative because:
 - (a) if, in case of spontaneous resistance by the Turks, our counter attack is not immediate, we run the risk of having a panic created among Greeks, in towns in particular. We will then be in danger of losing vast areas of vital importance to the Turks, while if we show our strength to the Turks, immediately and forcefully, then they will probably be brought to their senses and restrict their activities to insignificant, isolated incidents.
 - (b) In case of a planned or unplanned attack by the Turks, whether this be staged or not, it is necessary to suppress this forcefully in the shortest possible time, since if we manage, to become the masters of the situation within a day or two outside intervention would not be possible, probable or justifiable.

(c) The forceful and decisive suppressing of any Turkish effort will greatly facilitate our subsequent actions for further Constitutional amendments, and it should then be possible to apply these without the Turks being able to show any reaction. Because they will learn that it is impossible for them to show any reaction without serious consequences for their community.

(d) In case of the clashes becoming widespread, we must be ready to proceed immediately through actions (a) to (d), including the immediate declaration of ENOSIS, because, then there will be no need to wait or to engage in diplomatic activity.

5. In all these stages we must not overlook the factor of enlightening, and of facing the propaganda of, those who do not know or cannot be expected to know our plans, as well as of the reactionary elements. It has been shown that our struggle must go through at least four stages and that we are obliged not to reveal our plans and intentions prematurely. It is therefore more than a national duty for everyone to observe full secrecy in the matter. Secrecy is vitally essential for our success and survival.

This, however, does not prevent the reactionaries and irresponsible demagogues from indulging in false patriotic manifestations and provocations. Our Plan would provide them with the possibility of putting forward accusations to the effect that aims of our leadership are not national and that only the amendment of the Constitution is envisaged. The need for carrying out Constitutional amendments in stages and in accordance with the prevailing conditions, makes our job even more difficult. All this must not, however, be allowed to drag us to irresponsible demagoguery, street politics and a race of nationalism. Our deeds will be our undeniable justification. In any case owing to the fact that, for well-known reasons, the above Plan must have been carried out and borne fruit long before the next elections, we must distinguish ourselves with self-restraint and moderation in the short time that we have. Parallel with this, we should not only maintain but reinforce the present unity and discipline of our patriotic forces. We can succeed in this only by properly enlightening our members so that they in turn enlighten the public.

Before anything else we must expose the true identity of the reactionaries. These are petty and irresponsible demagogues and opportunists. Their recent history shows this. They are unsuccessful, negative and anti-progressive elements who attack our leadership like mad dogs but who are unable to put forward any substantive and practical solution of their own. In order to succeed in all our activities we need a strong and stable government, up to the last minute. They are known as clamorous slogan-creators who are good for nothing but speech-making. When it comes to taking definite actions or making sacrifices they are soon shown to be unwilling weaklings. A typical example of this is that even at the present stage they have

no better proposal to make than to suggest that we should have recourse to the United Nations. It is therefore necessary that they should be isolated and kept at a distance.

We must enlighten our members about our plans and objectives ONLY VERBALLY. Meetings must be held at the sub-headquarters of the Organisation to enlighten leaders and members so that they are properly equipped to enlighten others. NO WRITTEN EXPLANATION OF ANY SORT IS ALLOWED. LOSS OR LEAKAGE OF ANY DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE ABOVE IS EQUIVALENT TO HIGH TREASON. There can be no action that would inflict a heavier blow to our struggle than any revealing of the contents of the present document or the publication of this by the opposition. Outside the verbal enlightenment of our members, all our activities, and our publications in the press in particular, must be most restrained and must not divulge any of the above. Only responsible persons will be allowed to make public speeches and statements and will refer to this plan only generally under their personal responsibility and under the personal responsibility of the Chief of the sub-headquarters concerned. Also any reference to the written Plan should be done only after the formal approval of the Chief of the sub-headquarters who will control the speech or statement. But in any case such speech or statement MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR IN THE PRESS OR ANY OTHER PUBLICATION.

The tactic to be followed:- Great effort must be made to enlighten our members and the public VERBALLY. Every effort must be made to show ourselves as moderates. Any reference to our plans in writing, or any reference in the press or in any documents is strictly prohibited. Responsible officials and other responsible persons will continue to enlighten the public and to increase its morale and fighting spirit without ever divulging any of our plans through the press or otherwise.

NOTE: The present document should be destroyed by burning under the personal responsibility of the Chief of the sub-headquarters and in the presence of all members of the staff within 10 days of its being received. It is strictly prohibited to make copies of the whole or any part of this document. Staff members of sub-headquarters may have it in their possession only under the personal responsibility of Chief of sub-headquarters, but in no case is anyone allowed to take it out of the office of sub-headquarters.

The Chief
AKRITAS.