

The Intersection of Culture and Politics: ELAM's Narrative on Cyprus Federalism

Burak Kurtcebe

European University of Lefke, Department of Political Science and Public
Administration, Lefke, Cyprus.
186213@eul.edu.tr

Muhittin Tolga Özsağlam Ph. D

Associate Prof, European University of Lefke, Department of International
Relations, Nicosia Cyprus.
mozsağlam@eul.edu.tr

Abstract: The study examines the intersection of culture and politics, where far-right parties like ELAM use nationalism and exclusionary rhetoric to gain support and influence. It focuses on ELAM's political ideology and its impact on the Cyprus Problem, a conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. By analyzing ELAM's policies and discourses, the study aims to understand the role of far-right parties in shaping Cyprus's political and social landscape. Specifically, it examines ELAM's opposition to the proposed federal solution for the Cyprus Problem, its stance on illegal immigration and energy policy, and its views on Turkish Cypriots and Turkey. The study also highlights ELAM's growing popularity and electoral success, attributing it to the normalization of far-right ideologies in Cyprus. It underscores the importance of critically analyzing far-right parties like ELAM to grasp their influence on Cyprus and Europe's political and social fabric, emphasizing the need for understanding their impact on democracy and human rights.

Keywords: Culture, Politics, Far Right Parties, ELAM. Nationalism, Federal Solution, Turkey.

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the success of far-right populist parties has been increasing at alarming rates across Europe and even beyond. Although initially scattered, especially in Western Europe, these parties continue to increase their electoral and political power. With the existence of an EU that has been experiencing a problem of legitimacy and existence for many years from Hungary to Cyprus, Belgium to Poland, and even the USA, far-right parties or leaders have gained political representation at the national and international levels, such as the European Parliament (Weisskircher, 2024). ELAM has undergone a conscious mutation process, perhaps due to the process that Golden Dawn went through, and has turned into a more moderate far-right party. The party is perhaps more comparable to the

radical right-wing parties in most of Europe these days, rather than the more extremist far-right Golden Dawn. Within the parliament, ELAM secured the critical votes for the election of the new Speaker, a DISY MP. As a result of such examples, ELAM's successful and coherent strategy has resulted in it being the only party to increase its vote share, especially in the last elections, and today it is the third party in the polls. It can be seen that the process of normalisation and acceptance of the party within both the system and society has begun. They subsequently became coalition partners and even ruling parties. Far-right populist parties often turn to conservative laws and policies. By shaping the general policy, far right parties gain the ability to shape the administration with their discourses. The rise and decisiveness of far-right organizations are seen in both national and international politics (Batur, 2019; Rama et al., 2021). The National Popular Front Party is one such far-right party according to Fayed's classification. According to his party classification, he classifies right-wing parties as centre-right, far right and far right. Accordingly, the party is classified as far right. Right-wing extremism is usually defined as a specific ideology characterized by 'anti-democratic opposition towards equality' (Heywood, 2019). It is associated with racism, xenophobia, exclusionary nationalism, conspiracy theories, and authoritarianism. There are several right-wing far parties and organizations in Europe and beyond. However, the number of studies on ELAM is limited when compared from various aspects. For example, studies generally lack systematic criticism (Katsourides, 2013). This study focuses on ELAM's views towards Turkish Cypriots and Turkey in general, as well as the idea of the federation, which is a proposed solution to the Cyprus Problem. The failure of the liberal system to respond to crises like the refugee or economic issues has given rise to ELAM and other far-right groups (like as Golden Dawn). The financial crisis that has afflicted Greek Cypriot society and the political system has had an impact on both governments and the European Union (EU) process, and this has contributed to ELAM's electoral success over a number of years. The origins of ELAM, date back to the Annan Plan period during the early 2000s but then they called themselves a branch of Golden Dawn (Katsourides, 2013). ELAM is an far-right, nationalist and populist organization that officially became a party in 2008. ELAM presents its ideology as a popular and social ultra-nationalist movement (Hepburn, 1997). The ELAM's party program, promises an anti-federalist line, zero tolerance for illegal immigration, and an energy policy where Cyprus can make full use of energy within its exclusive economic zone. In the 2011 elections for the House of Representatives (Parliament), ELAM received

4,354 votes, or 1.1 percent, in 2016, 13,041 votes, or 3.7 percent, and 24,255 votes, or 6.8 percent, in the 2021 elections. The party continued to increase its popularity among the electorate and became the fourth most active party by almost doubling its votes in all elections in which it participated (Ellinas & Katsourides, 2021). The party leader was Christos Christou, who was an active Golden Dawn member while living in Greece (Katsourides, 2013). ELAM had previously insisted on using the same name Golden Dawn, but existing laws meant that the organization was established with the name ELAM. Considering the existing situation of Golden Dawn (the Party declared the criminal organization in Greece), allowed ELAM to continue its activities. Since the party's founding till the present, ELAM has shared its opinions on official websites and newspapers in both speech and action. The ideological perspectives of ELAM will also be discussed. ELAM opposes the idea of a rotating presidency, rejecting the political equality of Turkish Cypriots and Greeks. The party sees the National question as a question of "occupation" or "continuing occupation". The party, which draws attention with its solution to the national problem of Cyprus and especially its attitude towards the federation, adopts an intolerant approach to immigrants and illegal immigration, opposes the phenomenon of globalization, and supports education according to Greek religious and national values (with a Hellenic-Orthodox identity) (Katsourides, 2013). Critical discourse analysis techniques were used in the study. The practitioners of this approach are Van Dijk and Fairclough. A research technique for examining spoken or written language in relation to its social context is critical discourse analysis (also known as discourse analysis). It seeks to comprehend how language is used in genuine contexts. The study will focus not only on the text but also on ELAM's discourse, action, and the meaning behind them. Therefore, the approaches Fairclough's will be taken as the analytical framework. Consequently, Fairclough evaluates critical discourse analysis in three stages: firstly, the study of discourse, secondly, interaction, and finally, context analysis (Fairclough, 2013). Fairclough's approach bears traces from many other Marxist or critical theorists; Examples of these are Foucault (discourse order concept), Gramsci (the concept of hegemony) and Habermas (the concept of colonization of discourses). So how is Fairclough's discourse analysis done, which does not use any tools? (Evre, 2009). First, the micro and macro meaning is explained in the discourse itself. While analyzing the macro level, it is explained which concepts or what the discourses reproduce. At the micro level, that is, in the existing soil, what causes it is analyzed (Fairclough, 2013). Since critical discourse

analysis was carried out in the study, which official discourses ELAM reinforces (ig occupied territory), in which context they make their discourse (on which event), and which words are directly criminalizing and impose negative features (Turkish seed, invaders, fugitives). The data in the study were taken from a limited number of academic studies on ELAM. In addition, since a discourse analysis was made, ELAM's official website and their press releases and interviews were used.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 New Characteristics of Greek Cypriot Nationalism

Although it is correct to analyze the phenomenon defined as nationalism in terms of a better understanding of itself, from the perspective of history or political science, compared with other forms of nationalism around the world, it is seen that a single example of nationalism is examined alone in the studies. Nevertheless, historically, Greek Cypriot nationalism developed through the interaction between Greek and Turkish nationalism. With the politicization of cultures in nationalism, it is seen that politics transforms into certain political principles that determine national borders (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018). According to the common belief in the academic world, the emergence of nations takes place in the modern period. The structure of pre-modern societies differs from that of current nations (Kellas, 1991). ELAM corrects arguments from Eric Hobsbawm and Antony Smith. Smith explains that the cultural and national institutions of nations are linked to cultures from the past. In general, ELAM's understanding of nationalism is also defined in this sense. Smith also defines nations as an ideological movement (Smith & Smith, 2013). ELAM's understanding of nationalism is also defined in the study according to Antony Smith's approach. According to Hobsbawm, the first nationalist ideas, emotions (Hobsbawm, 1992), and symbols in society seem to only be effective when they are mobilized with modernity and the modern state (Elbirlik & Karabulut, 2015). On the other hand, Antony Smith points to the context of nation and ethnicity while defining nations. According to this, nations themselves are based on pre-national ethnic identities and certain affiliations (Smith & Smith, 2013). Concerning Turkish and Hellenic nationalism, it is known that concepts such as modernity, nation, nationalism, and enlightenment in the Ottoman Empire, or the first meeting community were the Orthodox-Helen society. This was the driving force of the Greek intellectuals and merchants who

were influenced by the French Revolution in the process of Greek nationalization (Ioannou, 2014; Kızılyürek, 2016). Official historiography is very important for states attempting to become a nation. It is seen that a Hellenic-Orthodox identity was synthesized through the creation of historical continuity in Ancient Greece and the Byzantine Empire at the time of the mentioned symbols (Kızılyürek, 2016). Although this formula has changed, it continues to exist in a period when ELAM and the far right are on the rise. While the concept of the Megali-Idea (Kızılyürek, 2016) was the dominant thought in the process of strengthening national identity, Hellenism was influential in the eyes of the public as an identity narrative. The existence of Turkish nationalism is seen as the process of creating a nation from a state (Kitromilides, 1990). The two nationalisms that exist in Cyprus originally emerged during the establishment and nation-building processes of the Turkish and Greek nation-states. Although this ensured the nationalism-oriented politicization of the two ethnic structures in Cyprus, it also increased their attachment to the existing motherlands instead of a state formation process. Both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities established themselves as an organic part of Turkish and Hellenic civilizations, and these two poles gained strength from each other, thus entering into a conflict (<https://elamcy.com/theseis>). Historically, the development of Greek nationalism in Cyprus began long before the development of Turkish nationalism. Turkish nationalism, on the other hand, developed as an opposing nationalism (Kitromilides, 1990). Greek nationalism is a movement, similar to its contemporaries in Europe. Cyprus, the last component of Greek nationalism, has some unique features. The Cyprus experience developed differently from Greek nationalism, geographically, demographically, and politically. Greece is geographically a self-enclosed community and predominantly communicates with its Hellenic character. However, the different communities (Turkish Cypriots and Turkish nationalism) in Cyprus and the existence of the British Empire, and the resulting occupation conditions paved the way for the development of Hellenic nationalism in Cyprus (Kitromilides, 1990). It can be seen that Greek nationalism in Cyprus has certain characteristics: the use of ideas, discourse, and ideology of Greek nationalism, and in the beginning, the Megali-Idea and Enosis. (Enosis "Connection to Greece" of the island of Cyprus, which was under the administration of the United Kingdom in the 1930s). Afterward, instead of establishing its state, efforts were made to be included in the great nation, and, ultimately the Greek Cypriot merchants and bureaucrats who benefited from the possibilities of the state during the

Republic of Cyprus desired not to lose these privileges, and Greek Cypriot Nationalism changed by abandoning *Enosis*. Even though ELAM abandoned the *Enosis or Megali Idea* discourses knowing all these historical processes, it uses Hellenic-Orthodox state and nation discourses together with anti-immigrant rhetoric (Elamcy, 2020, 2021b).

2.2 ELAM as an Far Movement

Ideologically, ELAM can be defined as an ultra- nationalist movement. This ultra-nationalist approach, which advocates internal homogeneity, aims to achieve a state formed by a single society. When the ideology of far right parties is examined, nativism is also seen in addition to nationalism. In terms of meaning, this concept represents an understanding that no non-native element should be accommodated in the state and is rather seen as a threat. Far parties have more ideological characteristics, namely authoritarianism, and populism (Weisskircher, 2021). In short, far-right parties are shaped around the following three concepts which are nativism, authoritarianism, and populism (Weisskircher, 2021). Nativism populism and authoritarian leadership are interrelated with each other. If parties try to establish a political agenda created and developed based on these three features, it can define them as an far-right party. These elements constitute the main thought core of far-right parties and shape the thoughts of these parties at the national or international level (<https://elamcy.com>). Opposition to Islam has grown in USA and Europe, notably since the September 11, 2001 attacks and the current Syrian refugee crisis. The far-right parties invent a variety of justifications for Islam. It employs elements resembling those in its ELAM examples. ELAM argues that : “The birth rate of families belonging to the Islamic religion is very high. They will become the majority in our country (Immigrants from Turkey in the case of Cyprus)” (Elamcy, 2021a). The main theme in this text is "fear". In this discourse, ELAM claims that Christianity is more developed and exalted than Islam. In addition, according to them, ignorant and backward Muslims are having too many children, and as a result, they try to inject the fear that they will overtake their population in the future, although in reality they are almost three times as many.

ELAM press office made the following statement: “We do not accept the proposals of imaginary Muslims and their leaders, who feed off the illusion that they are running a state, but who are feeding and provoking land usurpers, criminals, and murderers. In an occupied Cyprus, it is our honor that the only problem of the conquerors is our Movement.” (E.L.A.M, 2022). According to Fairclough's approach, we see here

Gramsci's hegemony approach, which Habermas uses in his analysis of the colonization theme and discourse. Here, ELAM stands against Islam as a tool of hegemony and creates new enemies for itself from the existence of Turkey and the state created in the north. ELAM has also developed hate speeches against Islam and Turkish immigrants based on the historical roots of Greek Cypriot nationalism and the current situation in the European Union and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Northern part of Cyprus). It has developed similar discourses to other far-right parties in Europe, including the Islamization of the European Union and the return of Turks who have occupied Northern Cyprus to their homes. There was no Islamophobia in the past as Greek nationalism but today it takes another dimension. While ELAM's party identity generally criticizes the political elites for not defending religious and spiritual values (Hellenism, Orthodoxy) in their countries, they frequently refer to corruption in the state. In addition to first three all far-right populist parties can be described as xenophobic and anti-immigrant. ELAM characterizes every element that is not from its nation (here the Hellenic civilization) as the other or a foreigner and perceives it as a significant threat to the future. It is seen that ELAM differs from the other far-right parties in Western Europe. Rather than universal fascist figures or symbols such as Adolf Hitler or the swastika, party fanatics frequently use figures from the Greek Nationalist history of Cyprus. In addition to EOKA, it is frequently seen that EOKA-B (Makarios used the term EOKA-B to distinguish this period of actions leading up to the coup under the leadership of Nikos Sampson from the period of terrorist actions that were previously approved by him.) figures supported by the Greek Junta Administration are also used. While pictures of Greek Flags, Grivas, Nikos Sampson, and some murdered EOKA members are frequently seen in their protests, special attention is paid to not using symbols related to Golden Dawn, particularly after the violent acts and convictions of far-right Golden Dawn members in Greece (Baider, 2017). ELAM, are frequently featured in the media, especially in terms of the aid, they have provided which has normalized them in the eyes of society. They managed this process and became visible by providing food aid to the poor, tools and uniforms related to education for secondary and high school students, support, and food packages for the police and firefighters. While all this aid was offered to benefit the people who were seen as being Hellenic and Orthodox, immigrants were excluded. ELAM's Hellenic-Orthodox discourses and the construction of identity also shape their nationalism and policies regarding the Cyprus Problem. After allegations being directed toward Golden Dawn and the banning of its

activities in Greece, the organization deliberately tried to separate itself. Certainly, the reason for this was to ensure that it was not shut down. ELAM's organizational status has a wide spectrum. They are particularly active in football clubs and fan groups. In addition, they maintain an organization in high schools. Through these organizations, they provide aid in the form of parcels to citizens (non-immigrants) who need help. Even though they adopt an insecure approach towards political party leaders or deputies, the ELAM organization does have relations with firefighters and the police, and this situation manifests itself in the organization often being protected by these structures (Koumoillis, 2021).

2.3 Historical Background of ELAM as a Political Party

Before examining its ideas about the Cyprus Problem and perceptions of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, it is necessary to provide some background information about ELAM. ELAM's roots lie in Greek Cypriot nationalism as an far right-wing and nationalist party. When the elections in Greek Cypriot political life are examined, it is seen that the support given by the voters to right-wing thought is more intense. In the new order that emerged after Turkey's intervention on the island in 1974, the right-wing and far right sections of the Greek Cypriot community were generally deployed within DISI (Democratic Mobilization Party, Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός). Especially the ultra-nationalists (EOKA, EOKA B supporters) in particular were deprived of the political means to represent them directly for a long time. After a long period, Greek Cypriot nationalism returned in a different format: the new nationalist demands were not to unite with Greece, a concept known as ENOSIS, but to re-establish the Greek identity of Cyprus by preserving its independence (State of the Republic of Cyprus) with strict religious and cultural values with the Greek state (Kaysar & Mavratsas, 2000). Therefore, while examining ELAM's perceptions about the Turkish Cypriot and the solution, the study will analyze by explaining this main idea and the party's views on anti-immigration (Yardım, 2017). The founder and candidate of the party, Christos Christou, was an active member of Golden Dawn and had the intention to establish the same type of party in Cyprus. As a result of objections and legal procedures, it was understood that the Golden Dawn name and logo could not be used and it became an active political party by assuming the name ELAM (Katsourides, 2013). During the 2004 Annan Plan period, the public's complaints increased as a result of DISI's decision to yes to a solution plan in Cyprus, the European Union membership, and the failure of the central parties to respond to the

demands during the subsequent economic crisis. In this regard, it is important to determine the conditions in which ELAM emerged and the reasons for its rise. The far-right party ELAM was founded in 2008. Eatwell and Goodwin note that these changes may pose a threat or lead to fear that the national culture, values, and way of life will disappear (Eatwell & Goodwin, 2018). This fear can then be replaced by the construction of a perceived security threat based on ethnicity, and an intense hatred of immigration. These arguments, in which far right parties took shelter, combined with historical nationalism in Cyprus, evolved into opposition to Turkey and Turkish Cypriots and a solution. Zanoliti and Rama, in their research in Spain, revealed that not all people who vote for far-right parties are xenophobic, anti-EU, or homophobic (Rama et al., 2021). In Republic of Cyprus (Southern Cyprus), it is also seen that an unusually harsh and rude response is sought to the political problems and concerns that the central parties cannot answer and remain unresolved. We can understand this from the voting rates of many political parties established after the 2009 crisis and parties such as ELAM and the Greens parties. Cyprus' EU membership process and ELAM's thoughts on the Cyprus problem developed in similar periods. The EU's increasing economic and political power and state sovereignty are further diminishing. The power of the EU is centralized but diffused in terms of territory. It is necessary to understand the reasons for the success of ELAM. ELAM presented a radically different approach from the centrist parties in terms of both its rhetoric and its actions. To show this, that is, to prove how different it is from the center, it has often emphasized its ideology and values. Second, ELAM, like other far right populist parties, has opened them up for discussion to politicize issues that are not covered in mainstream politics (Triga et al., 2019).

3. ELAM'S DISCOURSES ON TURKEY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

The emergence of far-right parties on the stage of history is not a new phenomenon. However, especially after the 2008 global crisis, far-right populist parties can be evaluated from a different perspective in terms of their approaches, lines, arguments, and conditions use. ELAM already has some political legacies due to both a historical nationalism and the Cyprus Problem. When the mission of the far right parties is combined with the Cyprus Problem and the 1974 Turkish intervention, the discourses, mission and vision of ELAM emerge. In a press statement made by ELAM at the

protest against illegal immigration after some immigrants caused violence organized in Limassol on March 2014: The attack on Talat and his entourage took place in the Panos Solomonides conference hall of the Limassol Municipality cultural centre. Nearly one hundred Elam members, the majority of the Limassol Technical University and the EU representation jointly raided the conference on the Cyprus settlement process, entering through the front and back doors while the speeches were continuing (Hürriyet, 2014). "While the number of asylum seekers in our country is much higher than predicted by the EU, the exact number of illegal immigrants cannot be calculated. This demographic change had begun in the Cyprus problem! It is an organized plan of the state!" (Elamcy, 2021c; Halhallı, 2020). According to Fairclough's discourse analysis, while illegal immigrants are mentioned on a macro scale, the Cyprus problem is emphasized on a micro scale. We understand this from the attack on the Turkish Cypriot Peaceful leader and his group in the relevant action. Again, in the analysis of the relevant discourse, it is seen that the movement of both immigrants and Turks who came to Cyprus after 1974 were rejected by combining the problem they have suffered due to the right of free movement in the European Union with the Cyprus Problem. While the related discourse provides the reproduction of anti-immigrant and racism at the macro level, it carries the language that disrupts the peace in Cyprus and fuels the separation into the political arena at the micro level. The main issue among the strategies of far-right populist parties is immigration and refugees. Anti-immigrant policies find a response in societies especially in times of crisis. As a result, hate speech and actions against migrants are observed. Due to the turmoil in the Middle East and the Syrian Civil War, Western Europe has faced a major migration and refugee crisis. As a result of the policy of free movement and enlargement in the European Union, the current situation is being questioned as a result of the presence of the former Eastern European and USSR countries, which are culturally different from Western Europe but still included in the European Union. A significant number of people from Eastern Europe are also migrating to Western Europe. Due to the historical perspective of Greek Cypriot nationalism and the current positions and strategies of far-right parties, ELAM has come to the forefront with its policy of zero tolerance towards all forms of immigration. The roots of Greek Cypriot nationalism have enabled ELAM to oppose from Turkey and Turkish Cypriots, as well as against the European Union's policies such as free movement. While the Turkish State is seen as an invader, Turkish Cypriots are also seen as "traitors" helping this occupation. The transfer of the resources of the

Republic of Cyprus only to the Hellenic population is strongly advocated by ELAM (Elamcy, 2020). ELAM has always strived to keep certain issues on the agenda such as the direct or indirect transfer of state resources to Turkish Cypriot or Turkish immigrants, the return of all kinds of immigrants, and the restriction of house sales to foreigners (Elamcy, 2020). ELAM's perception of Turkish Cypriots can be exemplified by one main event in 2020: "ELAM's regular actions at Lokmacı Barricade (Ledra Street Check Point). In the action held at the Lokmacı Border Gate, ELAM members chanted slogans like "close all the barricades now", "federalists, pull your hand, Cyprus is not for sale, it is Helen", "Get your hand off the National Guard" and "Isak-Solomu I Will Never Forget You" (A person trying to lower the Turkish flag and killed) (Kıbrıs, 2020). In addition, they opposed the opening of other border gates on the grounds that the "Turks would pass through the gate." (Kıbrıs, 2020). The main motivation points of ELAM can also be seen in its discourse here. While a language of hate is used as the theme, what is aimed here at the micro scale is Cyprus again. Closing all open border gates between the two communities in their actions. In the slogans and banners, rhetoric was used to praise a citizen named Solomu, who tried to cross the border and lower the Turkish Flag in the past, and was shot. ELAM's anti-peace, separatist and anti-Turkish mentality can be seen here. Lokmacı has historical significance. Lokmacı is the first division point of the island, the place where the first barricade was erected in 1963. Therefore, the barricade here is the symbol of division. It is also for this reason that the fanatics in the south have gathered in Lokmacı many times to this day to demand that all border gates be closed. Far-right parties, with economic crisis and unemployment, complain about the financial burden of aid allocated to refugees and immigrants. ELAM also defended this in the example of Republic of Cyprus, similar to other examples, albeit with one difference: They demand that no aid should be given to the Turkish Cypriots along with the immigrants due to the national problem and that people of Turkish origin living in the north of the island should be returned to their countries. Therefore, all far-right populist parties can be described as xenophobic or anti-immigrant. Both ELAM and other examples characterize every element that is not from its nation (Hellenic civilization) as the other or a foreigner and perceive it as a great threat to the future (Charalambous et al., 2018). Another feature of far-right parties is in protest. ELAM has frequently criticized institutions and administrators and accused them of being corrupt both inside and outside the parliament. The main themes of the party are the Cyprus problem, defense, immigration, education, EU, and environment

(Charalambous et al., 2018). It is also necessary to focus on the Turkish perception of ELAM. ELAM continues its historical mission originating from Greek Cypriot nationalism. ELAM's general views are in line with Greek Cypriot right-wing nationalist voters (Katsourides, 2013). According to the limited studies on ELAM in the literature, while they see Turkey as an “invader”, Turkish Cypriots are also called “traitors” “because they have helped this occupation, and it is seen that they use expressions such as Turkish and Turkish seeds as insults in slang discussions on social media. According to ELAM, invading and invasive Turkey and Turkish immigrants should be sent directly from the island. Because of Turkey, Turkish Cypriots should not be negotiated for any federation-based solution. There are two reasons for opposing any kind of peace talks: first, in any solution, the presence of Turkey and Turkish immigrants will be consolidated on the island. Secondly, making Turkish Cypriots partners with the state through a solution would harm Hellenic civilization and Christianity, and therefore the values that the party advocated (Elamcy, 2021c). ELAM deals with the Cyprus problem and the immigrant problem together in its historical stance. They combine Turkish Cypriots and immigrant problems with same perspective. While ELAM mentions that the number of asylum seekers in the whole of Cyprus far exceeds the number stipulated by the EU, the exact number of “illegal immigrants” cannot be calculated. According to ELAM, the demographic change of Cyprus is a “Project” and it is a plan organized by Turkey and the “unrecognized state located in the North” (Elamcy, 2021a). According to ELAM, foreigners in Cyprus are wandering all over Cyprus forming ghettos instead of being deported immediately. In addition, the structure in the North is directly or indirectly funded by the state or the EU which must be stopped immediately (Elamcy, 2021b). There is a strong opposition to both immigrants and all forms of federation in ELAM's harsh statement published on April 7, 2023. There is a serious opposition to federation and immigration here. suggested solution- A structure without an army and without the possibility of the central government to impose on the part states. - The part states will be able to conclude international agreements on some issues such as trade and culture and the piece state will have almost complete control over its territory. and over the mention of domestic citizenship in domestic law, Turkey has issued a statement titled “If You Miss Freedom”, which contains a stern warning to the government that “invasion” will not allow the return of refugees and the repossession of property in occupied areas (Elamcy, 2023). In Baider’s (2017) study, it is seen that ELAM fanatics mostly use the words Cyprus (Baider, 2017),

Greece, Motherland, Golden Dawn, and ELAM. It is seen that there are three main groups that they again criticize in their discourses: Turkey, immigrants, and the AKEL (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζόμενου Λαού, Communist) party. The rest are committed under the traitor category. The most frequently used content regarding any other or themselves is the words and these words refer to the Golden Dawn's slogan: Blood and Honor (Baider, 2017).

3.1 ELAM's Discourses on Cyprus Problem and Federation

The Cyprus problem has been on the international agenda for over fifty years. Until now, no political party has loudly called for the interruption of these ongoing talks between communities. However, ELAM advocates the immediate suspension of bilateral talks and negotiations for a federation-type solution, both through the media and through their official channels. It is important to understand the reasons for these explanations (Elamcy, 2021b). The Cyprus issue has occupied the agenda of politics and international relations for many years. During the 2004 Annan Plan period, a referendum was held for the Plan and while Turkish Cypriots voted yes to the plan, the majority (75.83%) of the Greek Cypriots said no. In the following period, the parties sought a common ground for re-negotiations. The bi-zonal bi communal federation has been rejected as a solution by ELAM (Elamcy, 2021a). Under the auspices of the United Nations, federation can be defined as a bi-communal, bi-zonal, international single citizenship and power-sharing solution. Instead, the party argues that the only viable solution is to have a unitary system with strong centralized power. ELAM became the fourth party in the 2021 Republic of Cyprus House of Representatives (Parliament) elections. This is a sign that a change is taking place within the Southern Cyprus party system (DISI, AKEL, EDEK, and DIKO) shaped around the four main parties. While the mainstream political parties experienced a decrease in their votes, ELAM, which was discussed in various aspects of the study, has doubled its votes in almost every election and has now established a considerable foothold in the Greek Cypriot political situation (Elamcy, 2021c). DISI's yes campaign during the Annan Plan period was met with a strong reaction from the current right-wing electorate. In addition, although DISI said yes to the Annan Plan, it was historically associated with AKEL, which was trying to find a solution, and both parties were attacked. ELAM has particularly targeted those voters who have historically had an affinity with EOKA among DISI and other central parties in their political campaigns. In addition to EOKA, the party also sympathizes with EOKA B

(Philippou, 2024). ELAM commemorated EOKA leader Grivas Digenis at his grave on the anniversary of his death, despite being banned within the framework of the coronavirus measures implemented in Southern Cyprus and the permission requests were turned down (Kıbrıs, 2020). The party also made too many concessions to the EU against Turkey and claimed that Europe, in general, was embarking on a dangerous path of Islamization (Katsourides, 2013). Along with ELAM, it is seen that many new parties have an anti-reunification stance on the Cyprus issue. However, the additional attempt to revive the EOKA spirit has not only inflamed the opponents of the system who want liberation. But it has also garnered a lot a significant amount of sympathy from the masses thanks to its tough and uncompromising stance aimed at expelling what they perceive to be the "enemy" (ie Turkey) from the island. This approach, in a sense, gave hope to the masses directly affected by the war (Katsourides, 2013).

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The nationalism of the far right in Cyprus and its historical background were examined. The importance of the study is that the party's perception of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey has not been studied in previous studies on ELAM. In this regard, the study contributes to an extent to the literature on the far-right parties in general and ELAM in particular. This study identified the otherized and excluded such identities as Turks, Turkish Cypriots and Muslims. It focused on ELAM as an far representative of Greek Cypriot nationalism and its discourses on Turks, Turkish Cypriots and the solution to Cyprus problem. It was identified that ELAM's conception of nationalism possessed the ethno-symbolistic character defined by Antony Smith's theory of nationalism. Within this framework while the Turkish Cypriots are seen as collaborators helping the occupation of Turkey, they have adopted in a policy of stopping the federation talks based on political equality. ELAM has drawn a political line advocating the return of all settlers brought to the island by Turkey after 1974. ELAM is a xenophobic party. ELAM advocates that all people of Turkish origin who came to the Turkish Cypriot side after 1974 should be returned to their homes immediately. This policy may even block the path of negotiations on the reunification of the island, which has been divided for a long time. ELAM party's daily policies are to a state with a Hellenic-Orthodox identity, return immigrants to their homes, Europe has developed a soft attitude towards Turkey, the Republic of Cyprus, directly or indirectly,

should cut off aid to other people other than its Hellenic citizens. It is also said that in its current structure, it lags behind the Christian identity. The overall opinions of ELAM towards Turkey and Turkish Cypriots, as well as a suggestion for a solution to the Cyprus Problem, were examined. The roots of Greek Cypriot nationalism have enabled the ELAM organization to oppose Turkish Cypriots and people from Turkey, as well as against the European Union's policies such as free movement. While the State of Turkey is seen as an invader, Turkish Cypriots are seen as "traitors" helping this occupation. They only provide aid to Hellenic citizens. In this domestic policy, the transfer of the resources of the Republic of Cyprus to the Hellenic population is advocated. It is remarkably seen that ELAM has a special hatred towards Turkey, immigrants, and the AKEL (Communist) party that are all processed under the traitor category. Any foreign entity is defined to express affinity with Turkey. It is advocated that immigrants should return to their countries by using metaphors related to road and immigration. People living in Northern Cyprus are commonly referred as burdens and traitors. The Cypriots' alienation from Orthodox and Hellenistic norms is frequently shown for a community who are their targets. Foreigners are seen as a threat to the Hellenism. With regards to the settlement of Cyprus Problem, ELAM favored the suspension of negotiations for a solution with Turkey. In addition, it is aimed to encourage Turkish Cypriots who are not seen as equal to reunite with Greece (Baider, 2017). It is obvious that ELAM is absolutely against the idea of federation, which supports the closure of all border gates. The threat perceived by ELAM comes from two sources: Turkey and immigrants. While Turkey is seen as the "illegal occupier" of Northern Cyprus, immigrants are similarly considered to be the occupiers of Southern Cyprus. The "foreign entity" is implied to be both illegal and deadly, thus threatening. Therefore, any foreign entity, including EU citizens working in Cyprus, third-country nationals, and Turkish Cypriots, is conceptualized as a migrant. Accordingly, all foreign presences are dangerous and considered illegal. The study, which also touches on the main arguments used by far-right populist parties, illustrates how ELAM's anti-immigrant approach targets Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants in particular Greek Cypriots.

In the last part of the study, it was also reported that the rise of ELAM with its approach towards the Cyprus issue and nationalism could harm the prospect of peaceful relations between The Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, Turkey's EU membership, and the settlement of Cyprus

Problem. The existence of ELAM may reveal structures against them in the medium and long term and may bring their aggressive attitudes to a point where they can harm all parties. The rise of ELAM, which constantly calls for the European Union to impose sanctions on Turkey, end the support given to Turkish Cypriots, and close the crossing gates between the two countries, poses a significant threat to the future. The proposed policies such as ending ELAM's negotiation of the peoples in Cyprus for a solution, the EU helping Turkey, the unconditional sending of Turkish immigrants to their countries, and the EU or the Republic of Cyprus not helping Turkish Cypriots. However, ELAM manages to find a place for itself in domestic politics on the point that it deciphers a rotten political institution and corrupt administrators that it frequently mentions in its explanations with its basic lines. ELAM, which describes itself as being opposed to the current political system, does not accept this by criticizing AKEL and other structures that frequently express their relations with Golden Dawn. The ELAM organization, which defines this and similar discourses as the system's attempt to close its parties, tends to maintain its existence by referring to the freedom of thought and expression.

The nationalist ideology of the far-right party ELAM, on the other hand, has changed under new conditions. ELAM realizes that the Megali Idea or Enosis will not find much response in politics, it also emphasizes the Orthodox-Hellenic character of the current state, instead of Greek Cypriot nationalism advocating unity with the Greek nation, while constructing a system of thought on anti-immigrants. ELAM defines the Cyprus problem as an "occupation" problem. It advocates a unitary Republic of Cyprus with a strong-based Hellenic-Orthodox identity. In ELAM's perspective Turkey is an "invader". The party defines Turkish Cypriots as traitors who help this occupation.

The party, which stands against a solution on the basis of any equality of Turkish Cypriots, and advocates the return of people who came from Turkey after 1974. Fairclough explains the macro and micro effects of expressions in discourse analysis. ELAM's discourses contribute to the reproduction of global racism with exclusions at the macro level. At the micro level, that is, on the Cyprus scale, it functions to prevent the opportunities for Turkish and Greek Cypriots to co-exist peacefully again. At the macro level, ELAM's aggressive language and actions may pave the way for Turkey and Greek Cypriots, and thus the escalation of tensions in the region and a path toward war. Lastly, tensions escalate in the relations between Turkey and Greece.

References

- Baider, F. H. (2017). Thinking globally, acting locally: Analyzing the adaptation of mainstream supremacist concepts to a local socio-historical context (ELAM in Cyprus). *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 5(2), 178-204.
- Batur, C. (2019). *The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on the Rise of the Far Right in Europe: Examples from Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands* [Master's Thesis, Istanbul, Marmara University, Department of European Union Politics and International Relations,
- Charalambous, G., Papageorgiou, B., & Pegasiou, A. (2018). Surprising elections in exciting times? of proxies and second-order events in the 2014 European election in Cyprus. In *Still Second Order or Critical Contests? The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe* (pp. 131-152). Routledge.
- E.L.A.M. (2022). We will become a minority in our own country – NO to illegal immigration! The success of the 2021 protest event. <https://elamcy.com/tha-katastoume-meipsifia-ston-idio-mas-ton-topo-ochi-stin-lathrometanastefsi-epitychis-i-ekdilosi-diamartyrias-tou-e-la-m/>
- Eatwell, R., & Goodwin, M. (2018). *National populism: The revolt against liberal democracy*. Penguin UK.
- Elamcy. (2020). ELAM- Agios Kyriakos or Anachoritis, eortology. <https://elamcy.com/agios-kyriakos-or-anachoritis-eortology/2020>
- Elamcy. (2021a). E.L.A.M - We will become a minority in our own country – NO to illegal immigration! The success of the protest event. <https://elamcy.com/tha-katastoume-meipsifia-ston-idio-mas-ton-topo-ochi-stin-lathrometanastefsi-epitychis-i-ekdilosi-diamartyrias-tou-e-la-m/>
- Elamcy. (2021b). ELAM - The rise of ELAM indicates new polling for 2021. <https://elamcy.com/anodo-tou-elam-deichnei-ne-dimoskopisi>
- Elamcy. (2021c). ELAM's party thesis. <https://elamcy.com/theseis/>
- Elamcy. (2023). ELAM- If You Miss Freedom 2023. <https://elamcy.com/an-lachtaras-tin-lefteria/>
- Elbirlik, T., & Karabulut, F. (2015). Discourse Theories: A Classification Study. *Journal of Language Research*, 9(17), 31-50.
- Ellinas, A. A., & Katsourides, Y. (2021). The silent electoral earthquake in Cyprus: A crisis of political representation. *South European Society and Politics*, 26(3), 413-436.
- Evre, B. (2009). Different Approaches to Discourse Analysis: A Classification Attempt. In İsmet Parlak (Ed.), *Constructing Reality in the Turkish Media Discourse: A Critical Perspective*. Konya, Turkey: Çizgi Kitapevi, 107-152.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis. In *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 9-20). Routledge.
- Halhallı, B. (2020). The Ideological Structure of Far-Right Parties in Europe. *Dicle University Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 10(20), 450-471.
- Hepburn, A. (1997). Teachers and secondary school bullying: A postmodern discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, 8(1), 27-48.
- Heywood, A. (2019). *Politics* (5th ed.). London, UK: Red Globe Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge university press.

- Hürriyet. (2014). Talat'a Güney Kıbrıs'ta şok saldırı! [Talat is subjected to a shocking attack in South Cyprus]. <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/talata-guney-kibris-ta-sok-saldiri-26092384>
- Ioannou, E. (2014). Populism and the European elections in Cyprus. *Rising Populism and European Elections Collection of selected contributions*, 50.
- Katsourides, Y. (2013). Determinants of extreme right reappearance in Cyprus: the National Popular Front (ELAM), Golden Dawn's sister party. *South European Society and Politics*, 18(4), 567-589.
- Kaysar, V., & Mavratsas, E. (2000). The Aspects of Nationalism in Cyprus. *Lefköşe: Galerî Kültür Yayınları*.
- Kellas, J. D. (1991). Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity. London, UK: Macmillan.
- Kıbrıs, P. (2020). ELAM commemorated Grivas despite bans. https://www.kibrispostasi.com/c58-GUNEY_KIBRIS/n365236-elam-yasaklara-ragmen-grivasi-andi
- Kitromilides, P. M. (1990). Greek irredentism in Asia minor and Cyprus. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26(1), 3-17.
- Kızılyürek, N. (2016). Cyprus in the Grip of Nationalism. Istanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları.
- Koumoillis, G. (2021). The alarming rise of ELAM must be stopped. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/05/23/the-alarming-rise-of-elam-must-be-stopped/>
- Philippou, M. (2024). The Rise of Far-Right Populism in Cyprus: The Case of Elam. *Interdisc. J. Populism*, 4, 38.
- Rama, J., Zanotti, L., Turnbull-Dugarte, S. J., & Santana, A. (2021). *VOX: The rise of the Spanish populist radical right*. Routledge.
- Smith, A. D., & Smith, A. (2013). *Nationalism and modernism*. Routledge.
- Triga, V., Mendez, F., & Djouvas, C. (2019). Post-crisis political normalisation? The 2018 presidential elections in the Republic of Cyprus. *South European Society and Politics*, 24(1), 103-127.
- Weisskircher, M. (2021). Cas Mudde, "The Far Right Today" Polity, Cambridge, 2019, 18.90 Euros, ISBN: 978-1-5095-3683-2. In: Springer.
- Weisskircher, M. (2024). Far-Right Parties and Divisions over Movement-party Strategy: The AfD and the Anti-Corona Protests of Querdenken. In *Contemporary Germany and the Fourth Wave of Far-Right Politics* (pp. 159-173). Routledge.
- Yardım, M. (2017). Far Right and Multiculturalism: "Migrants" Marginalized in Europe. *Academic Reviews Journal*, 12(2), 217-234.