

# CYPRUS- ANATOMY OF DISASTER



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## INTRODUCTION

What is important to understand is the underlying reasons as to why US imperialism had to step up its involvement in Cyprus and intervene directly in the developments on the island.

The October 1973 Middle East war and the ensuing oil crisis was the catalyst that forced US imperialism to step up its intervention in the area. For the first time since the Second World War, the big capitalist nations are in the throes of an economic recession at the same time. At times like this imperialism becomes very vulnerable to any further economic or political setbacks and must be prepared to act quickly and decisively if it is even to begin resolving temporarily the crisis which is caused by its own inherent contradictions.

The immediate reaction of the USA was to mount a massive offensive to gain the lost ground in the Middle East since the 1967 Middle East war, and try to pacify this potentially explosive area. Right from the start this offensive met with considerable success and close links between Egypt and the US were established. \$ 250 million of US 'aid' was offered for the reconstruction of cities round the Suez Canal. The canal itself was re-opened recently with massive economic and technical assistance from the US. Egypt has lifted restrictions on foreign investment and American firms have obtained rights to explore off-shore oil. A programme to provide Egypt with nuclear reactors is on the way and will be completed by the 1980s.

All these developments have opened the way for *long term* ties, as Egypt becomes increasingly dependent on US investment, 'aid' and technical assistance.

A similar relationship is also being opened up in Syria. Syria received \$ 100 million for reconstruction after the war. US-Syrian relations were re-established and restrictions on foreign capital investment relaxed. As part of the US-Syrian detente, Syria which had always been the state publicly most identified with the PLO has successfully put pressure on the latter to accept finally the idea of a West-Bank Palestinian mini-state. The most important connection of the US in the Arab world is Saudi Arabia, which has undertaken massive investments in the US and throughout the West with its surplus petro-dollars. No bones are made that these investments will help prop up the ailing economies of the advanced capitalist countries. Finally with the 'good offices' of US diplomacy some of the conflicts between regimes of the area have been resolved. Rapprochement between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Iran and Egypt, Iraq and Iran (i.e. co-operation to suppress the Kurdish rebellion) has been achieved with US initiatives.

Nor has better relations with Arabs meant the 'ditching' of Israel, if anything Israel is more dependent on US aid and arms since the October war. However impressive all these successes of US imperialism appear, they must not obscure the fact that the situation in the Middle East is still *very precarious* indeed. The possibility of a new war is not that remote and the assent of the Palestinian masses or indeed the viability of any Palestinian mini-state are by no means a foregone conclusion. All the careful work of US Imperialism could crumble just as quickly or quicker than they were built.

It is in this light that the necessity for an imperialist 'solution' to the Cyprus problem acquired so much importance.

## July 19/4

That Monday morning in Nicosia seemed no different from any other. The buses had already brought the workers along the dusty roads from their villages into the capital. The markets and shops bustled with trading activity while the tourists roamed the city, sweltering under the early morning sun.

Suddenly all motion ceased as the sound of gunfire echoed along those streets around the Archbishop's palace. The shops immediately closed up and the streets rapidly emptied as the shooting became more intense. By now the bridges linking the old and new parts of the city were surrounded by tanks and the Presidential palace at Strovolos was in the process of being gutted. The coup had begun.

By midday the national radio, which up to now had only been playing martial music, interspersed with announcements of Makarios' death, was interrupted by a declaration from the instigators of the coup. A government of 'National Salvation' led by a reputed madman, Nicos Sampson, was proclaimed. All privately-owned arms were to be handed in to the police by Tuesday midday, alcohol was illegal and a curfew was imposed. The impending slaughter of socialists and Makarios' supporters was not to be interrupted under any circumstances!

That evening the fascists of EOKA B, just released from the prisons and armed by the junta, spent the evening terrorising the villages and settling old scores.

Their satisfaction with the coup was shown by their declaration the following day to voluntarily disband their organisation. Clearly there was no longer any need for these right-wing thugs to remain outside of the government they could now join their colleagues within it.

EOKA B's joy though was not shared by more than a handful of right wing fanatics. On Tuesday night Dr Lysarides of the EDEK led several hundred militants into Nicosia in an armed offensive against the Junta. The failure of this valiant attempt marked the junta's initial stabilisation.

How was it possible for 650 Greek officers, a few antiquated Russian tanks and a handful of hitherto unsuccessful EOKA B terrorists to overthrow Makarios and massacre the socialists? Had Makarios not recently received 96% of the Greek vote against the pro-enotist Evdokas? Was not the AKEL the largest and best organised political party on the island? The success of the coup was even more incredible considering it was not the sudden realisation of a well-planned and long-kept secret.

On the island it was sensed that a Turkish invasion would take place. Sampson, a notorious anti-Turk, repeatedly emphasised that the Turkish Cypriots would not be harmed. Radio Bayrak, 'voice of the Turkish Cypriots' called for the return of Makarios. They did not accuse the junta of attacking them, nor did they call on Turkey to 'save them'. Nevertheless once Sampson had performed his bloody task of imprisoning and killing the Makarios supporters and socialists, Turkish warships steamed towards Cyprus.

At dawn on July 20th, Turkish troops landed in force near Kyrenia from an armada of more than 30 troopships and landing craft, escorted by a number of destroyers. Within a few hours more than 6,000 Turkish troops and some 40 tanks had gone ashore. The main cities were bombed by NATO-supplied aircraft. Those Greeks rotting in the prisons found the doors flung open, and their torturers from the previous days standing open-armed beckoning:

'Brothers we're off to fight the Turks'. The fate of many of those whom the junta had not yet killed was decided in the front lines of Kyrenia.

In those few days thousands of mothers cursed Kissinger as they grieved over the deaths of their sons and husbands. The coup and the war were taking their bloody toll – yet again American imperialism and its agents were 'defending the free world'.

To understand the reasons for the coup and the subsequent war it is necessary to look at the role imperialism has played in the East Mediterranean over the last century. A brief examination of this will confirm that the tragic events of July 1974 cannot be attributed to there being different ethnic communities on the island; nor can the constraints of the 1960 constitution, the dictatorial Turkish regime, or the activities of Athens-backed General Grivas provide us with a satisfactory understanding of recent events.

All these factors are inextricably linked to the attempts of imperialism to further its interests in the area and can only be understood in this light. However, this certainly does not imply that imperialism could not have been defeated and a socialist solution found.

The workers and peasants of Cyprus, both Greek and Turkish, have recently suffered a massive and historic defeat. Hence in examining imperialism's part in this we must at the same time look critically at the part played by the leadership of the working-class movement. Unless this is undertaken in an open and honest way the socialist movement will have learnt nothing for the future. It will be incapable of building a movement able to confront imperialism, to defeat it, and to unite the people of Cyprus under a common banner – the banner of socialism.



## BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN CYPRUS

Britain was able in 1878 to lease the island from the virtually bankrupt Ottoman rulers. British imperialism's interest in Cyprus was solely that of obtaining a strategically placed base in the area. This was deemed necessary in order to protect the Suez Canal, the shortest route to Britain's most lucrative colony India. Both Sudan and Egypt were also subjugated for the safe journey of Britain's plunder (Egypt was occupied by British troops in 1882).

By 1878, after 300 years of Ottoman rule, the privileges of the Turkish-Cypriots had by and large disappeared and their condition was, if anything, slightly worse than that of the Greek-Cypriots. The Greeks

though, under the day-to-day domination of the Greek Orthodox Church, saw themselves as the oppressed section of the population, aspiring for national liberation and independence. In practice this meant opposition to the feudal Ottoman rule which was stultifying the development of the productive forces of the newly emerging Church-backed Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie.

The initial welcome by this layer for the British soon disappeared. Except for a small group of bureaucrats who could benefit under the new regime, the mass of the population, including the small entrepreneurs, found themselves as oppressed by the British as

they had been under the Ottomans.

The role of advanced capitalist Britain was actually to inhibit the growth of a 'normal' capitalist development as much as the feudal system of the Ottomans had. Instead a completely distorted economy and class structure, riddled with internal contradictions, was to be the result of Britain's domination of the island. Britain was not deeply committed to any particular form of rule as long as she had complete dominance over Cyprus. Hence both Gladstone's constitution of 1882 and the enlarged council (when Cyprus became a Crown Colony in 1925) had a liberal veneer. In reality they were very thinly disguised forms of authoritarian rule, to be discarded as required. The farcical form of Colonial rule here was that those areas of business not decided solely by the British High Commission were handed to the Legislative Council. This however worked on the principle that the Turkish members plus the British members exactly equalled the number of Greek members – the British Governor having the casting vote. Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus from 1926-32 writes that this Anglo-Turkish combination 'could carry any measure against the united opposition of the 12 Greeks representing 80% of the total population of the island.' This system was maintained through a process of privileges for the Turkish members, antagonising the Greek Cypriots and providing the basis for 'divide and rule'. The deliberate use of the strategy was carried out in other areas. The British deliberately recruited Turkish-Cypriots for the police force – in 1919 out of 796 members, 420 came from 18 per cent of the population. Despite this there was very little hostility between the two communities – in the system whereby Britain maintained her dominance through privileges for the Turks only the upper echelons of this community were eligible. The predominately rural Turks were no better off than their Greek counterparts – both were severely affected through heavy taxing by their colonial master eg. the Turkish Tribute, a sum greater than the surplus revenue of the island and the Imperial Defence tax on top of the more usual taxes.

It was not surprising then that many Turkish Cypriot peasants and workers joined with the Greeks in the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK). It was almost inevitable that an anti-colonial delegate would sooner or later be elected by the Turkish Cypriots to the Legislative Council – in 1931 such a Turkish member broke the line and voted against the British. *For the first time* a tax bill was lost. Horrified at the audacity of such a move the British quickly discarded their liberal facade. The Governor imposed the bill by an Order in Council, but underestimated the anti-colonial mood already generated. A campaign of civil disobedience began, a boycott of British goods, and riots which culminated in the Governor's house being burnt down.

This movement was led by the Greek Church under the Greek flag on an enosis basis. Despite having recently reverted back to an anti-enotist programme the KKK followed the nationalist movement. With no support from Venizelos in Greece on the one hand and on the other no clear anti-colonial line from the KKK which could cut across both ethnic communities, the potential indicated by the riots could not develop and the British were able to crush the movement. From now on the Governor was empowered to rule by decree and the Legislative Council made redundant. Municipal elections were abolished, political parties were made illegal, hundreds were interned and the press placed under strict censorship.

The advent of the Second World War created the opportunity for the left to re-organise. By 1940 Greece and Britain were fighting the same enemy. While living under a dictatorship 30,000 Cypriots en-

listed in the British forces and fought against the fascist dictatorship of Nazi Germany. Those elements directed by the Nationalists fought with the naive view that Britain would reward them after the war by granting enosis.

The recently formed Communist Party front organisation, the AKEL, at first opposed the war, in line with Soviet policy, as an inter-imperialist war. (The reasoning behind this lay in the totally opportunist policies of the Moscow bureaucracy. Having signed the Nazi-Soviet friendship pact, the Soviet bureaucracy dropped its anti-fascist stance. This line was followed by the official Communist Parties all over the world. However when Germany invaded the USSR in 1941 the line was altered – the war was now a fight against fascism and for democracy – again this line was adopted by the Communist Parties which abandoned the class struggle and fight for self-determination. AKEL being one of those CPs whose activities were totally determined by directives from the Kremlin accordingly shifted from its original position and campaigned for the war.

The heavy-handed British rule in Cyprus was now relaxed because of the war and political groupings could operate freely. During this period the AKEL and the PEO (AKEL's trade union counterpart) began to gain a massive influence amongst the Greek and Turkish working class and peasantry. By the 1946 Municipal elections AKEL was clearly the strongest and best organised political party in Cyprus. Strong opposition from all sections of reaction quickly grew to stem AKEL and PEO's growth – the British using straightforward repression, the Greek bourgeoisie, the Church and the CIA setting up a rival nationalist trade union (SEK), the Turkish leaders setting up separate Turkish trade unions, and the Greek middle classes rallying around the Church-backed pro-enosis Cyprus Nationalist Party (KEK).

Clearly class issues, not ethnic or national ones, were at stake. Not for the last time were the American, British, Greek and Turkish bourgeoisies to attempt smashing the Cypriot workers' movement. Instead of opposing these forces with class wide demands, involving both communities, AKEL capitulated. Tail-ending the Nationalists on the question of enosis, for short term opportunist gains, AKEL was not able to counterpose an independent working class strategy.

## THE STRUGGLE OF THE FIFTIES.

### The political basis of the EOKA movement.

When Britain had to withdraw from Egypt in 1954, its Middle East military Headquarters were moved to Cyprus. British Conservatives regarded the strategic values of Cyprus for Britain as crucial if they were to maintain their influence in the Middle East. 'There can be no question of any change of sovereignty in Cyprus' the British Ministry of State for Colonial Affairs declared in 1954. For the next few years a fierce battle raged between the EOKA movement and 30,000 British soldiers for the control of the island.

EOKA was able to wage a fierce struggle against overwhelming odds only because of the mass support it received amongst the Greek Cypriot working masses. Although a right wing nationalist led movement EOKA had a proletarian base because it was seen to be carrying out the anti-imperialist struggle not simply in election manifestos and fine speeches but in the 'flesh'.

Under the banner of 'Enosis' EOKA was able to weld together the vast sections of the working class and the peasantry together with the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie and the Orthodox Church in a struggle against British imperialism and for unification with Greece. The leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie and the



During the EOKA struggle, 30,000 British troops were in active service in Cyprus.

Church who together with fascist General Grivas reorganised the anti-imperialist struggle. AKEL was nowhere to be seen.

What was the material basis for the 'enosis' movement? EOKA was certainly not leading the struggle for socialism – for the working class and peasantry to own and control the land, the factories and the mines. The Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie saw their development possible only by removing the constraints and economic domination of Britain.

The Church together with the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie wanted a bigger share of the wealth created by the Cypriot workers and peasants. British rule had stunted their development as a capitalist class through distorting the economy to fit their own interests. Britain had no need for Cyprus to produce cars, electrical goods and other finished secondary products – Britain was able to produce these herself and make a fortune out of selling them to the colonies. What Britain needed though was primary products; i.e. raw materials which included agricultural products, metals, asbestos etc. With Britain politically and economically controlling the island, the Church and the emerging bourgeoisie were doomed to low level manufacturing, eg. shoes and garments, and a highly unproductive agricultural system. This class could only live off the crumbs of British imperialism – it could not develop as a class in its own right.

The only way this could be achieved was through the overthrow of British rule. But this kind of a perspective required backing from the mainland. This provided the material basis for the Enosis movement on which EOKA was formed.

However, EOKA did not simply include the above in its strategy and programme. Many of its positions and activities were of an intense chauvinist and nationalist character. Its propaganda was riddled with anti-Turkish sentiments and its activities laid the concrete basis for the maturing of imperialism's divide and rule tactics.

### The Developments inside the Turkish-Cypriot Community.

Despite being predominantly rural, in 1946 the Turkish-Cypriots owned only 19 per cent of the land; without any effective trade union organisation of their own they began joining PEO. By the end of the Second World War, when PEO had 13,000 members, some 3,000 were Turkish. Friction between the two communities was negligible. Even in 1960 only 6.7 per cent of the villages were Turkish whereas 43 per cent were mixed and these were evenly distributed throughout the island.

On the other hand the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie were economically primitive and their main scope was capitalising on the market of the 100,000 Turkish-Cypriots. The 'From Turk to Turk' campaign was brutally enforced. This movement, whereby Turks could buy only from Turkish merchants was the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie's attempt to become economically viable in a highly competitive market. Ethnic links justified the double exploitation of Turkish workers and peasants.

With the assistance of the British Intelligence Service and Turkey, the Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie formed the terrorist organisation VOLCAN. Meanwhile the British were recruiting Turks, for a special police force to be used against the EOKA movement. During this period, Turkey completely changed its position on Cyprus from insisting on the maintenance of the status quo to that of TAKSIM – partition.

Both EOKA and VOLCAN, which was later to become the Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT), were instrumental in inciting chauvinist feelings, and intercommunal bitterness through the carrying out of sectarian murders.

Denktash, who had been responsible for the 'From Turk to Turk' campaign, was one of the founders of the TMT. The perspective of this organisation was the partitioning of the island and the suppression of working class activity – both essential to the needs of the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie.

During the whole period of the EOKA struggle, VOLCAN was instrumental in preparing the basis for the development of an autonomous Turkish state.

The British used VOLCAN in attacks on EOKA and military operations against the nationalist movement. This fostered further divisions in the communities and gave credence to EOKA's chauvinist and anti-Turkish propaganda and activities. At the same time VOLCAN was also assigned the task of policing the Turkish community – enforcing the severance of all links between the Turks and Greeks and stifling the anti-colonial sentiments of the Turkish-Cypriot working class and peasantry through the use of brutal force. Again here the absence of a revolutionary leadership capable of uniting the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot working class and peasants in the struggle against British domination and for a socialist Cyprus meant that the working class would have to pay a heavy price.

### The Role of the AKEL

The 1950s saw the epoch of the decline of British imperialism. AKEL entered this period organisation-

ally weakened from the disastrous defeats at the hands of imperialism during the 1948 strike wave. AKEL's leaders were exiled or jailed. Rival right-wing unions were set up and the working class was economically weak and had, organisationally, suffered heavily.

For the underdeveloped countries in the epoch of imperialism, only a socialist revolution could achieve the tasks normally allocated to the bourgeois revolution. But AKEL, after an internal split between the pro-enotists and those in favour of the Jackson Agreement (limited self determination), forgot all about the class struggle and campaigned vigorously for enosis because, 'Under the conditions existing at present, the enosis slogan permits the strongest anti-imperialist mobilisations'. Not only was an independent worker and peasant anti-colonial movement denied, but in a country ruled by the gun, AKEL would pursue a 'democratic path': armed struggle was to be avoided at all costs.

The AKEL dominated PEO could be no different. In the PEO's report to its 9th Congress it was stated that in 1952 the PEO had established a central office for the Turkish workers and in March 1954, Ahmet Sadi was appointed as salaried secretary to that office. At the 11th Congress it was announced that Turkish workers had been appointed to the District Councils of PEO in Nicosia, Limassol and Famagusta. This vital trend to unite Greek and Turkish workers at the basic level of Trade Unions was brought to an end voluntarily by the PEO when in 1958 the Turkish office was dissolved. This was a result of the assassination of Fazil Ondur, editor of the PEO's Turkish trade union newspaper, and the attempted assassination of Ahmet Sadi on May 22nd. These acts were attributed to the right wing Turkish group, TMT. These attacks were not isolated. In the 1958 May Day demonstrations Turkish workers were solidarising with their Greek brothers and sisters, shouting anti-imperialist slogans and protesting against the divisions being enforced by imperialism. The reaction of the Turkish ruling class was vicious. Militant workers were killed by the score by the TMT. Without independent organisations of the working class AKEL was powerless to defend the Turkish socialists from fascist attacks. The seeds of division, planted then by imperialism through the VOLCAN and TMT, were to bear harvest in the growing separation of the communities during the 1960s.

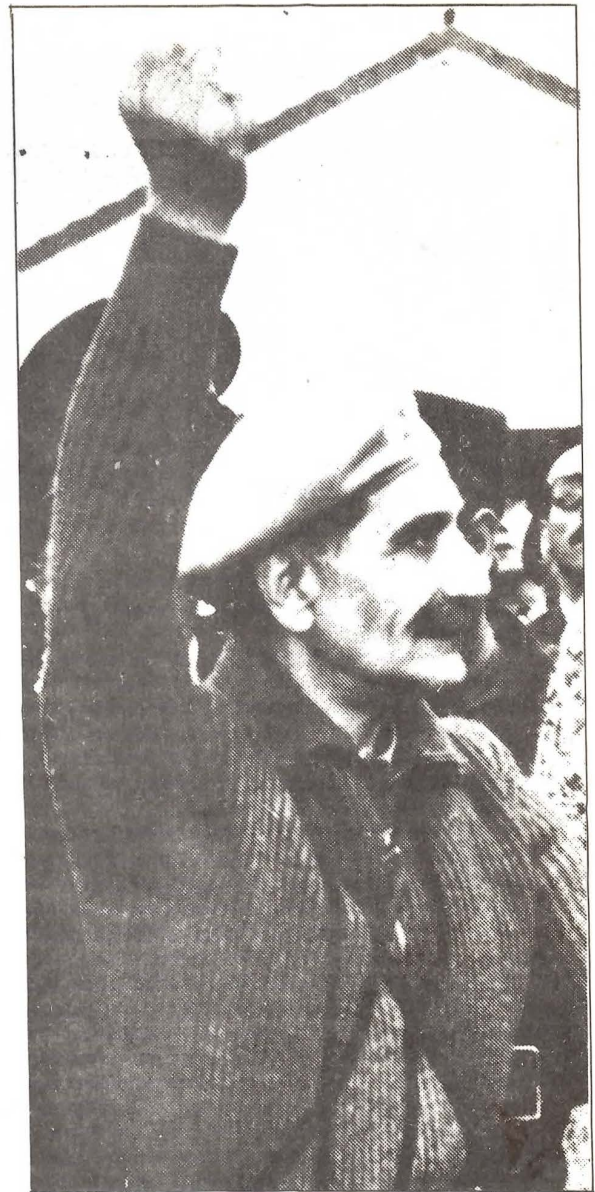
## THE INDEPENDENCE YEARS

### The Zurich—London Agreements

In 1959, the Zurich-London agreements were signed. The masses celebrated the end of the anti-colonial struggle. A paradox though soon became apparent the anti-colonial struggle was over but the need to fight against imperialism had not disappeared. Cyprus now had its own flag, its own elected Government and was no longer embarrassed by the stigma of colonial status.

Independence did not entail an independent economy. Neither did it allow the formation of a sovereign state free of all foreign troops. This in turn implied the impossibility of any independent political line being pursued by the Cyprus state. The Zurich-London agreements made sure of this.

*The Treaty of Establishment* gave Britain the right to two military bases on the island totalling 99 square miles. Britain also controls 32 other points on the island, including a radar station on the top of Tredos mountain. Although the British military Middle East headquarters had been moved to Cyprus in 1954, the British presence in the area had no significance on its own. Within the context of NATO however,



Grivas: reactionary leader of the anti-colonial armed struggle

the bases were of major importance. The bases formed a link in the Southern flank of NATO and during the Arab-Israeli confrontation they were used as such by US planes supplying arms to Israel.

*The Treaty of Alliance* allowed the permanent basing of Turkish and Greek troops on the island. America could rest assured that her interests in the island were being looked after by the military presence of the three NATO members.

*The Treaty of Guarantee* effectively guaranteed that one day Cyprus would be partitioned in line with US wishes. The Guarantor Powers had the right to intervene in the affairs of the island, if the 1960 Constitution was not fully upheld. The Constitution imposed on the Cypriot people invited this it was completely unworkable and only required a few flash points to invite military intervention. The pot was to be kept simmering for this purpose by the right-wing Grivas and the enosites on the one hand and the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie under the virtual control of Turkey on the other.

### Imperialism and the Republic

The years after independence can be characterised by a strong and active American involvement in Cyprus, mediated through Greece and Turkey. The latter

sought to exploit the contradictory forces and ethnic divisions in the newly born state. With the pot nicely simmering it was just a matter of time before America would achieve complete domination of the island through its junior partners in NATO.

The background to America's newfound interest in Cyprus was the changing balance of forces internationally of the major powers. In the post-war era, America was to supersede Britain as the world's dominant imperialist force. America's increasing influence and power was taking place by and large at Britain's expense. America (and the 'progressive' sections of the British Labour Party) understood that Britain's form of direct colonial rule was antiquated; moreover Britain was no longer strong enough to contain the post-war anti-colonial movements that were emerging throughout the world. Although this brought tears of joy to the eyes of the American capitalist class, desperately in need of expanding their markets, it was, nonetheless, a dangerous threat to world imperialism as a whole. America had deliberately propped up the ailing capitalisms of Western Europe and Japan, through the Marshall Plan, to ensure that none of these countries would be removed from the world capitalist economy through a socialist revolution.

Likewise, America's strategy for the colonies was far more subtle than Britain's. America politically dominated those countries from which it obtained cheap labour and raw materials, not through the gunboat, but by winning control of the major sectors of their economies.

After farcical debacles in Iran, Iraq and Egypt it was clear that Britain's pathetic attempts to control the area were endangering imperialism's interests, particularly as regards oil. Britain had become an embarrassing liability. America had to seize authority from its senile ex-master.

Cyprus, with its strong working class organisations, was not the most internally secure spot for a key military base. The possibility of a Cuban situation arising in the Eastern Mediterranean was on the cards.

The political scene of the independent Cypriot Republic was dominated by Archbishop Makarios. Having gained eminence by being the political leader of the anti-colonial struggle the Archbishop with a Byzantine sense of esoteric diplomacy followed a brand of politics which was quite common among statesmen of countries emerging from the colonial yoke. Materially based primarily on the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie he attempted to render his own personal rule as the pole on which various conflicting forces met and co-existed. His foreign policy was characterised by the retention of close links with Britain, openings towards the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries and close identification with non-aligned regimes of the Third World. His domestic policies were characterised by an attempt to 'bring together' the conflicting forces of the bourgeoisie and the Church on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other. He tried to appease and neutralise the extreme right and the fascists - not clamping down on them and never openly provoking them but consciously depriving them of any political influence. On the question of the Turkish community he maintained long protracted talks without making efforts that could be construed to be too keen by the ultra-right or damage the interests of the class he represented - the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie.

The Pentagon sensing the coming tensions in the Middle East considered Makarios a too vague and uncertain quantity and saw that ultimate stability for the bases could only be achieved if Makarios was removed, the working class organisations destroyed and the island brought under NATO control.

Greece and Turkey which, with brief exceptions,

had pro-American rulers, were the ideal candidates for the task. As long as their petty rival nationalistic conflict did not escalate to such a level as to weaken NATO's southern flank, it could be relied on to exacerbate the communal tensions now on the island.

The plan America had in mind was 'double-enosis' through partition, the whole island therefore becoming a NATO base, with Britain removed. In 1964, after the inter-communal hostilities, George Ball, the US State Department's trouble-shooter, could not bully Makarios into accepting the plan. General Lemnitzer, NATO Chief therefore tried to impose de facto partition by sending telegrams to both Greek and Turkish Governments urging them to land troops on the island which would have then led to the landing of a NATO mixed force to intervene. The Acheson Plan which followed then was just a more polished version of the same theme, but both suffered the same weaknesses.

It was too blatant that these were solutions imposed by external forces and, as such, could lead to a war situation between Greece and Turkey, hence damaging NATO. America therefore saw it as more practical to divide the Cyprus state and destabilise the Greek half, thus leading to a political crisis which would lay the ground for Makarios being toppled. Fascist groupings in both communities, directly controlled by their mother countries, Greece and Turkey, could be relied on to bring about this solution.

### Socio-Economic and Political Developments

Having lived under British colonial rule for more than 80 years, the distortions in the economic and political life were in need of drastic change. But the very nature of the EOKA struggle was one whereby the basic question of ownership of the land and of the productive forces had not altered. The system was still capitalism, based on exploitation of man by man. The only difference was who was to be the exploiter. The class structures and the underlying reasons for the intercommunal tensions were not removed. Imperialism's grip over the island had not weakened. During the years of independence the standard of living of the Greek community improved, but the structural problems left by imperialism still acted as brakes on the economic and social development of the island.

The nationalist movement had initially taken the form of 'enosis' due to similar traditions in other Greek speaking areas under foreign rule and the existence of the Greek Orthodox Church as the most coherent national institution. This ideology was gradually discarded by large sections of the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie, when it became clear that union with Greece was impossible. Soon after Independence they started making considerable material gains - due not so much to the development of the productive forces but rather the relaxation of the stranglehold that Britain had imposed. Greeks could now occupy and expand sections of the economy that had previously been virtually closed to them (intermediaries, tourism, small manufacturing, imports and exports). The growing affluence of sections of the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie gave them sufficient confidence to accept independence and discard enosis. The actual road it embarked on economically and politically was the following: on the one hand it had to obtain revenue for capital investment, 'aid', and low-interest grants (the only way this could be achieved without being totally bound hand and foot to imperialism was through playing the Soviet Bloc against the imperialist camp) while on the other hand it had to contain the more gullible and excitable of those whom it had enthused with the glamorous ideas of enosis.

Agriculture still employed the largest single proportion of the work force but was highly inefficient;



Manufacturing in Cyprus has been limited in size and scope.

even in 1972, although employing 38 per cent of the workforce it contributed just over 18 per cent to the Gross Domestic Product.

Since 1971 the growth rate in agriculture has been virtually nil. How could this situation arise after 11 years of Independence? During the colonial rule, Britain was not interested in anything more than obtaining the agricultural produce it could not obtain from its other colonies as cheaply as possible. Its contribution to the development of agricultural production hardly went further than dictating tariffs, what produce should be grown for Britain's needs. Fundamental land reform was not attempted before or after independence; to attempt it would require challenging the largest landowner on the island, the Greek Orthodox Church. Moreover, the form of landowning whereby farmers can own land in several villages is a relic of the Ottoman period. British rule did not attempt to reorganise this. In a country where half the land is arable but only about 5 per cent is irrigated and where drought is a cyclical phenomenon it is astonishing that so little progress was made in this field. Even in 1973, a very heavy drought could cause a 17 per cent reduction in agricultural production. Recently attempts have been made to irrigate Paphos.

In the field of production Cyprus's development was still weak, having never accumulated the necessary capital. The average number employed in a manufacturing unit was 5, and production, generally in small workshops, was of a fairly primitive form - furniture, garments, construction and shoes. Most consumer goods had to be imported - in essence Cyprus was producing and exporting primary products, mainly raw materials, in return for secondary products, which could only be manufactured in those countries with larger capital investment. The unfavourable relationship with Britain did not significantly alter after independence because Britain was buying cheap raw materials and selling Cyprus sophisticated secondary goods.

The following table shows the constant profit that Britain has been making through its trade with Cyprus:

#### CYPRUS TRADE WITH BRITAIN

	1971	1972	1973
Imports	£30,699,000	£33,915,000	£39,251,000
Exports	£19,680,000	£21,234,000	£24,152,000
Deficit	£11,019,000	£12,681,000	£15,099,000

The weakness of agriculture and manufacturing meant that Cyprus had to depend very much on tourism and indirect revenue from the British bases for income to obtain exports. Moreover, the Cypriot economy was more susceptible to fluctuations in world prices for prices for raw materials or a recession in the world market.

Over the last year before the coup, inflation was running at over 15 per cent. PEO's response was to join the government in trying to maintain a voluntary wage freeze, abandoning threats of strikes for what were unfulfilled promises of price controls. Even the *Economist* (20/7/1974) notes that 'Paradoxically, it is the right-wing pro-union workers' organisation, the SIK, that has set the pace for labour militancy'.

This wasn't an isolated case of PEO/AKEL making a tactically incorrect judgement, but the logical application of the policy they had followed from the period of the 50s onwards. This was that Cyprus was going through the first stage of the bourgeois revolution and that stage had to be completed. In that context, the way in which AKEL/PEO would gain more strength was through making pacts with Makarios, instead of basing themselves on the working class and peasantry. The importance of agreements with Makarios in many cases over-rode the interests of the working class. This was the reason why AKEL/PEO never campaigned during the whole period of Independence for the nationalisation of the land, or waged a real struggle for better living standards. As for putting forward a realistic strategy for a socialist Cyprus - that was only mentioned in fiery speeches and occasionally in manifestoes. But never throughout that whole period did AKEL put forward a strategy which could adequately



defend the living standards of the working class and peasantry, break the strangle hold that imperialism had imposed on the island and attempt to overcome the divisions of the working class and peasantry along ethnic lines.

The 1970 elections for the House of Representatives was another missed opportunity for the working classes to take the lead in the developments in Cyprus.

AKEL limited its slate at the elections to 9 candidates for 35 seats. The voting figures and delegates elected shown in the table below speak for themselves.

District	Candidates	elected	votes	
Nicosia	2	2	27,247	AKEL
12 seats	12	9	23,740	UNIFIED
Famagusta	2	2	16,954	AKEL
7 seats	7	5	13,159	PROGRESSIVE
Limassol	2	2	16,597	AKEL
7 seats	7	5	9,244	UNIFIED

AKEL clearly had the necessary support from the Greek Cypriot masses to represent it as the majority party in the House of Representatives. It was yet again to decline this mandate. There are probably many reasons why AKEL did not stand a full slate:

- (i) it might have gained a majority in the House of Representatives. The parties of the right would have probably formed an alliance against it;
- (ii) the right might become violent (sic). AKEL would thus have instigated more attacks against itself;
- (iii) given the existing inter-communal and international political situation AKEL preferred to be in opposition and not be responsible for solving the enosis-independence dilemma (which didn't really exist at that stage anyway).
- (iv) fear of Greece and Turkey invading under the guise of the Zurich agreements.

Alas! No amount of good conduct, overt reformism, class collaboration and capitulation has proved enough to appease the appetites of local and international reaction.

Underlying these reasons of course was AKEL's relationship with the Soviet Union, with whom AKEL had been having continual trouble. AKEL's overall policy in the 1960s was for independence, but the Soviet Union was on the whole trying to improve its relations with Turkey; for geographical and strategic reasons Russia is more interested in Turkey than Cyprus. Whereas in the past AKEL had internal conflicts with Moscow through the latter's opposition to enosis in the 1960s it faced a Moscow which was moving towards a two-communities solution of the Cyprus problem, ie. federation or partition.

The constraints of the new constitution were fully exploited by Dr. Kutchuk the Turkish Vice-President. The politics of the TMT manifested themselves on the Parliamentary stage in a deliberate attempt to paralyse the functioning of the Cyprus state. Using their right of veto and various constitutional procedures the Turkish leadership could effectively delay and inhibit the possibility of a viable unitary state developing. No national army could be formed and no taxes (the main source of income for the Government) could be collected. The inter-communal bloodshed of 1963 hardened this deepening rift between the two communities. Violence, which started with the bombing of a mosque in the Greek quarter of Nicosia was blamed on the Greeks by the Turkish

leadership. *Cumhuriyet*, the paper of the Turkish left, denounced the act as a provocation from Turkish fascists to spark off inter-communal fighting, and threatened to reveal the names of those responsible. The co-editors of the paper, Hidmet and Gurken, were murdered on the very same day.

Makarios had attempted to resolve the constitutional crisis through bypassing the Turkish administration, but in 1963 he decided to formalise this by means of thirteen amendments to the Constitution. The Turkish Government rejected these proposals even before Kutchuk could express an opinion.



In a country ruled by the gun, only AKEL refrained from any kind of violence.

It was clear that Turkey was following a clear policy of de-stabilising the Cyprus state in order to effect the partition plans of 1955. The plan of Galo Plaza in 1965 was later rejected by the Turkish Government for precisely the same reasons - the Cyprus state was to remain still-born.

The worst affected victims of the NATO policy were the Turkish Cypriots. NATO's plan facilitated the Turkish bourgeoisie's scheme to integrate the economy of the Turkish Cypriots with that of the Turkish mainland. The ultimate extension of this had to be partition. By 1970 Turkish aid to the island community was running at the rate of 200 million lira. *The condition for this aid was the strengthening of private enterprise linked to capital in the mainland.* Economic relations were developed to the extent that by 1974 the the Cyprus Turkish Chamber of Commerce united with the Turkish Chamber of Commerce. The high level of exploitation of the Turkish Cypriots by their bourgeoisie was facilitated by the 1963 inter-communal fighting which resulted in a vast source of cheap labour due to the large unemployment caused by the uprooting of the peasant population. The enclaves created after 1963 were encouraged by Turkey who had now adopted an official policy of federation. The Turkish Cypriot policy of cantons was perfectly in line with this - of the 20,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees estimated by the United Nations in 1969 many of these were in this position following directives from the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The left was brutally suppressed by the armed 'Freedom Fighters' financed directly by the Turkish Government. The trade union movement was completely weakened having been ditched by the PEO in 1958 during the inter-communal hostilities created by the British (only about 6 per cent of the working class was organised). Up to 1958 the Turkish trade unions were affiliated to the pro-Moscow World Federation of Trade Unions. Afterwards though they came under the domination of the bosses and became affiliated to the International

al Confederation of Trade Unions. Significantly they have co-operated closely with SEK. Because of the weakness of the trade unions and the left, repression and super-exploitation of the Turkish Cypriots was facilitated. The Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie benefitted from their misery – the Greek sector looked on with indifference. The average income per head of the Turkish Cypriots fell from £188 in 1963 to £50 in 1964, less than a quarter of that of their Greek counterparts. Over the years between 1963 and 1968 the Greek income increased by 50 per cent – the Turkish income never again reached its original 1963 level.

The economic blockade imposed by the Greeks pleased imperialism. The island was dividing and AKEL and Makarios could only sit back and watch. It was just a matter of time before Turkey would extend its repressive dominance to a larger part of the island.

## EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE COUP

-While Turkey was playing its part in creating ferment in Cyprus so was Greece through General Grivas. That the two were working towards a common goal was shown most clearly in 1971. Having had to insist on the removal of Grivas from the island in 1967, after his brigade slaughtered 26 Turkish Cypriots in an attack on the Turkish villages of Kokinou Ayiosthodoros, there were no protests when he returned in 1971. More than this, the directives of the Turkish Martial Law authorities to the press were not to attack Grivas but to explain the developments in Cyprus as a struggle between two ex-comrades for the leadership of the enosis movement.

Grivas had always been a threat to Makarios. When Makarios and the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie opted for independence it meant ditching Grivas and all those who had not seen enosis merely as a tactical move by the bourgeoisie but as an ideal to be achieved. In an attempt to bring order to the private armies which had emerged amongst the Greek Cypriots in June 1964, Makarios made the mistake of recalling Grivas to the island. Grivas, whose orders came directly from Athens, suddenly wielded the military power in Cyprus – command of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and also of the 'volunteer' Greek troopers stationed in Cyprus.

Grivas's departure in 1967 did not signify the end of his pro-enosis supporters' activities. In 1969 the pro enosis National Front embarked on a campaign of terrorism, raiding police stations to steal arms, bombing British military buildings and vehicles, shooting and wounding the chief of police and making several bomb attacks on Government Ministers. One such bomb attack occurred on October 14th outside the house of Papaioannou, Secretary- General of the AKEL. The next day in a speech at an AKEL meeting Papaioannou accused the CIA of preparing a plan which entailed (1) assassinations of progressive deputies, himself last; (2) the armament of bands of Greeks and Turks who would be used to provoke incidents; (3) the overthrow of Makarios and (4) the imposition of partition as a solution. The Government rejected this saying such accusations would injure the friendly relations of Cyprus and the US! AKEL's theory may have been proved correct but unfortunately speeches alone do not avert coups.

After an article in an Athens newspaper denouncing Makarios for abandoning enosis, Grivas secretly returned to Cyprus in September 1971. He began to hold meetings with the leaders of the National Front whose opposition to Makarios came as much from their hos-



Makarios and Greek dictator Papadopolous: the pressure is building up.

tility to the inter-communal talks as from their dedication to return to the womb of mother Greece.

The President had been under pressure for some time from the Greek junta to dismiss ministers considered hostile to Athens. In February 1972 Athens suggested that a Cypriot government of national unity should be formed, including moderate (!) representatives of General Grivas. Makarios did not resist this pressure for too long – in May Spyros Kyprianou, the Foreign Minister who had been the main target of the Greek junta's hostility, resigned, and in June Makarios carried out an extensive re-organisation of his cabinet.

Makarios's attempts to appease these ultra-right wing forces could not possibly succeed – one does not hope to quell a lion's appetite by feeding it a finger. Grivas organised a guerrilla force, EOKA B and launched a series of attacks on the Makarios Government. Meanwhile the Committee for the Co-ordination of the Enosis Struggle, Grivas's political front organisation, demanded a plebiscite on Enosis and rejected inter-communal agreement as a means of settling the future of Cyprus. EOKA B raided police stations, quarries and warehouses, stealing arms, ammunition, dynamite, and radio transmitters.

Despite claiming knowledge of Grivas's hideout, Makarios refused to arrest Grivas for fear of a political crisis, as if that did not already exist! Makarios even posed the question of the plebiscite in terms of a Presidential election for February 8th 1973, only to find himself quite naturally unopposed. EOKA B continued its terrorist activities throughout 1973 concentrating on bombings and raids on police stations. On July 27th the Minister of Justice, Christos Vakis was kidnapped and there were over 80 bomb explosions throughout Cyprus on the three following nights.

The anti-Makarios forces were also growing outside the country. The Greek junta saw Makarios as a figure around which the Greek bourgeois opposition, with Karamanlis, might rally. The US saw Makarios as a threat because of his non-alignment with the US – a position which had allowed the AKEL to exist as the predominant political force in Cyprus. These then were the forces pulling the strings – the puppets on the end of the strings would be the Greek officers heading the National Guard.

Sensing the noose tightening around his neck, Makarios, supported by the AKEL, saw the solution as strengthening the Tactical Reserve Force and asking Athens to withdraw their officers by July 20th. Following the publication of his open letter to the Greek junta on July 6th, speculation began as to the timing of the coup. In this letter Makarios accused

the Athens dictatorship of ordering the Greek officers of the Cypriot National Guard to prepare a coup against him.

In his letter demanding the withdrawal of the 650 Greek Officers of the National Guard he accused the Greek Government of trying to introduce a dictatorship and of turning the National Guard into an army of occupation which was 'the mainstay and supplier of the criminal FOKA B organisation'. In Greece the knives were out for Makarios. Street posters, normally illegal under the junta started to appear in the central streets of Athens accusing Makarios of treason and being a 'Power Greedy President'. The Greek Ambassador in Cyprus, Lagakos, and the National Guard Commander General Dhenisis flew to Greece three days before the coup to start talks with the President, General Ghizikes, General Bonanos, Commander of the armed forces and other senior army officers. Meanwhile Makarios and AKEL nervously waited in Cyprus for the 650 officers to perform their coup.

But the coup by itself could not solve imperialism's problems. The Sampson regime had no base at all to which it could joyously proclaim the advent of enosis. It had however the potential of uniting the two communities in opposition to it. Such a situation could involve Greeks and Turks in an armed struggle against the junta *on overtly class lines*. If such a situation arose the Turks could well extend the fight against their own repressive rulers. The invasion therefore was not separate from the coup - it merely *consolidated imperialism's initial gains*. From recent revelations in the press a clearer picture is emerging as to the way the US skilfully manipulated the whole scenario.

### THE PRESENT SITUATION

The inter-communal hostilities of the past, although clearly in the interests of US imperialism, mirrored the attempts of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisies to hammer out their economic and political problem on the anvil of Cyprus. These bourgeoisies are at present extremely weak in many respects, though the preconditions for their development have been laid. What was and still is the weakest section, the Turkish half stands to gain most in the long term at the expense of the Greek half. Whether the mass organisations of the working class can seize the opportunity open to them during the present weakness of the capitalist class is the crucial question. If not, and the development of the Cypriot bourgeoisies backed by their respective mainland bourgeoisies continues unhindered, the material basis for the partition will be fully consolidated.



Turkish tank comes ashore on Cyprus beach: the Turkish invasion brought disarray to the Turkish Cypriot community too.

### The Turkish Sector

As a result of the invasion Turkish finance capital and the Cypriot ruling clique have partly achieved their strategy for establishing complete economic and political control over the Turkish community and 40 per cent of the island. With secure frontiers protected by Turkish troops and the United Nations, unhampered by economic competition the community is now open to unrestricted exploitation and repression.

They have also fulfilled their contribution to imperialist strategy of dividing the island and bringing it totally within the control of NATO countries.

These developments have their origins in the development of a semi-autonomous Turkish administration after the inter-communal disturbances in 1958, themselves a product of sectarian violence by Greek and Turkish right wing organisations, backed by their respective and indigenous bourgeoisies. The result of this over the years has been, and particularly after the invasion, the uprooting of thousands of people who have been forced to move, leaving behind their land, homes and jobs.

To the capitalist, the refugees living in conditions of extreme poverty and health hazards are a large workforce to be exploited by giving them pitiful wages and threatening unemployment when economic demands are raised.

With all the fascist organisations left intact, if not strengthened, and a trade union organisation which is subordinated totally to the needs of the bourgeoisie incapable of even waging economic struggles; the conditions of the population faced with rising unemployment and increasing food prices is one of desperation.

On the one hand speculative hoarding and a rampant black market encouraged and supported by the ruling class is enabling huge speculative profits for the lumpen bourgeoisie while on the other hand their incompetence and bankruptcy at reviving even if not developing the economy has caused massive unemployment.

A blatant example of this is the recently formed Industrial Holding Limited. This Holding was formed to manage the 210 enterprises taken from the Greeks immediately after the invasion. Half of its 100 million T.L. (£3 million) capital is provided by the Turkish public sector and the other half by the Turkish Cypriot Consolidated Fund. The number of firms this Holding has been able to put back into production to date is only sixteen. The workforce in those firms comprises 35 watchmen, 50 technicians and 215 workers: a total in all of 300 workers.

The management of this Holding has been entrusted to Macit Ferdi, the ex-general manager of the only private bank in the Turkish sector, (the Turkish Bank Ltd.) and plans are to transfer these industrial holdings to 'dynamic' capitalists at extremely low rents. The Minister of Planning and Co-ordination who opposed the transfer of the Holding to private enterprise was swiftly removed from his post by Dektash. On the agricultural front, of the 22 enterprises taken over and handed to the 'publicly' owned 'Cypfruvex' only eight have been opened for production.

This economic wastage is extending the already massive unemployment and the conditions of the working class are further aggravated by the speculative hoarding of basic food stuffs, which results in inflated food prices. Recently published statistics of food prices on both sides of Cyprus by the official Turkish Agency (Cyprus CTAK) demonstrate large price differentials between the two sections of the community: the Turkish side paying up to three times more than their Greek counterparts.

The lack of agricultural planning has left the island's economy, which once enjoyed a standard of living

ahead of neighbouring countries, in shambles. Official employment statistics indicate that only one in three of the men and one in seven of the women who could be looking for work are employed. The real figures are even higher since many of those who have been in opposition to the repressive regime before and after the invasion who would not be given jobs do not apply to the employment agency.

The formation of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and the new constitution is the attempt of the bourgeoisie to consolidate the present state of affairs, whereby it has unchallenged control of the economy and political representation.

The Liberal grouping within the Constituent Assembly which opposed the draft constitution as presented by Denktash giving him extraordinary powers were successful in liberalising the constitution which now includes basic democratic rights. Yet with fascist organisations at their full strength and in control of the island, the democratic clauses in the constitution represent only paper rights, and were included only to give the constitution a semblance of 'respectability'. Clearly the working class cannot rely on this liberal parliamentary opposition to implement basic democratic rights which have for so long been denied in the Turkish Community.

### The Situation in the Greek Sector

Turkey at the present controls some 40 per cent of the land which contains some £2.25 billion worth of land and buildings and £100 million of household moveable equipment. The daily loss of production is estimated at some £2 million. The area under Turkish control includes 70 per cent of the gross output, about 90 per cent of tourist hotel accommodation, 83 per cent of general cargo handling, 60 per cent of agricultural exports etc. What is left of the economy is extremely fragmented. Large unemployment and reduced domestic consumption aggravate the problem already caused by the massive influx of refugees. Loss of tourism has created a large loss of income as well as large losses in jobs. The situation is similar to the Turkish side, thereby large external capital investment is unlikely because of the potentially volatile situation. The difference however is that although Turkish

Cypriot capitalism can wait hoping to consolidate its gains and effect a more efficient exploitation of the considerable resources that have fallen into its hands; the Greek Cypriot capitalist is hard pressed for time. A prolongation of the present situation of extreme economic weakness would pose the threat of its complete extinction.

Coupled with this catastrophic economic weakness and related to it is the economic impasse of the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie. All of the political solutions hitherto tried have failed and there are no fresh ones in sight. The dictatorship was still born. Rule by the parties of the right with a democratic facade is out of the question because those parties are mistrusted not only by the toiling masses and the petty bourgeoisie, but also by considerable sections of the middle class. Finally Makarios's careful political acrobatics supposedly cutting across classes have had their basic contradictions blatantly exposed in the last few months. The Archbishop who was expected until his return as the Messiah who would restore Cyprus to its pre-July 'glory' by the vast majority of the Greek Cypriots, has failed to make even the slightest progress in negotiating a settlement with Turkey. He has had to resort to a lot of militant talk while at the same time trying to calm the increasingly impatient masses by giving them promises and exhorting them to refrain from violence. He has declared in his speeches that he is not prepared to accept any form of partition of Cyprus but when Clerides threatened to resign his position as chief negotiator of the Greek side over these very same speeches he implored him to stay. The reasons behind Makarios's failures are essentially: (a) that US imperialism which is the dominant imperialist power has stopped trusting in his ability to stabilise the island in a way favourable to their interests. (b) The general decline of this type of 'non-aligned' politics as the onset of the present world economic crisis, has forced imperialism to take a sterner look at vague 'neutralists'. This trend started in the mid-sixties and has meant that Makarios has lost most of his more ardent diplomatic supporters in the Third World. (c) The close links forged between Makarios and British imperialism, which by now is far from being a really strong force in the world.

The situation in the Greek sector is suitable for the emergence of a genuine fascist movement based on



Refugee camps: breeding grounds of fascism or hotbeds of revolution?

the refugees, the unemployed, the impoverished petty bourgeoisie and declassed capitalists. EOKA could easily provide the leadership for this movement (if it can overcome the odium of the Sampson coup) basing it on the economic situation, the political impasse of bourgeois parties, the inability of the organised left to lead effectively and meaningfully the masses and the existence of a so-called national question.

In the face of this situation AKEL has resorted to the usual banalities about United Nations resolutions, International Courts, utilizing the Soviet 'factor' (in fact this factor appears to have lacked conviction right from the beginning of the present crisis) and calls to send Makarios to Moscow. Despite the obvious snubs and disappointments there isn't even a single AKEL minister in the present Cypriot Government while there are still some left from Sampson's Government.

The Communist Party of Cyprus is still searching for impossible bourgeois solutions. A member of the AKEL's Political Bureau, Constantinou, in an interview in *Paroikiaki Haravgi* (25/6/75) says: 'the immediate implementation of the Government's emergency economic plan for the reconstruction and revitalisation of the Cypriot economy is the main pillar of our people's struggle.'

Unfortunately this is not the kind of material out of which real solutions for the Cypriot masses are made.

## THE WAY FORWARD

After years of so-called Independence, Imperialism dominates Cyprus more strongly than ever before. A united offensive by the whole community is less likely now than ever before.

Imperialism has used ethnic divisions to separate the people, it now uses it to keep them apart. The real class issues have been obscured. The blame for this falls squarely on the shoulders of the AKEL leadership, who have subjugated the historic needs of the Turkish and Greek workers to the immediate needs of the Soviet bureaucrats.

Higher politics of defeat are not the politics of the leaders of the Russian revolution. Even after the coup and the war, they cannot break from their political past, seeking solutions through Makarios, the United Nations and the Greek Cypriot bourgeoisie. As in the anti-colonial struggle against the British, the AKEL failed in the task and allowed the movement to be led by the fascist Grivas who realised that the struggle must be an armed one.

The Cyprus problem cannot be solved within the confines of capitalism, that is under the social and economic conditions which necessarily set one community against the other. Only through the defeat of the capitalist class and the creation of a democratic workers state laying the basis for a socialist planned economy, in which the fruits of labour would be used for the benefit of all, is there any hope for an end to the historic subjugation of the Cypriot people. A revolutionary leadership must be built for this enormous task. This will not come from the leaders of AKEL but from those revolutionary socialists who can fight for a political programme which forms a bridge between the present situation and the socialist revolution. Such a task is out of the question for the AKEL who follow slavishly the capitalist task of today and talk about the socialism of tomorrow.

Revolutionary Socialists must fight for:

### (a) All foreign troops and bases out of Cyprus.

Foreign troops and bases have only been in Cyprus to impose imperialism's will on the island, and in the neighbouring areas. The United Nations troops have completely failed in their tasks of keeping the peace

and have used technicalities to avoid getting involved in the prevention of the coup and to withdraw to an inconspicuous background when the Turkish tanks advanced. Their only really effective role was the artificial reinforcement and consolidation of the divisions of the two ethnic communities. While the United Nations is not willing to match the words of its resolutions with action, only those who wish to create illusions in outside forces can pretend that the United Nations are playing a progressive role.

### (b) Struggle for democratic rights in the Turkish section

Basic democratic rights of free speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to organise have been denied to the Turkish workers and peasants by the repressive regime led by Denktash. The struggle for these rights will require the united action of workers against fascist organisations, the TMT, the capitalist ruling class, and for the removal of foreign troops. The socialist parties of Turkey must give full support to these struggles and for the building of revolutionary workers organisations in Cyprus.

### (c) The building of workers' trade unions for the Turkish.

Turkish workers have had enforced on them the bosses unions created through Turkey by the 'AFL' (American Federation of Labour), with the financial help of the CIA. The fight to remove the class collaborationist servants of the capitalist class from the leadership of the only legal Turkish trade union, and forming links with the Revolutionary Trade Union Confederation in Turkey are necessary to be able to go one step further and link with the class brothers on the other side of the artificial boundaries raised by imperialism.

### (d) For the right to work. No responsibility for the crisis of capitalism. For a sliding scale of wages, and hours.

The ruling class is attempting to make the working class pay for the economic crisis in the island. AKEL is going along with these plans of an incomes policy. It is essential that the working class and peasantry assert that they are not responsible for the crisis of capitalism and reject that class collaborationist line of the AKEL. Demands such as for the right to work for all, for a national minimum wage and for automatic compensation for inflation are demands which form the bones of a working class response to the economic crisis that capitalism faces.

### (e) Direct action by the refugees to achieve their fundamental rights.

Tens of thousands of refugees are at the moment denied even the most basic material benefits eg. housing, meals, clothing etc. It is essential that some of these problems are overcome which will begin to combat their demoralisation. It is a matter of farcical hypocrisy that the plight of the refugees is used by the bourgeoisie with such cynicism as a mere tool on the negotiating table and for propaganda consumption.

The refugees need and should demand an emergency house building programme and a minimum wage for all. In the meantime they should occupy empty properties and take over land for their own use independently and not as caretakers of the bourgeoisie. They should form links with the trade unions so that it will not be possible for the capitalist classes to play them off against the rest of the community.

**(f) The landless peasantry to take over the land.**

The leadership of the anti-colonial movement could not achieve the basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. In an underdeveloped country like Cyprus these could only be achieved through breaking completely with imperialism and hence capitalism, ie. the socialist revolution. The AKEL could not lead this, nor did it fight for this in a serious manner during independence. The peasants must seize and reorganise the land they work on themselves. This involves a direct challenge to the Church, the largest landowner and wealthiest capitalist institution in Cyprus. The hold of the Church has to be broken if the workers and peasants are to determine their own destinies.

Cyprus today is perhaps the only country in the whole area that has had no agrarian reform however ineffective or half hearted. This situation becomes entirely unacceptable if one considers that Cyprus is also perhaps the country that, relative to its population has got the largest and most developed workers' organisations in the area.

**(g) The independent armed self defence of the workers and peasants against fascism and imperialism.**

It is becoming clear to the toiling masses of Cyprus that capitalist armies, police, special police etc. have not only failed to defend them against fascism and imperialism, but have acted in collaboration with them.

This is hardly surprising as the prime aim of both bourgeois armies and police is to defend bourgeois order and bourgeois interests which by their nature often coincide with imperialist order and imperialist interests. Never again must Cypriot workers be left defenceless in the face of fascist repression and killings; and then dragged out of jails to be sent virtually unarmed to become cannon fodder for imperialist armies. The summer of 1974 is an unforgettable experience for Cypriot progressives.

The idea of independent armed militias of workers and peasants in the Greek section *is not a pipe dream*. The gun has been acceptable and a well circulated currency among Greek Cypriots for at least twenty-five years. It is only AKEL that has been slow in realising that, and in the face of all reality has pursued a 'respectable and democratic' path, while activating illusions about Soviet willingness to intervene and 'save' Cyprus.

The armed self-defence of workers and peasants is the only way to break the vicious circle of fatalism and demoralisation of the toiling masses and build their confidence so that they can start a struggle against indigenous reactionary violence and ultimately confront imperialism. The crisis of the bourgeoisie in the Greek section, its weakness and disarray, make the realisation of this demand there both possible and imperative. The situation in the Turkish sector is much more difficult due to the overwhelming presence of 40,000 Turkish mainland troops (the Turkish Cypriot population is only 120,000), the highly organised and institutionalised fascist terror and the numerical and organisational weakness of Turkish Cypriot socialists.

But as was the case in the mutual opposition to the Sampson coup, the effect of an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle in the Greek sector will give a lead and confidence to the Turkish socialists. We reject utopian schemes whereby the two communities must unite first before fighting. These slogans come from the apologists who will not undertake the anti-imperialist struggle. We believe unity will come through the struggle if it is posed in class terms.

**(h) For a United Socialist State of Cyprus.**

As the events over the last year have shown, reliance on the UN or the British troops to bring about a united democratic Cyprus leads the working class to demoralisation and prevents the self-organisation of the class to fight for its own destiny. AKEL has been to a great extent responsible for creating such illusions in the working class and peasantry through the conception of the stages theory of the socialist revolution. Real independence and democracy can only be achieved through the struggle for socialism – there is no bourgeois democratic stage for a backward country like Cyprus within the world imperialist system.

A United Socialist Cyprus can only be achieved through a struggle waged by the working class and peasantry the leadership of which will put the interests of the working class above those of the bourgeoisie and who not simply in words, but in action, fight for the defence of working class living standards and organisations. This does mean that this new leadership will have to decisively break with the past practices of the AKEL, who have put the interests of the bureaucracy in the USSR above those of the working class in Cyprus. This involves the building of a revolutionary party in Cyprus – which in its programme will have to have the above demands.

**(i) Build an international solidarity campaign with the struggle of Cypriot workers.**

Over 120,000 Cypriots live in London alone. They form some 15 per cent of Cyprus's population. A solidarity campaign based on a revolutionary programme must be taken up in all countries. Cyprus is only a small island and its working class forms only a small part of the world proletariat. However, it has gone through a harsh experience and is having to wage a struggle against immense odds. However, it has gone of the Indochinese workers and peasants has shown that in our era, and given fierce determination, the odds do not count.



The victory of the Indochinese revolution has shown that imperialism, no matter how powerful, can be defeated.



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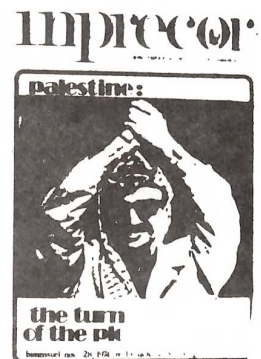
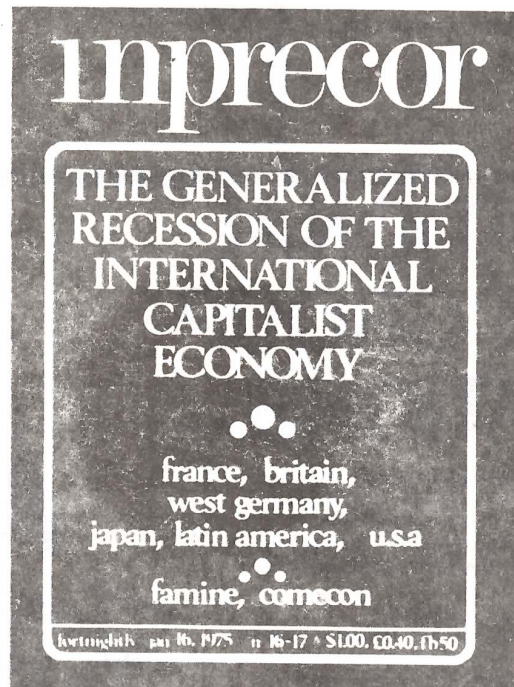
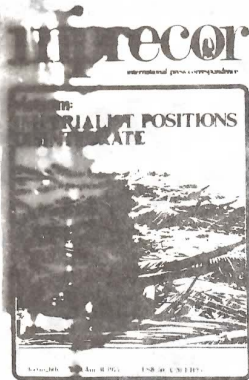
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