



# AKEL Bulletin

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## AKEL on the announcement regarding the results of the exploratory drilling in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus

As AKEL we welcome with satisfaction the announcement concerning the existence of a significant quantity of hydrocarbons at the off-shore "Aphrodite" field in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus.

Today without any element of exaggeration can rightfully be characterised as a historic day for Cyprus and its people as a whole, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians and Latins.

The confirmation of the existence of natural gas reserves now places Cyprus on the energy map of Europe, with the prospect of making a contribution to the energy security of the EU.

Above all else however, it opens up new horizons and favourable prospects for our country and people.

The benefits on the economic, political and geo-strategic level are expected to be manifold, a fact which naturally creates a sense of optimism and increased certainty and self-confidence about the future of Cyprus.

We express the wish and hope that Turkey will finally abandon its negativism and intransigence which characterises it and stop provoking and issuing threats; that Turkey will respect International Law and the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus. A creative and constructive stand of Turkey, having now the existence of hydrocarbons as an additional incentive, will pave the way for a just and viable solution of the Cyprus prob-

lem by opening up the perspectives of transforming the South-eastern Mediterranean basin into a bridge of peace, security, cooperation and prosperity for the peoples of our region.

We consider that the next steps regarding the correct management of Cyprus' natural wealth must continue to be characterised by wisdom, seriousness and responsibility, far from any pompous fanfare and bravado.

Above all the management of the natural gas resources demands from all the political force that they rise to the occasion and in a spirit of unity, consensus and a collective attitude work together for maximising the benefits for Cyprus and our people.

In conclusion, we express our congratulations to all those who worked through time so that we achieved this particularly positive result.

More specifically, we would like to compliment and congratulate the Demetris Christofias Government for its prudent, methodological and skilful handling of the issue. The forging of a network of alliances, the strengthening of our international and European support footholds and the utilisation of the various interests involved have created a powerful protective shield of the Republic of Cyprus which on its part enabled us to arrive at this historical day for Cyprus.

28 December 2011



# Green Tree Talks

**23-24 of January 2012: Meeting of the President of the Republic Mr Demetris Christofias and the Turkish-Cypriot leader Mr Dervis Eroglu with the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, at Greentree in Long Island, New York**



## **AKEL on UN Secretary-General's Statement and Conclusion of New York Talks on the Cyprus Problem Statement by Andros Kyprianou, General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL**

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Before the departure of the President of the Republic for New York, all the parties agreed to the critical nature and difficulty of the meeting. Political parties were expressing their concerns about "consolidating" the so-far agreed ("nothing is agreed until all agreed"), and a "codification" that the UN would impose etc. We regret that while the President of the Republic was waging a difficult battle for Cyprus at "Green Tree" certain forces here in Cyprus sought to weaken his position as a negotiator by exercising constant and unfair criticism to his political handlings.

Regarding the UN Secretary-General's statement, but also the general issues relating to the meeting, we would like to state the following, based on the information we have.

**1. The President of the Republic waged a tough battle for Cyprus defending principles and decisions of the National Council.**

**2. We indicate as positive the fact that the concerns that were being expressed by the parties about a supposed interim agree-**

**ment and an alleged "consolidation" of convergences have been refuted as a result of the President's stands.**

**3. The fact that the UN Secretary-General made it clear that the UN would not impose a solution on the two sides is also positive, namely that any agreement will be the result of substantial negotiations between the two communities under UN auspices.**

**4. The statement that the assessment regarding the recording of any progress must be in line with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions is also important.**

**5. At the same time as AKEL we express our concern about the fact that from circles of the UN there is a persistence on convening an international conference that would mark the end of the Cyprus problem. We reiterate the position of principle also put forth by the President of the Republic, that is to say that an International Conference must only be convened if there is agreement on the internal aspects of the Cyprus problem and with the consent of both communities.**

**6. We express our concern about the lack of progress on the substance of the Cyprus problem. This is due solely to the Turkish attitude that insists on positions outside the agreed framework. We urge the UN and the international community to turn their attention to the Turkish side and demand Turkey's compliance with the relevant UN Resolutions if they really want and seek a solution.**

At the same time we express concern because the lack of progress charges the atmosphere more and perpetuates the negative facts

for Cyprus and our people.

**The common judgment made by all is that the coming months will be very crucial and decisive for the future course of the Cyprus problem, but also for Cyprus and the Cypriot people.**

The seriousness of the situation requires prudence and responsibility to be exhibited by all the political parties, mass media and generally by those involved in the Cyprus problem. Furthermore, this demands adherence to the framework that has been agreed for the solution and to the longstanding positions of the National Council. Any attempt to abandon or change them would be fatal for Cyprus and our people.

We regret to point out that the opposition parties' stand is the opposite of this. Unfortunately, petty-party expediencies and personal ambitions are dominant, placing the national interest in second place.

The Democratic Rally party (DISY), faithful to its constant transformations, is accusing the President of the Republic of allegedly having accepted timetables, which is not true. DISY tends to forget that its own President has been exercising fierce criticism of

Demetris Christofias and AKEL, by saying that our insistence on not accepting timetables was not leading to a solution. It rejects the submission of ideas by the UN forgetting that it has been strongly criticising the President on his perseverance on a procedure under Cypriot ownership.

At the same time, other parties are expressing concern that the President will be forced to say No to the UN Secretary-General regarding a possible invitation for the convening of an international conference. To avoid this possibility they are advising him to say No right now. At the same time, they forget the jubilations regarding the No vote in the 2004 referendum.

Our appeal is that we should all rise to the occasion, express positions, opinions and criticism taking into account the critical nature of the situation and to discuss in detail the whole situation within the National Council by submitting proposals that will lead towards the solution of the Cyprus problem and not to the consolidation of the faits accomplis on the ground. This is how AKEL will act.

26 January 2012

## **Press remarks by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Ban Ki-moon, following his meeting with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Leaders**

Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would once again like to thank Their Excellencies, Mr Christofias and Mr Eroglu, for accepting my invitation to join me at Greentree over the last two days.

This has been our fifth meeting together to support the leaders' work to develop a comprehensive settlement for Cyprus, building on the steady efforts that have been made on the island since the resumption of negotiations more than three years ago. When we met in Greentree last October, the leaders expressed confidence that they could reach a settlement. The two sides have continued their negotiations since that time to meet this objective.

Just before this latest meeting at Greentree, I wrote to the two leaders pointing out that the talks have moved into the final phase. Substantive discussions at Greentree were an integral part of this phase, leading to a multilateral conference and an ultimate settlement. Both leaders responded by reiterating their commitment to a solution. The two sides came to Greentree with three main challenges to resolve: the election of the executive, property and citizenship. I asked the leaders to use this time to make decisive moves. Discussions over these two days were robust and intensive, although limited progress was achieved. I reminded the leaders that this process is Cypriot-owned and Cypriot-led. The UN is not here to impose

solutions upon the sides. In terms of next steps, I have proposed that the sides complete the exchange of data on property within the next two weeks to which they agreed.

Today my Special Adviser, Mr Downer, will brief the Security Council in informal consultations. I will be providing a report to the Security Council on the status of the negotiations at the end of February. At the end of March, I will seek a review of the process from my Special Adviser, Mr Alexander Downer. If his report is positive, consistent with relevant Security Council resolutions and following consultations with the two sides, I intend to call a multilateral conference in late April or early May. At this stage of the talks, to maintain the momentum and continue negotiations, even in an intensive manner, is not enough. I have urged the leaders to make decisive steps to move to a final agreement.

The United Nations remains convinced that it is in the interest of all Cypriots to reach a durable settlement. My Special Adviser and his team have been doing their utmost to assist the process. They remain ready to assist the sides in this important task. Thank you very much.

25 January 2012

## Statement of the Government Spokesman Mr Stefanos Stefanou on the positions expressed by the Russian Federation

The Government of the Republic of Cyprus expresses its appreciation for the clear positions of principles on the Cyprus issue expressed once again by the Russian Federation, in the light of the outcome of the recent meeting in New York.

The following positions are clearly expressed in the statement of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

**-The comprehensive solution of the Cyprus issue must be based on the UN Security Council resolutions about Cyprus.**

**-The solution should be the result of the negotiation between the two sides, mutually accepted and not the result of arbitration.**

**-Consequently, the external efforts to impose technical timeframes or speed up the process are rejected. In relation to that, the Russian Federation rejects the efforts made by some circles to impose technical timeframes, through linking the European presidency of the Republic of Cyprus with the negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus issue.**

**-An international conference can only be convened after the solution of the internal aspects of the Cyprus issue, as provided by the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council.**

**-If a solution is not achieved in the current phase of the negotiations, the UN Secretary-General should continue to provide his “good services”, since, despite the lack of obvious convergences in a series of aspects of the Cyprus issue, the possibilities of the negotiating process have not been exhausted.**

The clear positions of the Russian Federation consist a confirmation of the long-lasting position of principles of Moscow on the Cyprus issue. The position of Russia is very important since it comes from a permanent member of the UN Security Council and underlines the need for the resolutions of the international organization to be respected and implemented by all, without exceptions.

**We underline with satisfaction that similar principles with the ones of Russia are expressed by France and China, which are permanent members of the Security Council, but also by other non-permanent members of the Body. To all these members of the Security Council, we express our gratitude.**

Only with the implementation of the UN resolutions a just –under the circumstances- viable and functional solution could be



achieved, which will put an end to the occupation and colonization and reunify the country and the people in the framework of a bi-zonal, bicomunal solution with political equality, as interpreted by the United Nations. A solution that would provide for one state, with one and only sovereignty, one citizenship and one international personality.

The President of the Republic defends these positions with consistency and determination since the first day of the resumption of the efforts for the solution of the Cyprus issue. The President of the Republic defended these positions with consistency and determination at the meeting of New York, acting fully in accordance with the press release of the National Council. The support of the international factor for maintaining the process, as provided in the UN Security Council did not emerge by chance. It is the result of the consistent and firm policy that the President of the Republic follows concerning the Cyprus issue.

30 January 2012

## AKEL on statements by leading Turkish officials

The Vice-President of Turkey Besiar Atalay reiterated in a provocative way the existence of a Plan B of Turkey in case the talks on the Cyprus problem break down. At the same time, in his own relative **statements the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davudoglou cynically admitted in public that the Plan B is nothing more than the promotion of a model of a solution based on two independent states.**

These statements do not only reveal the dishonesty which characterizes the Turkey's intentions and policy on the Cyprus problem.

**Unfortunately Turkey's and the Turkish Cypriot leader's whole attitude and behaviour demonstrate that Plan A and Plan B are identical and aim at the consolidation and acceptance by the international community of the faits accomplis of the Turkish invasion and occupation.**

Furthermore it also demonstrates that their simultaneous statements about an alleged desire to have a positive outcome at the talks as soon as possible are nothing more than a continued communication game to conceal their real intentions, as well as the negativism and intransigence they are showing at the negotiating table.

As AKEL we denounce Turkey's cynicism and provocation of Turkey and urge the United Nations, the international community and our partners in the European Union to send a strong message to Ankara and the pseudo-state that their efforts to upgrade the pseudo-state will not be tolerated, that they should exert their influence on Turkey to realize that the only way to reach a solution of the Cyprus problem is that Ankara complies with International Law and the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus which provide for one-state solution with a single sovereignty, a single international personality and a single citizenship within the framework of a bizonal, bicomunal federation where human rights and the freedoms of all Cypriots will be respected.

At the same time, we address an appeal to the political parties, aware of the dangers that lurk for Cyprus, to work towards achieving unity based on mutual respect and mutual tolerance.

In addition, it also imperative that we be very careful in expressing positions so as to avoid arguments and not to give arguments and excuses to the Turkish side's propaganda.

12 January 2012



## Speech of Yiannakis Colokasides, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of AKEL at the mass meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution

7th November 2011, Nicosia



**T**he seizure of the Winter Palace on the night of 25th October 1917 (7th November according to the new calendar) was the culmination of a number of astonishing revolutionary events which took place in Russia as of February in the same year. On the evening of 25th October the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets Lenin declared: "The socialist revolution for which the Bolsheviks have constantly been talking about has taken place". The most significant event of the 20th century, with its timeless and universal significance, was a reality. The first socialist state of the workers and peasants in the world was born. A new age dawned in the long history of humanity: the age of the liberation of labour from the chains of exploitation.

The First World War had intensified the inter-imperialist, but also class contradictions. At the same time, it accelerated the revolutionary processes all over the world. The weakest link of the imperialist chain was Russia where the imperialist level of development coexisted with the powerful remnants of feudalism. This chain broke. In February 1917 the Russian people headed by the working class overthrew the monarchy. Consequently, the first stage that of the

bourgeois democratic stage of the Russian revolution, took place. The Bolsheviks headed by V.I. Lenin declared that now was the time to take the path towards the second stage of the revolution, that is to say the socialist stage.

The Bolsheviks in February 1917 were a relatively small political force. However, **they were a well organised, disciplined Party, steeled in the class and political struggles with deep roots among the Russian proletariat and had great influence among Russian soldiers, who in their majority were peasants dressed in uniform. It was a Party with a clear revolutionary Marxist ideology, with clear goals and visions.**

The revolutionary people in Russia formed its own organ of power: the Soviets of the workers and soldiers. The ruling bourgeois class and landowners trying to control developments set up a provisional government. The social democratic majority instead of concentrating all power to the Soviets supported the provisional government. However, the bourgeois-feudal government and social democratic majority in the Soviets failed to tackle Russia's great problems. The

Russian people after three years of pointless human slaughter to serve the interests of monopoly capital and the landowners longed for peace. Instead of peace, the provisional government continued the war, projecting pseudo-patriotic slogans. The Russian peasants demanded land. The bourgeois-big landowner's government refused it to them. The workers demanded workers control of the factories and over production. The bourgeois-big landowner's government refused to do so. The peoples enslaved in the Russian Empire demanded their freedom. Their demand was also rejected. Hunger and poverty of the masses continued and the bourgeois-big landowner's government did nothing to change the situation.

Lenin elaborated a plan for the peaceful transition to the second, the socialist stage of the revolution. It is the famous "April Theses" which totally refute all those insisting that socialism is imposed only through armed struggle. Lenin called for the Soviets and the forces in favour of socialism to assume all the power in order to implement their programme peacefully, given that they gain the majority in the Soviets. The slogan "All power to the Soviets!" became the banner of the revolutionary events and mobilisations in the Spring and summer of 1917.

The old order of Russia reacted violently. The repressive forces opened fire on mass demonstrations in July, murdering many demonstrators. A wave of right wing terror was unleashed. An attempt to prohibit and ban the Bolshevik Party was made. Lenin was forced to temporarily take refuge in Finland. The Party continued the struggle in conditions characterised by persecution and anti-communist frenzy.

The given conditions as they had evolved forced the Bolsheviks to end their effort for a peaceful evolution of the revolution. The preparation of the armed uprising began. The slogan, "All power to the Soviets!" is temporarily receded. Leninism teaches that slogans must serve a flexible tactic without subduing the political struggle. But even then, when the armed insurrection is being prepared, the first priority was to win over the majority in the Soviets because **as Leninism teaches, a revolutionary Party only manages to fulfil its goals when it wins the hearts and minds of the majority of the working people, the majority of the people.** The Bolsheviks continued the work of political enlightenment and guidance in the factories, neighbourhoods, army barracks, front line and rear fronts of the war, promoting their basic position that only socialism can solve the great problems facing Russia.

The principle of the right to recall was guaranteed in the Soviets, a principle that no bourgeois democracy, as progressive as it may be, never dared to adopt. The representatives of the people in the Soviets are elected for a specific term, but if during this term they disappoint the people, then the voters have the right to recall them and put others in their place. In the spring of 1917 the workers and peasants disappointed in the social democrats and right wing Socialist Revolutionaries representatives, recalled them on a mass scale and sent Bolshevik representative in their place who follow a

consistent revolutionary line. So, on the eve of the October Revolution the majority of the Soviets pass over on the side of the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. Then, the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" returns with even greater intensity.

The extreme pro-monarchy right wing attempts in a putschist way to seize power and put an end to the revolution. General Kornilov with his troops is marching towards Petersburg. The Bolsheviks do not waver not for a single moment. They fight against Kornilov to save the revolution from the greater danger threatening it, even if this would give a breath of life to the provisional government. This is another Leninist lesson: at each given moment of the struggle you focus on the essence and the decisive, even if this means a temporary compromise. The crushing defeat of Kornilov accelerates developments.

On the dawn of 24th October (8th November according to the old calendar) the armed uprising begins. The Red Guard made up of workers and soldiers seize all the vital points of the capital, Petersburg. By the following evening the only point not under control of the revolutionary forces is the Winter Palace, the seat of the provisional bourgeois-big landowner's government. The armed revolution in Petersburg heightens almost without bloodshed. The "Aurora" with a canon fired smashes the darkness of the night, giving the signal for the attack against the Winter Palace, which are seized at midnight 25th towards the 26th October.

Meanwhile, the Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets declares that the power has passed entirely to the Soviets. On Lenin's proposal, the Congress approves the decree for Peace which ends Russia's participation in the imperialist war and proposes to all the warring parties a democratic peace without compensations and annexations of territories. Lenin's proposal for the Decree on the Land nationalising the big landowners land is also approved and land is given to the peasants. The first Soviet government headed by Lenin is formed and in which the Left Socialist Revolutionaries also participate besides the Bolsheviks, a fact that completely refutes the other distortion of bourgeois propaganda that socialism by definition allegedly means a single party system. The Soviet government declares the right of the peoples of Russia for self-determination.

**In one night therefore the socialist revolution solved the issue of peace and land and granted the right of self-determination to the peoples of Russia. In one night the Soviet power had done all that the provisional bourgeois-big landowners government could not and did not want to.** The issue of peace, land and the question of self-determination were not issues of a socialist character. However, they became the vehicle of the socialist revolution. This is another timeless lesson of Leninism. The revolutionary party moves forward solving the issues which at the given time historical development sets before it, the issues affecting and troubling the people. The revolutionary party does not advance only through visions and declarations, but also through the struggle for the existing problems of the people.

**The Great October Socialist Revolution was, as we have stated, the dawn of a new era in the history of humanity.** Decades of struggles followed for the defence and consolidation of socialism. Decades of successes, victories, but also of tragic failures. As AKEL, we made an assessment of the 70 year old history of Socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at our 17th and 18th Party Congress. We rejected the nullification and negation of this 70 year old history which had as a climax the victory in the Second World War and the crushing of Hitler fascism. We rejected the negation of the gains of the peoples who were building socialism in all spheres of life. At the same time, we approached with a critical observation this entire historical period. We did not hesitate to talk about mistakes, distortions of the socialist ideal, even to talk about crimes that were committed in the name of socialism. We supported the attempt for the democratic renewal of socialism because socialism and democracy are two identical concepts. However, we criticised the traitorous way in which those who undertook this effort acted. We strove in an open spirit to find the causes that leading to the lowering of the Soviet flag at the Kremlin.

The following question is often put: was socialism was overthrown or did it collapse? Quite often this discussion assumes a dogmatic character, and dogmatism doesn't help us reach the truth. In the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe there was a socialist system with all its flaws and deficits. Today, unfortunately for the peoples of the world and working people throughout the world, it does not exist. I say unfortunately because if there was the opposing pole of socialism, imperialism would not have been as rampant as it is today. In the position of socialism we are witnessing, I would say, a revival of a primitive capitalism. This alone represents a complete reversal of developments, a reversal in which external and internal factors have contributed. It is however also a fact that that at the crucial time of the overthrow almost no-one could be found to resist and defend socialism. This too means a collapse, which cannot only be blamed on those who were hostile towards socialism and for decades had been plotting against it.

Comrades,

Today, when the world crisis of capitalism, the biggest this inhuman exploitative system has witnessed in its history, is passing like a steamroller over the peoples and workers, it is a quite paradoxical that we are focusing on socialism's weaknesses and deficits, as it was constructed in Eastern Europe. **At this specific time when the planet is suffering from the crisis of capitalism, we have a duty to highlight and recall some truths about socialism, however bitter they may be for capitalism's apologists.**

**Today, when millions of working people are loosing their jobs, losing their resources, together with their human dignity, we remind that socialism had safeguarded in practice work for all citizens. The word unemployment was unknown in the socialist countries.**

Today, when millions of people are even loosing their homes, we

remind that in socialism with the states assistance the peoples housing needs were increasingly met. Today, when the welfare state is being destroyed in the name of overcoming the crisis, we recall that under socialism the welfare state and social care were at the centre of its attention and was constantly being strengthened.

Today, when the neo-liberalist apologists of capitalism are imposing the increase in the retirement age so that working people will be going from work straight to the graveyard, we recall that under socialism we had exactly the opposite social phenomenon, that is to say, the continuous reduction in the retirement age, as well as the constant reduction in working time so that the working and woman could have more time to enjoy life. **Today, when gains such as education and health are being sacrificed for the sake of the market and profits, we call to mind that free education and free health and medical care for all the population was one of the greatest gains of socialism.**

Today, when pensions and the toils of a whole life are being eroded, we recall that under socialism the elderly were safeguarded, pensions and retirement ensured and no one was worrying whether he or she could live with dignity for the rest of their lives. Today, when uncertainty and anxiety about the day after is the depressive reality for millions of our fellow human beings, we remind that perhaps the biggest gain of socialism was precisely the security about the future, the security regarding people's future.

**Today, when the pictures of the homeless and beggars are also a daily picture even in the most advanced capitalist countries, we recall that such pictures were unknown under socialism.**

Today, when expenditure on culture is considered as a luxury and in the name of the market sub-culture is blossoming, we recall that the production of qualitative culture with the participation of millions of people and the assistance of the socialist state reached unforeseen heights in the socialist countries.

In short, that which in today's conditions, but also in normal conditions of capitalist development may have seemed a distant dream, in socialism they were in fact realities.

Comrades,

The crisis is shaking everything to its roots. It has shattered myths about an alleged new era where capital and working people will march allegedly together in complete harmony and that the market would allegedly ensure prosperity for all. It has demolished the myths about imperialist globalisation. The so-called American dream has been transformed into a nightmare and ruined people's lives. The harsh daily reality of the crisis has also shaken people's consciousness, especially of the working people. Millions of people found themselves demonstrating in the streets. Millions of truly enraged people are filling the streets and squares, creating a new unprecedented situation. Even in the metropolis of imperialism itself, in New York, mass demonstrations are taking place. New forms of class struggle have emerged, however much they do not realise or do not accept it even those who are participating in these new forms

of struggle.

First fact. The class struggle is everywhere with all its universal greatness, refuting all those who rushed to bury it in history's rubbish heap.

Second fact. We are facing very contradictory phenomena and situations which prove that the struggle against the old order is not, and has indeed never been, an easy path without any obstacles. In the mass mobilisations the slogans against capitalism coexist with the slogans against the corruption and greed of the system's representatives. The first ones demonstrate that a section of the people is becoming aware, to one or other degree, that the causes of people's misfortune are deeper and more profound. They lie in the very social exploitative system of capitalism itself. The slogans against corruption and greed show that many people are still captive of mistaken outlooks and illusions. The ruling force's corruption and greed of the yuppies are not the causes of this terrible situation and illness. They are symptoms of the illness, which even though it may be combated, do not get rid of the illness itself. Only the overthrow of capitalism will liberate the people from all the negatives it brings with it, including immunity and immoral social behaviour.

Third fact. Working people are not the only ones participating in the mobilisations of the "indignant", but also petty-bourgeois strata which the crisis has ruined or is threatening to ruin their leisured and safe petty-bourgeois world. Intellectuals are also participating, listening to the messages of our times. Young people and students are also taking part, refusing to accept that their future is destined to be a world of barbarity where the rules of the jungle will prevail. This diverse class stratification on the one hand creates the preconditions for a broader social and political alliance against monopoly capital and on the other hand, brings with it different outlooks and particular interests creating the preconditions for antagonisms and centrifugal forces within the movement itself.

Fourth fact. The movement is based to a large extent on indignation and rage. That is to say, it is a product of an outburst and not the result of long conscious political work and process. Consequently, at the same time as it effortlessly develops and takes on dimensions, so can it just as easily run out of steam, fall into decay and disappointment and end up disintegrate when it clashes with the strength of the enemy.

Fifth fact. The classical forms of mobilisation led by the trade unions and other class-based organisations have not disappeared. They exist with each other or function in parallel with the movements of the "indignant". The system and its representatives recognise that the real danger for capitalism comes from the organised forces of the working people. This is why it attempts to bring the two currents into conflict with each other. The mass media aligned and serving capital give a lot of coverage to the "indignant" movement and ignore the open class-based mobilisations. Furthermore, the system does not hesitate in using the ultra-leftists and the ultra-right in order to discredit the mobilisations, frighten the petty bour-

geois and to find pretexts to suppress the people's rage. Once again, the ultra-leftists and anarchists, despite their loud super-revolutionary phraseology and practice become the fifth column of the class enemy.

What conclusion can be drawn even from this brief analysis? We do not underestimate anyone's struggles. Even those struggles that are characterised by ideological confusion, have their value because they erode the world of capitalism in people's consciousnesses. However, the existence of a conscious class-based trade union movement and above all, the existence of a political vanguard, a Party with a well-defined and clear ideology and goals which should be in a position not to subordinate, but to lead working people's **struggles through its example and policies, is a pressing need. The Leninist concept about a Party of a new type today is also timely and imperative as never ever before.** Political vanguards do not evolve from one day to the other, but are the result of many years of fierce struggles. Here in Cyprus thankfully we have both a conscious class-based trade union movement and the political vanguard in AKEL. We must safeguard and defend them as the greatest gain of our people and working people.

Comrades,

Red October inspired not only Russia, but the whole world too. It became the starting point for cataclysmic developments and events. **Red October also led to the foundation of the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK), whose worthy successor since 1941 is the Progressive Party of the Working People, AKEL.**

In the almost 90 years of the existence of our Party we have not set the socialist transformation of Cypriot society as our immediate goal. The duties historical developments set before us were different. As a real revolutionary party we responded correctly to these duties, establishing our Party as the most powerful political and social force in our country, more than fully vindicating the pioneers of the communist movement in Cyprus. We struggled for the freedom of our homeland and for democracy. Through our own struggles we won social and economic gains for our people and working people which have radically changed the lives of the common people for the better. We fought against nationalism and are struggling for the unity and unity and brotherhood of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. We were always together as fellow-fighters and comrades with the workers, peasants, small and middle strata, the progressive people of culture, in general with the people of labour. We forged deep roots in this country. That is why prosecutions, persecutions, terror and murders could not destroy our Party and movement. Even at the time when socialism faced a heavy defeat in Eastern Europe, our Party stood firm and proud. That is why at the time of the tumultuous events no one could destroy AKEL. If they could not wipe out AKEL when a whole world was collapsing, be sure comrades that they will not manage to do so neither today, no matter how many efforts they are making. As long as we are on guard and act with wisdom, as long as we protect our unity and follow the same correct path.

In 2008 by putting forth the candidacy of comrade Demetris Christofias we did not begin a path towards socialism. We know very well that such preconditions do not exist today. We asked for and won the mandate of the people to struggle for the solution of the Cyprus problem in a way that will serve the interests of Cyprus and our people. We asked for and won the peoples mandate to work for a more just society to promote progressive and democratic reforms. We have given clear examples that we are implementing these goals. This it seems has terrified the representatives of the political and economic establishment. Today we are precisely confronting the reaction of the establishment which is terrified in case it will loose its privileges and in particular, the monopoly on the management of the country's vital issues; an establishment that is alarmed by the idea that the Left will succeed where they have failed or have proved themselves to be incapable for decades. This is the main reason behind the attacks against us today which have reached levels of frenzy.

We are certain that we shall overcome today's difficulties too. We stand on the side of the President comrade Demetris Christofias and are waging the battle with him. Rallying with us is not just the whole of the movement of the Left. All those who believe that AKEL and the President are allegedly isolated are mistaken. Marching with us, regardless of any ideological and political differences which are legitimate, are all those people who have not abandoned logic and reason; who reject the fanaticism and bigotry and callous petty-party machinations; who tremble at the possibility of destabilisation with so many open fronts on the Cyprus problem and economy and in view of the assumption of the Presidency of the EU by the Republic of Cyprus. With us are all those people who opt for the policy of genuine patriotism without pompous words and empty slogans, for responsibility, realism, social consent and the defence of our people's social gains, rallying their forces with us.

Comrades,

We often shout out loud the slogan "Our future is not capitalism - our future is the new world of socialism". Is this slogan perhaps

wishful thinking? Is it some consolation to someone on the verge of dying? Quite the opposite in fact. What are the underlying causes for all the troubles the modern world is experiencing, in a world which has the material means to secure a dignified life for the 7 billion people on our planet, but regretfully however 1 in 7 people have nothing to eat? The principal causes are to be found in the unjust exploitative nature of the capitalist system. I will not tire you with statistics and examples. It's enough to state that 1% of the world's population owns and plunders 50% of the world's wealth. Is it ever possible for a better world to emerge bearing this in mind? Only when the world's riches and wealth belong to all people will humanity's suffering come to an end. This is what socialism means.

**Socialism is not some empty slogan or wishful thinking. It is the need that becomes history. This necessity sooner or later will write once again the history of great social upheavals. Capitalism is not humanity's eternal black fate. For sure, the October Revolution will not be repeated because historical events no matter how enormous they may be, as events they are unique. However, the legacy of Red October will always be a great reference point for all those struggling for a better tomorrow and socialism. The shot fired from the "Aurora" battle ship will always show the way to our militant struggles and will smash the darkness of oppression, exploitation and barbarity. For sure, the socialism of the future will be different to the one we knew in the past. It is equally certain however that the future belongs to socialism.**

**Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!**

**Long live the struggles for peace,  
social justice and socialism!**



## AKEL General Secretary Andros Kyprianou statements on the outcome of the Municipal Elections of the 18th December 2011

In yesterday's Local self-government elections, AKEL waged a difficult election struggle in an adverse political environment. **For a long period of time, what we experienced was a frenzied and overwhelming anti-AKEL campaign.** Despite the attack on us, we managed to resist and held on. **We managed to elect 8 mayors from AKEL. In total, we elected 18 elected Mayors with our support.**

### AKEL MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS

	2006	2011	
	124	129	+5
NEW MUNICIPALITIES		16	
TOTAL		145	

As AKEL, we will make a comprehensive assessment of the election result, which we will study in the collective and leading bodies of the Party, with **special emphasis on the abstention that was recorded.** However, the first conclusion we can draw is that **those who hoped that they will manage to exploit the tragedy of Mari naval base explosion, the economy's problems and the talks on Cyprus issue to isolate and weaken AKEL have failed.** In some cases, we waged the battle alone, with all the remaining parties and forces against us and we still managed to get higher percentages than our electoral strength.

We want to congratulate the cadres, members and thousands of volunteers who worked hard and tirelessly for the candidates and election lists of AKEL-Left-New Forces. We warmly thank the people of Cyprus for the support it gave to our electoral lists. We also express our sincere thanks to the political forces that rallied their forces with us in this election campaign too.

The last thing our country needs right now is division. That is to say, the attempt to polarize the political climate by those who consider the satisfaction of their petty party or personal ambitions as their priority. During the campaign they tried by every means to persuade the people of Cyprus to send a message of rejection of the President and AKEL. Last night, they yet again changed their position for the umpteenth time, and tried to persuade the people that are unifying forces for the good of the country. In reality, they only absorbed temporarily some forces.

As AKEL, we call on the political forces to work to promote the interests of our country and people. We face important and pressing issues: addressing the economy's problems, the effort to solve the Cyprus problem, the assumption of the Presidency of the European Union and the management of the oil and gas reserves to the benefit of the people. In taking measures for the economy, we have shown that through consensus and cooperation we can find solu-



"We proved that we can not only hold on and resist, but also become stronger, no matter how difficult and adverse the conditions are, no matter how many attacks we come under."

Andros Kyprianou, General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL

tions. It is our hope that we can work together to tackle the other major issues of our country.

Addressing the cadres, members and friends of AKEL, we state that we are justifiably proud. **We struggled with our head held high. We fought with dignity and political arguments and policies, without wild extremes and without fanaticism.** We proved that we can not only hold on and resist, but also become stronger, no matter how difficult and adverse the conditions are, no matter how many attacks we come under.

The people who honoured the candidates and election lists of AKEL-Left-New Forces today can feel vindicated. AKEL was re-confirmed by the people's vote as a great political and social force with a decisive role in Local self-government too. We promise the people of Cyprus that we shall devote all our strength for the good of the country, so that the window of hope for a solution to the Cyprus problem is kept alive, for the solution of the economic problems without attacks against the interests of workers and middle strata, unlike those pursued by the leadership of the Democratic Rally party and others, for the proper management of our energy resources to the benefit of the people. The day after this election struggle too, every Cypriot can be sure of one thing: as long as there is a powerful AKEL, the strength of our Party will be dedicated only to the people.

## 27 January 2012: PEO and the turkish cypriot trade unions co-organized Concert in solidarity with the striking workers of the Greek Steel factory



### Address of Pambis Kyritsis, General Secretary of PEO (Pancyprian Federation of Labour)

We are here tonight to support the strikers of Greek Steelworks and to express in this way our class solidarity. On behalf of PEO (Pancyprian Federation of Labour) and Cypriot workers I extend a warm and militant message of support and solidarity to our class brother Greeks Steel workers on strike for 3 months now, waging a heroic struggle in adverse conditions. This strike is a struggle of honour and dignity, against the impunity of employers, against the arbitrariness of mass layoffs, against the imposition of degrading working conditions, against the attempt to abolish the Collective Agreement.

Comrade Chris Katsiotis, Member of the Secretariat of PAME and comrade George Sifonio, President of the Greek Steel factory trade union branch, we welcome you to Cyprus and here to this Hall in which countless of workers struggles have been organised and prepared. Please convey to the striking workers that we stand in solidarity with the magnificent struggle they are waging, that we are beside them and that we draw strength from them.

Brothers and Sisters,

All over the world working people are experiencing the harsh effects of the global crisis of the capitalist system. Capital and its rep-

resentatives have intensified their attacks against the labour movement and workers gains. They feel that the conditions are in their favour; that now they have the upper hand and are trying to use the crisis to attack and take away working peoples rights and gains that the workers movement has won through fierce and long struggles. Greece is the most typical example in Europe.

It is, as always, the workers - the ones who are not responsible for the crisis - that are paying the price of the harsh consequences of the anti-peoples measures the IMF and the Troika are provoking in the name of taking the country out of the debt crisis and towards economic recovery.

Whilst the country through the memorandums and austerity policies has entered into a vicious circle of cuts in wages and deterioration of working people's living standards, public debt and deficits have not been tackled, whilst it is increasingly becoming clear that the measures are not temporary but permanent and seek only to depreciate the value of work.

**A clear case of aggression against workers rights and the organized workers movement is of the steel industry in Greece. Our**

**Greek colleagues in the factory of Aspropyrgos with the support of the class-based forces, especially the All Workers Militant Front (PAME) have chosen the path of dignity, the path of struggle and resistance.**

This heroic struggle of 400 of our Greek colleagues, which has become the cause of the entire working class, demonstrates again the great value of solidarity among workers, both of moral solidarity and sympathy and in terms of practical and material support.

**It is precisely this need for moral and material solidarity we also felt we as PEO and this prompted us to co-organize this concert with the Turkish Cypriot trade unions that are we are with them members of WFTU - DEV-IS, KTAMS, KTOS, KTOEOS and BES.** It is this solidarity that makes the power of the working class formidable and multiplies its power against the employer's arbitrariness.

Brothers and Sisters,

It is not only of course the employers in Greece or elsewhere in Europe who have demonstrated their willingness to use the crisis to attack workers' rights and our collective agreements. They are showing the same haste here in Cyprus too, especially these days.

Although the Trade Union movement has shown great patience and a disposition for dialogue and reconciliation to soberly tackle real problems really there and where problems are created, the Cyprus Employers & Industrialists Federation (OEB) has chosen a dangerous and irresponsible path.

In violation of any notion of collective bargaining and in breach of any principle, today in its statement it is proceeding to guide the employers to freeze wages and not pay the Automatic Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) as it is obliged to, despite the fact that it had publicly pledged that it will not raise such an issue. This behaviour is arbitrary and unilateral, and thus will be resisted by the Trade Union movement.

Nobody wants conflict and confrontation at these difficult times the country is going through. But we will not accept this stand of the employers. They are clearly showing that their objective is not to discuss with us and work together to address real problems some firms are facing. They want to use the fear of layoffs and unemployment, to attack rights and collective agreements that have their own signature too. As long as we were discussing with the government about the public sector, they presented themselves as the fanatical defenders of private sector workers and were calling on public sector workers to make sacrifices for the sake of their poorer colleagues.

All of this has now been forgotten, as we had anticipated. They have even forgotten their commitment made in public that they will not raise the issue of the non-concession of COLA in the private sector.



**“On behalf of PEO and Cypriot workers I extend a warm and militant message of support and solidarity to our class brother Greeks Steel workers on strike for 3 months now, waging a heroic struggle in adverse conditions.”**

Pambis Kyritsis, General Secretary of PEO

**Let's sing tonight with our mind and our hearts belonging tonight to the heroic striking workers of the steel factory of Aspropyrgos. Thus, in expressing our class solidarity with the Greek Steel workers of Aspropyrgos we call on Cypriot workers too, to be on alert and to rally their class forces for their own struggles underway and which seem to be intensifying and expanding.**

With this opportunity, thank you all for being here and for giving practical support to the struggle of our fellow strikers by buying coupons for financial aid. The financial contribution will be the end product of this event. We hope it will be of assistance to the heroic strikers in their hard and difficult struggle.

Tonight's event is entirely the result of volunteer work. All actors - singers, musicians, technicians - have offered themselves to participate without any pay, wishing to eagerly contribute in this way to support and strengthening of the Greek strikers. Allow me to congratulate them all and each one separately. We especially thank our friend Koullis Theodorou who is the artistic director and the singers Maria Christou and Pampina Kontea.

## 5-7 December 2011: Communist Party of Cuba Delegation in Cyprus

### Cuba on the side of the struggle of the Cypriot people for vindication

Cuba and its people have always supported and will continue to support the just struggle of the Cypriot people for the solution of the Cyprus problem and reunification, stressed com. **Oscar Martinez Cordovez, Deputy Head of the International Relations Department of the C.C. of Cuba**, who was on an official visit last December to Cyprus after an invitation from AKEL. The Cuban politician, accompanied by the Ambassador of Cuba to Cyprus, had a meeting on 5th of December 2011 with a delegation of AKEL, headed by the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL com. Andros Kyprianou.

Speaking to the "HARAVGHI" newspaper, com. Cordovez expressed his satisfaction with the discussion he had with the GS of AKEL: "Our meetings are always very fruitful, given that besides the fact that he is the GS of the Communist Party of Cyprus, he is also a very great friend of Cuba. Our meeting was a continuation of our contacts in Cuba during the recent visit of Andros Kyprianou." Com. Cordovez pointed out that he had the opportunity to brief the delegation of AKEL on the developments in Cuba over the last 6 months and about the challenges the Communist Party of Cuba is facing within the framework of the world economic crisis of the capitalist system which is affecting the entire planet, including Cyprus too. "We are certain that AKEL will take the best possible decisions in the interests of the popular masses", he added.

In relation to the Cyprus problem, com. Cordovez underlined that Havana supports justice, given that this is a case of a country which is under occupation, against the will of the Cypriot people. **"We back the forces that are seeking the reunification of the island based on principles, for the completion of independence and the implementation of popular sovereignty in all its territory"**, he said characteristically. He noted that the President of the Republic Demetris Christofias is embodied with great determination in the talks on the Cyprus problem, aiming at achieving a solution that will reunify Cyprus and stressed that for a solution to be achieved there needs to be a response from all sides, but also help from the United Nations, the European Union and the international community. **"Cuba always supported the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus and we shall be on your side in any decision made by the Cypriot people. It is very wise and correct to seek a solution through dialogue and negotiations, since there is no other option"**, he added.

Apart from the meeting with AKEL, the leading official of the Communist Party of Cuba also had a meeting with the Democratic Party, the Presidential Commissioner Georgios Iakovou and with a delegation from the Social democratic party EDEK. Finally, Com. Cordovez attended a dinner held by the Cyprus-Cuba Friendship Association in his honour.



## Speech of the member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of AKEL Fanis Christodoulou at the meeting organized by AKEL on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people

29th November 2011



29th November - International Day of Solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people- a landmark and tragic day for the Palestinian people. On the 29th November 1947 the United Nations General Assembly approved Resolution 181 which provided for the establishment in Palestine of a "Jewish State" and an "Arab State", maintaining Jerusalem as corpus separatum. In 1948 the state of Israel was declared and subsequently, became a member-state of the UN, whilst the Palestinians remained and still remain until today without a state.

64 years have passed - 64 years of persecution, being refugees, exile, occupation, imprisonment, terrible torture, crimes, bombings and exclusions. However, no attempt to humiliate this proud people and no deprivation has managed to break the will and determination of the Palestinian people for freedom and the establishment of a state.

On the 21st September 2011, the Palestinian President submitted to the UN Secretary-General the application for Palestine to become a member of the UN. This was a historic day in the struggle of the Palestinian people for the right to have their own state.

**We welcome the result of the UNESCO vote and the approval of Palestine's membership. The Republic of Cyprus supported, together with tens of other states, this successful application.**

As AKEL, we express our clear disagreement with the stand taken

by the USA and Israel which as a consequence of this result has led to the freezing of their financial contribution to this international organisation. Furthermore, Israel is illegally withholding the taxes it is collecting on behalf of the Palestinian Authority which on a monthly basis amounts to about 100 million dollars. This sum belongs to the Palestinian Authority and is essential for its survival, as well as for the payment of 150,000 employees.

**The assertion for the recognition of Palestine as a member state of the United Nations constitutes a legitimate right of the Palestinian people which stems from its lawful and inalienable right, and from the UN resolutions. It does not represent a unilateral action.**

The allegation that the path of recognition leads to a departure from the peace talks is totally without foundation, given that talks are not being waged since Israel refuses repeatedly to end the construction and expansion of settlements, continuing its unilateral actions which create faits accomplis on the ground.

According to the resolutions of the United Nations, East Jerusalem should be the capital of the Palestinian state. However, what is taking place is a relentless campaign to alter the demographic and historical character of Jerusalem through the construction of the wall of shame, the continued building of settlements, the eviction of Palestinians from the city, the demolition of houses and the attempt to evict inhabitants. The faits accomplis on the ground regrettably



prove which side is intransigent .

**We express the wholehearted support of AKEL and the Peoples Movement of the Left to the assertion of a solution for the establishment of a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as the capital.** We call for its immediate accession as a full member of the United Nations. We consider that the recognition of the Palestinian state and rendering to it the status of a member of the UN will have a positive impact on the troubled region of the Middle East and to the talks.

Over the past few months a lot has been said and written about the uprisings that have taken place in the Arab countries which have been called the "Arab Spring". A lot has been said about the wish of the Arab peoples for democracy. Many have rushed to "show" the way, to guide the peoples of Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya towards democracy, the creation of "institutions", the holding of elections, when what the uninvited "preachers" from abroad in reality want to impose is in fact their long-standing declared plans for the establishment of a "New Broader Middle East".

At the same time, however, these very same forces - the USA and their allies - refused to recognise the results of the fully democratic elections held in Palestine in 2006, despite these being held under

occupation, because they did not satisfy them. This is evidently a hypocritical support of democracy. They refuse until today to support in practice the lifting of the *faits accomplis* of the occupation.

As a response to the faith of the Palestinians in democracy an in-human blockade was imposed on them: the transformation of Gaza into an open prison where 1.5 million people remain under siege for 5 years deprived even of the most basic goods. Despite the outcry of the international community, impunity for Israel is still the case, both with regards the blockade and the war it unleashed against Gaza in December 2008, which caused great human losses and enormous material destruction. We demand an immediate end to the siege of Gaza.

Comrades and friends,

In the middle of October and in the midst of a hunger strike of the Palestinian detainees, we witnessed the liberation of 480 Palestinian political prisoners in exchange for the release of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, a development which we welcome. The release of around another 600 prisoners is expected to take place within the coming weeks. The numbers are truly horrendous: since 1967 about 750,000 Palestinians of all ages, women and children, including 20 Members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, have passed through Israeli jails, prisoners who were fighting in various ways against the occupation. We demand the release of all the Palestinian political detainees .

**AKEL and the Cypriot people express their solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the self-evident: freedom, democracy and prosperity.**

**We express our solidarity with the peace-loving forces in Israel who are fighting in adverse conditions to achieve the termination of the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel that will bring peace and progress, both to the Palestinian people and the people of Israel who is suffering from the insecurity.**

The drama of Palestine is also our own drama. The vindication of one will also be the vindication of the other.

## International Relations Department of C.C .of AKEL Contact Details

The recent meeting of the Central Committee of AKEL has decided the unification of the International Relations Bureau and the European Affairs Bureau. The Head of the International Relations and European Affairs Bureau will be com. **Costas Christodoulides**, member of the C.C. of AKEL.

Note that com. George Loukaides, until recently Head of the International Relations Bureau, will now hold the positions of the Spokesman of the Party and Head of the Education Bureau of the Party.

The International Department of AKEL will be also staffed by comrades Elias Demetriou and Giorgos Koukoumas, both

members of the International Relations and European Affairs Bureau.

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