Southern Flank

Background briefing: a short history of the Cyprus issue

by Phocion

With the reorganization of the Greek Armed Forces, since last December, under the Moscow-controlled Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, the likelihood of a Greek-Turkish shooting war has increased. Mr. Papandreou is known to have committed himself, by means of a series of secret agreements with Bulgaria and Syria, to the perspective of a three-pronged military conflict with Turkey, involving the deployment of Greek, Bulgarian, and Syrian forces, with Soviet blessing, against Turkey. Developments in the region in recent weeks, especially the exacerbation of the perennial Cyprus Crisis, indicate that the likelihood of such a war will keep growing in the next six months.

The following report is offered in anticipation of what these next six months are about to produce. It should be noted that the principal power manipulating the local actors for a period of 108 years to date has been British diplomacy.

The history

Cyprus, the third largest island in the Mediterranean, has a population of approximately 650,000 people. The population is ethnically divided as follows: Greek 80%; Turkish 18%; the remaining 2% are Armenians, Maronites, Arabs, Jews, British, and transient foreigners.

Cyprus's population had been almost completely Greek from approximately 1800 B.C. to about 1660 A.D. Its speech has been the Arcadian dialect of Greek, found only in Cyprus and in Arcadia, Greece.

Cyprus was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571. Partial settlement of Turkish people began the following century. In 1878, as a result of the Congress of Berlin, the Ottoman Sultan sold Cyprus to the British in exchange for partial debt write-off and for a pledge of British military protection against Russian threats. From 1878 to November 1914, Cyprus, though administered by Britain, was formally under Ottoman suzerainty, in an arrangement similar to that under which Lord Cromer was administering Egypt, also, then, under Ottoman suzerainty.

On November 5, 1914, Britain unilaterally annexed Cyprus following Turkey's participation in World War I against Britain. In October 1915, Britain offered the island to the Kingdom of Greece, on condition that Greece enter the war on the side of Britain and help neighboring Serbia. King

Constantine of Greece, a cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm, rejected the offer and refused to enter the war.

The Greek officers' corps in its majority abandoned the King and, for the duration of the First World War, the Greek state was split between a Royalist government, based in Athens, and controlling the south of the country, which maintained a pro-German neutrality, and a rival, anti-monarchical, republican government, under Venizelos, which, based in Thessalonica and controlling the north, participated in the war on the side of the Allies. After the war, the King was expelled and the entire country was reunified under a republican constitution, but by then it was too late for Britain to cede Cyprus to Greece.

On March 10, 1925, Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony.

Almost immediately, a mass movement emerged in Cyprus, advocating union with Greece, called *Enosis*. From 1931 onward, large-scale violence against British occupation began which, after the burning of the governor's residence, forced the British to proclaim a state of emergency, banish large numbers of local personalities and dignitaries, and enforce police rule for a decade until 1940, the height of the Second World War. As Greece and Britain became allies in the war, Cypriots began volunteering for service in the British Army. The British thus ended police emergency rule and, in 1941, they authorized the establishment of the first political party in Cyprus, the communist party which goes by the name AKEL ("Reform Party of the Working People").

During the war, Winston Churchill pledged to the Greek government in exile that Cyprus would be ceded to Greece, after Greece's eventual liberation from German occupation troops.

The matter remained moot so long as the Greek civil war lasted, until 1949. In January 1950, a plebiscite was held in Cyprus in which, of the 224,747 eligible voters of that time, 215,108 voted in favor of Enosis, union with Greece.

Between 1950 and 1955, Greece regularly raised the "Cyprus issue" at the United Nations, seeking to obtain a General Assembly vote for self-determination of Cyprus. Greece failed to obtain such vote. As a result, on April 1, 1955, Gen. George Grivas, a Greek Army officer of Cypriot descent, launched a guerrilla armed struggle against the British. Gri-

vas had extensive guerrilla warfare experience, having been the leading commander of the Greek nationalist anti-Nazi resistance during the German occupation, and having subsequently ably commanded special units against the Communist insurrection.

Britain declared a state of emergency on Nov. 27, 1955. Four years of large-scale repression ensued, involving population relocations, exiles, curfews, executions, and widespread torture. Grivas's guerrilla movement held its own effectively through all this.

From March 1956 to March 1957, Archbishop Makarios, the head of the Cypriot church, was exiled to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean and, by a combination of blackmail and seduction, agreed to work for the Foreign Office.

Foreign Office policy, hammered out during the summer months of 1955, was to develop the option of a separate, independent state of Cyprus, in order to prevent union with Greece. Until that time, the Foreign Office's problem was that it could find no Greek-Cypriot leader willing to fight for anything other than union with Greece. The blackmailed Archbishop Makarios agreed to assume this role.

Turkey and Turkish-Cypriots first became involved in the Cyprus issue in 1957, at the instigation of British diplomacy. In 1957, Turkey demanded partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey and counterposed this demand to Greece's demand for union. The Foreign Office, from that point on, insisted that no talks on Cyprus could be held without Turkey being a party. Thus, Britain and Makarios raised the option of a separate Cypriot state as the alternative to Turkey's demand for partition and Greece's demand for union.

Talks in Zurich and London between Great Britain, Greece and Turkey during 1959 produced a compromise solution which produced an independent republic of Cyprus under a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President. Britain was to retain two military bases at Akrotiri and Dhekelia, comprising 10% of the island's territory. In December 1959, elections for the presidency were held and Makarios won. Six months later, elections for the Turkish Vice-President resulted in victory for Dr F. Kucuk. On Aug. 16, 1960, Cyprus received independence and a British-crafted constitution.

On August 17, 1960, the following treaties were signed, from which the Republic of Cyprus derives its legal status:

- 1) Treaty of Establishment between Britain, Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus, defining the territory of the two bases remaining under British control.
- 2) Treaty of Guarantee between the same parties whereby Cyprus undertook to safeguard its independence and to refrain from political or economic union with any state, while the remaining signatories recognized and guaranteed the independence, territorial integrity, and security of Cyprus.
- 3) Treaty of Alliance for cooperation in mutual defense, between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey, providing for a tripartite central command to be established in

Cyprus with Greece and Turkey maintaining contingents of 950 and 650 soldiers, respectively. This was unilaterally repealed by Makarios in April 1964.

The chief law-enforcement official of the new state, Attorney-General Criton Tornarites, was the same person who was the Attorney-General of the Crown Colony and who had administered colonial justice during the state of emergency. He also happened to be the same person who carried out the blackmail operation in the Seychelles Islands which successfully turned Archbishop Makarios into an agent of the Foreign Office.

Immediately after independence, the British-authored constitution began to break down. After a series of crises, Makarios proposed a revision of the constitution in November of 1963. Violence broke out in December 1963 and again in February 1964. The United Nations sent a peacekeeping contingent in March 1964. In April, Makarios annulled the Treaty of Alliance on grounds that Greece, Turkey, and Britain were NATO members and he wished to be "non-aligned." In June, 1964, Turkey threatened to invade Cyprus on grounds of the continuing constitutional crisis there. President Johnson warned Turkey that if Turkey were to attack, the U.S.A. would not assist Turkey in the event of Soviet intervention.

During the same period, the United States came forward with the Acheson Plan, which called for 1) union of Cyprus with Greece, mediated through NATO; 2) establishment of a strong NATO presence on the projected Greek island of Cyprus; and 3) establishment of a Turkish military base on Cyprus in the same context which would also provide for the protection of Turkish-Cypriot interests.

The United States also deployed the Sixth Fleet between Turkey and Cyprus for the purpose of thwarting a possible Turkish invasion.

The Acheson Plan, the only reasonable solution to the Cyprus issue, failed because it was opposed by the then Prime Minister of Greece, George Papandreou, the father of Andreas. Andreas Papandreou, a cabinet minister himself at the time, was leading a faction of about 30 members of Parliament who were leading the opposition to the Acheson plan. This faction had also created a conspiracy of Greek Army officers stationed in Cyprus and codenamed ASPIDA which were agitating against the Acheson Plan and in favor of a "non-aligned" Cyprus and a "non-aligned" Greece.

The conspiracy was discovered and brought to trial, Papandreou's defense minister was forced to resign, and King Constantine, as was his constitutional right, demanded that the next defense minister be approved by him personally. Prime Minister Papandreou and the King clashed over the selection of the next defense minister, and Papandreou resigned. Two years of political chaos ensued which ultimately led to the colonels' coup d'etat on April 21, 1967.

(Next week, Part Two: "The Cyprus issue since the colonels' coup and U.S. policy options today.")

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