



AKEL *bulletin*

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS - February 2008 *For a **Just Solution** and a **Just Society!***

Speech of the Presidential Candidate Demetris Christofias at the Extraordinary Congress of the Election Support Groups

Nicosia 15th December 2007

I warmly welcome you all to this great gathering which heralds a **message of victory**. I welcome the election campaign committees of the members and cadres of AKEL who through their enthusiasm and conviction have undertaken the main burden of the daily contact with the people and of conveying our proposals and messages.

I welcome the representatives of the Support Groups of our Candidacy. I warmly thank them for their all-round support and for the broad appeal they are giving to our own candidacy.

I welcome our friend Kypros Chrysostomides and the delegation of the Front for the Reorganisation of the Centre with whom we already have established a sincere and fruitful cooperation.

I welcome the delegation of the United Democrats Party headed by our friend Praxoulla Antoniadou. I welcome our friend Giorgos Vasiliou, former President of the Republic of Cyprus. I welcome the representatives of the Initiative of Free Citizens. Coming from different political backgrounds, it is quite natural that we have different approaches. However, we are all united by our concern about the future of our country. **It is precisely this deep concern which in the end matters and bring us all together in the same front of struggle so that we can serve the cause of the reunification of our Cyprus and people in the best way possible in order to prevent partition which is an immediate threat.**

It's good to see you all here in the front line of this noble struggle.

Dear friends,

We projected our candidacy for **three basic reasons**. The first reason is the fact that unfortunately today the Cyprus

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problem is at a dangerous deadlock. The dangers stemming from the consolidation of partition are great. As a consequence we have a duty towards those who have passed away and to our children to prevent the finalisation of partition. We have a duty to promote the solution of the Cyprus problem which will liberate us from the occupation and reunite Cyprus. We strongly believe that we can successfully carry out our duty to our country and people.

The second reason is linked to the first reason and is linked with the need for unity on our domestic front. Unity on the basis of principles is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving the goals of our anti-occupation struggle. We firmly believe that we can serve effectively the cause of unity.

The third reason for submitting our candidacy is that Cypriot political life needs renewing and Cypriot society needs modernising. We can lead this effort for renewal and modernisation with social sensitivity and a human touch.

Dear friends,

In the past few days we have witnessed some positive developments. We have managed with the assistance of our friends to prevent negative developments. I am referring to the resolution regarding the renewal of the UNFICYP mission and to the draft Conclusions of the Council of the European Union. These developments should be correctly assessed. They should not lead to any triumphalist exultations and celebrations but neither to any negative denials. Cyprus, in contrast to what the leadership of the DHSY Rally party and its own candidate states, has steadfast friends of its cause who with consistency uphold principles. **For the creation, development and consolidation of the relations of friendship we as a political entity and I personally have contributed immensely, particularly regarding Russia and China.** Indeed concerning the recent Report of the Secretary-General of the UN is concerned we took initiatives in the direction of our friends from the moment the draft of the Report was made known.

I repeat that the positive developments of the past few days cannot and must not lead us into any triumphalist exultations and celebrations and into drawing any wrong conclusions for the sake of petty pre-election expediencies and interests. The situation surrounding the Cyprus problem is grave. The impasses are before us. The negative slide of events on the Cyprus problem has not been finally averted. **The efforts to turn the Cyprus problem from an issue of the invasion and occupation into an issue of lifting the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots are continuing.** With the recent Report of the Secretary-General of the UN the 2004 scenario is being repeated. It is the fourth time that the Secretariat of the United Nations has attempted to introduce the issue of the lifting of the so-called isolation. The trend towards sidelining illegality and the violation of international law, the trend towards the acceptance of the occupational formation and its structures as a non-recognised state is intensifying. Also the issue of direct trade is still open.

As a consequence the latest developments, however positive as they might be, do not change the general picture. The general picture can be reversed through planned and coordinated actions and through the initiation of continuous initiatives. What is needed is not to prevent in a sketchy manner each time any possible negative developments but to set in motion such developments that will open up the perspectives for the solution of the Cyprus problem. Otherwise if Turkey remains rigid in its partitionist policy then it should be exposed and pressure should again be exerted on Turkey.

Dear friends,

Our candidacy has been embraced and is being vindicated by the people because it combines three basic elements. The first element is the assertion until the very end of the fundamental principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem. The second is the political will and readiness for an honourable compromise with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots within the framework of a bi-zonal bi-communal federation. The third is that our candidacy pledges and is convincing people that it will lead to a more just society.

We shall assert until the very end the termination of the occupation, the withdrawal of the occupational troops and the liberation of Cyprus from the colonisation underway.

We shall fight for the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus and keep the vision of a demilitarised Cyprus alive. We shall struggle for the relief of Cyprus from whatever foreign dependencies so that no foreign country can intervene in the internal affairs of a reunified Cyprus.

A Federal Cyprus will have a single sovereignty, a single international personality and nationality.

We shall fight for the reunification of the state, the people, institutions and the economy.

We shall struggle for the restoration and safeguarding of the human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right of the refugees to return and the right of property. In order to achieve these goals we shall utilise to the greatest possible degree the means offered by the European status of Cyprus. No community can safeguard the rights of its members to the detriment of the rights of the other community.

With our election to the Presidency of the Republic we shall undertake concrete, substantial and well-prepared initiatives so that mobility on the Cyprus problem can be initiated in the proper direction.

We have, as I have already stressed, the political will to work without any wavering for a federal solution of the Cyprus problem. Federation has been described as a painful compromise. It is however a necessary compromise which prevents partition and leads to reunification. We accepted the solution of a bi-zonal bi-communal federation as this has been recorded in the High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979. Since then we have with consistency and sincerity followed this line. Our consistency regarding the need for a federal solution is well-known to everyone in Cyprus but also abroad. This enhances our credibility.

We accept that federation presupposes the political equality of the two communities. What political equality means is indeed satisfactorily explained in the resolutions of the United Nations and the Reports of the Secretary-General. Of course political equality within the framework of federation has nothing whatsoever to do with the extremist and separatist views which exist on the Turkish side.

With our election to the Presidency of the Republic we shall undertake concrete, substantial and well-prepared initiatives so that mobility on the Cyprus problem can be initiated in the proper direction. We shall exploit every possibility and opportunity so that influence and pressure can be exerted on Ankara aiming at damping Turkish intransigence. We shall turn towards the United Nations, the countries that compose the permanent members of the Security Council and the European Union. We are in a position to utilise in a better way our friendly relations with Russia and China. We shall also turn towards the Turkish Cypriots. **Having faith in the correctness of our positions we have nothing to fear from the development of a dialogue with the Turkish Cypriot leadership and with the Turkish Cypriot community in general.**

Our first objective will be the implementation of the 8th of July Agreement. That Agreement provided for a necessary preparatory stage which can be completed in a short period of time and produce the required result, given that good will and political endeavour is exhibited by both sides. From our own behalf we will certainly show both good will and political endeavour.

We shall strive as soon as possible to move forward to substantial negotiations on the level of the leaders of the two communities. We shall conduct these talks with determination, persistence on the principles guiding the solution of the Cyprus problem but also with flexibility. Some forces and people are distorting our position, something which anyway is also being done regarding other issues of the current pre-election campaign. In no way does flexibility mean submission. **Flexibility** means proper negotiation so that we can reach mutually accepted results. The desired result is the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the resolutions of the UN, the High-Level Agreements, International and European Law.

Dear friends,

Our constant declared position is that the Cyprus problem is a problem of invasion and occupation. It is a problem of the violation of the human rights of our people. At the same time however we also recognise the internal aspect of the problem which also exists; that is to say that aspect of the problem referring to the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, referring to the structure of the Cypriot state and to the role of the two communities in the management of this common state. The Turkish Cypriots constitute an important factor in the whole composition of the Cyprus problem.

The decisive role of Turkey through its military and political presence and through the presence of the settlers is a given fact. This however does not enable us to underestimate or also to negate the Turkish Cypriot factor. If we historically, the largest and economically more robust community, had managed to combat decisively nationalism and develop friendly relations of respect and cooperation with the Turkish Cypriots the foreign powers would not have been able to promote the policy of "divide and rule" and the situation today in Cyprus would have been different. This is what I also had in mind in my reference in the speech I made in Pafos and which was the subject of an unacceptable distortion by the government spokesman and the Election Office of Mr. Papadopoulos. They even stooped so low as to accuse us that with our positions we are allegedly helping those forces which are promoting the lifting of the so-called isolation of the Turkish Cypriots. The distortion is disgraceful as well as the arbitrary conclusions drawn.

Mr. Papadopoulos and his Election Campaign Office know very well that Dimitris Christofias both as the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL and as the President of the House of Representatives is waging daily battles so that the position for the lifting of the so-called isolation of the Turkish Cypriots will not pass. There is not one meeting of mine with foreign officials and journalists where I do not raise this issue and where I do not underline that the entire philosophy surrounding the so-called isolation of the Turkish Cypriots overturns the essence of the Cyprus problem which is the invasion and the continued occupation. I project and defend before my interlocutors the measures taken by the government in favour of the Turkish Cypriots. In any case these measures were taken also through our own encouragement. It is from the political spectrum which today is fanatically supporting the Papadopoulos candidacy that these measures have been and are still being questioned and doubted on the rationale that we are allegedly granting excessive privileges to the Turkish Cypriots. Consequently more respect should have been shown if not towards us, at least to the truth itself.

The objective goal was and remains to help the Turkish Cypriot community to free itself from Ankara's embrace; to feel that its future lies in the cooperation and common cohabitation with the Greek Cypriots.; to convince the Turkish Cypriots that in a reunified Cyprus they will not be second-class citizens and that they also

comprehend that the safeguarding of their own rights cannot be ensured to the detriment of the rights of the Greek Cypriot community. If we manage to achieve these goals, if we manage to find a common language at the negotiating table then for sure such a dynamic will be created that not even Turkey can overlook it.

We support, and not arbitrarily, that **we can develop much better the dialogue with the Turkish Cypriots and their leadership;** that we can convey messages of trust and mutual respect and that these messages can be persuasive. The relations that our own political class has historically developed with the Turkish Cypriot community and our own personal relationship all of these years reconfirm the truth of what we declare and the validity of our position.

Some have tried to ridicule and negate the importance of our own relations with the Turkish Cypriots. They have exploited unacceptable statements made by the Turkish Cypriot leadership so that they can talk about alleged erroneous bridges with the Turkish Cypriots. In their efforts to nullify the obvious advantage of our own candidacy they have transmitted denigrating messages to the Turkish Cypriot community and to its current leadership by overemphasizing that the decisions are taken in Turkey.

**Our own
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If however we are in essence refusing the dialogue with the Turkish Cypriots on the pretext that Ankara decides on all matters then with whom will we talk with to solve the Cyprus problem and particularly with regard to its internal aspect? How will we arrive at a solution that will serve our own interests as Cypriots and not the interests of foreign powers? How will we implement the call included in yesterday's Security Council resolution, which was unanimously approved and was greeted by all of us, for us the Cypriots ourselves to solve the problem? Should we through disregarding the Turkish Cypriots push them even further into the embrace of Ankara or should we with our correct stand bring them together on common positions and common struggle for the reunification of Cyprus? Naturally we choose the second option.

In order to arrive at an agreed solution of the Cyprus problem we must also negotiate with the Turkish Cypriot community and its leadership. It is preferable to talk with the current leadership, whatever differences we have with it - and we do have many differences - than with leaderships of Denktash's type which are ardent supporters of partition and captives of chauvinism.

I repeat and stress: we together with the Turkish Cypriot community can conduct a fruitful dialogue, not because we have any magical solutions, nor because we are ready to make any unacceptable compromises, as some are suggesting but because between us there exists respect and the trust which has been built through many years of struggles and relations.

Dear friends,

Our own candidacy conveys a message of making a positive change in the political life of Cyprus. It is high time that people of a **younger generation** should assume the running of the state that did not have a direct participation in the adventures of the past and as a consequence will not seek their self-vindication through their policy. We are aspiring to usher in a positive change in the political life of Cyprus not only in the highest echelons of power but also in most of our daily life. Our own perception regarding positive change, renewal and modernisation is not based on one-dimensional technocratic concepts which many times lack a human foundation and are devoid of feelings. Our own perception regarding renewal and modernisation is characterised by the concern about people and social sensitivity. Only through a policy based on a human touch and sensitivity

can the world be made better for all of us. **We shall inject a policy with a human touch in politics and we shall implement policies with humaneness.**

In striving for the renewal of political life and for positive changes in Cypriot society we are not throwing to the scrapheap everything from the past. On the contrary we must and we can salvage and revitalise values with a fresh breath of air which always characterised us as Cypriots, as islanders if you like of a Mediterranean country; values such as humaneness, social solidarity, altruism, honesty and integrity. **We are even aspiring to provide assistance to traditional institutions such as the family, our education, to social life in the sense of serving society as a whole. We shall support these institutions in contemporary conditions by lending them an even more democratic content.** Without wishing to replace the Church hierarchy, yes, we will help as much as possible and as much as we can the hierarchy of the Church to tackle negative phenomena that are afflicting it.

Dear friends,

In dividing our pre-election campaign into thematic unities we have already projected our own perspective and our own programmatic positions on various issues such as education, young people, women, athletics and sports, social policy, our policy regarding the elderly and the groups of the population with special needs. Very soon we shall hand to the public our government programme. In our meeting today I will not deal with the various aspects of our programme. Allow me though to outline its character and philosophy.

Our programme is democratic, serves people's interests and promotes modernisation.

Our programme is characterised by a human touch, a concern for the ordinary man and woman, for all those who especially need the comfort and care of society. Education, health, culture and social welfare are all obligations of a modern state with a social policy. The practise of exploiting the resources of the state for petty party expediency has nothing to do with us. The neo-liberal approach, which lays a one-sided emphasis on economic indexes and does not consider that we are dealing with people rather than with simple figures, is something alien to us. **Above all there should be respect towards people, their personalities and needs. We shall promote in a planned and thorough way a social policy that will be embodied by social sensitivity.**

Such a socio-economic policy that will develop the economy and broaden the capabilities of the state to serve people can and must be elaborated. **A just society: that is our slogan.** This above all means a just redistribution of the national income so that working people, the elderly, and our economically disadvantaged citizens can benefit from what rightfully belongs to them. It is not necessary to impose taxes in order to implement a social policy. The prudent management of the resources of the state, the introduction of new technologies, the encouragement of research all contribute to establishing a prosperous economy which will in turn and through the state act as a supporter to those who are in need of help. Our aspiration at the end of the five year term is not to see a single fellow citizen of ours living below today's poverty line. This is our social contract with the people.

The backbone of the Cypriot economy is the small businesses and the broad strata of self-employed. In contrast to all those who are resurfacing the scaremongering of a bygone age in order to harm, as they believe, our candidacy, we are fully aware that business in all its dimensions and domestic and foreign investment constitute the driving force of our economy. Business in all its dimensions, from the simple family business to the big companies will have the support of the state during our own administration.

The Semi-governmental utility organisations will be helped and supported by the state, which posses advanced technological know-how and are managing the wealth that belongs to all the

people and which must not only survive in the new competitive environment but also to continue to make advances in their fields and to fully play their social role.

The refugees, who have shouldered the biggest burden of the consequences of the invasion and occupation, will receive the help and support of the state, as well as our farmers who are particularly feeling the impacts from the new environment due to the accession to the European Union.

Dear friends,

I do not deny my political roots and which I have the honour in serving. I do not deny that my political ground has its own long-term visions for Cypriot society. However I underline emphatically that our overriding goal today is not our ideological and class domination but the salvation of our country Cyprus. **What concerns us all is the liberation of our country from occupation and its reunification in conditions of freedom, security and respect for human rights. Our administration will serve this paramount objective.** In any case AKEL, always acting patriotically and responsibly since the establishment of Cypriot independence, subordinated whatever other goals to the overriding goal for the competition of the independence of our country. This duty has become even more pressing today after the fascist coup de etat, the invasion of Attila and occupation.

Therefore in promoting the goal of the reunification of Cyprus and fully aware that only through the unity on the domestic front can we succeed in this goal, **I pledge that as President of the Republic I will conduct my duties in the spirit of unity. I will be a President for all Cypriots.** In our own administration autocracy, favouritism to any party, the politics of division, the degrading of persons, institutions and social groups, the classification of citizens into petty-party categories will be combated. In our own administration dialogue, the respect of all opinions and their agencies, the synthesis of views will prevail so that we can always strive to achieve what is best for our country.

In our own administration dialogue, the respect of all opinions and their agencies, the synthesis of views will prevail so that we can always strive to achieve what is best for our country.

I pledge that the government I will form, if the people honour me with their vote, will be a government of progressive capable persons of broad acceptance, where every Cypriot will feel the administration as their own and it will truly be theirs. The main place to promote unity is the National Council. I pledge that I will enhance the role and effectiveness of the National Council. The institution will inspire respect and each member of the National Council will feel that his/hers participation will be valuable and will receive the proper recognition. I will restore, as far as this depends on me, the relations between the political forces which participate in the National Council and no one will have a reason or the excuse not to participate in it.

Dear friends,

The perpetuation of the current situation on the Cyprus problem leads to the consolidation of partition. This is clearly obvious. For every Cypriot patriot, whether Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot, partition is not a solution. It is a catastrophe. We cannot remain indifferent in the face of this situation. Neither could I also remain indifferent or passive. Nor would my consciousness allow it, neither the sense of responsibility towards my country, nor my participation in our common struggles for the salvation of our country. I am deeply concerned about the future of our country Cyprus. I am deeply concerned about the future that we will inherit to our children. This deep concern of mine is constant and real, as I believe it is for every Cypriot patriot. When we decided together last July that the situation made it imperative for us to submit our own candidacy for the Presidency of the state I accepted this decision with awe and trepidation, with a sense of

responsibility and without any thoughts of personal ambition. In any case under the circumstances the post of President of the Republic of Cyprus does not lend itself for the satisfaction of personal ambitions.

My sole ambition is to serve the country at this difficult period of time.

From the moment our own candidacy was announced it ceased to be a candidacy only from the political spectrum of the Left. It has been transformed into a candidacy of broad acceptance; in reality it has been transformed into a popular candidacy which expresses and represents every Cypriot who wants to see his/her country free and united and our people advancing on the road of progress and prosperity. This is precisely the reason why our candidacy is embraced by broader strata of the people. It has gained the support of citizens from all the ideological and political fields. Ordinary men and women of the people but also personalities of renowned prestige in all walks of political, social, economic and cultural life are joining our ranks. Working people, the self-employed, farmers, scientists and professional people, intellectuals and people from the world of arts, letters and culture, people from the business world have united their forces with us. Our candidacy does not abolish the stratification of society which life itself creates. It does however build bridges of common understanding, unity and identity of interests for the good, above all else, of our Cyprus. **Our candidacy unites people so that we can bring the reunification of Cyprus.**

Dear comrades and friends,

Our messages are becoming accepted and are being warmly embraced by the people. We have all the credentials and preconditions to win the presidential elections. This is what the polls are indicating. This is what the visits of our candidate and the cadres of election campaign groups are showing. This is what the day to day contact of all of you and many other friends with the people in local neighbourhoods, communities, work places, education establishments, in social gatherings has shown - everywhere where our fellow-citizens are living, working and spending their leisure time.

The messages we are receiving are more than encouraging and optimistic. They are messages that tell us that we have taken the correct decisions. They are messages that strengthen our faith in the final victory and fill us with enthusiasm and self-confidence. These very positive messages should under no circumstances lead us to complacency and to any relaxation in our efforts. The battle will be hard. The battle demands from all of us self-less, systematic and organised work right up to and including the day the elections will be held.

With respect to all citizens and armed with our clear-cut and well-defined positions, our policy in favour of people's interests, consistency, sincerity and above all our humaneness we must continue and intensify our efforts in the time left till the elections and which of course is continuously drawing near. We must continue by concentrating our efforts on the daily contact with the people: in the personal day to day contact with people. The people of Cyprus fortunately have not been alienated by the pace and reality of the modern age. The people of Cyprus still seek human contact and dialogue. They want to listen but also to transmit their own messages and this can only be achieved solely through the personal day to day contact with the people. Let us therefore continue and intensify all of our efforts.

Dear friends,

In concluding my speech I repeat what I have underlined from the beginning: if the people honour us with their vote we will dedicate all of our forces to break the deadlock on the Cyprus problem, to open up new perspectives, to finally solve the Cyprus problem and reunify our country and people.

Assessment of the course of the Presidential elections, Statement by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of AKEL

The enlarged Political Bureau of the C.C. of AKEL met today in its session which made an assessment of the course of the Presidential elections. The Political Bureau greets the enthusiasm which with the cadres and members of the Party has devoted themselves to the pre-election campaign. It also greets the work being done by the campaign offices of the Parties, Movements and Organisations, as well as the Support Groups which support the candidacy of Demitris Christofias.

It ascertains that a great deal of substantial work has already been done. The messages conveyed by the candidacy of D.Christofias are being all the more embraced by the people, creating the pre-conditions for victory. The Political Bureau of the C.C. of AKEL calls on the campaign committees to intensify their work even more so that the election victory of D.Christofias can be ensured.

The session decided to hold a Pancyprian Conference of the election campaign committees supporting the candidacy of D.Christofias on the 15th of December. The Political Bureau of the C.C. addresses the Cypriot people and calls on it to wholeheartedly support the candidacy of D.Christofias. A victory for D.Christofias will represent a victory for the Cypriot people as a whole. It will create the preconditions for the utilisation of the mobility expected on the Cyprus problem, aiming at the achievement of an agreed solution which will be based on the relative UN Resolutions, international and European law and the High-Level Agreements. It will also create the preconditions for the modernisation of institutions and the renewal of political life. Finally, it will safeguard that the problems facing people will be tackled in an understanding manner and with people's interests at heart, with the feeling of social sensitivity and social solidarity enhanced.

24/11/2007

Statement of the C.C. of AKEL On the draft Conclusions of the General Affairs Council on Turkey

Having studied the draft Conclusions of the General Affairs and External Relations Council regarding enlargement and Turkey, we note the following:

1. The ascertainment of the Council that Turkey has not fulfilled its obligations of full non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol and that it has not made progress towards normalisation of its relations with the Republic of Cyprus.
2. The reference to the Negotiating Framework and the wording that the Council expects Turkey to actively support (instead of "to continue to support") the efforts to implement the agreed 8th of July process leading to a comprehensive and viable settlement of the Cyprus problem within the UN framework and in line with the principles on which the Union is founded.

These positive references, as it was also the case in the past, remain on a level of declaration, without Turkey for the moment being particularly pressured.

Given the intention of the Union to re-examine Turkey's course in 2009, we do not consider that the draft Conclusions should lead to celebrations, but neither also to negative denial. National issues must be handled in a sober way far away from any overstatements and pre-election expediencies.

11/12/2007

**Excerpts from the speech of the Presidential candidate Demetris Christofias at the pancyprian meeting of women,
*Nicosia, 2 December 2007***

I know full well and share with you your concerns about the future of our Cyprus. I even dare to suggest that the agony of Cypriot women regarding the future of our country is even more intense because the women of Cyprus do not want to go through any other terrible experiences which will cause the loss of their children, brothers and husbands. Therefore we are not just talking about the feelings of love towards our homeland; we are also talking about the feelings of love towards your own close ones which make you worry and feel more strongly the need to finally free this country and not see it experience again painful experiences.

I know exactly your concerns and apart from these totally justified feelings I pledge here today before you all that with my election to the Presidency of the Republic that I will do all that is humanly possible to free our beloved Cyprus and reunify our people and country, so that the hope for a better tomorrow will be regenerated and that we will open up new prospects for the future.

I will explore every avenue in order to rejuvenate international interest on the Cyprus problem and so that initiatives will be undertaken on the correct basis; on the basis of international and European law, on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations and the High-Level Agreements.

I will make every effort with determination and political will to begin a fruitful dialogue with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots that will lead to the solution of the Cyprus problem.

I will give my all to solve the Cyprus problem in a just and correct way.

This is my own pledge to you all. I am taking this pledge of honour here also with all the women of Cyprus and the whole of the Cypriot people.

I am not promising any magical recipes and easy solutions because I fully recognise that the Cyprus problem through the passage of so many years and with the accumulation of so many fails accomplis is a very difficult problem.

I also fully recognise that in today's world where geo-political and economic interests are being put over and above principles and values and that for small and powerless people, such as our own, it is difficult to find justice. Furthermore, we are the ones who have made note of both the negative content of the new world order and the dangerous slide of deviations that began in 1999 on the Cyprus problem.

On the other hand, **I strongly believe in the strength of our people.** I have complete faith in their capacities. I know the will and perseverance which characterise them to struggle survive and prosper in the land they have inherited from their forefathers.

The occupational power, Turkey, which is responsible for the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus problem, is a powerful country and has even more powerful allies. We are under no illusions that the Cyprus problem can be solved, and indeed in a way that the solution would be acceptable without a change in Ankara's policy.

However, in tackling the difficulties and adversities which objectively exist, what do we do? Do we perhaps give up and fatalistically accept whatever is possibly presented to us? Do we resort to

"patriotic" rhetoric and worthless loud declarations without any substance? Do we flirt with aggressive solutions such as in the period of the S-300 missile issue? Do we surrender ourselves to a passive stand and in so doing wait for time itself to consolidate the faits accomplis of the invasion and occupation? Do we vainly search for solutions that exist only in the minds of certain people and forces? Do we accept partition as the fate of this country by even projecting it also as the best solution?

Neither our history, nor our outlook about the world, neither our agony for our Cyprus enable us to follow such approaches.

First of all let us clarify once more that we are striving for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem through internationalisation and negotiations. Cyprus has already paid a heavy price and we do not have the luxury to play games with the fate of our people by flirting with allegedly aggressive solutions.

The second thing I would like to underline emphatically is that partition is not the solution. We will not sell-off half of our country to occupational Turkey. We say, and indeed we mean it, that the borders of Cyprus are in Kyrenia. That is why we will also never accept that Turkey's borders run through the Mesaoria plain.

Those people and forces that think that partition will ensure our tranquillity, security and prosperity of even half of Cyprus are simply deluding and fooling themselves. Partition leads to a homogeneous Turkish state in the north which will continuously be colonised and lead to a mixed state in the south, which again will have to tackle problems of a bi-communal character. Without an agreed solution that will reunite Cyprus and its people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, we would very soon be condemned to experience new dangerous adventures. **All those people and forces who prefer inertia and passivity or also "heroic" slogans should fully comprehend this reality because in the end they have partition in the back of their minds.**

The proposal which our candidacy expresses is different. Our own proposal is a proposal of struggle; a struggle with determination, with wisdom and prudence, with realism.

Our own proposal combines two fundamental elements:

- The assertion until the very end of the basic principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem
- The **political will and readiness** for an honourable compromise with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots within the framework of a bi-zonal bi-communal federation.

We will contest until the very end for the termination of the occupation, the withdrawal of the occupational troops and the liberation of Cyprus from colonisation.

We will struggle for the demilitarisation of the Cyprus Republic. In fighting for the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus and in maintaining the dream for the demilitarisation of Cyprus alive, we cannot accept the newly-founded position of Mr. Casoulides (note: the candidate of the right-wing DHSY Rally party) for the establishment of a so-called federal army, which is outside the framework of the common positions adopted by the National Council (note: an advisory body to the President of the Republic on the Cyprus problem composed of the leaders of all the parliamentary parties). The justification given by Mr. Casoulides that in so doing we will allegedly be participating in the defence structures of the European Union is very flimsy and weak and does not convince anyone. The European Union doesn't need Cyprus to establish its defence structures.

Nor does Cyprus also have the need to send its own sons on military missions of dubious character.

We will struggle to free ourselves from any foreign dependency whatsoever so that no foreign country can intervene in the internal affairs of a reunified Cyprus.

We will contest for a single sovereignty, a single personality and a single nationality.

We will struggle for the reunification of the state, the people, the institutions and the economy. Our own conception for reunification has nothing to do with approaches which refer to the assimilation of one community by the other community. Our own conception regarding reunification has to do with the necessity of social interaction taking precedence over national differences, which life itself generates by making people of different origins struggle for the same social goals and aims.

We will struggle for the restoration and safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right of the refugees to return and the right of property. On this matter we will utilise to the greatest possible degree the battery of arguments which the European membership of Cyprus provides us with. No community can safeguard the rights of its members to the expense of the rights of the other community.

At the same time, we have as I have previously stressed the political will to work for the federal solution of the Cyprus problem. The solution of federation has been characterised as a painful compromise. However, it constitutes a necessary compromise which averts partition and leads to reunification. We have accepted the bi-zonal bi-communal federal solution as this has been outlined in the 1977 and 1979 High-Level Agreements. Since then, we have consistently been following this policy. It is not us but other forces that are constantly vacillating and alternating their positions. It is not us but other forces that are constantly alternating between what is feasible and what is desired. Our consistency on the federal solution is known to all - domestically in Cyprus as well as abroad. This fact enhances our credibility.

We do claim that our own candidacy can open up perspectives for mutual understanding with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, something indispensable if we really want to solve the Cyprus problem

We accept that federation presupposes the **political equality** of the two communities. What political equality means is indeed satisfactorily explained in the resolutions of the United Nations and in the Reports of the Secretary-Generals of the UN. Certainly political equality has nothing to do with any extreme and separatist views which exist on the Turkish side.

What we are saying today are the same things we have always said since then when headed by Makarios we formulated the tactics and the strategy for the solution of the Cyprus problem. We support the same policy whether we have movement on the Cyprus problems, whether we are in a pre-election campaign or there is a stalemate on the Cyprus problem. We do not say one thing abroad and another thing for internal consumption. We do not say one thing to the Turkish Cypriots and another to the

Greek Cypriots so that we can be to everyone's liking. We do not say one thing for allegedly tactical manoeuvrings whilst at the same time having other thoughts in our minds. We do not say one thing from the rostrums when celebrating national anniversaries but support another policy within the National Council. **We do not slide into patriotic jargons and exaltations when we are addressing young people and then turn to realism when we are talking about the Cyprus problem abroad.**

In brief we are consistent in both on what we are supporting and in what we are doing in practise.

We do claim that our own candidacy can open up perspectives for mutual understanding with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, something indispensable if we really want to solve the Cyprus problem. It is not just our historical relations and links with the Turkish Cypriot community that no-one can doubt and dispute. We are not just referring to our pioneering and decisive role for rapprochement. We are not just talking about our positions on the Cyprus problem. We are also referring to the fact that **we approach the Turkish Cypriot community with respect, without any contempt and prejudice.** We are fully aware of the role, weight and influence that Turkey's presence has in the occupied areas. This however does not mean that the Turkish Cypriot community should be deprived of any possibility whatsoever of exerting its influence on developments. What therefore should our own mission be?

Through our positions, through the messages we convey to the Turkish Cypriot community, above all through the respect of its status and rights, we must constantly work for the construction of a common front against the occupation and for the formulation of common positions on the solution of the Cyprus problem. We must continuously work to free our Turkish Cypriot compatriots from Turkey's enclosure and not to drive it away. If we manage to achieve this together with the Turkish Cypriots then the pressure that will be exerted on Turkey to change its policy will be multiplied and Turkey will be forced to take it into account.

Who can do this in practise? We claim, fully aware of what we are saying, that only our own candidacy can carry out this duty.

With our election to the Presidency of the Republic we will undertake concrete, substantial well-prepared initiatives so that we can have mobility on the Cyprus problem towards the correct direction. **We will utilise every possibility and opportunity to exert influence and pressure on Turkey, aiming at reversing Turkish intransigence.** We will turn towards the United Nations, the permanent members of the Security Council of the UN and the European Union. We will also take steps towards the Turkish Cypriots. In having faith in the correctness of our positions we do not have anything to be scared of from the development of a dialogue with the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

Our first objective will be the implementation of the 8th of July agreement. That agreement envisaged a necessary preparatory stage which could be completed in a short period of time and produce the required result, given the existence of good disposition and will by both sides. From our own side there will certainly be political will and a positive disposition will be exhibited.

We will strive as soon as possible to begin comprehensive negotiations on the level of the leaders of the two communities. We will conduct these talks with determination and adherence to the principles governing the solution of the Cyprus problem but also with flexibility. Some people and forces are trying to equate the term flexibility with submission to Turkish demands. Under no circumstances does flexibility mean submission. Flexibility means proper negotiation so that we can reach a mutually acceptable result. We would like to ask however all those who are scorning or distorting our position on flexibility: are they perhaps by rejecting a flexible approach conveying the message that they will continue to

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follow an unbending attitude and implacable policy? To continue to follow a policy which does not go beyond a "No" position which was justifiably taken in the referenda? A policy that is to say which leads us nowhere, giving Turkey the opportunity to shrug off its responsibilities and to allow any well-wishers to put the blame on the Greek Cypriot side? It is up to the people to decide which proposal, which policy and what tactics will really serve the cause for the reunification of Cyprus. We have every confidence in the verdict of the people.

In concluding my position on the Cyprus problem I repeat what I have stressed from the beginning: **If the people honour us with their vote we will do whatever we can to break the deadlocks and impasses so that we can open up prospects, finally solve the Cyprus problem and reunify our country and people.**



**Just Solution
Just Society**