

**XXXIV. The British Factor, the Cyprus Independence
Struggle and “Septemvriana” 1955:
A Geopolitical Analysis of Covert Operations**

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Abstract: This paper presents some of the most important known evidence up to this day, proving the defining British interference in the case of the Pogrom in Istanbul-Constantinople (Events of September 1955) and how these tragic events completely destroyed Hellenism of Constantinople are connected to the British colonial interests in Middle East. The theoretical methodological is based on the geopolitical analysis and, in particular, on the model proposed by the Anglo-Saxon Geographers - Geopoliticians Sir Halford Mackinder (1861-1947, School of Geography-London School of Economics) and especially in its elaborated form presented in 1944 by the American Professor of Yale, Nicolas Spykman (1893-1943, Yale Institute for International Studies, Yale University - USA). Therefore, this paper supports the theoretical hypothesis of the desire to preserve Rimland on the part of Britain and explains, based on the same theoretical model, the final approach of the USA towards the British stances. Naturally, the aforementioned model explains the role of Turkey. The presence of the secret paramilitary networks “Stay Behind”, known as Gladio also validates and fully supports the writer’s hypothesis.

Keywords: Sir Halford Mackinder, Nicolas Spykman, ‘Septemvriana’, Sir Antony Eden, the Suez Canal, British role in Septemvriana, Dilek Guven, Counterguerilla, Stay Behind, Yassiada Trials, Fahri Coker, Hamit Borzaslan National Minorities in Istanbul, Spyros Vryonis, Robert Holland.

Introduction

The prevailing Anglo-Saxon geostrategic approach, especially during the Cold War is expressed very implicitly by two Anglo-Saxon Geographers and Geopoliticians: Sir Halford Mackinder (1861-1947) and Nicholas Spykman (1893-1943). What comes out from these models is the geopolitically strategic part of the Rimland (rings) remains a point of instability in case of South East Wing of NATO which is the vertical area of the Aegean Archipelago and its continuity towards Crete and Cyprus. The Anglo-Saxon interest in maintaining strategic control of these points has been strong over the course of the 20th century and reached to the top point during the Cold War.

The period between the decades, of 1950 and 60s has been the Cold War period when competition was accentuated and the dangerous incidents between the two major competitors were multiplying. Our analysis considers that the so called West, never ceased to be characterized by the “Special Relationship”, i.e. the geostrategic relationship between London and Washington.

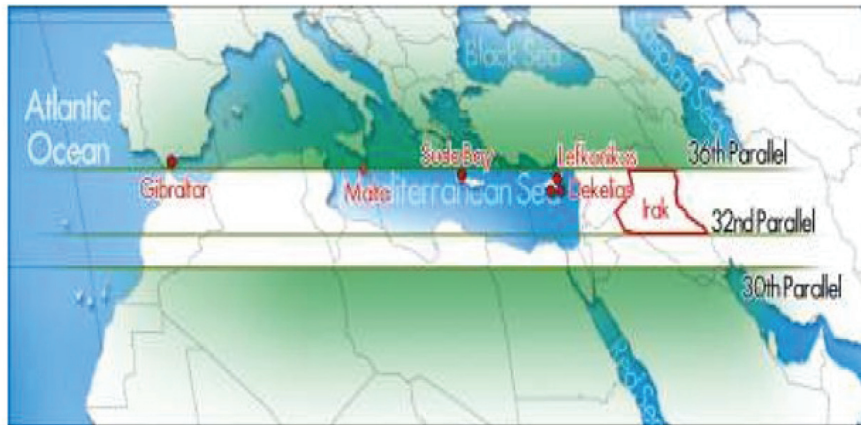


Fig.1 : Horizontal Zone Map (Source-design: I. Th.Mazis)

This horizontal zone which is of the Anglo-Saxon geostrategic interest, lying between the 30th and the 36th parallel, is enhanced in its eastern edge, due to significant termination (or foreseen termination) of pipelines transporting oil pipelines such as: 1) Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum

pipeline which is of paramount political importance to the Anglo-Saxon “Special Relationship”, as far as avoids transit through Russian territory. 2) Kirkuk-Mosul-Haifa, via Syria 3) Kirkuk-Mosul through Turkish soil ending in Yumurtalik, in the gulf of Iskenderun.

Going into the details, on the strategic political events taking place and were particularly disturbing to the declining colonial power Britain that time, we should move into Mediterranean in one side and into the international Super-system in the other side. These series of events initiated by the logic of balance between the Soviet Union with its satellites (which formalized and peaked on 14 May 1955, with the creation of the Warsaw Pact as an image to NATO) and the Anglo-Saxon influenced members North Atlantic Pact.

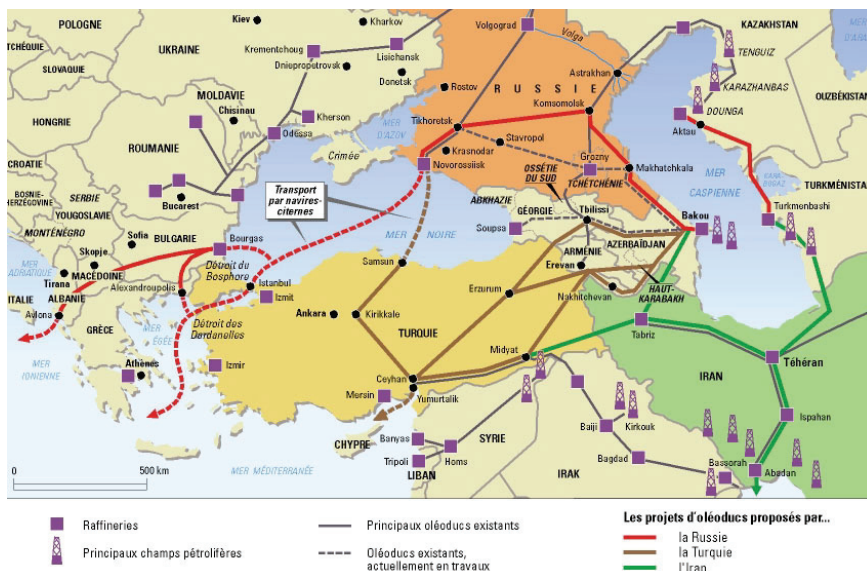


Fig. 2: The Map of pipelines termination in front of Cyprus (Source: Le Monde Diplomatique)

Britain, coming out of Second World War was exhausted both economically and socio-politically. A characteristic event showing this situation is the fact that the “father of Victory” and war hero W. Churchill (30 November 1874 - 24 January 1965) lost elections on 26 July 1945 together with the Conservatives and left the power to the Labor party.

The US policy was not that one to expect by a former ally of Great Britain. It was a policy serving the US national interests which damaged gradually and rapidly, the corresponding Anglo-French colonial interests. The US arises as an international power while the old colonial Empires are weakened. Important examples are the events: in Indochina (1946-1950), Suez (1956) and the British Mandate in Palestine (1948) to mention the most important of them.

The Data Exhibiting the British concern

i) Starting in 1952 and the Egyptian coup lead by Zoubat al Ahrar / Free Officers finally bring Nasser to the presidency of Egypt (13 November 1954). The statements and wishes of Marxist Nasser with respect to the colonial presence and the existing privileges of the Anglo-French in Egypt are not concealed, already in 1953. That is, before the tragic two days of Septemvriana in Istanbul. This means that the proven and experienced British diplomacy knows very well the rise to power of the socialist Nasser in Egypt where leads.

One can easily understand, even if he does not want to accept being within the mist of the past imperial glory, these events eventually will result in the loss of Egypt and of course of the Suez Canal. These fears of Albion were verified on 2 August 1956 with the announcement of the Suez Canal nationalization by Nasser. The reaction of the Anglo-French was extremely strong but was very unfortunate for them: they attacked jointly against Egypt and they were expelled by their former allies the Americans!¹ This intention of the Americans began to appear already

1. Author Note: As presented in the newspaper «*To Vima of Sunday*», Foteini Tomai, (26/11/2006, A26): "On 31 November 1956 the President Eisenhower addresses with a long duration proclamation to the American nation, reporting the developments in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East, and he underlines the need of support the role of UN in order to guarantee a "fair solutions in agreement with International Law". In Great Britain and France everybody is astonished with "a such reaction on behalf of America was not expected at all here" as telegraphed by ambassador R. Rafail from Paris ([Athens Agency] 1003.1.11.1956) mentioning the characteristic publication of newspaper «*Le Monde*»: "Highly dangerous act that should not attributed only to British gov-

in 26 September 1956 when accepted to discuss the Egyptian appeal on Suez, to place the issue at the agenda of the Security Council.

The obvious interest of US to place the issue for debate on the agenda of the Security Council based on the argument that “since this is in compliance with the liberal policy followed by the United States even on matters being against their own interest” reasonably led the secretary of the Greek Delegation to the UN D. Karagianni the question “*whether the liberal US policy is valid also for the case of Cyprus*” (Athens Agency (AA) 2892, 26.9.1956). This is because the Cyprus issue was raised, during the same period, the first time for debate in the UN and was not left unaffected by the international developments in the region. US intentions, however, made clear by the dramatic meeting of the UN Security Council at 11 in the morning of 30 October, when the USA took a position, clearly and overtly against the Anglo-French attack, submitting the same day in afternoon a proposal of resolution of “*cease fire and return of the Israeli troops to the Truce line*” (AA 3936 Palamas via UN, 30.11.1956).² The excuses of the attacking Anglo-French side lacked any basis and were not taken into account. As we are informed by then Permanent Representative of Greece to NATO, Ambassador M. Melas, (AA 3555/701 18.12.1956), the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs “*was not given any faith to the guarantees of the British-French that this preventive action was necessary because the Soviet preparations to attack the Alliance from the South as in the Sinai the supplies found was not indicating such a Russian plan*”.³ On the other side and Turkey doesn’t want under any circumstances to leave the crisis unexploited. As Melas⁴ wrote the “*in order Turkey to perform as the great expert of the Middle East issue and to achieve decisions to be taken to enhance in the future the Turkish positions in the area... Eventually the*

ernment. French government did not play in this respect role of a simple accompany" (supra) .Through a confidential telegram Palamas from the N. York has reported the "...dangerous fluidity. Independently of danger of more general complications by any chance of success of Anglo-French enterprise not only for the Cyprus issue but also more generally exposition of our country to dangers because of the audacity of Turkey..."(Athens Press 3368, 1.11.1956).

2. See F.Tomai, *ibid.*

3. See M.Melas (Athens Agency, 3555/701 18. 12.1956), *supra.*

4. See M.Melas (Athens Agency, 3555/701 18. 12.1956), *supra.*

press release didn't include any specific recommendations of Turkish proposals" (as above).

This moment was one of the most important drawing the borders of the Cold War and marked the end of the international hegemony of the colonial Old Albion which now is being replaced by the more and more emerging US as a new international leader western power. Rising of Marxists "Free Officers" in Egyptian into power therefore was quite upsetting, and worried the injured Albion. It was natural for a sea power to wish to keep open the sea routes for its trade and security. Cyprus was a "place of arms" in front of the Suez and the Middle East and according to the quote of Disraeli to Queen Victoria in 1878. Moreover, the huge oil deposits in the region were already known from the early 20th century.

Therefore it was not possible Britain to tolerate the Greek policy of the union of Cyprus with Mother Greece. It is the well-known conflict of Marshal Papagou on 22 September 1953, two years before the Septemvriana with the British Foreign Minister Sir Antony Eden, when the Greek Prime Minister said the government's intention to exercise the political union of Cyprus with Greece. Sir Eden, having lost his coolness, he responded aggressively saying: "Concerning the British Government there is no Cyprus problem not presently and never in the future"! It impresses the lack decency that supposedly characterizes the diplomacy and in particular British style which makes more apparent the loss of the proverbial British phlegm! However Eden paid personally the price of his behavior a year later. He was asked to sign in person opposed to Nasser, fateful for the British interests an agreement, namely the loss of possession of the Suez Canal on 27 July 1954 one year before the Septemvriana. On that day the seventy two years British occupation of this strategic gateway of the international maritime trade was ended. Then the only remaining strategic basis under British control, after loss of Suez was Cyprus. Eventually they will do anything humanly possible to keep it.

ii) The high concern and fixed phobia of Britain about the continuing loss of key strategic positions in the Middle East was further enhanced by the establishment of EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) in Cyprus on 26 October 1954 led by the retired colonel

Grivas. On the evening of March 31 to the dawn of April 1, 1955 EOKA circulated a proclamation (with the signature EOKA-Digenis), which declared the start of the struggle to end the English yoke. The proclamation was followed by intense and continuous paramilitary action hitting British targets in the island, five months before the “Crystal Night” in Constantinople, known as “Septemvriana”. However, we should mention the important notice made by Spyros Vryonis concerning the first “hot attacks” against the Turkish community in Cyprus by EOKA. Quoting Robert Holland, the meticulous researcher of EOKA activities, Vryonis states that “in his book Holland made it clear that the armed campaign of EOKA turned against the Turks after the pogrom of 6th-7th September 1955”.⁵ It should be emphasized that although Armenian and Jewish properties and persons were also attacked at the same night, this event was suppressed. The statistical data given by Dr. Dilek Güven inform us that over 60% of the victims were Greeks, while 20% were Armenians and 12% Jews. Concerning this matter Dilek Güven mentions the following in an interview on 11 September 2005 in the newspaper *Kathimerini*:⁶ “The main purpose was to weaken the minorities numerically. The explosion in Thessaloniki was the excuse, while the Cyprus issue was not the main cause for the attacks. In that time period, the formation of the nation-state, initiated with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, was still ongoing. After the 1920s decade the Turkish government did not trust the minorities –Greeks, Armenians and Jews- fearing that they would cooperate with their co-nationals living in neighboring independent states. Due to this reason a number of previous actions against minorities, such as special taxes or the displacement of Armenians and Jews from various regions, occurred in the 1930s. A report was written in 1944 stressing that “the Greeks are the largest and most dangerous minority, because they can cooperate with Greece”. This explains why Greeks were the priority target of the attacks, but not the only targets. It is important to notice that during the “Septemvriana” the Greeks were not the only ones that were attacked.

5. Vryonis, Speros, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul*, New York 2005.

6. http://www.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_world_1_11/09/2005_156399.

Looking at statistical data we see that the targets were over 60% of the targets were Greeks, while 20% were Armenians and 12% Jews. This was not random. In the lists kept in the hands of the commanders of the attacks Armenian shops and Armenian families were mentioned as targets. Thus, if the reason was Cyprus, why did the attackers turned against the other two communities? Generally, the minorities were the first target. The Cyprus issue followed afterwards”.

But Güven’s remarks are contradictory in some points, when he claims that the Cyprus issue was not the main cause of the events of 6-7/9/1955. This is due to the fact that in another part of his interview, answering a question by Nikos Papachristou,⁷ concerning the role of Britain in “Septemvriana”, Güven replied directly stating that: “In 1950 the Turkish Foreign Minister had stated that there is no Cyprus issue for us, so we should not cause discomfort to the British. **From that period on till 1955 the British exerted tremendous pressure on Turkey to engage in the Cyprus crisis, aiming to create a Greek-Turkish conflict. The British archives contain evidence that reveals the British role in this matter.**⁸ In August 1955 it was decided to hold the London Conference, after which Turkey was more definitely involved in the Cyprus issue. **Also there are documents in the British archives that pose the question whether an uprising against the Greeks in Istanbul would be useful for England. It is extremely important that a year before the events, a diplomat who was serving in the British Embassy in Athens was informing London through a telegram that “a single blow in the house where Ataturk was born in Thessaloniki could cause a major crisis in the relations between the two countries, which presently are excellent”.** In few words in the organization of the events there was an English prompt. The events were serving them and in the archives the attacks against the Armenians and the Jews are not mentioned while only it is mentioned that there was “a Turkish Greek clash over the Cyprus issue”. At the very same time they prevented US to stand on the side of Greece, in bringing the Cyprus issue to the UN. In an aversion of her speech, however, in addition to the prominent role of Albion in this sad story, she gives the explanation to the same ques-

7. http://www.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_world_1_11/09/2005_156399.

8. Emphasis by author.

tion raised the above on “why they attacked the Armenians and Jews”. We should state from our side that we don’t deny the anti-minority culture that prevailed in Turkey of Menderes. Neither should we disregard the involvement of ethnic cleansing aim in the events. But precisely it is this fear what the Foreign Office exploited to destroy the Greek-Turkish relations and to lead the Cyprus issue into a diplomatic stranglehold to serve the strategic interests of England.

iii) Even within Greece the British intervention is confirmed by the known case of the trial on Cyprus for an article published in the magazine of the City Police, “*Police News*” which was declared being “anti-national” by the Government and the public. Trial lasted from April to September 1954 and where a decision of the Three Members Appeal Court imposed a sentence four and half years to the signatories as authors of this article. The authors considered demanding that the Greek Cypriot policy in question was incorrect and should be changed. The main conclusion of three Court of Appeal was that the article was written “by an English agent and not by a Greek journalist”.

iv) One year after a new serious blow to British colonial interests took place, particularly those related to the region of South-East Mediterranean. On 23 April 1955, representatives from 29 countries of Africa and Asia met in Indonesia’s Bantouk and founded the “The Non-Aligned Movement”, an economic and cultural cooperation against colonialism. The messages that were broadcasted because of the change of the composition of the member countries of UN were not acceptable to British colonial interests: the composition of the UN launched in 1945 by 51 countries - members was reached in 1955 at 76. The Archbishop Makarios before taking the presidency of that still non-existing Republic already participated as an observer in the Conference in London. Of course this was not passed unnoticed by the Foreign Office.

v) The most important but the most worrying event for Britain was the fact that after a month of the establishment of Non-Aligned Movement, on 14 May 1955 the Warsaw Pact was founded based on a mirror logic and structure to NATO. Now things in the international force balance system were serious. Then the Cold War was peaked and Cyprus has become even more important not only for the British but for the entire North Atlantic defence and political system.

Britain applying the famous “Divide and Rule” principle invites on 29 August 1955 to London, the notorious “Tripartite Conference” with the participation of Greece and Turkey, making Ankara a key factor in Cyprus issue. Thus, London was able to escape of being the accused in view of the international opinion, because of the repression factor 500 thousand Cypriots, who were mourning already the executed freedom fighters, suddenly appeared as an arbitrator in an alleged “dispute” between Greece and Turkey.

On the eve of the “Tripartite Conference”, the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes claimed that on 28 August the Turks of Cyprus is planned to be massacred by the Greeks, something that certainly has not happened. The Conference began, but after the well-known provocation in the garden of the Turkish Consulate in Thessaloniki, where it is the home born Kemal Atatürk, the Turkish “Crystal Night” erupted, on 6 September 1955, with looting, murdering, raping and vandalisms against the Greeks in Smyrna and Constantinople. The “Tripartite” came into a British design and inspiration, sinking.⁹

The microscopic approach

It is necessary to mention some elements relating to persons, and policies that evening:

1) It is known that a year before Septemvriana, the Foreign Office in London, received a telegram from the British Consulate in Athens, which strikingly reads as follows: “it is enough to blow a house where Atatürk was born in Thessaloniki to cause a major crisis in relations

9. See Foteini Tomai, «*To Vima*», 26/11/2006, A26: "One day before the close the tripartite conference in London the second stage of the plan enters into application. The Turks begin on 6 September 1955 a two days of slaughters, destructions and pillages against the Greeks in Istanbul and in Izmir. Athens is unable to react and, the worse is not able to understand the fact that the Cyprus question from an international issue with the resorts in the UN turns into Greek-Turkish issue and then the developments in Cyprus issue problem will determine the relations of two countries. At same time Turkey organizes in Northern Cyprus paramilitary teams in order to be ready in case decides for a military intervention."

between the two countries, which are presently excellent”.¹⁰ This is really amazing how one year after this happened in Thessaloniki; this is indicated by a British diplomat at the Consulate of Thessaloniki! And of course, taking into account the earlier reference to this issue by D. Güven, most probably this is not a terrific coincidence.

2) In support of this perception the memoirs of that time Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Sir Antony Eden, saying that “the only vital issue for the British government at the London Conference was to demonstrate to the international scene the divergence Cyprus between Greece and Turkey” are important”.¹¹

3) Moreover, it is a fact that Septemvriana offered the British another advantage on Cyprus issue, which was evolving into a bad strategic headache for London: Septemvriana disturb the balance that USA was trying to keep, forcing Washington to change its stance after the riots, against Cyprus and against the Greek demand to include the issue on the agenda at UN, despite the assurances given to Greece on the contrary.¹²

4) The perpetrators of the provocation were two: the first was Oktay Engin who in 1993 was appointed governor of the province of Nevehir and the other was the porter of the Turkish Consulate (note by author: which is right next to the house where it is said Ataturk was born) Hasan Ucar. Engin wrote from prison to his father: “The offender was Hassan. The situation is very bad. I want a lawyer.” Contrary, in a letter to Hassan he said: “Hassan, not fear. I am next to you. Don’t disclose anything.” Engin, testifying during the Trials of Yassada of the overthrown Government of Adnan Menderes, after the military coup of 27.5.1960 stated that: “The explosives to bomb the house of Ataturk in Thessaloniki were carried by the assistant consul Mehmet Ali Tekinalp. The day of the bomb to explode will be signaled by the Consul Mehmet

10. <http://pontosandaristera.wordpress.com/2008/09/07/7-9-2008/#more-1095>, interview of Turkish historian D. Güven, to the Armenian Journalist H. Dink who was assassinated by the Turkish deep state and also: <http://news.kathimerini.gr/>, interview same in Nikos Papachristo of «Kathimerini», on 11/09/2005.

11. See presentation of D. Güven at the Workshop organized by KEMO and the Society for the Greek East, 5 November 2005, Athens, Cultural Centre of Constantinopolitans.

12. See speech of D. Güven, *as above*.

Ali Tekinalp, who was then in Ankara. Following the explosion, we will inform with a ciphered signal the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rustu Zorlu who was then in London”. Moreover in according to, Dilek Güven, Oktay Engin was a man of the Turkish secret service who was assigned with a specific mission to place the explosive mechanism to the assumed “house of Kemal”.¹³

5) The prosecutor in Yassiada concluded that the Menderes and Zorlu were fully aware and involved in the organization and direction of the events.¹⁴

6) Zorlu claimed that “this issue” had “helped him to promote the Turkish claims on Cyprus in London”.¹⁵ This means that he defended the Pogrom while giving a clear interpretation of its geopolitical usefulness.

7) According to a publication of 12 August 2008 of the newspaper ‘Radikal’, the events of 6-7 September 1955 against the Greeks of Istanbul had been organized by the Command of the Nonconventional War (Özel Harp), which was a mechanism set up by NATO (Operation “Stay Behind”), to prevent the Communist danger. Professor N. Ouzounoglou,¹⁶ translating and commenting on the publication of Radikal, says emphatically: “In a recent publication of the newspaper ‘Radikal’ on 12/8/08, the close relationship between the Ergenekon Organization and the Directorate of Nonconventional War of the General Armed Forces is presented. Several functionaries of Ergenekon proved to have worked at the Central and Annexes of the Nonconventional Warfare Directorate, established in 1952 under the guidance of the US secret services, under the name ‘Mobilization Preparedness Committee’. The Nonconventional War Administration of Turkey was under the command of General Sabri Yirmibesoglu for decades and who had extensive activities inside and outside of Turkey and especially in Cyprus – starting the year 1953. Yirmibesoglu in a re-

13. Nicosia 4/9/1996, Spyros Athanassiadis, Cyprus Information Agency, presents article of Haluk Hepkon, published in the magazine *Aydinlik*.

14. Fersoy, Cemal O., *Bir devre adamı basbakan Adnan Menderes*, Istanbul 1971, 343, Vryonis Speros, *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul*, New York: 2005.

15. See as above.

16. N. Ouzounoglou, «Ependitis Newspaper» in Greek «The Ghost of '55, is still haunting Turkey today», 6/9/2008.

vealing interview to the journalist Fatih Gulapoglu in 1991 stated that 'the events of 6-7 September 1955 was a grand act of nonconventional special warfare and had an absolute success'. This revealing statement cleared the cloud around the Septemvriana, inasmuch as the official position of the Turkish state since 1960 was to throw all the responsibility to Menderes government, which was overthrown in 1960 by a military coup and then-after a series of facade trials on the Yassiada Island was sentenced to death and executed on political offenses - though not for those of Septemvriana. Among the arrested in Ergenekon case is the retired major Fikret Emek, who was a close associate of General Yirmibesoglu and had a rich paramilitary activity record in the areas of Kars, Mugla and Manisa (Magnesia). Recently in his mother house large quantities of explosives were found. The 2,500-page indictment drawn up by the prosecutor Zekeria Oz says the involvement of individuals involved in previous cases have similarities with Septemvriana, such as the events against the Alevis in the Gazi district in 1995, the extensive events Taxim square on 1 May 1977. The Turkish state after the next day of its reestablishment in 1923 continued the policy of persecution against minorities, which had peaked during the period 1914-23. Especially after the year 1950, when the "Greek-Turkish friendship" was in peak, the final phase of destruction of the remaining Greeks in Turkey, in Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos started to be implemented".

8) Moreover, the above points are verified by the research of Dr. Güven based on the unpublished archive of Fahri Coker, the military judge who conducted the investigation at the trial of Yassiada and drafted the relevant trial report. This document was published for the first time in a book, released in September 2005 in Turkey, including the numerous documents and more than two hundred photographs confirming the active participation of the army and police in the events. In an interview given by Dr. D.Güven to "Kathimerini" it is noted that "everything was planned long time before in detail and was part of an overall plan against minorities".

9) Aligning himself with the Turkish newspaper 'Radikal', the Swiss Historian Daniel Ganser¹⁷ explicitly states that: "when Turkey joined

17. Ganser studied Modern History and Philosophy in Switzerland and at Univ. of Amsterdam and London School of Economics. Director of the Think Tank "Avenir Suisse" during 2001-2003 and Director of the Centre of Security Stud-

NATO on 4 April 1952, it had already set up the Turkish secret army under the name “Tactical Mobilization Group/Seferberlik Taktik Kurulu” with its offices being at the American Assistance Mission Organization (JUS-MATT/CIA) in Bahcelievler Ankara. In 1965 the group reorganized and renamed “Special Warfare Section/OHD” a name that was revealed in 1990 as the command centre of the Turkish secret army after the revelations of Gladio in Italy. Because of these revelations this Section needed to rename again. Then it was renamed as Command of Special Forces (Ozel Kuvvetler Komutanhgi).¹⁸

Relevant information’s of the western-European Network “Stay Behind” or “Gladio” arises from the previous secret document of the General Staff of the US under the heading “Overall Strategic Concepts” (General Strategy Concepts) dated 28 March 1949. In an attachment to this document JSPC 891 / 6. Section “Tab B”, specific reference is done “how the secret services of USA could utilize the Panturkic movement”.¹⁹

Thus, as mentioned by Selahattin Celik, to whom Ganser makes a reference, “on 6 September 1955, in a classic covert operation to create tension, Turkish agents of OHD put a bomb to the home of Kemal in Thessaloniki The agents [note of author: i.e. O. Engin and H. Ucar] left almost no trace. So in Turkey, the government and the press instrumentally have attributed to the explosion to Greeks. Immediately, on 6 and 7 September 1955, groups of fanatic Turks, encouraged by Counter-guerilla, destroyed hundreds of homes and shops of Greeks in Istanbul and Izmir, leaving behind 16 dead, 32 injured and two hundred female victims of rape”.²⁰

A few years later, in 1959, following negotiations between Greece with Turkey and Britain in Zurich and London (resulted in signing treaties, despite the initial objections of the Cypriot leadership, which

ies of the Swiss Federal Technology Institute (ETHZ) 2003-2006. He is teaching from 2006 till today in the Department of History of the University of Basel.

18. Selahattin Celik, *Türkische Kontrguerilla. Die Todesmaschinerie*, Mesopotamien Verlag, Köln 1999, 44 in D. Ganser, *The Secret Armies of NATO*, Greek trans. Kleanthis Grivas, Antilogos, Athens 2007.

19. «The Origins of ‘Gladio’ in Turkey», *Intelligence Newsletter*, 19 December 1990 in D. Ganser, *as above*, 315.

20. Selahattin Celik, *Türkische Kontrguerilla. Die Todesmaschinerie*, Mesopotamien Verlag, Köln 1999, 44 in D. Ganser, *as above*, 316.

was repeatedly disagreed strongly with Athens government) agreed to establish an independent Cypriot state (1960) but with the presence British bases in Cyprus existing until today, and the known rights to interfere by the “Guarantor Forces” which essentially for factual defence, geographical and political reasons, benefit solely Turkey and Britain.

Conclusion:

Consequently, the relationship of the Cyprus struggle with Septemvriana is evident. Certainly there was an anxiety of the post-Kemalist leaderships to control the “national uniformity” of Turkey after M. Kemal, and as a consequence the persecution of ethnic minorities. However, Septemvriana has a decisive effect on the overall state (status) of the Greek-Turkish diplomatic relations. This view is supported by the series of events followed after. It is very interesting to highlight the observation of Ambassador Alexis Alexandris (now Consul General of Greece in Istanbul), which seal with the best and historically proven way that the overall situation of the Greek-Turkish relations set, define and determine the behavior of Turkish authorities towards the Greek minority of Istanbul and elsewhere: “An important conclusion of the experience of the Greeks of Constantinople is that minorities could exist within neighboring nation states provided that the general relations are friendly. Thus, during such intervals (1930-1940, 1947-54, 1959-64 and 1967-71), the Greek minority could enjoy a certain sense of security and the feeling of citizenship ... It is not coincidence that the four main waves of Greek exodus from Istanbul (sic) 1922-29, 1955-59, 1964-67 and 1972-75 occurred during the strained periods of Greek-Turkish relations”.²¹

21. A. Alexandris, *The Greek minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974*, Asia Minor Studies Center, Athens 1983

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