



CYPRUS: 52 years

still divided

A HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS, MILITARISATION AND NATIONALISM THE MULTIFACETED EXPRESSION OF IMPERIALISM IN CYPRUS

-At the crossroads of three continents (Asia, Africa and Europe) Cyprus has suffered since time immemorial from multiple foreign invaders, settlers and occupiers. It was conquered by Hittites, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Franks and Venetians and the Ottomans.

-1878: Cyprus was put under British colonial rule following the Ottoman rule.

-The imperialist powers of the 20th century USA, Britain and NATO have sought the transformation of Cyprus into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Mediterranean as part of their plans for the "New Middle East". Decolonisation and independence in 1960 came with the imposition of British military bases on the island and in 1974 Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus.

-For the last 50 years, 37% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus remains under the illegal military occupation of Turkey.

At the expense of the freedom of all its people, as well as its sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Republic of Cyprus has been used by imperialist forces as another tool in bringing about and completing the strategic rearrangement of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East; through the redrawing of borders, foreign interventions in the internal affairs of states, the overthrow of "non-friendly" governments and the fostering of religious and ethnic conflicts, which continue to torment the wider region.

FROM BRITISH COLONIALISM TO INDEPENDENCE WITH HEGEMONIC FOREIGN GUARANTEES AND AN ETHNICALLY DIVISIVE CONSTITUTION

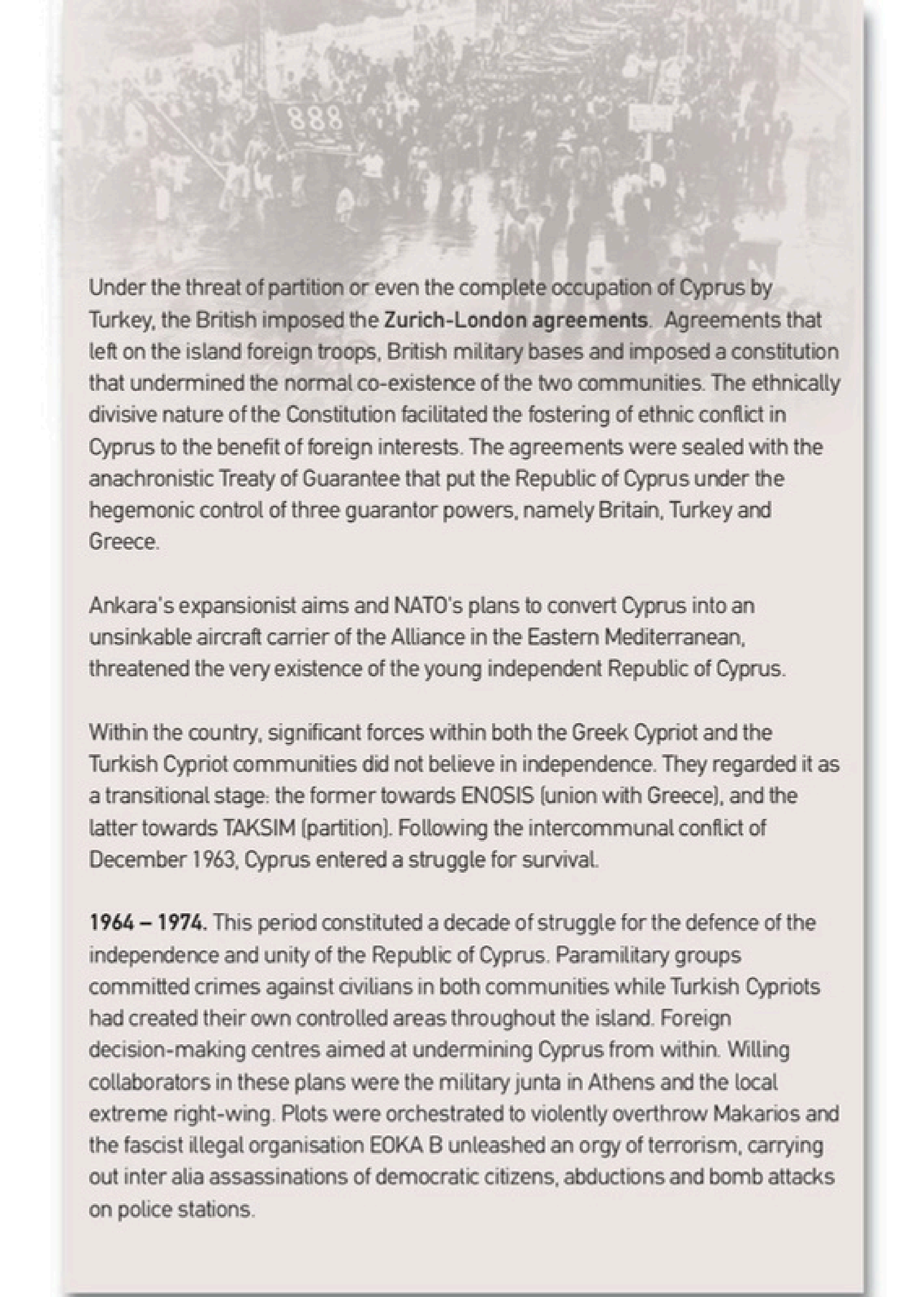
The tyranny of the British colonials completed the repression exercised upon the working class by the local bourgeois class. The Communist Party of Cyprus was founded in 1926 having among its primary aims the struggle against exploitation and the liberation from British colonialism through a broad united front of anti-colonial forces of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In 1941 AKEL –the successor of CPC - was founded to lead the mass political struggle for freedom.

The anti-colonial struggle gradually grew with the increase in popular involvement. During those years Cypriots fought for their independence.

The ten years that followed, 1945-1955, were years of an intense and hard anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle which demanded the right to self-determination and further political freedoms for our people. At the same time these were years of intense class struggle.

In 1955 the anti-colonial struggle took the form of armed struggle. AKEL was in favour of mass political struggle. Despite the heroic self-sacrifice of many young Cypriots, the armed struggle led the Cyprus problem to dangerous deadlocks, exploited by the British imperialism which aimed at a solution serving its own interests.





Under the threat of partition or even the complete occupation of Cyprus by Turkey, the British imposed the Zurich-London agreements. Agreements that left on the island foreign troops, British military bases and imposed a constitution that undermined the normal co-existence of the two communities. The ethnically divisive nature of the Constitution facilitated the fostering of ethnic conflict in Cyprus to the benefit of foreign interests. The agreements were sealed with the anachronistic Treaty of Guarantee that put the Republic of Cyprus under the hegemonic control of three guarantor powers, namely Britain, Turkey and Greece.

Ankara's expansionist aims and NATO's plans to convert Cyprus into an unsinkable aircraft carrier of the Alliance in the Eastern Mediterranean, threatened the very existence of the young independent Republic of Cyprus.

Within the country, significant forces within both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities did not believe in independence. They regarded it as a transitional stage: the former towards ENOSIS (union with Greece), and the latter towards TAKSIM (partition). Following the intercommunal conflict of December 1963, Cyprus entered a struggle for survival.

1964 – 1974. This period constituted a decade of struggle for the defence of the independence and unity of the Republic of Cyprus. Paramilitary groups committed crimes against civilians in both communities while Turkish Cypriots had created their own controlled areas throughout the island. Foreign decision-making centres aimed at undermining Cyprus from within. Willing collaborators in these plans were the military junta in Athens and the local extreme right-wing. Plots were orchestrated to violently overthrow Makarios and the fascist illegal organisation EOKA B unleashed an orgy of terrorism, carrying out inter alia assassinations of democratic citizens, abductions and bomb attacks on police stations.

ΟΧΙ ΚΑΤΟΧΗ-ΔΙΧΟΤΟΜΗΣΗ

TURKISH INVASION IN 1974 AND THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF CYPRUS UNTIL TODAY

15 July 1974 – Greek Junta coup d'état: Under the orders of the Greek junta and the transatlantic decision-making centres, the treacherous tanks moved against the legitimate government. The heroic resistance of the democratic forces was not in a position to stop them.

20 July 1974 – Turkish Invasion: The fascist coup was followed by the Turkish invasion. Despite Turkey's allegations that it was carrying out an intervention under the Treaty of Guarantee, its intervention was an illegal act of aggression. Until today, 40,000 Turkish troops occupy 37% of the territory of Cyprus and turned 170,000 that is 1/3 of the population into refugees. Around 40,000 Turkish Cypriots were forced by Turkey to move to the northern part of the island, thus completing the segregation. Fundamental freedoms and human rights are being violated. An attempt is carried out to alter the demographic structure of the island by the mass settling of the occupied areas by Turkish citizens. It is now estimated that their number exceeds the number of Turkish Cypriots in the occupied areas. Simultaneously, the illegal usurpation of Greek Cypriots' properties in the occupied areas has made the property issue one of the most pressing and complex problems of any future comprehensive solution.

Missing people.

The 1963-64 inter-communal conflict and the 1974 Turkish invasion left behind about 2000 missing Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the past few years, a breakthrough has been achieved by the Committee on Missing Persons, and the two communities have been working together in collecting information on the fate of the missing persons and proceeding with exhumations and DNA identification.

THE CYPRUS PEACE PROCESS

Since 1974, the UN has been trying to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. Numerous UN Resolutions call for withdrawal of Turkish troops and settlers and for the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as well as the respect of the inalienable rights of refugees to return to their homes and enjoy peacefully their properties.

ΟΧΙ ΚΑΤΟΧΗ-ΔΙΧΟΤΟΜΗΣΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΦΑΣΙΣΜΟΣ



1977 – The agreement on a BBF solution

The Makarios – Denktash High Level Agreement of 1977 and the Kyprianou – Denktash High Level Agreement of 1979, the then leaders of the two communities, provide for the transformation of the Republic of Cyprus from a unitary state to a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality, as this is described by the Security Council resolutions, with two regions, each one to be administered by the respective community. The same Agreements provide for the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus and the respect of fundamental freedoms and human rights of all Cypriots. Nevertheless, these Agreements have never been implemented because of Turkey's intransigence and insistence on a solution allowing it to perpetuate its presence and interests on the island.

THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY

After numerous unsuccessful peace initiatives over the years under the UN auspices, a Cypriot-led negotiation process was initiated for the first time in 2008, when Demetris Christofias was in the leadership of the Greek Cypriot community. This process laid the groundwork for the continuation of the negotiations between 2015-2017, culminating in the Conference on Cyprus in July 2017. Despite coming close to a strategic agreement, the Conference ended in a tragic failure. After nationalist Ersin Tatar became the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community in 2020, his unacceptable advocacy of a two-state solution brought a new deadlock to efforts to resume substantive negotiations. Since Tufan Erhürman assumed the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in October 2025, renewed expectations for the revival of the peace process within the agreed framework, while preserving the

acquis of previous negotiations, have resurfaced. Despite renewed diplomatic efforts, including the personal involvement of the UN Secretary-General and informal meetings between the parties, significant challenges remain to be overcome before substantive negotiations can resume. The unacceptable official position of Turkey in favour of a two-state solution remains a major obstacle to a return to negotiations based on the agreed framework of a bizonal, bicomunal federation.



2008: A Cypriot-led process starts when Demetris Christofias was in the Presidency of the RoC

As a result of the policies and initiatives undertaken by the ex-President of the Republic Cyprus com. Demetris Christofias, the beginning of substantive negotiations, between the leaders of the two communities of Cyprus on the 3rd of September 2008, was made possible. The negotiations between Demetris Christofias and the ex-Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat lasted for almost 1 and a half year. During this period significant convergences were achieved on certain chapters like Governance and Power Sharing, Economy and EU Affairs. Nevertheless, significant disagreements remained on the rest of the Chapters.

Unfortunately, the election of the nationalist Dervish Eroglu in the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in 2010 created even more obstacles in the efforts for finding a solution in the Cyprus Problem as he renounced the convergences achieved in the previous period.

When the right-wing Nicos Anastasiades becomes the President of Cyprus in February 2013, twelve months were wasted unnecessarily in trying to draft a new joint declaration, issued at last in February 2014. A new period of lack of negotiations had followed.

2015-2017 The new process and the failure in Crans Montana

The assumption of the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in April 2015 by the renowned pro-solutionist and progressive Turkish Cypriot politician Mustafa Akinci, revived the prospects for a new peace process. His commitment in restarting negotiations from where they had been left by Christofias- Talat, infused hope regarding the fate of the direct talks which restarted. Nevertheless, for more than a year the process went through phases of regression. From June 2016 onwards, the negotiations intensified. Notwithstanding that major problems remained, the two leaders committed themselves to the process.

In November 2016, although Akinci agreed to discuss the difficult territorial issue without a previous solution of the other chapters, at the time that the process came within range of a convergence, President Anastasiades broke off the effort for unconvincing reasons. Since then, a steady regression had begun inevitably linked to the presidential elections of 2018.

In a following effort to avoid the collapse of the peace process, in early June the two leaders and the UN Secretary- General decided to hold a second round of direct talks in the context of the Conference of Cyprus towards the end of the same

month. In his report towards the UN Security Council of 28 September 2017, two months after the collapse of the Conference, the UN Secretary-General observed that the sides failed to walk the last mile, wasting a historic opportunity regarding the solution of the Cyprus problem.

Since 2017 the Cyprus problem has entered a dangerous period of unproductive passive inaction with regards to the negotiations and of multiple illegal Turkish activities. During this period we witnessed President Anastasiades's regressions, the promotion of "new ideas" that negated previous key convergences recorded and the protracted involvement of the two leaders in a blame-game, resulting in the UN Secretary General not being convinced of the prospect of a meaningful resumption of negotiations.

2020-today - A period of provocation and partitionist positions by the Turkish side

Following the failure of the Conference of Crans Montana, Turkey had become more aggressive against the Republic of Cyprus. It has been strengthening its expansionist ambitions against the sovereignty and sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus. The carrying out of seismic surveys and drilling within the territorial waters and the EEZ of Cyprus constitutes a flagrant violation of the UN Law of the Sea. At the same time, the escalating machinations for the colonisation of the enclosed area of Famagusta adversely affect the status of the area, violating the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions and undermine the prospects for a comprehensive solution.

The imposition of the partitionist Ersin Tatar to the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in October 2020 had served the Turkish machinations against the Republic of Cyprus. A grave development was the official submission by Turkey and Tatar, during the unofficial meeting of Geneva in April 2021, of their unacceptable proposal for a two states' solution. A proposal which is outside the UN framework. Following the change in leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community in October 2025, a new phase of cautious diplomatic engagement emerged in the Cyprus peace process. Tufan Erhürman's long-standing commitment to a comprehensive settlement within the agreed United Nations framework of a bizonal, bicommunal federation based on political equality, together with his officially stated commitment to preserve the acquis of previous negotiations—an approach also publicly shared by Greek Cypriot leader Nikos Christodoulides—raised renewed expectations for a possible resumption of negotiations.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, contacts between the two leaders intensified, accompanied by efforts to advance confidence-building measures and create a more favourable climate for negotiations. However, despite the improved atmosphere, the in-depth engagement of the UNSG and his personal Envoy in recent months, substantial differences remain unresolved and Turkey continues to support a two-states solution.

AKEL's proposal on the way forward

In December 2020, AKEL submitted a proposal to the then President of the Republic outlining measures to address the dangerous regression and create the necessary conditions for a meaningful resumption of the negotiations with the prospect of a successful outcome. The same proposal, incorporating additional elements adapted to the current phase of efforts, was submitted to the current President; however, neither proposal received a response.

AKEL stresses that, in order to counter Turkish illegal activities and increase the prospects for a comprehensive solution, there is no alternative to the resumption of the negotiations under the auspices of the UN. These negotiations must resume from the point where we interrupted at the Crans Montana talks, while preserving the acquis of the negotiations and creating the political conditions necessary for all sides to have incentives to engage constructively.

On this critical juncture, AKEL expects all the parties involved to consider the benefits stemming from a comprehensive solution and demands the immediate termination and reversal

of any provocative and illegal activities by the Turkish side which embed the permanent division of our country. Simultaneously, it reminds the international community of the pressing need to resume the negotiations in the agreed framework and from where they left off if the prospect of the solution is to be kept alive.

It is our firm conviction that, unless the Cyprus problem is resolved, neither the directly involved parties, including Turkey, nor the broader actors with an interest in the region can escape the consequences and dangers of the current status quo, which is neither sustainable nor static, but instead carries the risk of further deterioration. This reality was also highlighted by the UN Secretary-General during his recent visit to Cyprus, when he stressed that the continuation of the status quo is unsustainable. A comprehensive, viable and mutually acceptable solution, based on the agreed United Nations framework, remains the only path that can safeguard the interests of all Cypriots, restore conditions of peace, security and prosperity on the island, and contribute to stability and cooperation in the wider Eastern Mediterranean.

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