

# CYPRUS

**TIME TO LOOK  
AT FACTS  
WITH COURAGE**

Scanned / Transcribed by  
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php>



# **CYPRUS**

## **TIME TO LOOK AT FACTS WITH COURAGE**

Salient parts of an address on "The Problem of Cyprus" by Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, on the second anniversary of the Turkish Cypriot Community's liberation. — July 20, 1976.

— October 1976 —

Published by  
The Public Information Office  
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

## C O N T E N T S

	Page
Time to Look At Facts With Courage .....	5
Historical Background .....	6
Bold Step .....	7
A Delicate Balance .....	8
Destiny of Cyprus .....	9
The Coup .....	11
Chronological Outlook .....	13
Double Christmas .....	15
Economic Onslaught .....	19
Appendix : Time For Courageous Steps .....	29

## Time to look at facts with courage

**“Cyprus for Cypriots” is a cliché recently coined by some Greek Cypriot factions in order to deceive world public opinion.**

The fact that this so-called “movement” has emerged from within the Greek Cypriot Community is also indicative of the lack of Cypriotism within that community, whose leaders have followed a policy of Hellenising Cyprus over the dead bodies of Turkish Cypriots who opposed this move!

If we are to solve the Cyprus Problem on a just and permanent basis it is high time we looked at facts with courage. If Cyprus is for **Cypriots** then we have to find the **Cypriots**. Are there **Cypriots** as such? It is no use saying that Greeks and Turks living in Cyprus should consider themselves to be Cypriots. They have not done so for four centuries, can they do it now soon after the bloody struggle of the last two decades? Those Turks who were killed in their hundreds over the last 20 years were not killed by Cypriots. They were attacked by Enosis-bound Greek Cypriots in the name of Hellenization of Cyprus. **“Let Turks go back to Turkey if they don't like to live under the Greek flag”** was the war cry of 1955-58 period and later of 1963-1974.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Can the historical background of the two national communities of Cyprus be ignored or pushed aside if we really intend to understand the Cyprus problem? Can we afford to disregard the political influence of the Church in Cyprus and its incessant Enosis policy since 1825 — the policy which has widened the rift between the two communities at last succeeding — with militant EOKA terrorism — to put a river of blood between them?

To understand, therefore, what the problem is, one has to look at these historical developments and one has to try to understand the psychological make-up of the two communities and the separate national culture on which they have nourished their souls for centuries. Differences of religion, language and ethnic origin are there as important divisive factors but what has really divided the two communities has been the Greek Cypriot attempt to unite Cyprus with Greece!

Greek Cypriot justification for this call (and the later militant move to hand over Cyprus to Greece) is based on a mere statement or belief: **“Cyprus is Greek and, therefore, should be united with Greece!”** which immediately draws the counter reply from the Turkish Cypriots that **“Cyprus has never been part of Greece; Cyprus is Turkish and should be united with Turkey”** and Turks produce in evidence the fact that Cyprus was part of Turkey from 1571 to 1923.

But can political beliefs be changed by argument? Apparently not. That is why the Greek Cypriot leadership tried to impress the Greekness of Cyprus on the Turkish Cypriots by attacking them, on and off, from 1955 to 1974 with a few years of respite in between.

This respite came at the end of 1958 when the number of Turks dying daily began to rise and the two communities headed for an all-out civil war towards the end of the British colonial reign.

One cannot gloss over these events. In Cyprus Greek Cypriots aided by Greece were trying to unite Cyprus with Greece. They felt morally justified in doing what they did to Cyprus for achieving this national end. Archbishop Makarios believed that God had chosen him to fulfil this national mission! On the other hand Turkish Cypriots who were resisting this move at great deal of sacrifice believed that their resistance to colonization by Greece was equally just and morally justified. No Turk wanted to live under the Greek flag! All Turks were united in averting such a fate while the Church leadership urged all Greeks to kill and die for this glorious goal!

Greek Cypriot leaders and their supporters all over the world saw no difficulty, no moral objection to asking the Turkish Community to emigrate from Cyprus **“If they don't want to live under the Greek flag”**. Some American Greeks were more generous, they indicated that **“compensation” could also be discussed!..** Thus the forced migration of a complete ethnic community forming nearly one fourth of the population of Cyprus was not considered inhuman by the Greek Cypriot leaders who indicated that the remaining alternatives for us were **(a) to accept colonization by Greece or (b) to suffer the consequences of resistance to Enosis!..**

The short respite came with the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959 where Turkey and Greece, the motherlands of the respective national communities, agreed that Cyprus could survive as a bi-communal independence. Since the attempt to unite the island with Greece was the root of all evil it was decided to guarantee the Cyprus Independence against any kind of union with any country!..

This was the first attempt to give a chance to Cypriotism to get started in Cyprus. The two ethnic communities who had jealously protected and preserved their national identities over the centuries were now asked to establish a common political enterprise and to run it on agreed terms of partnership!

## BOLD STEP

This was a bold step in the right direction. Had it not been taken, the alternative would have been a final all-out struggle for deciding the fate of an island which was emerging from colonial rule! He who won this final struggle would have it, and, from moral or international law points of view no one would be able to contest the outcome. As Greece was down to her neck in the Enosis struggle of 1955-58 and Turkey was forced to come to the aid of the Turkish Cypriots — in fact as the dispute had been over the question whether Cyprus should be united with Greece or Turkey — it was obvious that in this all-out struggle the issue would be decided not by the local strength of the two communities but by the overall strength of their respective motherlands.

The ultimate result of such a struggle was obvious to all. No one wanted two NATO allies — Turkey and Greece — to fight over Cyprus. Bi-Communal independence guaranteed against any kind of Enosis was good and honourable compromise! Thus, the 1959 Agreements which culminated, after 18 months' hard work by the Constitutional Committee, in the birth of the Republic of Cyprus.

At one time the Turkish side had insisted that the name of the Republic should be Greco-Turkish Federation of Cyprus, in order to give full and unequivocal interpretation to the partnership of the two communities on which it was based and functional federative system which it involved!... The Turkish side also wanted "full and effective guarantees against Enosis". Greece was prepared to sign a guarantee agreement but that was all. The Turkish Cypriot side not having any confidence whatsoever in the good intentions of Archbishop Makarios and his EOKA lieutenants kept on demanding "physical, effective guarantees in the form of actual presence of a Guarantee Force (no matter how small) in Cyprus". In the end a compromise was also reached on this score, the Turkish side agreeing to drop the name "Federal" and the Greek side accepting the stationing in Cyprus of a Turkish Force of 650 and of a Greek Force of 950!..

## A DELICATE BALANCE

Thus a balance was struck and the bi-communal Republic of Cyprus became a full member of the United Nations and a member of the British Commonwealth, agreeing to follow a non-aligned policy while its independence was guaranteed "against internal and external enemies" by Turkey, Greece and Great Britain!

Could this joint political venture have succeeded?

Our answer to it is a definite "yes". The proof lies in the fact that in order to destroy it and to convert the bi-communal "Cypriot" Republic into a Greek Cypriot Administration the Greek Cypriot leaders had to resort to careful planning supported by a vast network of propaganda which included Greek lobbyists in USA and a powerful church-backed Greek Cypriot community in London! A brief look at the infamous **Akritas Plan** will suffice to prove the intricate planning and preparation which was resorted to prior to attacking the Turkish Community in December 1963.

Thus, the Greek Cypriot leaders who had pretended to accept a compromise solution in 1959 on the solemn condition that Enosis was completely out, were now back on the "Enosis" wagon and this time by taking full advantage of everything which independence and statehood could give them! Having, in one day, pushed out of the Constitutional Government the Turkish Cypriot partners (which immediately became a stateless Community within its own State) "the Cypriot" Government was thus converted into a **Greek Cypriot Government** in preparation for a handover to Greece "at the appropriate time".

In Cyprus Nicos Sampson, a psycho-  
Makarios had favoured his blessings with  
Government of Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios  
life, was to confess later that the master-  
Sampson for the final settlement of the  
annihilation of the Turkish population.  
would be no Cyprus problem! Hence, the  
on the Turkish Cypriots in December 1974!  
problem until July 1974!..

For Archbishop Makarios the prob-  
1974 — Greek Cypriot move for Enosis. The Government House is burnt.  
Turkish Cypriots condemn this vandalism and repeat that Cyprus is Turkish and  
shall never be Greek!

The British Government clamps down stringent Emergency regulations.  
The church leaders and others who led the revolt are banned from Cyprus. The  
press is censored. Enosis literature is obliterated. But, naturally, the British  
sense of justice is such that the Turkish Cypriots also have to suffer under these  
measures — even more so, because, in an attempt to please the Greek Cypriot  
Community (which is still an organized community around the Church) Turkish  
Cypriots were interned. By 1945, when the banished leaders of the riots

A scene captured by a British journalist at the end of the Greek Cypriot  
attack on Omorphita (Dec. 1963).

Some of these Turkish families being led away by Greek irregulars, were  
never to be seen again.

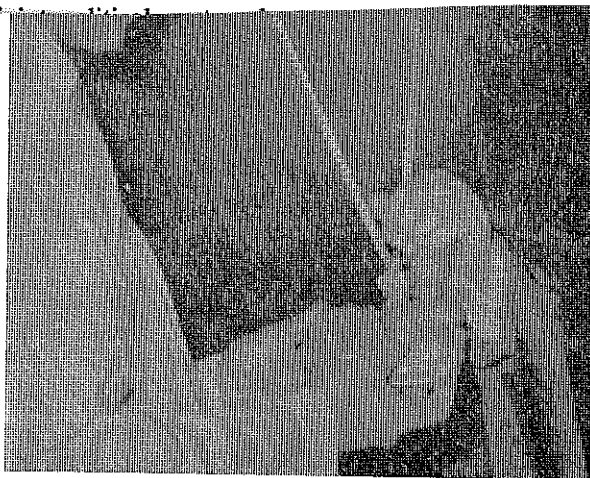
## DESTINY OF CYPRUS

Thus, the issue of the destiny of Cyprus, which supposedly had been settled  
by the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959 culminating in the establishment  
of the bi-communal Republic of Cyprus was activated with the immoral and  
illegal attempt of the Greek Cypriot leadership who set out, once again, to achieve  
union of Cyprus with Greece. For the Turkish Cypriot Community it was now  
more than proper, moral and legal to defy this attempt and to resist this new  
Enosis move by the Church which was once again acting in full consort with the  
then Greek Government in Athens. This time, Turkish Cypriots were not merely  
defending their national beliefs that Cyprus should not become a Greek colony  
but also their fundamental and inalienable co-founder partnership rights in the  
bi-communal State of Cyprus!..

At one time the Turkish side had insisted that the name of the Republic should be Greco-Turkish Federation of Cyprus, in order to give full and unequivocal interpretation to the partnership of the two communities on which it was based and functional federative system which it involved!... The Turkish side also wanted "full and effective guarantees against Enosis". Greece was prepared to sign a guarantee agreement but that was all. The Turkish Cypriot side not having any confidence whatsoever in the good intentions of Archbishop Makarios and his EOKA lieutenants kept on demanding "physical, effective guarantees in the form of actual presence of a Guarantee Force (no matter how small) in Cyprus". In the end a compromise was also reached on this score, the Turkish side agreeing to drop the name "Federal" and the Greek side accepting the stationing in Cyprus of a Turkish Force of 650 and of a Greek Force of 950!..

## A DELICATE BALANCE

Thus a balance was struck and the bi-communal Republic of Cyprus became a full member of the United Nations and a member of the British Commonwealth, agreeing to follow a non-aligned policy while its independence was guaranteed "against internal and external enemies" by Turkey, Greece and Great Britain!



Makarios blessing a hand-grenade intended for the Turkish Cypriots.

"Thou shalt not kill" did not apparently form part of his religious teaching.

## THE COUP

In Cyprus Nicos Sampson, a psycho-logical events of Cyprus this is the Makarios had favoured his blessings with Government of Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios' demonstration of Cyprus with a dominant Cypriot population whose Archbishop life, was to confess later that the master-tyranny of Cyprus with a dominant Cypriot population whose Archbishop Sampson for the final settlement of the Cypriot population whose Archbishop annihilation of the Turkish population. competition for union with Greece which, would be no Cyprus problem! Hence, the "petition by the Turkish Cypriot leaders. on the Turkish Cypriots in December 1974!.. move for Enosis is countered by a problem until July 1974!.. could revert to its real owner, Turkey.

For Archbishop Makarios the prob- The Government House is burnt. Turkish Cypriots condemn this vandalism and repeat that Cyprus is Turkish and shall never be Greek!

The British Government clamps down stringent Emergency regulations. The church leaders and others who led the revolt are banned from Cyprus. The press is censored. Enosis literature is obliterated. But, naturally, the British sense of justice is such that the Turkish Cypriots also have to suffer under these measures — even more so, because, in an attempt to please the Greek Cypriot Community (which is still an organized community around the Church) Turkish Cypriots are totally ignored. By 1945, when the banished leaders of the riots are allowed to return to Cyprus, the dominant Turkish Cypriot population has become very much the underdog.

1945 — end of the Second World War and the banished Enosis leaders return to Cyprus this time with a more virulent, more articulate Enosis campaign. Turkish Cypriot leaders pick up the cue and protestations begin. Greeks shout that "Cyprus is Greek" only to hear the Turkish Cypriots reply that "Cyprus is Turkish". The British are assured of the status quo!..

1948 — British offer of self-government rejected by the Greek Orthodox Church: "Self-Government is the death-bed of Enosis... Boycott the British... our policy is Enosis and only Enosis". The Turkish Community indicates willingness to accept self-government provided (1) Enosis is effectively ruled out and (2) Turkish Cypriot rights (education, religion, Vakf properties, Family Law and a fair participation in all governmental functions) are guaranteed! The British withdraw the offer.



At one time the Turkish side should be Greco-Turkish Federation. It was based and functional federation. The Turkish side also wanted "Enosis". Greece was prepared to accept it. The Turkish Cypriot side not having intentions of Archbishop Makarios and "physical, effective guarantees in the island (no matter how small) in Cyprus". On this score, the Turkish side agreed with the Greek side accepting the stationing in Cyprus of Greek Force of 950!..



**NICOS SAMPSON :**

**This was the man who swore in as President following the Cyprus coup in 1974.**

**A DELICATE BALANCE**

Thus a balance was struck and the bi-communal Republic of Cyprus became a full member of the United Nations and a member of the British Commonwealth, agreeing to follow a non-aligned policy while its independence was guaranteed "against internal and external enemies" by Turkey, Greece and Great Britain!



**Makarios blessing a hand-grenade intended for the Turkish Cypriots.**

**"Thou shalt not kill" did not apparently form part of his religious teaching.**

**CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLOOK**

In retrospect if we analyse the chronological events of Cyprus this is the picture :

**1878,** Britain takes over the administration of Cyprus with a dominant Turkish Cypriot population and a Greek Cypriot population whose Archbishop welcomes the first British Governor with a petition for union with Greece which, in turn, is countered with a strong protestation by the Turkish Cypriot leaders. **The beginning of the Cyprus problem.**

**1878 - 1931 :** Each Greek Cypriot move for Enosis is countered by a Turkish Cypriot demand that the island should revert to its real owner, Turkey.

**1931 —** Greek Cypriot riots for Enosis. The Government House is burnt. Turkish Cypriots condemn this vandalism and repeat that Cyprus is Turkish and shall never be Greek!

The British Government clamps down stringent Emergency regulations. The church leaders and others who led the revolt are banned from Cyprus. The press is censored. Enosis literature is obliterated. But, naturally, the British sense of justice is such that the Turkish Cypriots also have to suffer under these measures — even more so, because, in an attempt to please the Greek Cypriot Community (which is still an organized community around the Church) Turkish Cypriots are totally ignored. By 1945, when the banished leaders of the riots are allowed to return to Cyprus, the dominant Turkish Cypriot population has become very much the underdog.

**1945 —** end of the Second World War and the banished Enosis leaders return to Cyprus this time with a more virulent, more articulate Enosis campaign. Turkish Cypriot leaders pick up the cue and protestations begin. Greeks shout that "Cyprus is Greek" only to hear the Turkish Cypriots reply that "Cyprus is Turkish". The British are assured of the status quo!..

**1948 —** British offer of self-government rejected by the Greek Orthodox Church : "Self-Government is the death-bed of Enosis... Boycott the British... our policy is Enosis and only Enosis". The Turkish Community indicates willingness to accept self-government provided (1) Enosis is effectively ruled out and (2) Turkish Cypriot rights (education, religion, Vakf properties, Family Law and a fair participation in all governmental functions) are guaranteed! The British withdraw the offer.

1950 — Makarios is ordained as Archbishop. He takes the "Holy Oath" that he will achieve Enosis during his life-time.

1950 - 54 — Enosis campaign inside and outside Cyprus assumes new dimensions. So does the Turkish Cypriot reaction to Enosis.

1953 — Archbishop Makarios convinces Greece that a short terroristic activity against the British will force the British to hand over Cyprus to Greece. The Turkish factor is non-existent as far as Archbishop is concerned. "Turkish Cypriots can be silenced with a few hand grenades" he says later to Grivas.

1954 — Archbishop recruits the personnel for the underground organization EOKA. Col. Grivas lands in Cyprus secretly. The caique in which he arrived is caught with some of his comrades and with a lot of arms from the arsenals of Greece.

1955 — EOKA hits out for Enosis... A Turkish underground organization is immediately set up to declare that all Turks will rather die than submit to Greek rule: Cyprus is Turkish!..

1955 - 58 — Eoka kills 400 Greek Cypriots, 100 Turkish Cypriots and about 100 British civilians and soldiers. The death toll is growing and civil war is looming ahead!..

1959 — Zurich and London Agreements find the two communities in Cyprus sharply divided. The realities of Cyprus are that Makarios's militant Enosis policy has made the peoples of Cyprus more conscious of their national origins. The Turkish fears of Enosis have now been lived for four years. So, any new settlement must effectively do away with Enosis.

Turkey assures the Turkish Cypriots that the Treaties under discussion will do so. Turkish Cypriot representatives want proof of this fact. "Effective and real guarantees in Cyprus, not just signatures" is what is demanded and eventually accepted.

1960 — Bi-communal Republic of Cyprus guaranteed against Enosis is born.

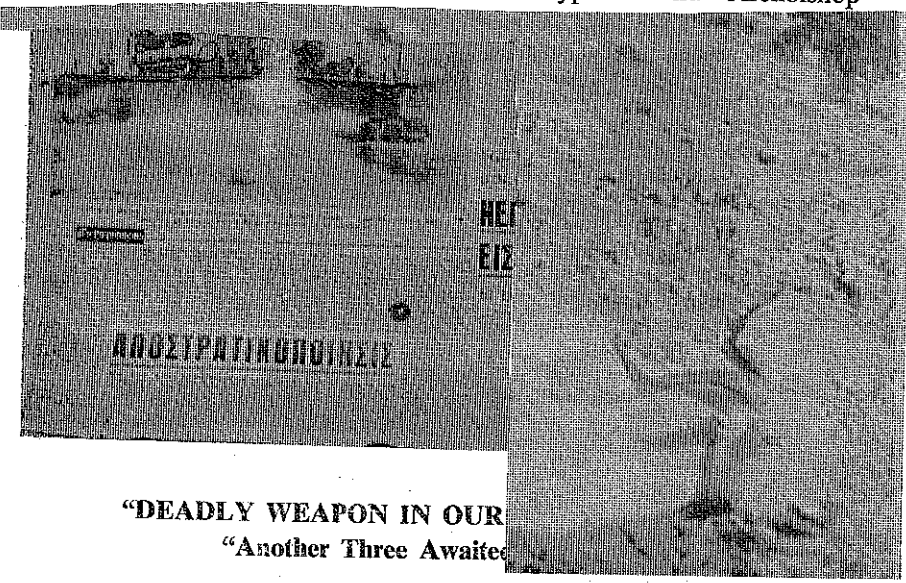
Archbishop Makarios declares that Cyprus has, after eight centuries, acquired a Greek Government! Turkish protestations: No... Not "a Greek Government" but a bi-communal — Cypriot? ..... Government!..

heavy NATO guns, armoured vehicles, tanks, etc. while establishing a Cyprus national Guard of 30,000 strong!... On and off Turkish habitations are gloriously defended and attacked.

19As from March 1964 UNFICYP is in Cyprus but what can UNFICYP do Helleniz Archbishop Makarios tells them that what is happening in Cyprus is a ignored mental activity!.. UNFICYP reports to the Security Council. In the bi-commune Turkish Cypriots die or leave the island in desperation! Archbishop ios travels the world to talk about peace and about the importance of Seci rights. He is most sensitive to "foreign interference in the internal the bless of a State". Turkey's warnings that she will not allow the Turkish assured its to be liquidated or the bi-communal State converted into a Greek State communant as "outside interference in the affairs of Cyprus" and Archbishop

The int  
applaud  
believe  
Governm  
amend t

The  
Cypriot I  
sure know  
will take  
because  
sooner c  
In case



DOU  
"DEADLY WEAPON IN OUR  
"Another Three Awaited

Sc On 29 January 1965 Deleftea Ora, a Greek the Greeks. These animals signal f the above picture which shows gun-boats impte. "doubt karios administration for use against the Turks of the island. The Omorj same paper also reported that Greek authorities were expecting deli-

H  
ev  
in

V

1950 — Makarios is ordained as Archbishop. He takes the "Holy Oath" that he will achieve Enosis during his life-time.

1950 - 54 — Enosis campaign inside and outside Cyprus assumes dimensions. So does the Turkish Cypriot reaction to Enosis.

1953 — Archbishop Makarios convinces Greece that a short term activity against the British will force the British to hand over Cyprus to Cypriots. The Turkish factor is non-existent as far as Archbishop is concerned. "The Turkish Cypriots can be silenced with a few hand grenades" he says later to Grivas.

1954 — Archbishop recruits the personnel for the underground organization EOKA. Col. Grivas lands in Cyprus secretly. The caique in which he arrived is caught with some of his comrades and with a lot of arms from the arsenal in Greece.

1955 — EOKA hits out for Enosis... A Turkish underground organization is immediately set up to declare that all Turks will rather die than live under Greek rule: Cyprus is Turkish!..

1955 - 58 — EOKA kills 400 Greek Cypriots, 100 Turkish Cypriots and about 100 British civilians and soldiers. The death toll is growing and civil war is looming ahead!..

1959 — Zurich and London Agreements find the two communities of Cyprus sharply divided. The realities of Cyprus are that Makarios's moderate Enosis policy has made the peoples of Cyprus more conscious of their national origins. The Turkish fears of Enosis have now been lived for four years. Any new settlement must effectively do away with Enosis.

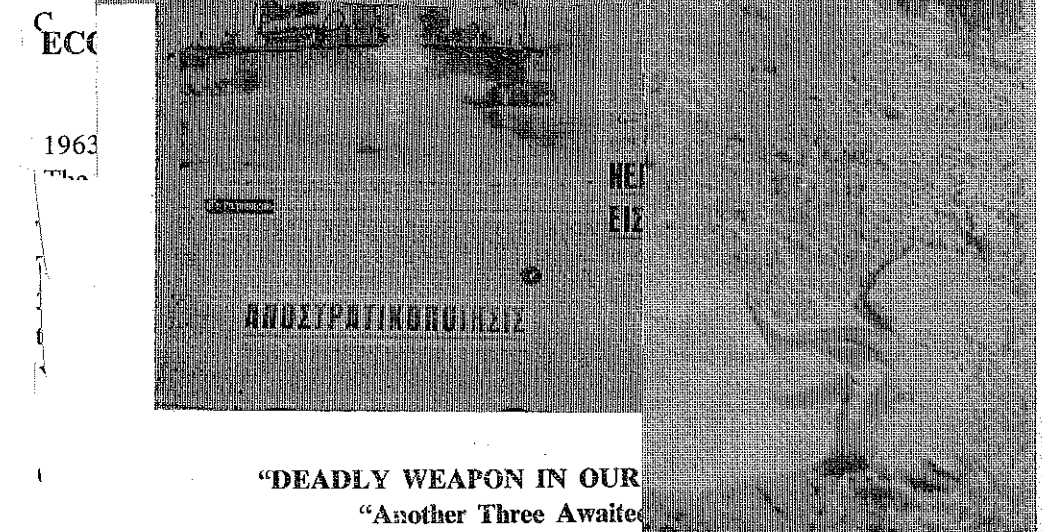
Turkey assures the Turkish Cypriots that the Treaties under discussion will do so. Turkish Cypriot representatives want proof of this fact. "Effective real guarantees in Cyprus, not just signatures" is what is demanded and eventually accepted.

1960 — Bi-communal Republic of Cyprus guaranteed against Enosis is born.

Archbishop Makarios declares that Cyprus has, after eight centuries, acquired a Greek Government! Turkish protestations: No... Not "a Greek Government" but a bi-communal — Cypriot? ..... Government!..

with heavy NATO guns, armoured vehicles, tanks, etc. while establishing a Cyprus National Guard of 30,000 strong!... On and off Turkish habitations are surrounded and attacked.

As from March 1964 UNFICYP is in Cyprus but what can UNFICYP do when Archbishop Makarios tells them that what is happening in Cyprus is a Governmental activity!.. UNFICYP reports to the Security Council. In the meantime Turkish Cypriots die or leave the island in desperation! Archbishop Makarios travels the world to talk about peace and about the importance of human rights. He is most sensitive to "foreign interference in the internal affairs of a State". Turkey's warnings that she will not allow the Turkish Cypriots to be liquidated or the bi-communal State converted into a Greek State is presented as "outside interference in the affairs of Cyprus" and Archbishop Makarios



On 29 January 1965 Deleftea Ora, a Greek ship was sunk by the Greeks. These animals are the above picture which shows gun-boats impounded by the Makarios administration for use against the Turks of the island. The same paper also reported that Greek authorities were expecting delivery of more gun-boats.

...society. The catque in which he an  
caught with some of his comrades and with a lot of arms from the arser  
Greece.

**1955** — EOKA hits out for Enosis... A Turkish underground c  
zation is immediately set up to declare that all Turks will rather die than  
to Greek rule : Cyprus is Turkish!..

**1955 - 58** — Eoka kills 400 Greek Cypriots, 100 Turkish Cypriot  
about 100 British civilians and soldiers. The death toll is growing and civ  
is looming ahead!..

**1959** — Zurich and London Agreements find the two communitie  
Cyprus sharply divided. The realities of Cyprus are that Makarios's mi  
Enosis policy has made the peoples of Cyprus more conscious of their nat  
origins. The Turkish fears of Enosis have now been lived for four years.  
any new settlement must effectively do away with Enosis.

Turkey assures the Turkish Cypriots that the Treaties under discussion  
do so. Turkish Cypriot representatives want proof of this fact. " Effective  
real guarantees in Cyprus, not just signatures " is what is demanded and  
eventually accepted.

**1960** — Bi-communal Republic of Cyprus guaranteed against Enosis is  
born.

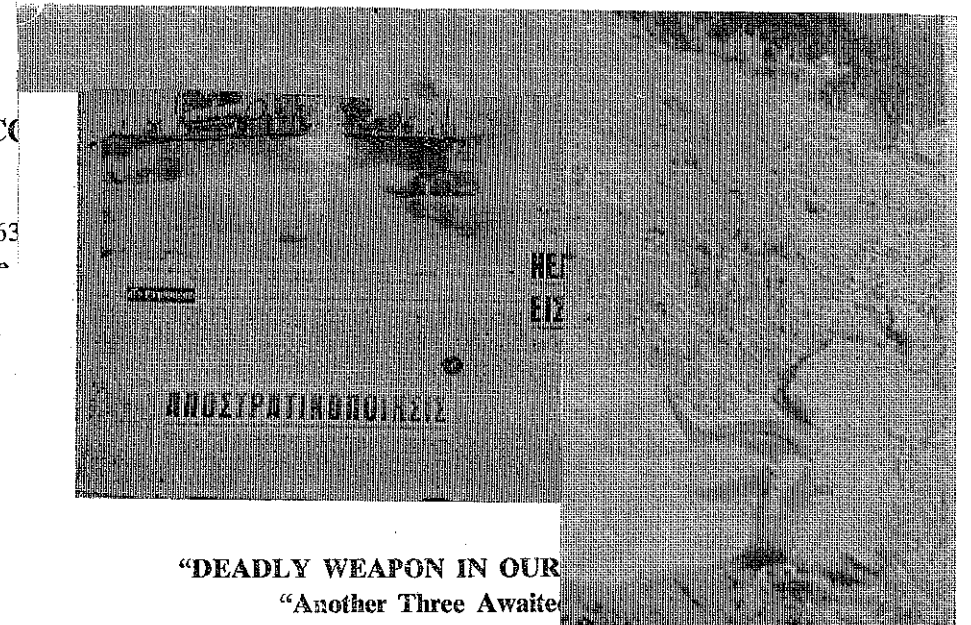
Archbishop Makarios declares that Cyprus has, after eight centuries,  
acquired a Greek Government! Turkish protestations: No... Not "a Greek  
Government " but a bi-communal — Cypriot? ..... Government!..

Cypriot C  
which  
Cypri  
all th  
be ta  
of th  
Cypri

ECC

1963

The



**"DEADLY WEAPON IN OUR  
"Another Three Await**

On 29 January 1965 Deleftea Ora, a Greek the Greeks. These animals  
the above picture which shows gun-boats impo.  
karios administration for use against the Turks of the island. The  
same paper also reported that Greek authorities were expecting deli-

More than a dozen times the Turkish Cypriot side called upon the Greek Cypriot leaders to denounce Enosis publicly. Each time this request was turned down with a sarcastic leer!.. In the meantime Archbishop Makarios informed the United Nations and Non-aligned Conferences that "but for Turkey's intervention or threat of intervention" the Cyprus problem could be solved; "but" he asked his listeners "which one of you has not got a minority problem? Surely if Turkey stopped her support of the Turkish Cypriots they would see the realities and accept their minority status in Cyprus!"

The Turkish Cypriots had no alternative but to continue their resistance to what Archbishop Makarios was trying to do to Cyprus! And henceforth Archbishop Makarios did not even feel the necessity to conceal his intentions!

...of arms from the arsenal

Who said the Greeks were unarmed when Turkey came in July 1974?

for Enosis... A Turkish underground declare that all Turks will rather die than

400 Greek Cypriots, 100 Turkish Cypriot soldiers. The death toll is growing and civ

These are some of the weapons and military equipment the Greek Cypriots imported to the island and used indiscriminately against Turkish civilians in defenceless villages.

on Agreements find the two communities realities of Cyprus are that Makarios's misdeeds of Cyprus more conscious of their national Enosis have now been lived for four years. They do away with Enosis.

Cypriots that the Treaties under discussion Turkish Cypriot representatives want proof of this fact. "Effective signatures" is what is demanded

60-74

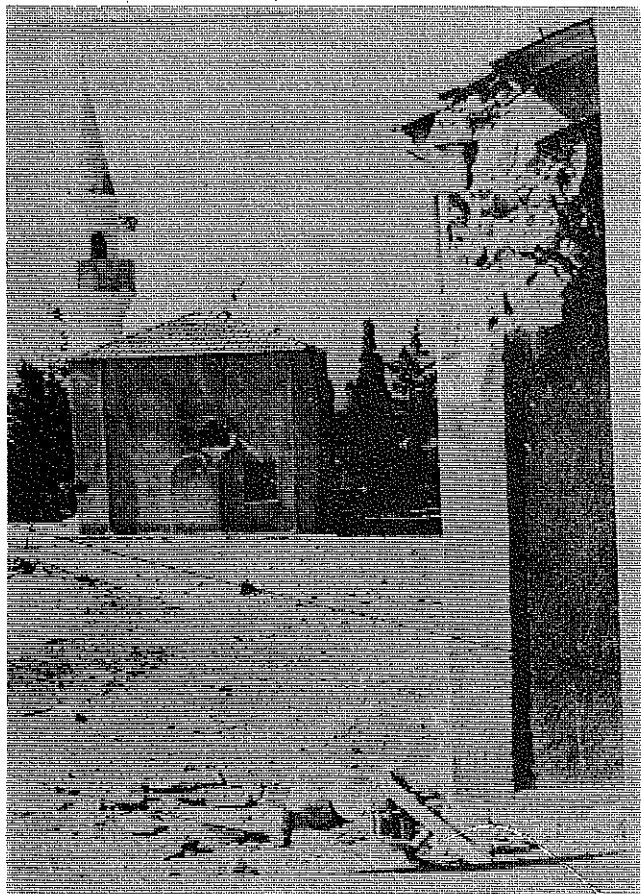


"DEADLY WEAPON IN OUR HANDS"  
"Another Three Awaited"

On 29 January 1965 Deleftea Ora, a Greek Cypriot daily, printed the above picture which shows gun-boats imported earlier by the Makarios administration for use against the Turks of the island. The same paper also reported that Greek authorities were expecting delivery of three more such boats.

In August 1964 when Greek Cypriots attacked Erenköy (Kokkina), a Turkish enclave, these gun-boats took part in the bombardment. Other Turkish villages were also shelled from the sea.

Thus the coup of **15 July 1974** intervened and cut short Archbishop Makarios's game of getting rid of the Turkish Cypriot factor by prolonging the presentation to the world his Greek Cypriot Government as the legitimate Government of Cyprus!... Archbishop Makarios could well afford to play this game for a long time. He was counting the heads of Turkish Cypriots who had been killed, wounded or maimed or who had left the island with their families or who were recently forced, as a result of his economic sanctions, to come and work as labourers for the Greek business magnates and the figures impressed and pleased him. How long could this community continue this unrealistic resistance? And, how long could Turkey, a poor country itself, afford to pour millions of dollars to the Turkish Cypriots when all this money went to help Greek Cypriot economy? All was going very well indeed, and he, Archbishop Makarios, would choose the day — and the conditions — on which he would declare Enosis!...



There is almost no mosque or Moslem religious shrine in Cyprus which did not receive a blow by the Greek Cypriots.

Some, not as lucky as this one, were completely pulled down "to make room for car parks."

Altogether 110 mosques and minarets suffered severe damages.



Every single Turkish town and village in Cyprus tells a sad story. This is Famagusta walled town surrounded and being attacked by Greek Cypriots on 6 November 1965.

The picture showing Greek Forces behind fortifications as they look for live targets at Famagusta, was printed in the Greek Cypriot daily Fileleftheros on 7 November 1965.

This is not the only siege Famagusta old town suffered between 1963 - 74. At every opportunity the Greek Cypriots made sure that the Turks of Famagusta should be kept behind those walls. But the worst came in July 1974 when Greek and Greek Cypriot Forces laid siege to the town for a month and pounded it with heavy guns and mortars. There were many casualties including the patients in the Turkish hospital which received a direct hit. During this siege the Famagusta Turks also suffered an acute shortage of food, water and medical supplies but they did not surrender. Finally they were liberated by the Turkish Peace Forces on 16 August 1974.

Archbishop now says that his only mistake was in not realizing that the Junta would stage a coup against him!.. He thought he was playing safe because even the Junta should have known that a coup would bring Turkey into Cyprus!..

And Turkey had to move... indeed, just in time!..

Archbishop Makarios is now angry that Turkey has so moved forgetting that but for this intervention he himself would not be in Cyprus today and the democracy in Greece would still be a long way off..

For the Turkish Cypriot Community it is difficult to appreciate this Greek Cypriot anger. "They seem to regret that we saved ourselves from utter destruction which they had so conveniently planned for us" say the Turkish Cypriot people all over Cyprus. There is not a single one of them who has not buried a loved one or who has not had a village or land or property or social or economic benefit lost..

The horror of mass Turkish graves gape at all Turkish Cypriots as reminders of what would have been had Turkey not moved in time!..

well-known Greek Cypriot journalist. Published on 4 October 1976, in the Greek Cypriot daily *Simerini* under the heading **Time for Courageous Steps**, the article reviews President Denktas' statement to the French News Agency AFP on 30 September 1976 and urges the Greek leaders to identify themselves with the prevailing realities on the island and take courageous steps. "Only then can the Cyprus question be settled" says the writer.

The article by Mr. Constantinides makes interesting reading for the student of the Cyprus problem. It is, therefore, reproduced here in full :

"I think Denktas' statement to the French News Agency is one of the most clear of all his recent statements. As it can be very clearly understood the Turkish Cypriot leadership has definitely decided to declare an independent Turkish State for which it would exert every effort to get foreign recognition. Also clearly understood is the fact that such a declaration is only a matter of timing. The Turks have already begun working on this issue.

"Now, what are we doing in the face of all these? Nothing! We are still maintaining our old, stupid and equally destructive *wait-and-see* policy. This is a passive and fatalist tactic devoid of any courage or power of imagination.

Seen here is the exhumation of the whole population of Murawğa, a Turkish Cypriot village (2 Sept. 1974). All were lined up, massacred and dumped in a ditch by the Greek Cypriots.

Watching in horror, are foreign and local TV crews, journalists, and observers including members of UNFICYP.

More than 149 putrid bodies of males, females and babies were taken out of two such ditches alone. There were many more in other Turkish villages.

Similarly all inhabitants of the Turkish villages of Athlar (Aloa), Sandallar (Sandallaris) and the male population of Taşkent (Dokhni), suffered the same tragic end.

## TIME FOR COURAGEOUS STEPS

The urgency to bring the Cyprus issue to a satisfactory solution before it is too late, was also stressed in an article by Mr. Aleccos Constantinides, a well-known Greek Cypriot journalist. Published on 4 October 1976, in the Greek Cypriot daily *Simerini* under the heading **Time for Courageous Steps**, the article reviews President Denktas' statement to the French News Agency AFP on 30 September 1976 and urges the Greek leaders to identify themselves with the prevailing realities on the island and take courageous steps. "Only then can the Cyprus question be settled" says the writer.

The article by Mr. Constantinides makes interesting reading for the student of the Cyprus problem. It is, therefore, reproduced here in full :

"I think Denktas' statement to the French News Agency is one of the most clear of all his recent statements. As it can be very clearly understood the Turkish Cypriot leadership has definitely decided to declare an independent Turkish State for which it would exert every effort to get foreign recognition. Also clearly understood is the fact that such a declaration is only a matter of timing. The Turks have already begun working on this issue.

"Now, what are we doing in the face of all these? Nothing! We are still maintaining our old, stupid and equally destructive *wait-and-see* policy. This is a passive and fatalist tactic devoid of any courage or power of imagination.

"Are we going to remain mere spectators to the developments or are we going to do something to prevent this? I think we must do something because if the Turkish side declares a UDI, then grave dangers will arise. The biggest of dangers is the recognition of the new Turkish State by other countries. No doubt the number of countries according recognition to the new State will be but a few or none at the beginning, but in time, this number will increase and probably include a super power. There is much truth in Denktas' words when he says "*countries able to defend their newly-declared independence are sooner or later noticed*".

"If the new Turkish State is given adequate recognition, particularly by the super powers, the chances of changing the new status will be very much reduced or even become nil. Then, there will be no possibility to change the present boundaries by negotiations. Changing them through a war will be even harder because we shall then have to deal with a country which has allies and which is probably a member of the United Nations.

And yet Archbishop Makarios claims that Cyprus has been invaded by Turkey!..

Not true!.. Turkey has rescued the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partners of the bi-communal State of Cyprus and has prevented Greece from a complete take-over of Cyprus!..

that but for this intervention he himself would not be in Cyprus today and the democracy in Greece would still be a long way off..

For the Turkish Cypriot Community it is difficult to appreciate this Greek Cypriot anger. "They seem to regret that we saved ourselves from utter destruction which they had so conveniently planned for us" say the Turkish Cypriot people all over Cyprus. There is not a single one of them who has not buried a loved one or who has not had a village or land or property or social or economic benefit lost...

The horror of mass Turkish graves gape at all Turkish Cypriots as reminders of what would have been had Turkey not moved in time!..

respective areas.

The foregoing is full justification for the Turkish Cypriots for saying that henceforth they want to live in peace and quiet in their own territory away from Greek Cypriot oppression...

The two communities should now co-exist in a bi-communal Cyprus under terms of political equality which in prevailing circumstances can only be achieved in a bi-zonal State with a central structure of limited powers.



"All these might appear to others as impossible things, but I think they could well happen. Therefore, it is imperative that we should enter a phase of hard and planned work to prevent such a consequence. It is equally important that we should act fast, for our time is very limited. We must do everything in our power to prevent a Turkish UDI, otherwise Cyprus will be effectively partitioned and the present boundaries will remain as they are for ever.

"How can we prevent the declaration of an independent Turkish State? Only through very courageous attempts, and without further delay.

"I know that my views on the subject will be severely criticized, create a shock and probably make me target of the present administration's cannons. Yet I believe that I must talk because one has to do one's job. I am fully responsible for this article.

"If we really wish to prevent such a move (UDI) by the Turks, we must convince them that we sincerely wish to negotiate with them and that we are even prepared to accept some of their proposals. Being able to do this, might even require dramatic gestures on our part.

"The first and foremost thing to do must be a meeting between our leaders and representatives where the present situation and possible developments should be reviewed. At this meeting everybody's views must be listened to, and the idea of establishing a National Unity or National Liberation Government must be seriously discussed. In this Government, Clerides must be given an important role such as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in addition to his former job as our negotiator. Clerides is perhaps the only Greek politician who managed to win the respect of the Turkish side; this is very important.

"To be able to definitely prevent the partition of Cyprus, I suggest that Makarios should announce his readiness to resign the Presidency. Be it right or wrong, the Turkish side regards Makarios as an intransigent Turkish enemy who is a champion of the *Enosis* aspiration. His position as the religious leader of one of the Cypriot communities is also a deterrent for the Moslem Turkish Community to trust him.

"Neither should it be forgotten that due to our traditions Makarios is not in a position to make conciliatory moves. He is not capable of doing what an ordinary leader (a non-religious one) could do.

"I believe it would be a wise step to accept in principle for negotiations Denktas' repeated proposal for an Interim-Government. It is a wrong step to flatly reject this proposal without studying it objectively. Although I know that the said proposal carries with it some dangers, it is true that it could well

establish the first bridge between the two communities. We have to take this chance if we want to prevent developments of a more dangerous nature.

"Since the Turkish Cypriot leadership meaninglessly maintains that we are striving for Enosis, our leadership should officially announce that it harbours no such intention.

"Then, Clerides or Makarios himself, or both, should meet Denktas and then arrange visits to Ankara and Athens for meaningful talks.

"If we manage to get back some territory through our inclinations to accept major Turkish proposals, this would be a good enough success.

"Those who support a long-term-struggle will describe my words as an example of excessive concessionism and suspicious realism. But I hope that in so doing they will not fail to show examples of accomplished measures necessary for a long-term, or even short-term struggle. They must show (not with slogans) how they plan to carry out this struggle. Can a struggle be waged when there are so many deserters, when millions of pounds are being smuggled out of the country, when our scientists and technicians are expelled, when we maliciously accuse one another or when the freedom of ideas is suppressed? If we really had intended to fight we should have, by now (two and a half years after the Turkish landings), established an active army of at least 2 divisions in addition to a well-trained Reserve Force of 4 divisions. By waiting idly, by striving to earn more money or by smuggling our fortunes outside Cyprus, we can wage neither a struggle nor a war.

"Finally I wish to stress that if we feel incompetent to make any move, be it a courageous one or otherwise, we must at least stop deceiving ourselves that we are defending our case. Instead we must be honest enough to declare that we have passed on this job to the Greek Government."

*Aleccos Constantinides*  
(Journalist & Author)

## **NOTES**

- 1. All material published in this booklet may be quoted with or without acknowledgement.**
- 2. All photographs were supplied by the Turkish Cypriot PIO.**
- 3. Further copies of this booklet can be obtained on request from the Turkish Cypriot Information Office, at the address given below.**
- 4. Information on any particular subject on Cyprus is obtainable from the PIO, on application.**
- 5. Other informative booklets and photos are freely available from the PIO.**
- 6. Correspondence with the PIO should be addressed as follows :**

**The Director  
Public Information Office  
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus  
Mehmet Akif Caddesi  
LEFKOŞA, KIBRIS  
(MERSIN 10, TURKEY)**