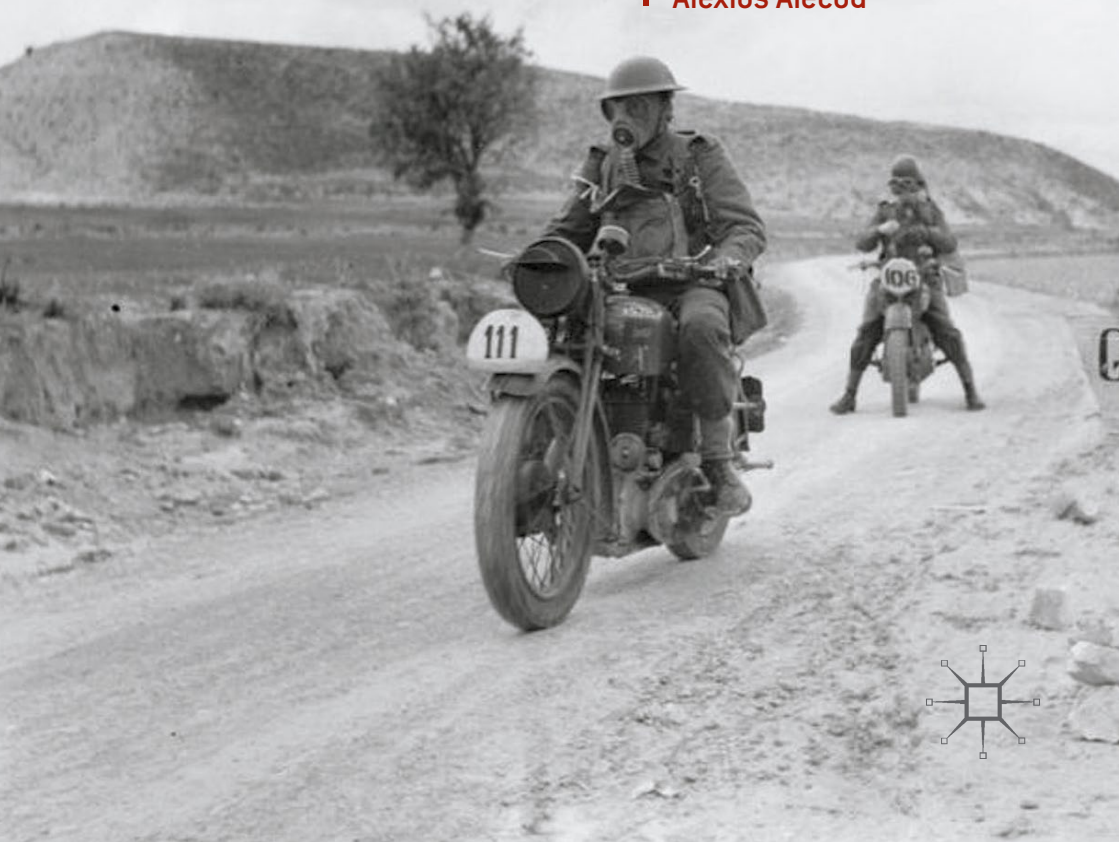


# Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus, 1945-1955

Politics and Ideologies  
Under British Rule

| Alexios Alecou



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Alexis Alecou  
November 2015

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AKEL	Progressive Party of Working People
DSE	Democratic Army of Greece
EAKX	National Agrarian Party of Chites
EAM	National Liberation Front
EAS	National Liberation Coalition
ELAS	National Popular Liberation Army
EMAK	National Liberation Front of Cyprus
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
EREK	National Radical Union of Cyprus
KARI	Cypriot Fighters, Daring Leaders
KEK	Cyprus National Party
KKE	Communist Party of Greece
KKK	Communist Party of Cyprus
KME	Cyprus Mining Company
KPO	Cypriot Civil Organization
KTIVK	Turkish Trade Unions
NEK	Youth of National Party
PEK	Cyprian Farmers' Union
PEO	Pancyprian Federation of Labor
PES	National Cooperation Wing
POK	Political Organization of Cyprus
PSE	Pancyprian Trade Union Committee
RIK	Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation
SEK	Cyprus Workers Confederation
SEKA	Coordinating Committee of the Cyprus Struggle

## Introduction

The political developments in post-war Cyprus are, from a historiographical point of view, a relatively neglected period of modern Cypriot history. To a large extent, the relevant literature is dominated by studies dealing with the 1950s, particularly the period from 1955 to 1959. This should be expected, since it was during this time that the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) struggle unfolded.

The decade between 1945 and 1955, however, is of particular interest with regard to Cyprus, especially when examined in view of colonialism and international developments of the period. The end of WWII marked the beginning of the polarization of Cypriot society and, after the establishment of new political entities by 1948, its full division. The events subsequent to the Constitutional Assembly—at which the constitutional proposals of the British were discussed (the *Diaskeptiki*)—and the official declaration of civil war in Greece, up to the beginning of the EOKA struggle, are examined for their contribution to the formation and ideological crystallization of the two factions, communists and nationalists, under the influence of the civil war climate transposed from Greece.

The British attempt to concede constitutional rights to the people of Cyprus can only be considered a starting point in a new period of Cypriot history. The institutional superstructure of Cypriot society, in its inter-temporal evolution, is inextricably linked to the economic, political, and class contradictions of each era. As was the case with every colony, in

Cyprus colonial institutions were shaped in such a way as to facilitate the perpetuation of the occupier's sovereignty. During the early post-war years, the various segments of Cypriot society approached the political liberties of Cypriots from a different perspective. For workers, under certain conditions these liberties could have been a stepping stone to social demands and long-term political objectives. For the conservative strata, however, the expansion of constitutional liberties granted rights and power to forces which threatened the balance of Cypriot society.

The Greek civil war, as the first form of division of post-war Greece, could not leave unaffected the people of Cyprus or the correlation of political powers in Cyprus. From the simplest form of support for the warring sides of the civil war up to their effective participation, the political camps in Cyprus experienced the civil war raging in Greece as something that immediately and urgently concerned them. The clash of these two worlds went through various phases, from the national to the political, from education to the Church of Cyprus. The focal point of this book is 1948, as it was during this year when the class confrontation greatly escalated, leading each side to its extreme.

The main objective of this book is to examine and analyze the events that impacted the structure and competitive processes of the two dominant Cypriot political factions while under the watchful eye of British rule. The differences between communists and nationalists, however, brought the two sides to a frontal collision in the wake of the events of the Greek civil war. The class conflict within Cypriot society would at some point inevitably lead, in one way or another, to a clash between the two factions, but the civil war in Greece constituted another field of conflict between left and right, accelerating the formation of a bipolar party system in which the vertical division of the Greek community in Cyprus eventually expressed itself.

Methodologically, the book is based on both primary and secondary sources. The absence of a large specialized volume of "Cyprological" literature on the subject under examination made it necessary to use primary sources of information, such as party documents and texts (e.g., statutes, proclamations, announcements, conference decisions, etc.), newspapers of the period and archived interview. The events are examined via the cross-examination of various sources; in addition, certain monographs particularly helpful were the unpublished archival sources of the Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece (DIAYE),

the Foreign and Colonial Office archive of Great Britain housed in The National Archives (TNA) and the Contemporary Social History Archives in Athens (ASKI).

Some conceptual clarifications are necessary regarding certain terminologies used in the book. The first concerns the determination of the two dominant ethnic groups in Cyprus. Due to the island's transition to the British administration and the consequent loss of Ottoman nationality by the inhabitants of Cyprus, the two groups defined as Christian and Muslim during the Ottoman period and the early decades of British rule will be defined herein conventionally, as Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots respectively. These definitions are intended to describe these two groups as they began to be politicized and to acquire on a massive scale national consciousness. The second clarification concerns the concepts of left and right: the book focuses exclusively on the political developments of the period within the Greek Cypriot community. Thus, references to left and right refer to the Greek–Cypriot left and the Greek–Cypriot right or, respectively, to Greek–Cypriot communists and Greek–Cypriot nationalists.

This book is not intended to provide a detailed account of the historical events of the period under consideration, but to highlight those elements which aid in understanding the conditions under which the events to be examined took place. The objective is to contribute to an understanding of certain aspects of Cypriot history, which should ultimately serve as a tool for interpreting the internal Cypriot political scene of the time.

### STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The first chapters focus on the conditions prevailing in Cypriot society before and during WWII. *Enosis* (Unification of Cyprus with Greece) and its importance to the Greek Cypriots is examined, as is the political situation in Cyprus immediately after the end of the war. A summary overview of the main parties and political organizations of the period is provided, as well as an analysis of the electoral processes for local government (1946) and the appointment of an archbishop (1947).

An attempt is then made to outline the factors that led both sides, Communists and Nationalists, to a frontal collision. The influence of Greek policy on Cyprus is recorded, particularly its effect on each of the

two warring sides. The appearance, the main characteristics, and the ideology of the Greek far right are analyzed; this is followed by an examination of the right-wing “X” organization and its radical response to the development of AKEL, in light of both the civil war climate transposed to Cyprus and the debate on the constitutional proposals of the British. Accordingly, the relationship between the Communist Party of Greece and The Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) is highlighted, as is the influence of the Greek Communist Party on Cypriot communists. The strikes of 1948 by the Cypriot labor movement, the longest in duration and marked by political violence are also recorded here as one of the results of the period’s class conflict. The stance taken by the left and the right to the Greek civil war is noted, as is the consolidation within society of the dipole communists ≠ nationalists, which divided Cypriot society and was inherent all aspects of public life during the period.

The following chapters focus on the inner workings of the Greek-Cypriot left. The absolute identification of AKEL with the Democratic Army in Greece and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) prompted many of AKEL’s moderate “fellow travellers” to secede from the periphery of the party, as the left continued to face challenges from within. The circumstances under which AKEL changed its stance regarding enosis are examined: the visit of the party delegation to the Greek mountains, the delegation’s ensuing discussions with KKE leadership, and the importance of this visit on AKEL’s later course are recorded. The crisis that gripped the left, both as a result of internal ideological struggle and external interventions, was a precursor to AKEL’s defeat in the 1949 municipal elections, is also analyzed.

The final chapters examine the homogenization of the elements that hitherto constituted the right and drove it along its path toward armed struggle. The unification referendum is examined as a turning point for the future course of the anti-colonial struggle of the Cypriots, and, combined with the attempted internationalization of the Cyprus problem with the dispatch of “delegations” to the UN, marked the beginning of a new period in the intra-Cypriot conflict between left and right. The appointment of Makarios III as archbishop and his absolute imposition as head of the nationalist faction created the necessary conditions for the victory of the right in its battle for leadership of the anti-colonial struggle: the results of the municipal elections of 1953 politically consolidated the right and gave it primacy in the anti-colonial struggle. At the same time, the vertical division of Cypriot society contributed to the formation of two

powerful factions; these two factions permeated all of the social divisions and conflicts of the period, essentially crushing the margins where an intermediate-centrist movement might have found Purpose. Finally, the processes in Cyprus and Greece that prompted the shift to a more intensive assertion of enosis are examined, along with the path taken by the Greek-Cypriots toward the armed struggle of the EOKA period.

## The Formation of Cypriot Society

### SOCIAL CLEAVAGES AND POLITICS BEFORE WWII

Up until World War II, the greater part of the island of Cyprus was controlled by the senior clergy, an oligarchy of large landowners, the old notables. This drastically slowed the evolution of Cypriot society to the extent of validating the portrayal of its early twentieth century structures as “archaic.” Senior clergy and landowners cooperated, forming the ruling class. A group of merchants—the embryo of the future bourgeoisie—followed, along with a small group of intellectuals, predominantly educators. The vast majority of the populace were farmers and, to a limited degree, craftsmen.<sup>1</sup>

By the early twentieth century, the Cypriot bourgeoisie began to coalesce, but without a distinct boundary with the landowners, as it was not uncommon for the latter to shift its economic activities toward commercial enterprises.<sup>2</sup> The emergence of the bourgeoisie mainly began through new forms of relations of production which, although they functioned within the framework of the Ottoman regime, rapidly developed with the advent of the British.<sup>3</sup>

The delayed emergence of the bourgeoisie in Cyprus is attributable to the late development of capitalist relations of production, which in turn was due to a series of barriers, chief among them Ottoman indifference to the island’s infrastructure, which stalled or halted the development of its interior. The absence of significantly populated cities, virtually



non-existent development of trade relations between cities and rural areas and the lack of educational infrastructure all constrained the island's cultural development.<sup>4</sup> The improvement of the transportation network and the development of communications through emerging technical innovations (e.g., railroads, telegraph, telephony, cars, etc.) empowered the bourgeoisie, which grew numerically, financially and politically; its main areas of engagement were trade, money-lending and small industry.<sup>5</sup>

A bourgeoisie had not yet been established by the end of Ottoman rule. The ruling class comprised senior clergy and large landowners, with an assortment of landowners-merchants forming the next class; the latter would subsequently hatch the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. The new bourgeoisie that began to establish itself with the advent of the British relied heavily on monetary relations: an economy based on money and institutional arrangements enshrining private ownership spurred the development of both trade and money-lending. The establishment of trading offices and agencies, with their relevant clerical staff, as well as small and large industries—albeit of limited capacity—resulted in corresponding changes in the population's social composition.<sup>6</sup> The merchant class functioned as facilitator of the development of a trade economy, purchasing and, in turn, selling to a wider market the products of craftsmen or farmers, who proceeded to supplement their income with non-agricultural work. Starting from Lemesos and originating from the large landowners' group, but independently of it, a nascent merchant class began to evolve, gradually accumulating enough wealth so as to stand out.<sup>7</sup>

One of the changes transpiring in manufacture during the British rule was the decline of the craft sector in favor of imported products: this brought about the unemployment of a substantial number of Cypriots and brought the domestic economy to almost total ruin, as Cyprus was unable to develop any significant type of industry in its place. Usurious practices and very high taxation functioned as major hindrances to the development of local industry.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the first two decades of the twentieth century saw substantial growth in industry and trade, with the appearance of small industrial units producing goods such as wine and tobacco. However, these industries could not compete with similar industries in England. Britain exploited Cyprus, just like any other colony, using it as a market for its own industrial products, and as an extraction site for raw materials, especially minerals.<sup>9</sup> The occasional agricultural crises, particularly after World War I, were a significant factor contributing to the financial power of the bourgeoisie.

These crises enabled merchants and usurers to confiscate farming estates that had been mortgaged to them at usurious interest rates during periods of economic prosperity.<sup>10</sup>

Until World War I, the Cypriot capital was of an exclusively commercial-usurious nature. Key enterprises belonged to foreign owners, a fact Greek-Cypriot political leaders protested. Despite significant investment by Cypriot entrepreneurs dating to 1899, only after the war did local capital begin to substantially develop to establish the Nicosia Savings Bank, or Cyprus Bank, as it was renamed in 1913.<sup>11</sup> Foreign capital (English, Greek and American, in particular) had been invested in the exploitation of the mining wealth of Cyprus.<sup>12</sup> Four companies exploited Cypriot minerals: the Cyprus Mines Corporation which owned the Skouriotissa and Mavrovouni mines; the Cyprus Asbestos Company; the Sulfur and Copper Company in Polis Chrysochous; and the Chromium and Calcium Company in Troodos.<sup>13</sup>

The modernization and development of capitalist relations improved agricultural performance but created demographic pressure in rural areas, resulting in a migration toward the cities. Alongside the bourgeoisie and the working class, the middle strata comprised of craftsmen and artisans also grew (blacksmiths, shoemakers, stonemasons, tailors, etc.), and these occupations became quite numerous. Based on an official government report, in 1930, 19 middle class professions (craftsmen) existed in Cyprus, numbering 8.872 thousands employers-craftsmen and 6.557 thousands workers-employees working for them, with 2.736 thousands, the most, in the building sector.<sup>14</sup>

The increasing influence of the bourgeoisie enabled it to seek beneficial institutional arrangements, enshrining and subsequently upgrading its position within the social pyramid. Its search for a political outlet to serve its interests brought about its dissent with the traditional social establishment, the Church of Cyprus and the landowners: the future of the bourgeoisie was intertwined with the existence of a single, strong, centralized national state in which it would play a prominent role. After the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie used nationalism in most countries as a legitimizing force to obtain political control, claiming its own nation-state. The peculiarity of Cyprus is that its bourgeoisie sought a union with Greece (enosis),<sup>15</sup> rather than its own state.

The dominance of the bourgeoisie in the economic system could not be complete without an accompanying dominance of the political system, and the adoption of nationalist ideology by the rising bourgeoisie in Cyprus was essentially the vehicle of its liberation from the old authoritarian

establishment. At the same time, the goal of enosis ensured greater political freedom for its institutional consolidation. Of course, joint management with the Church of Cyprus of nationalist ideology and the demand for enosis meant the bourgeoisie could not proceed independently of the ethnarchy.<sup>16</sup>

An important turning point in the evolution of the structure of Cypriot society was World War II, which increased the value of Cypriot exports and strengthened the bourgeoisie. By the end of the war, the bourgeoisie had managed to completely absorb the old landowner oligarchy, which then ceased to exist as a separate social class. It is characteristic that during this particular period the Church, which had always followed the evolution of Cypriot society (albeit rather slowly), began converting a large part of its vast landed property to urban property, by investing in real estate within the cities.<sup>17</sup>

Against this background, Cypriot society evolved rapidly. The bourgeoisie's accumulation of capital caused a dramatic increase in its commodity brokerage activities, boosted as they were by increased Cypriot exports and imports. At the same time, and as a result of structural dependence, the banking system also prospered. The urban displacement of farmers generated a growth in the property market; consequently, the Church and the wealthy proceeded to sell any land they owned in mountainous areas and reinvested the proceeds in land within urban centers.

Within this context, some could argue that the Cypriot economy balanced upon two pillars: the monopoly of land ownership, particularly in areas where the Church and a handful of companies exercised full control, and the import and distribution monopoly of industrial products on the island. Especially in regards of imports and because Cyprus had no manufacturing industry of its own, imported goods were paid for with raw materials or agricultural products. Those benefiting most from this exchange were British exporters and Cypriot importers. This created a close dependency of Cypriot bourgeoisie resellers on their British counterparts and on the colonial administration.<sup>18</sup>

As the bourgeoisie continued to grow, so did the working class. An increase is noted in mine exploitation rates: the first light industries (mostly clothing and footwear) emerged and the construction sector started growing. This all led to the proletarianization of farmers and the simultaneous strengthening of the working class.

As did the Cypriot bourgeoisie, so the working class in Cyprus appeared belatedly in relation to Western Europe and objectively followed the

emergence, evolution, and development of the bourgeoisie. It originated, almost in its entirety, from the peasant class, farmers and other people in the countryside who lost their homes and livelihoods and were forced to relocate to the island's urban areas. The factories and enterprises spawned in the cities, as a result of available funds from trade, from usury, and from the mines. All required unskilled labor, which was a perfect match for the knowledge level of the farmers who had begun moving toward the cities.<sup>19</sup>

Mines played an important role in the formation of the Cypriot working class. Former union officials point out the important role played by the opening of mines in the emergence and massive increase in the number of Greek Cypriots who joined the working class. The influx of foreign capital for the first time created a mining industry in Cyprus, and the miners gradually formed a separate, compact team of workers within the working class, as they were employed in the only heavy industry in Cyprus.<sup>20</sup>

The collapse of agricultural product prices in the early 1930s led to the bankruptcy of certain export companies in Larnaca, the General Motors dealership, and various small industrial units (such as certain textile mills in Paphos and Nicosia). In November 1930, the asbestos mine declared bankruptcy and reduced its staff from 3.538 to 1.017 thousands employees. The agricultural products' price reduction made it harder for farmers to repay the debts they owed to borrowing cooperatives and usurers; an increasing number of farmers were unable to pay their overdue loan installments and were forced to join the working mass. Thus Cyprus followed the fate of other European countries of the time: mass unemployment and impoverishment.

Labor legislation was nonexistent. In fact, no legislation had been introduced for the protection of workers, nor did they have any right under labor relations (e.g., working hours, health care, etc.).<sup>21</sup> In theory, the eight-hour shift was in force; in reality, however, work began at sunrise and lasted until sunset. Workers in the early 1930s, just like farmers, lived below the subsistence level.<sup>22</sup>

The aforementioned social context created a deadlock for the majority of the working classes. The workers' low educational level and their dearth of political experience meant they were unable to create organizations that could represent them and advocate for them. Until the end of World War I, wages and working conditions had not yet become topics of discussion or reaction, as employees weren't even aware they had rights.<sup>23</sup>

As with the bourgeoisie, it was difficult to reference a unified class of workers. The Cypriot working class was quite heterogeneous. There was

the older segment comprising artisans, but its new composition embraced craftsmen, factory workers, miners, agricultural workers, and workers in commercial houses. This heterogeneity hindered its unified expression at a political level. The gradual development of the Cypriot economy, along with British efforts to legislate forced labor in public works for people between the ages of 16 to 60, shaped the homogenization of workers and, therefore, of class consciousness. The working class not only increased arithmetically but became massively concentrated and, as its strength increased, it became aware of this strength. Consequently, the first trade unions soon appeared, followed by the gradual emergence of the Cypriot trade union movement. The Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK) quickly became the political expression of the working class.<sup>24</sup>

### THE ENOSIS ISSUE

One of the major issues scholars of Cypriot history are called to approach is the demand for the union of Cyprus with Greece (enosis), a lingering issue for the people of Cyprus. During British rule, the main political developments on the island were related to the Greek–Cypriots’ request for self-determination and Union with Greece. In 1879, the newspaper *Enosis* was first published in Larnaca, a city known for its culture and home to most foreign consulates; in 1882, a memorandum was sent to London from Cyprus to remind the British government that “the only desire of the Cypriots is Enosis.”

Meanwhile, in Athens, King George categorically rejected Cypriot intentions to declare Cyprus an independent principality with Prince Nikolaos (1899) as its Commissioner, following the example of Crete, and King George assigned Prime Minister Constantine Theotokis to persuade a visiting delegation from Cyprus that it wasn’t in the best interest of Hellenism to create a Cypriot issue.<sup>25</sup>

These were the circumstances regarding the position of the British and Greek Governments against the Greek–Cypriot demand for enosis; on the island, from the early years of their rule, the British implemented an administrative system which essentially equated Greek Cypriots, the overwhelming majority of the population, with Turkish Cypriots.<sup>26</sup> In the official documents of the colonial force, the Greek Cypriots are referred to as “non-Muslims”, as opposed to the Turkish Cypriots who are referred to as “Muslims”.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, and in connection with the inherent distrust the Greek Cypriots felt toward the British, any modernizing regulation

the British imposed on the island, particularly in education and other ideological mechanisms, was perceived as “national discoloration” and the creation of a “British–Cypriot consciousness”.<sup>28</sup>

Among others, the colonial force embedded an ethnic division through separate electoral processes: two electoral registers and separate polling stations, thus separate representation and a basis for legalization. Most efforts for political organization and party establishment were consistent with this divisional model. Exceptions to the rule were instances when Greek Cypriot and Turkish–Cypriot members joined their voices to demand improvement of the colonial economic policies and living conditions (e.g., 1885–1886, 1903, 1927, 1931). Most memorandums submitted to the colonialists were separate and conflicting, however, as Greek Cypriots insisted each time on pursuing union with Greece.

The idea of ethnic or religious segregation of the people of Cyprus was nurtured and consolidated in every way by the British throughout the entire period of their occupation, something that can even be observed in the 1960 Constitution and all of its subsequent unpleasant and tragic consequences for the people of Cyprus. The ethnic segregation of Cyprus was certainly not only the result of British diplomacy and the infamous “divide and rule” policy, but also the consolidation of unification talk within the island’s Greek community from early on. Enosis rhetoric, although based on historical and cultural roots, acquired multiple meanings: it was a social demand in response to the harsh living conditions endured by the plebeian-agricultural strata; it was a romantic, often populist motto used for social disorientation and, essentially, a tool for dominance in local politics.<sup>29</sup>

The demand for enosis was broadly adopted by all social strata. During the period the unification movement began to take shape, the Greek–Cypriot bourgeoisie was economically weak and closely knit to a state of dependency with feudalism and the clergy. Sensing the burden of colonialism that had kept the island undeveloped, its members, seeking release from this burden, appropriated the enosis motto. Such a regime change on the island required both intellectual as well as political tools for its realization, and both were already available: a rising bourgeoisie that hadn’t experienced Ottoman occupation and had developed relations with Greece; the return of doctors and lawyers, as the main representatives of this new bourgeoisie from Greece; merchants and intellectuals; new schools and the appearance of newspapers. Also, the echo of the Cretan issue, which had included the participation of Cypriot volunteers in the

Greek-Turkish war of 1897 (more than a thousand)<sup>30</sup> and the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), contributed to the establishment and expansion of a secular, national, Greek identity.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, until the end of World War II, the bourgeoisie continued living under the illusion that Britain would cede Cyprus to Greece in the context of Greek-British friendship—a friendship which couldn't be disrupted. At the same time, the bourgeoisie drew financial resources from colonialism and became part of the system, assuming public offices. In 1926, the foundation of the Communist Party of Cyprus induced the bourgeoisie to form a coalition with the colonial government so as to safeguard its interests and social sovereignty. This development made the role of the bourgeoisie even more important for the British, since the bourgeois now became an extension of the ideological mechanisms of colonialism, and the ideal means of appeasing the masses. Hence, the following phenomenon: on the one hand, the enosis motto became part of the ideology of the bourgeoisie, not only for “national” reasons, but also for supporting its social sovereignty; on the other, bourgeois collaborated with the regime against a common enemy, communism.

The clergy, whose power rested on its financial status, constituted the only focal point of intellectual and cultural life. It had a strong tradition of exercising political authority since the Ottoman years and, although not incorporated into the colonial system, still played a key role. Given the weakness of the bourgeoisie in forming its own political organizations, the clergy continued in its role as the island's leading political force. Controlling the education and intellectual life of the island, together with the bourgeoisie, it employed the enosis ideology to its advantage, thus maintaining its leading position in Cypriot society while, at the same time and under the enosis motto, conducting a struggle against the “enemies of the homeland and religion”, the communists.

Until the 1920s, the bourgeoisie and the Church leadership, the elite of the two social groups mentioned above, could be classified as the right, which only appeared as a structured political formation during the 1940s. Until then, the Church, as an institution, constituted the adhesive element of the conservative area. In 1943, the Cyprus National Party (KEK) was founded, bringing together the factions of the right, with its main programmatic objective the idea of a nation above all social contradictions. Covering a short period of ideological crystallization, the right with the support of the leadership of the ethnarchic Church, the Greek consulate,

and Greek nationalism gradually began to cohere, but without clear ideological content.<sup>32</sup>

The motto “Enosis and only Enosis” and the stubborn refusal of any type of cooperation or understanding with the left are the main attributes of the right’s tactics. Of course, the Consul of Greece, in a later report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, would mention the following concerning the nationalist faction of Cyprus<sup>33</sup>:

The sad part, however, lies in “our own people.” The famous Cypriot Right faction, the euphemistically called, “nationalist” faction, whose leadership has assumed the Enosis flag, without believing in the Enosis. It has assumed it to use as a weapon against the godless and stateless communism from which it is in grave danger. The material interest which is the pre-eminent belief of the rightist faction’s leadership does not desire the departure of the British from Cyprus. The archives of the colonial administration herein are sufficiently equipped with evidence thereof. In the confidential files of the Colonial Secretariat, notes are diligently kept on the conversations of British colonial officers with leading figures of the rightist Cypriot faction, with references to the enosis question. The word “treason” would be lenient, for one to characterize the, within the four walls, remarks of the... fanatical unionists of the rightist faction to the British rulers.<sup>34</sup>

The KKK, in its founding declaration, does not adopt the Enosis’ motto, but sets the objective of independence and the establishment of “... a Worker-peasant Republic that will join a wider Worker-peasant organization of all Balkan states and Turkey, namely the Federation of Worker-peasant Republics of the Balkans.”<sup>35</sup>

During the late 1920s and leading up to the October uprising (1931), the KKK promoted the idea of a “united front,” not only with the Turkish Cypriots but also with the Church as well “... in the struggle against foreign domination.”<sup>36</sup> During the Palmerist dictatorship (1933–1939), the KKK’s isolation from the masses, due to the state of lawlessness in which the party came into being, began to puzzle Cypriot communists, who differentiating their party’s position with regard to the political issue. The gradual change was observed after the founding of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), from its founding declaration in which a clear position on the political future of Cyprus is absent for reasons of legality.<sup>37</sup>

The Fourth Conference of AKEL, which took place 18–20 August 1945, was marked in history for its intraparty conflicts and the deposing



of Ploutis Servas from his position as Secretary General. This was also the point at which the turn of AKEL toward enosis is complete, as AKEL spoke “of the fulfillment of the national aspirations of our people—the Enosis with Mother Greece.”<sup>38</sup> Until the British constitutional proposals in 1947, AKEL sought to claim the lead role in the struggle for self-determination and enosis, and organizing mass rallies gave the enosis motto a purely anti-colonial and anti-imperialist nature.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion, enosis articulated, on one hand, the social demands of the (Greek) Cypriot population; on the other, enosis articulated the vision of liberation from the British. It, therefore, had a political and anti-colonial content. Its content, however, was “eschatological”, since all problems and, above all, the socio-economic ones, would only be solved in “another life”, *after* enosis, which relegated class inequalities and class antagonism within the Greek–Cypriot community to a position of secondary importance. It also comprised contradictory content: on one side, it expressed the dislike for British colonialists, but, on the other hand, it legalized the domestic political power structure of the Greek–Cypriot community. It was social and progressive, as far as serving the needs of the rising bourgeoisie against the interests of landowners and clergy, but in bourgeoisie hands it also served colonial power. It did not, however, include democratic aspirations, such as safeguarding human rights and civil liberties, ideals, among others, that were intrinsic to the French Revolution. The ruling class of the Greek–Cypriot community unilaterally sought the right to national self-determination, which overshadowed and preceded individual rights and the needs of its people-citizens.<sup>40</sup>

### AFTER WAR DEVELOPMENTS

The end of World War II found the Cypriot people awaiting the fulfillment of British promises for self-determination, with the enosis’ motto prevailing. It was futile, though, as the British would not give Cyprus away that easily. So, with the end of the war approaching, the colonial government began attacking the Cypriot anti-colonial movement, particularly AKEL, which at that time was the only coherent political force whose rhetoric was anti-British. On 11 May 1945, the colonial security forces raided the buildings housing the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee (hereinafter the PSE) all over Cyprus, seized all union documents and arrested the organization’s leadership on charges of subversive and anti-government activity.<sup>41</sup> During a meeting at the Ministry of Colonies, it

was later explained that the actions were necessary because PSE as a union had not been operating in a way similar to that of the trade unions in Britain, but, in fact was a nucleus of communism and of enosis agitators.<sup>42</sup> Eighteen members of the union were brought to trial, and the Attorney General, in his indictment, alleged that the PSE sought to overthrow the Colonial Government and assist in the accession of Cyprus to the territory of another country (Greece).<sup>43</sup>

Conservative forces in Cyprus welcomed the offensive measures against the trade unions. In a confidential May 1945 report sent to the Minister of Colonies regarding the political situation in Cyprus, the Governor states that the parties which were opposed to the left “were proportionally excited, hoping that the time had come for the Government to shut down the entire organization of AKEL.”<sup>44</sup> After the largest political trial in the history of Cyprus, on 21 January 1946, the PSE officials were sentenced to prison terms ranging from eighteen months to two years. The PSE itself was declared illegal and dissolved.<sup>45</sup>

After a short period of time, on 30–31 March 1946, the Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO) was founded as a successor to the PSE, by union officials who hadn’t been imprisoned. Consequently, the concerns of both the Government and of the right persisted with respect to the risks posed by the existence and activity of the left-influenced trade union movement.<sup>46</sup>

The confrontation between the left and the colonial government continued after the War, when problems arose concerning the demobilization of the World War II Cypriot volunteers. Cypriot soldiers demanded their discharge from the army, claiming they had volunteered to fight fascism, which had been defeated and it was, therefore, unnecessary for them to remain in the army any longer. The British, however, did not discharge the volunteers, as the Cypriot Regiment was included in their plans for the suppression of the anti-colonial movement in the Middle East.<sup>47</sup> The movement for demobilization, which mainly consisted of members of the left, organized demonstrations and mobilized strongly against British plans for the continued utilization of volunteers and in support of their final discharge.<sup>48</sup>

On the other side, the relationship between the right and the colonial regime was much different. The KEK and the Cyprus Workers’ Confederation (SEK), founded as a counterweight to the PSE, were unable to inspire and mobilize the “nationalist” population and, therefore, did

not constitute a threat to the British. The report of the Consul of Greece A. Kountouriotis is typical:

The founding of KEK was conceived by the class of large-capitalist Cypriots as a weapon against the Left and the communist faction in particular. Its founders utilized the attractive but also deceptive title “National” for inter-party consumption. In practice, the name “National” is used by the majority of its members more as a curtain concealing the material interests of a certain social class rather than as any actual content of their Party. For these reasons the Cypriot National Party was not able to gain the required trust of the plebeian strata and was therefore rendered truly National, as its name implies. Many of the senior officials of KEK, including its General Secretary, Mr. Th. Dervis, served the odious to all Greek Cypriots, “Palmerist regime”, making such persons unpopular and suspect (not unjustly, it is unfortunate) to the larger part of the populace.<sup>49</sup>

Despite intense propaganda against the left, both by KEK and the ethnarchy, AKEL enjoyed a decisive victory in the 1946 municipal elections. The crushing defeat of the right triggered the reflexes of both the bourgeoisie and the colonial regime, both realizing the real threat was AKEL and any organizations cooperating with it.<sup>50</sup>

## NOTES

1. Stefanos Konstantinidis, *The Cyprus Problem. Structures of Cypriot Society and National Issue* (Montreal: Hellenic Research Center, 1995), 34.
2. For general information on the socioeconomic relations of the period in Cyprus, see Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labor, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia: 1996). Also, GS Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918–1926: With a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule* (Nicosia: 1979).
3. Giannis Ioannou, *Socioeconomic Development and Nationalism: Nationalism and Advertising in the Cypriot Press, 1900–1931* (Nicosia: Research Centre Yearbook XXXIII, 2007), 396–97.
4. Giannos Katsouridis, *Origins of the Party System in Cyprus, 1878–1931: Formation and Particularities* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus (Ph.D. thesis), 2009), 91.
5. In 1927, in Lemesos, a private call center operated with about one hundred subscribers. See Katsouridis, *Origins*, 92.

6. Sia Anagnostopoulou, "The Church of Cyprus and Its Ethnarchic Role: 1878–1960. The Religious Turn of the Cypriot Political Action: 'Union,'" in *Syghrona Themata*, 68–70 (1999): 202.
7. Katsiaounis, *Labor*, 78.
8. Heinz Richter, "The Cypriot Communist Party and the Comintern," *The Cyprus Review*, 15 (2003): 100. Also, N. Lanitis, a business and political figure of the time, in his article in the newspaper *Eleftheria* noted, "most of the Cypriot capital holders earned their capitals through usury and have no creative or productive value," *Eleftheria*, 16 October 1926.
9. Katsouridis, *Origins*, 95.
10. "The Agrarian Question of Cyprus," *Neos Anthropos*, (18 February 1925).
11. *Eleftheria*, (14 September 1929).
12. Christofis Nousis, "The Credit Capital in the Cypriot Countryside," *Democrates*, 4 December 1951. Nousis was a nickname used for article writing by AKEL official and economist Christophis Economidis.
13. Richter mentions that these companies found ideal conditions in Cyprus, as the British government had ceded to them sovereign rights to the land they held and they were thus free to exploit labor power. See Heinz Richter, "The Cypriot Communist Party and the Comintern," *The Cyprus Review*, 15 (2003): 101. It is characteristic that, in 1928, when a legislation was passed for a six-day work week with compulsory rest on Sundays, the mining companies were excluded.
14. PEO, *History PSE-PEO* (Nicosia: PEO, 1991), 11.
15. Katsouridis, *Origins*, 99.
16. "... There is a reciprocal relationship between the Church and the Union: as the Church is obliged to incorporate its policy to the Union; the second is imposed as a national policy; and, as the Union's content is politicized and radicalized, the role of the Church itself is politicized; and, finally, as the Union's content moves toward the national liberation, the Church is legitimized as the only and indisputable authority of the national liberation struggle." See Anagnostopoulou, *The Church of Cyprus*, 199.
17. Konstantinidis, *The Cyprus Problem*, 52.
18. *Ibid.*, 45.
19. Katsouridis, *Origins*, 107.
20. Andreas Fantis, *The Cypriot Trade Union Movement during the British Rule (1878–1960)* (Nicosia: 2005), vol. A:34.
21. Laiki, 7 August 1925.
22. Heinz Richter, *History of Cyprus* (Athens: 2007), Vol. A (1878–1949):611.
23. Ploutis Servas, *The Cyprus Problem: Responsibilities*, 2nd ed. (Athens: 1985), 113.

24. Detailed in a following chapter 3.
25. Giannis Kordatos, *History of Modern Greece* (Athens: 1958), Vol. 5:21.
26. Kostas Graikos, *Cyprus History* (Nicosia, 1991), 237.
27. Kostas Katsonis, *Cyprus in the Path of History* (Larnaca, 2002), 34.
28. The risk of alienation of the Greek national consciousness of Cypriots is noted in several reports of Greek consuls to the Greek foreign ministry. In a particular instance, when the British imposed the English language in certain middle school courses that had received a grant from the colonial government, the Greek consul in Cyprus, Loudovikos Skarpas, urged the Greek government to withdraw its approval and essentially renounce the middle schools that had accepted the British grant. See DIAYE, "Loudovikos Skarpas, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, File A Politics/35 (1939)).
29. The consul of Greece D. Inglesis, in a note to the ministry of foreign affairs, describes an incident indicative of the situation. In the Pancyprian track events, during the arrival of Governor Ronald Storrs at the stadium, Nicosia MP Th. Theodotou, "turned to the crowd and cried out loudly 'Long live the Union of Cyprus with Greece' with many people replying 'Long live!'" See DIAYE, "D. Inglesis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, File 51.3 (1928)).
30. Nikolaos Katalanos, *Cypriot album "Zinon"* (Nicosia, 1914), 122.
31. Anagnostopoulou, *The Church of Cyprus*, 203.
32. "The Programmatic Positions of the Cyprus National Party," *Eleftheria*, 10 August 1943.
33. The British invited representative agents of the people to participate in a consultative assembly and discuss the proposals of Britain for granting a constitution and creating legislature. This convention went down in history as the Diaskeptiki. For more on the Diaskeptiki, see in a following chapter 4.
34. DIAYE, "A Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, File 88/1 (1948)).
35. "1st KKK Congress, Positions on the Economic and Political Situation," *Neos Anthropos*, 18 September 1926.
36. "The Need for a United Front," *Neos Anthropos*, 8 January 1927.
37. Ioannou, *Socioeconomic Development*, 42.
38. For AKEL and its turn toward the Union, see Ploutis Servas, *Common Homeland* (Nicosia, 1997), 147.
39. The allegations we find in Kallis that AKEL made a decision immediately after the end of World War II for armed struggle if the British denied the Cypriot people the right for self-determination with political processes do not seem to cross-check. See Xenofon Kallis, "How we got to EOKA," in *England and the two motherlands* (Nicosia: Arheio, 2000), 18.

40. Anagnostopoulou, *The Church of Cyprus*, *Ibid.*, 206.
41. “Police Raids in AKEL Clubs and Trade Unions”, *Eleftheria*, 12 May 1945.
42. The National Archive (TNA), “Note from a meeting which took place at the office of the Minister of the Colonies on 23 November 1945” (TNA, CO 67/323/5, 1945).
43. Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly, 1946–1948* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 126.
44. TNA, “Political Situation in Cyprus in May 1945” (TNA, CO 67/323/4, 1945).
45. Andreas Koukoumas, *The Trial of the PSE. Forty Years of PSE-PEO* (Nicosia: PEO, 1982), 146–54.
46. PEO, *History PSE-PEO*, 102.
47. On the issue of demobilization of Cypriot volunteers, see Michalis Poumpouris, *Wounded offering* (Nicosia: 1996), 127–87.
48. On 8 October 1945, even though the war was over, Takis Kythreotis was killed when an English officer opened fire during a protest by volunteers who refused to be sent to neighboring countries to fight for the British against national liberation movements. For more on the incident, see Michalis Poumpouris, *Wounded offering* (Nicosia: private, 1996), 154–68.
49. DIAYE, “A Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, File 126/6, 1st Subfolder (1945), 1945).
50. The elections were held in three phases, on 12, 19 and 26 May 1946, as the British avoided conducting the elections on the same day for all municipalities, mainly for purposes of maintaining order. Generally for parties and municipal elections of the 1940–1955 period, see the research of Vasilis Protopapas, *The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955* (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002).

## Communism and Nationalism in Cyprus

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS

The Communist Party of Cyprus<sup>1</sup> was officially founded in 1926 by the first Cypriot communists, who had returned from their studies abroad, and by workers, mainly from the wider area of Lemesos.<sup>2</sup> It was, of course, preceded by the formulation of various “intellectual movements,” influenced by the demoticist movement,<sup>3</sup> out of which the first socialist and Marxist groups emerged.<sup>4</sup> The KKK appeared at a time when disappointment flared over failed expectations that England would cede Cyprus to Greece, as had happened in 1864 with the Ionian Islands. Not only did England fail to implement the promises it had made to Cyprus during World War I, but also England officially annexed Cyprus to its colonies in 1925. Workers’ living conditions were miserable, and poverty ravaged the populace.<sup>5</sup> Within this economic impoverishment the first communist group, which appeared in Cyprus during World War I, began taking action. The ground was perfectly suitable for the development of the socialist movement.

The first Marxist group was formed in late 1920 or early 1921 by Christodoulos Christodoulidis, a bank employee; Leonidas Stringos, a private employee and subsequent senior official of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE); and Dimitros Chrisostomidis, an accountant.<sup>6</sup> They undertook the task of disseminating socialist ideas while simultaneously organizing workers into labor centers and unions. They perceived the need

for a newspaper that would play the part of the Marxist group's expressive instrument, one that would constitute a valuable weapon. Thus, on December 1922, *Pyrros* (Torch) was published, the first Cypriot newspaper bearing radical content.<sup>7</sup>

On the communists' initiative, the first trade unions were founded: those of the builders, carpenters, and textile workers. In 1923, when the first Marxist group managed to amass a sufficient number of members, the decision was made to name this informal organization the "Communist Party of Cyprus."<sup>8</sup> Lemesos Labour Centre was founded in 1924, accommodating these unions while at the same time taking vigorous action. On the initiative of the Labour Centre, Labor Day was celebrated for the first time in Cyprus in 1925. Physician Nikos Giavopoulos, an active member of the Labour Centre and the KKK, came to Cyprus after finishing his studies in Athens, where he had joined the lines of KKE.<sup>9</sup> To strike a blow against the labor movement, the British exiled Giavopoulos in 1925.

Under strict conspiratorial measures, the KKK's founding convention took place in Lemesos on 14 and 15 August 1926.<sup>10</sup> The official founding of the KKK required the contribution of KKE, along with a delegation to Cyprus, namely that of Charalambos Vatiliotis (Vatis), a Cypriot permanent resident of Greece and a member of KKE.<sup>11</sup>

KKK's official newspaper was *Neos Anthropos*, which had already entered circulation on the 1st of January 1925.<sup>12</sup> A year after the founding of the KKK, *Neos Anthropos* was constantly facing temporary suspension of its publication. Consequently, the newspaper *Ergatis* (Worker) was issued and designated as the party's official newspaper.<sup>13</sup>

According to its first declaration, the party, unlike the rest of Cyprus' political world, aimed not at union with Greece, but at autonomy-independence, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the expropriation of church and monastic property for the benefit of the landless and the establishment of a socialist society: its program also included the accession of Cyprus to a future Balkan Soviet Federation.<sup>14</sup> It thus called Greek and Turkish workers and peasants to present a common front against British imperialism. Both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot workers began embracing KKK's messages. Charalambos Vatiliotis (Vatis) and Kostas Christodoulidis (Skeleas) were the party's leaders until the uprising of 1931,<sup>15</sup> after which both were arrested by the British and exiled.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to the uprising of October 1931, it should be noted that KKK did not officially partake in the events, and even went as far as to



condemn the uprising as a “chauvinistic nationalist provocation of the Cypriot big bourgeoisie.”<sup>17</sup> Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou states that the party, when realizing its mistake by not participating in the uprising, sent poet and KKK member Tefkros Anthias to the Archbishopric to meet with Archbishop Kyrillos III and request the establishment of a common national anti-imperialist front, a request that, as expected, was rejected by the Church.<sup>18</sup> On 22 and 23 October 1931, the party’s Central Committee convened in Nicosia and decided to participate in the uprising, even if it meant collaborating with the nationalists.<sup>19</sup>

A year after the uprising, the Balkan Office of the Communist International placed KKK leadership on trial for its stance during the events of 1931.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the condemnation of the KKK from the communist international, Ploutis Servas wrote:

Béla Kun<sup>21</sup> said that the uprising of 1931 was a genuine national-liberation movement, with two camps lining up against each other. On the one side the camp of the people (mostly urban) with ordinary communists under the leadership of nationalists and the church. And on the other side, the imperialist camp, having the leadership of the Communist Party as an ally.<sup>22</sup>

Servas, as he points out himself, wrote this from memory after 60 years, without relying on written texts.<sup>23</sup> Contrary to Servas, Orfanos Economidis, who was present, took part in the trial and was briefed by official translators, in his written report to AKEL’s CC (Central Committee) in 1976, says Vatis and Skeleas were removed from the KKK’s leadership because the party had voiced its support for enosis, which was the Church’s position, and not because it did not participate in the events. He states: “Following Vatis’s accountability, the KKK underwent severe criticism for becoming a follower of Cypriot nationalists, capitulating with them without daring to develop an independent policy by separating the party’s position and turning the C.P. into a lever for the uprising of the Cypriot people.”<sup>24</sup>

Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou states the Third International recognized KKK following the October uprising after it was outlawed with the mandate of taking guidance from the KKE.<sup>25</sup> However, it later designated the British Communist Party as the official organizational sponsor and “supervisor” of the KKK.<sup>26</sup>

After the October uprising and the oppressive measures instituted by the British following the uprising, KKK was declared illegal and its lead-

ership was exiled. In the period after this, which became known as the “Palmerocracy” for the harsh restrictions imposed by the new governor, Palmer, all political parties were banned.<sup>27</sup> Because of this illegality, KKK took advantage of its access to the Labour Centres and unions and continued its activities.

The years following 1936 were a restructuring period for KKK. A significant contributor to this effort was Ploutis Servas, who was elected General Secretary of the Party after returning from Moscow and Greece in 1934.<sup>28</sup> In the Fourth Party Convention, held in May 1940 in Deryneia, KKK began to examine its position on the national question and sought the best means for creating a mass movement, seeking a way out of its illegal activities. The establishment of a front was, therefore, decided. This would enable its lawful expression, something that had become possible after the relaxation of British restrictions on political activities, and the fermentation eventually led to the founding of a new party. Hence, in 1941, the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) was born. AKEL coexisted with KKK, despite the negative response of many KKK officials, until 1944, when KKK fully acceded to AKEL.<sup>29</sup>

### PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE (AKEL)

AKEL was founded on 14 April 1941 in Skarinou at a meeting attended by 36 people. Its founding assembly, apart for KKK members, also included various progressive personalities of Cyprus.<sup>30</sup> The first AKEL convention was held later, on 5 October 1941<sup>31</sup> with Ploutis Servas elected general secretary. The party’s program was pro-labor and anti-fascist, while its reference to national issues was indirect and moderate, since several restrictions and ordinances were still in force.<sup>32</sup>

On 16 June 1943, an AKEL resolution called for voluntary recruitment into the armed forces to “liberate the enslaved peoples from Hitler’s tyranny.” The response was massive. It is estimated that at least 800 members of AKEL and 11 out of the 17 members of the Central Committee enlisted.<sup>33</sup>

AKEL’s Fourth Convention<sup>34</sup> was held on 18, 19, and 20 August 1945<sup>34</sup> to discuss not only regional issues but also intraparty problems as well.<sup>35</sup> The convention endorsed the deposition of Ploutis Servas from the position of Secretary General and imposed on him the penalty of abstention from party offices for one year: the reason was his refusal to execute the decision of the party’s CC to transfer his residence to Nicosia. Servas

wanted to stay in Lemesos and remain Mayor of Lemesos and, at the same, time serve in the position of General Secretary, something the majority of the CC disagreed with; they argued that the party's needs were best served with the General Secretary residing in the capital.<sup>36</sup> The deposition of Servas, however, marked the beginning of a crisis with deeper roots, associated with both ideological issues as well as the party's stance toward enosis, which was defined and ultimately expressed a few years later (1949–1952).<sup>37</sup> Following the deposition of Servas, Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou was elected as the new secretary general.<sup>38</sup>

In view of the upcoming municipal elections of 1946, AKEL began moving in other directions, seeking the creation of an even wider front. Hence, the party created the National Cooperation Wing (PES): PES was under the influence of AKEL, but it also included bourgeoisie personalities.<sup>39</sup> The municipal elections of 26 May 1946 were a triumph for AKEL. In Nicosia, it managed to oust the leader of the right, Themistoklis Dervis, electing Ioannis Kliridis in his place. It also won victories in other cities, with the exception of Kyrenia and Paphos.

On 7 December 1947, AKEL founded the National Liberation Coalition (EAS), a further expansion of the national-liberation front of the left.<sup>40</sup> EAS, founded at AKEL's Fifth Convention on 13–15 September 1947,<sup>41</sup> constituted a continuation of PES and the principal means by which AKEL would later promote its desire for Self-Government-Enosis. In view of the Consultative (or Constitutional) Assembly, which had been announced on 9 July 1947, AKEL was in need of a wider front through which it could participate in the debate over the constitutional proposals. According to Papaioannou, "EAS must form the axis for the rallying of the entire peoples' camp and a foothold for the isolation of the handful of our country's bourgeois and usurers."<sup>42</sup>

In a divisive and polarizing atmosphere, the British convened the Consultative Assembly to work on a constitution for Cyprus. AKEL, following deliberations and after the right's rejection of its invitation to an inter-party consultation, decided to participate in the Assembly.<sup>43</sup> Both the right and the ethnarchy, especially the *locum tenens*, Leontios, had stood from the very beginning against the idea of constitutional concession and did not participate. The Assembly began its work on 1 November 1947, the same day EAS was founded, and finished on May 1948, without any results, as the left rejected the British proposals that portrayed them as an effort to continue the status quo through a parliament without any specific powers.

The participation of the left in the Assembly was, however, a point of internal controversy. On 15 January 1949 and following the visit of AKEL officials to Greece to meet with KKE leadership, the party's Central Committee convened to examine the situation. It characterized the participation in the Assembly as a key error in their political line: "the shift to self-government was in fact a compromise with British imperialism, which run(s) against the uncompromising, aggressive policy pursued by colonized peoples and progressive movements around the world."<sup>44</sup> The cause of this error was the composition of the Central Committee, the majority of which consisted of "elements having petit bourgeois influences and trends."<sup>45</sup>

The plenary was subsequently self-deposed and a seven-member provisional central leadership was appointed: Ezekias Papaioannou, Andreas Ziartidis, Andreas Fantis, Savvas Ioannou, Stelios Iakovidis, Georgios Christodoulidis and Pavlos Georgiou.<sup>46</sup> On 16 January 1949, the announcement released by AKEL stated: "The C.C. declares that the people of this island live for one basic purpose and struggle for one fundamental pursuit: to break the colonial context suffocating them, to nationally restore themselves, and to unite with mother Greece."<sup>47</sup>

In the convention that followed, on August 1949, Ezekias Papaioannou was elected as secretary general. Meanwhile, the 1949 municipal elections that took place in four phases, from 8 until 29 May 1949, were held in a polarized atmosphere. Violent clashes during the elections led to numerous injuries, particularly in the cities, and left two dead in the capital.

The right won the 1949 municipal elections, at least in the countryside, with "nationalist" parties prevailing in all rural municipalities: Lefkoniko, Karavas, Lapithos, Lefkara, Acanthou, Kythrea and Polis Chrysochous. In Morphou, the left managed to win with its candidate, Nikolopoulos, while retaining the municipalities of Lemesos, Ammochostos and Larnaca. The right won the municipalities of Nicosia, Paphos and Kyrenia and managed to reverse its 1946 losses. The right dominated the countryside and lost the cities by only a narrow margin.

Under its new enosis line, AKEL submitted a proposal to the ethnarchy for collaboration, which was rejected. Under Papaioannou's leadership, AKEL decided to send a memorandum to the United Nations calling for national remediation of the Cypriot people, while the ethnarchy announced a referendum "to demonstrate the constant and adamant will of the Cypriot people for the union of Cyprus with mother Greece."<sup>48</sup> After this announcement by the ethnarchy, AKEL urged the populace to

support the unification referendum of 15 January 1950 and halted the collection of signatures it had announced on 9 December 1949 “to unify the forces of the people in the struggle for freedom.”<sup>49</sup>

### THE NATIONALIST CAMP

Unlike the left, which had been developing ideologically and institutionally since the early 1920s, the right dominated Cypriot society, even when it wasn’t working coherently and uniformly. An amalgam of influential personages from the bourgeoisie and the Church, held together by national irredentism and traditional values, was the dominant force under the British administration.

The Church of Cyprus was the main institution managing religious and secular authority, which it did through local ecclesiastical guardianships, the property of the monasteries, and its intervention in the Greek educational system. The bourgeoisie essentially consisted of the cities’ large merchants and, in cooperation with the Church, managed to impose its hegemony on the people by employing nationalist ideology, all the while retaining its benefits by maintaining a pro-British stance. These two axes guided the popular and rural strata in Cyprus through a parallel network of unions, committees and associations, all of which controlled and exercised absolute influence on the educational system through the School Boards, while the Greek–Cypriot Press served as right’s key communications weapon.

Given the dominant ideology, political competition was conducted under a virtually single-factional system among various bourgeoisie families. The genesis of both the peasant movement and the Communist Party in the 1920s disconcerted the bourgeoisie, and many of its members wondered if it should fortify itself behind the institutionalization of a political organization. Nevertheless, the founding of the KKK, although not a real threat to the interests of the established order, perfectly served the need for an enemy.<sup>50</sup>

The efforts to create a body that would coordinate actions on behalf of the national issue began well before the founding of KKK. In 1912, the bourgeoisie founded the Cypriot Civil Organization to express, in a more institutional and systematic manner, the request for union with Greece, an issue that strongly concerned the people. The leadership of the organization comprised the Archbishop (Chairman), the bishops, the Abbot of Kykkos, and the nine Greek–Cypriot resigned Members of the Legislative

Council.<sup>51</sup> The organization was gradually overtaken by international events and internal upheavals and was eventually disbanded.

In 1921, the Political Organization of Cyprus was founded, “because, after the completion of the last Pan-European war, Great Britain, despite all expectations, and against the principle of Nationalities and self-determination of the fate of small peoples, decided to retain Cyprus.”<sup>52</sup> Its organizational structure was similar to that of the previous organization, with the National Council as its supreme body and its aim the “pursuit of the liberation of Cyprus through its union with Mother Greece.”<sup>53</sup> The failure of the “abstention policy” and the shift to conciliation with the regime after 1925 discredited this project as well and so, in 1930, the “Ethniki Organosis” (National Organization) was founded. Its members were once again the senior clerics, the MPs, and 18 “representatives” of the people.<sup>54</sup>

The three aforementioned bodies had a similar organizational structure, as the supreme clergy ensured its participation in the context of ethnarchic tradition, while non-clerics had the nomination of the people’s vote either as MPs in the 1912 Organization or as members of the National Council of 1921. The element of popular approval was largely absent, apart from the National Organization of 1930, where elected MPs participated in the selection process of the remaining 18 members.

Until then, the claim for enosis by all organized groups was limited to memoranda and representations to the Greek and British governments in a spirit of moderation and pro-British disposition. The moderate assertion of claims—particularly that of enosis—as well as the phenomenon of Greek–Cypriot nationalism in favor of disengagement from the British Empire, but without an anti-British disposition, finds its roots in the first period of British rule. The traditional leadership of the Greek–Cypriots, the clergy and bourgeois politicians, believed that given the dependence of Athens on London, as Britain was considered the protector of Hellenism in the eastern Mediterranean, the union of Cyprus with Greece could be achieved within a context of understanding between the two powers.<sup>55</sup> Another key element of the moderate stance of the bourgeoisie toward the British is that the British succeeded the Ottomans and established constitutional institutions in Cyprus with a fairer administration of justice (in relation to the period of Ottoman rule), while public administration developed and was staffed by many Greek Cypriots. Consequently, the moderate to pro-British claim for union with Greece was expressed in this manner mainly under the pressure of the moderate elements of the

bourgeoisie, who saw their privileges increase in parallel with the growth guaranteed by British rule.

However, with the Diocese of Kyrenia as a focal point and with the support of the Consul of Greece, Alexis Kirou, another part of the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie favored a more dynamic, more intransigent and, inevitably, more anti-British mobilization. The founding of the National Radical Union of Cyprus (EREK) in October 1931, which coincided with the insurrection that came to be known as the “October uprising,” forced the moderate elements of the right to diversify their stance to avoid finding themselves marginalized in the struggle for unification.

The spontaneous and unorganized movement of October 1931, despite the massive popularity it gained within its short life span, was partly a product of internal conflicts within the “ruling class.”<sup>56</sup> Specifically, the bourgeois politicians adjacent to the Bishop of Kyrenia were those who had resigned from the National Organization, accusing it of too moderate a stance toward the British.<sup>57</sup> The diversification of the Kyrenians and the resulting clash between the various factions that constituted Greek-Cypriot leadership were further fomented by the Consul of Greece, Alexis Kirou, who, in contrast to the official policy of the Greek government, considered a rift with the British more effective for the achievement of enosis.

### THE CYPRUS NATIONAL PARTY (KEK)

The period following the uprising of 1931, named the “Palmerocracy” (1933–1939) after the brutal regime of Governor Palmer, contributed to the further dismantling and fragmentation of the bourgeoisie. The entirety of elected representation institutions was abolished, resulting in the open collaboration of a large number of bourgeoisie personalities with the colonial regime so as to maintain their privileges, which destroyed their credibility in the eyes of the masses.

Meanwhile, the exile of the bishops of Kition and Kyrenia (1931) and the death of Archbishop Kyrillos (1933) led to a leadership vacuum in the Church, which, in turn, created a vacuum within the hegemonic position of the bourgeoisie. The only archpriest in Cyprus during this period was the Bishop of Paphos, Leontios, the *locum tenens*. Detached from partisan rivalries and free from any internal pressure within the Church, Leontios came into conflict from the very beginning with the colonial government and the bourgeoisie circles that had been closely collaborating with it. He

attained a high status, serving as a rallying point for all forces opposing the “Palmerocracy,” by virtue of his strong resistance to the regime’s actions against the Church’s autonomy and the “national character” of education. Unlike Leontios, the Bishop of Kyrenia, Makarios Myriantheos, who had been exiled to Athens, was a staunch anti-communist and a rallying figure for the more extreme nationalist and religiously fanatical circles in the Greek–Cypriot community. The Church would once again turn to a host of different and often conflicting approaches to the “national issue.”

The right failed to follow the developments of the 1930s and remained a spectator as the left, the area of the labor movement, underwent a dynamic mobilization. This mobilization was, in part, thanks to the leadership vacuum within the church and within the bourgeoisie, which had been eroded by the Palmer regime<sup>58</sup>: the left was also bereft of its only visible “enemy,” as KKK leadership had been exiled and the party had commenced a silent restructuring process.

The bourgeoisie and the Church were beginning to perceive the risk of the ideological and political balances tipping. There was a gradual relaxation of British governance measures due to World War II, and AKEL emerged in 1941 and began to gradually gain strength over the following years.

At this particular moment, the bourgeoisie’s most urgent need was the presence of a strong, unifying leadership capable of rallying the Right’s regional factors, to fill the vacuum the collapsed Church hierarchy couldn’t. A first move toward some coherence was the establishment, by *Locum Tenens* Leontios of a six-member People’s Council on 30 May 1941, only a few weeks after AKEL’s founding assembly.

A second move concerned the rural populace. The British, from their very first months on the island, sought to halt the expansion of the *enosis* movement. They promptly realized national consciousness was less developed in the countryside than in urban centers, so they targeted the disengagement of peasants from the bourgeois nationalists. The national conscience of Greek Cypriots, as with other nations, was acquired. Only when the intelligentsia began developing in the urban centers did it gradually become apparent to Greek Cypriots that they were part of a wider national community. The national consciousness, especially through press and education, began permeating the rural strata of Greek Cypriots, yet remained less developed in the countryside than in the cities.<sup>59</sup>

From the early years of the war and during the period the KKK was still outlawed, the left had begun building Rural Cultural Associations in the countryside. These were, in fact, a cover for the co-location of its



guilds and general organizations in rural communities, while also serving to awaken the farmers and penetrate the “conservative” countryside. The political awakening of peasant populations was further accelerated by the members of the cultural associations, who had begun holding meetings, influencing opinions and making suggestions regarding political and social issues. The colonial regime and the local money lenders began emerging as those chiefly responsible for the poor economic status of the colony’s farmers.<sup>60</sup>

The need to halt the influence of the left in the countryside was met on 31 May 1942 with the founding of the Cyprian Farmers’ Union (PEK). Starting with a conference attended by farmers representing 272 villages and in the presence of the British Agriculture Director, the PEK addressed every Cypriot who “believes in racial, religious, and family traditions” and made known its ambition to become “the bastion of racial, moral and economic values of our country.”<sup>61</sup> The PEK, despite claiming the opposite, evolved, according to Greek Consul A. Kountouriotis, into a “quasi-political organization, controlled behind the scenes by factors of the right, an integral part of the ‘National Faction’, with rural areas being its field of action.”<sup>62</sup>

The first municipal elections of 1943 were the occasion of the first major confrontation between the left and the right. The latter, however, lacked cohesion and heft, with PEK its only institutionalized body. The victory of the left in two cities, Lemesos and Ammochostos, and its unexpectedly high electoral appeal throughout the entirety of Cyprus caused an upheaval among “nationalist” factors. With the left questioning the hegemonic role of the “ruling class” in the claim for “national remediation” and seeking a role in the political representation of the Greek community, the right found itself in an unprecedented setting, facing the clear danger of marginalization.

The tactics on the part of right factors to highlight the anti-national and anti-ethnarchic role of the left with newspaper articles and rallies were no longer effective. They were now faced with a solid opponent with footholds in both the working class and the political center, as AKEL exercised restraint in its political actions and pursued enosis while respecting the religious traditions of Cypriot society.<sup>63</sup> AKEL’s electoral successes alarmed the right and forced it to establish party organizations. The task was certainly not easy, as local political conflicts and personal ambitions within the right impeded the creation of a unified platform within a nationwide political and organizational establishment.

In the middle of that year, the right's leaders decided to put aside their interpersonal differences and, for the first time,<sup>64</sup> organize themselves institutionally. Thus, on 6 June 1943<sup>65</sup> at the Pancyprrian Gymnasium (Nicosia), 127 representatives of the Greek–Cypriot right founded the Cyprus National Party (KEK). Its main programmatic ideal was the nation above all social contradictions. The objectives of its statute included the following<sup>66</sup>:

- (a) the coalescence and coordination of all national forces of the Greek–Cypriot people in providing all feasible contribution to serving the imprescriptible Greek laws by incorporation to the free Greek State of any ethnologically Greek countries and the further possible contribution of the Island to the ongoing Allied struggle for freedom and justice.
- (b) the teaching to the Greek people of affiliation to the truth of salvation of the Greek Orthodox Christian Religion, the cultivation of the idea of the homeland and the safeguarding of family integrity, and
- (c) the consolidation of both national and public economy of the island in a manner assuring the economic prosperity of the whole, especially those relating to the main factors of national wealth, the workers and farmers, provided that these objectives will be pursued by legal means.<sup>67</sup>

Savvas Christis from Kyrenia was elected General Secretary, a position he held until Themistocles Dervis took the post on 16 January 1944 and assumed full control of the party. The KEK's youth organization was the National Party Youth (NEK). At first and before its eventual incorporation, the newly established party operated mainly in Nicosia, with related networks in the island's other cities. KEK received the support of key newspapers: *Eleftheria* (Freedom), *Foni tis Kyprou* (Voice of Cyprus) and *Neos Kypriakos Fylakas* (New Cyprus Guardian). The party's own newspaper was *Pyrros* (Torch) newspaper.

KEK decided to develop its own satellite organizations to break the monopoly of the left over the trade unions. At the time KEK was founded there, were departures from PSE, and “new unions” had formed to accommodate the “Nationalist workers” who were angry about the shift of the unions toward the island's political parties during the municipal elections.<sup>68</sup> In October 1944 the new local and sectoral unions established

the Cyprus Workers Confederation (SEK), which held its first Convention on 2 September 1945.<sup>69</sup>

In its early stages, SEK was regarded with apprehension by the greater mass of workers, as it represented the “other pole,” a counterweight against the unions controlled by the left. SEK was backed by the bourgeoisie, and, in many cases, by the employers themselves and the British government. A 4 April 1944 letter sent by the governor at the time, Charles Woolley, to the Minister of Colonies of Great Britain, states: “the unions that existed in Cyprus were two, one adjacent to AKEL and one that was created at that time by the owners of factories.”<sup>70</sup>

The political atmosphere was polarized and acrimonious. The two sides considered each other’s political initiatives unbearably provocative: the involvement of the Left with the national-liberation struggle infuriated the right, while the right’s attempt to penetrate the working class, as expressed with open talk of socialism by SEK, fiercely provoked the Left.<sup>71</sup>

From 1943 to 1946, the newly formed right establishment was unable to inspire, mobilize, or rally the “nationalist” populace. During this same period, the left continued to approach the broader mass of the populace, leading demonstrations in favor of enosis,<sup>72</sup> calling for national unity and successfully demanding social benefits. The right seemed confined within a series of contradictions. The consul of Greece, A. Kountouriotis, identified them as follows:

1. The founding of KEK was conceived under the class of large-capitalist Cypriots as a weapon against the Left and the communist faction in particular. Its founders utilized the attractive but also deceptive title “National” for inter-party consumption. In practice, the name “National” is used by the majority of its members more as a curtain concealing the material interests of a certain social class rather than as any actual content of their Party. For these reasons the Cypriot National Party was not able to acquire the required trust of the plebeian strata and was therefore rendered truly National, as its name implies.
2. Many of the senior officials of KEK, including its General Secretary, Mr. Th. Dervis, served the, odious to all Greek Cypriots, “Palmerist regime”, making such persons unpopular and suspect (not unjustly, it is unfortunate) to the larger part of the populace.
3. The uncoordinated decisions and reckless individual actions, which present the officials of KEK as disagreeing with themselves and each

other, so that the lurking deft rival can procure benefits and constantly expand their arsenal from those officials, impart this faction a character that is hardly serious.

4. KEK, in its political line, constantly follows a negative policy, inasmuch as instead of making positive efforts to promote Cypriot Issues, remains limited to probing and criticizing the deeds of others.<sup>73</sup>

The difficulty the right had when facing a diverse, organized, and capacious (center) left that took care to initiate and maintain a number of political and social movements clearly became apparent during the municipal elections of 1946. Prior to the 1946 defeat, a return of exiles, particularly extreme anti-communist Makarios, Bishop of Kyrenia, in tandem with locum tenens Leontios and the Greek Consul,<sup>74</sup> sought to rebalance the situation. The monotonous demand for the exclusion of communists from the Ethnarchy Council and the desperate attempts to convince Leontios and the Greek government that the real enemy in Cyprus was the Left, rather than the British, did not yield the expected results.<sup>75</sup> Until the climax of the Greek civil war and the influence of its outcome on Greek–Cypriot political factions, the Greek Consulate in Nicosia did not share the anti-communist hysteria of the Greek–Cypriot right. Kountouriotis kept a clear distance from KEK’s demand to exclude AKEL from the unification struggle and instead urged moderation and inter-party cooperation under the leadership of the Church.<sup>76</sup>

The recognition by the Greek Consul that the left had grown more vocal and sophisticated with regard to the unification struggle, along with disorganization and negative tactics of the “National Party,” concerned the Greek consulate. Kountouriotis wrote:

The “adversary” and only he—to use the phrase of the leader of the National Party during one of our conversations—urges each of the Cypriot politicians to outbid each other in unification statements, only in order to secure a greater number of voters, especially among the working classes. Intervening, Mr. Dervis stated to me: “AKEL is more honest than us (the National Party) when requesting the union of Cyprus with Greece!” Note that these were said to me prior to the onset of the present Greek crisis (...) This opportunistic and hypocritical way of thinking by the National Party created an absurd situation, which brought the Communist Party (AKEL) to the first line of the unification struggle....<sup>77</sup>

The crushing defeat of 1946 triggered the reflexes of both the “ruling class” and the colonial regime: both realized the true challenge was coming from the left. During 1947, three events had a catalytic effect on internal correlations and enabled the right to turn the situation on its head: (a) The Greek Civil War and the “forced” polarization; (b) the British policy that exposed the left and the “fellow travelers” daring to accept the invitation to participate in the Consultative Assembly; and (c) the unexpected death of newly-elected Archbishop Leontios, which brought the Archbishop of Kyrenia, Makarios, a pawn of the extreme anti-communist circles in his region, to the helm of the Church.

Under the leadership of the ethnarchic Church and with the support of the Greek Consulate and Greek nationalism, the right began to cohere and to formulate its ideological content.<sup>78</sup> The shift of the left toward self-government and the atmosphere of the Greek civil war enabled the right to reproach the left for national betrayal, to stiflingly corner its “fellow travelers,” and to rally the entire range of the nationalist populace then entering an unprecedented re-signification process.

In the archiepiscopal elections of 1947, KEK ran with the “Ethnikofrona Parataxis” (Nationalist Faction Party),<sup>79</sup> the political rival of the left’s National Cooperation Wing (PES). PES was established by AKEL with the peasant and labor organizations of the left and later became known as the National Liberation Coalition (EAS). The “Ethnikofroni Parataxis,” apart from KEK, was supported by the Cyprian Farmers’ Union (PEK), the Cyprus Workers’ Confederation (SEK), and by certain other small local organizations adjacent to the right, all of whom supported Leontios’s opponent, the Archbishop of Sina, Porphyrios. Leontios died almost a month after his election, thus new archiepiscopal elections were proclaimed. The KEK and other right organizations supported the Bishop of Kyrenia, Makarios, who was elected as Archbishop Makarios II in 1947. Two years later, the reorganized KEK ran in the 1949 municipal elections, which it won, with Themistoklis Dervis resuming the office of mayor of Nicosia, having lost it in 1946. Moreover, KEK enjoyed victories in the municipalities of Paphos (Christodoulos Galatopoulos) and Kyrenia (Charilaos Dimitriadis), while also prevailing in a number of smaller towns where right-wing mayors were elected.

KEK also actively participated in the organization and realization of the unification referendum of 1950, which was organized by the ethnarchy through the Coordinating Committee of the Cyprus Struggle (SEKA).<sup>80</sup> After the death of Archbishop Makarios II in 1950, SEKA, in which KEK

participated, supported Makarios Kykkotis, the Bishop of Kitio, as the new Archbishop of Cyprus. He won the election, and Makarios became archbishop as Makarios III. The confrontations between KEK and AKEL, especially during the archiepiscopal elections, often reached a state of great intensity and were not without dire political conflicts and even violence.

Although the rise of the Bishop of Kition, Makarios (III), to the Archbishop's throne in 1950 has been described as an implicit disapproval of the rigid, conservative, anti-communist policy the circle of Kyrenians surrounding Makarios II pursued, the truth is the new Ethnarch would not have been elected had he not successfully passed the nationalist and anticommunist "exams."

The right, which absorbed ultra-right elements recruited directly from the Greek civil war to address the Cypriot "communist danger," gradually formed a multi-center faction.<sup>81</sup> In late 1946, members of the Greek Nationalist organization "X" had already created a Cypriot branch in Lemesos. The first activities of "X Cyprus" began in late 1947, during the archbishopric elections. The activities of the Xs were amateur in nature and directed exclusively against leaders of trade unions and other left organizations.

The right now determined ethnarchy policy. As it sought to maintain its dominion over the sworn anti-communists and diehard unionists, the right found itself marching down a national liberation path alone—even though the left was also determined to achieve enosis—and on a collision course with the vision of the Turkish–Cypriot minority.

KEK gradually fell apart, particularly after 1955 and the beginning of the EOKA struggle, which many of its supporters, members and officials joined. It was finally dissolved in 1960, after the declaration of the Republic of Cyprus.

## NOTES

1. For a more extensive analysis concerning the Cypriot parties, see Soula Zavou, *The political parties of Cyprus in the 20th century* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2002).
2. For the first socialist voices in Cyprus and the KKK, see Yiannis Lefkis, *The roots* (Lemesos: 1984), 61–94.
3. For the first demoticists in Cyprus, see *Ibid.*, 48.
4. *Ibid.*, 49.

5. For the living conditions of the populace at that time, see Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly, 1946–1948* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 285.
6. An interesting version of his first Socialist Association is provided by Ploutis Servas, who mentions that "... the Socialist Student Association *Nazoreos* was founded in Lemesos by a number of students of the Greek Gymnasium of Lemesos on 1 May 1919 ..." and "... the purpose of the association's founding was the development of socialism in Cyprus." For more on *Nazoreos*, see Ploutis Servas, *Common Homeland* (Nicosia: 1997), 72.
7. The first edition of *Pyrros*, on 19 December 1922, bore the subtitle: Socialist Newspaper, Instrument of the Cyprus Labour Party. Lefkis, *The roots*, 75.
8. Minos Perdios, Essay for the History of KKK ([n.p.]: Unpublished, [n.d.]), 21.
9. Most sources indicate the claim that Nikos Giavopoulos founded the Labour Centre of Lemesos is not valid, mentioning Kostas Christodoulidis, Christodoulos Christodoulidis, Leonidas Stringos and Dimitris Xrisostomidis as its founders. Stringos himself, in a letter to AKEL in 1976, clarifies certain details concerning the early activities of the communists. The letter was published in the newspaper *Harangi*, 24 April 2005.
10. The founding assembly was attended by Charalambos Vatiliotis (Vatis), Kostas Christodoulidis (Skeleas), Charalampos Solomonidis (he took over the management of the KKK newspaper *Neos Anthropos*), Ioannis Papagelou (Leukis), Christos Savvidis, Kostas Drakos, Christodoulos Artemiou, Platon Toumazos, Katina Toumazos, Kleanthis Kioupis, Giorgos Soliatis, Charalambos Skapaneas, Kostas Erotas, Leonidas Christodoulidis and Anninos Georgiou. Of the Youth, the following attended: Kyriakos Koukkoulis, Markos Markoullis, Michalakis Mikellidis, Haralambos Solomonidis and Efstathios Xinaris. For more on the founding assembly of the KKK, see AKEL, *The Party of the Working People – Scrapbook of photographic documents and special historical documents of KKK-AKEL* (Nicosia: AKEL, 1979), 58.
11. Vatis was sent by the KKE to Cyprus to assist in the organization of the first convention of the KKK and guide Cypriot communists in their first steps. The needs of the KKK which were forwarded to the KKE were not only limited to human resources, but also concerned the issue of financial resources, something to which the KKE responded negatively, due to the financial difficulties the KKE faced. For more details on the first contacts between KKK and KKE, see Lefkis, *The roots*, 190.

12. The *Pyrsos* newspaper ceases to be the official newspaper of Cypriot communists and is replaced by *Neos Anthropos*, following disagreements between the director of *Pyrsos*, Panos Fasouliotis, and the KKK. See Perdios, *Essay*, 24.
13. Lefkis, *The roots*, 160.
14. "From the positions and decisions of the First Pancyprian Convention of the Communist Party of Cyprus", *Neos Anthropos*, 18 September 1926.
15. The October uprising was a spontaneous insurrection of the people (1931) against the colonialists that was drowned in blood. On the October uprising, see G. Hill, *History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952). Also Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 34.
16. Perdios mentions that the two leaders died in the Soviet Union a few years after their exile. Perdios, *Essay*, 81.
17. Fifis Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began—In the footsteps of a Decade, 1940–1950* (Athens: Filistor, 2005), 15. According to Kostas Graikos, the KKK did not officially participate in the revolt, but many of its members, and especially many of the KKK youth, actively participated. See: Kostas Graikos, *The October uprising* (Nicosia: 1994), 12.
18. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 16.
19. The KKK reportedly issued a statement that reads as follows: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cyprus, following the program of the Communist International, which proclaims that the struggle against imperialism is the immediate and principal problem of Cyprus' working masses as long as it remains a colony of British imperialism, states that in order to liberate our island from the imperialist yoke, it is necessary to create within the anti-imperialist struggle a united front of all workers, nationalists and communists, with its main motto the relinquishing of the island by England and the departure of British military and administrative forces. The difference of the programmatic purpose of nationalists (union with Greece) and Communists (soviet republic) should not constitute an obstacle to the creation of a single anti-imperialist front, this difference can be solved after the withdrawal of imperialism from Cyprus. The heretofore neutrality of local organizations of the KKK in the anti-imperialist revolt of recent days is harmful. It objectively favors imperialism and is thus condemned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cyprus." Testimonials of KKK officials, however, argue that the above statement was the work of colonialism and in any case not issued by the KKK. Graikos, *The October uprising*, 13, 29.
20. The KKK sought to connect with the Communist International in 1923, and this was achieved in 1924 after a visit to Moscow by KKK officials, which was two years before the party was officially founded. See Perdios, *Essay*, 21. Also see a letter of Leonidas Stringos to AKEL in Haravgi, 24



- April 2005. The KKK appears to have joined the COMINTERN on the 11th convention of its executive committee, which took place from 25 March until 13 April 1931. See Jane Degras, *The Communist International 1919–1943, Documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), Vol. 3:150.
21. Then head of the Balkan Office of the COMINTERN.
  22. Ploutis Servas, *The Cyprus Problem: Responsibilities*, 2nd ed. (Athens: [n.pub.], 1985), 117. Also see interview of Ploutis Servas on the same subject in Zavou, *The political parties*, 82–83.
  23. “I quote the above passage, as kept alive in my memory, from the relevant meeting which I attended. I was then studying at the “International Leninist School” in Moscow.” *Ibid.*, 118.
  24. Graikos, *The October uprising*, 28.
  25. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 15.
  26. *Ibid.*, 21.
  27. For the conditions of the period and the situation that prevailed after the October uprising, see Giannis Pikros, *Venizelos and the Cyprus issue*, ed. Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos Thanos Veremis (Athens: [n.pub.], 1980), 252.
  28. Ploutis Servas (1907–2001), was from his school years a member of the Communist Student Youth and a founding member of the KKK in 1926. He was the first Cypriot to study at the Communist University of Western National Minorities in Moscow (aka KOUNMZ) in the Social Sciences department, from 1929 until 1934. From Moscow he traveled to Greece where, according to Andreas Kyriakou, a close friend and comrade of Servas, he became associated with the KKE and took action, but was arrested and remained in isolation in Piraeus up to his deportation at the end of 1934 (exact date unknown). Returning to Cyprus, he took over the leadership of the disorganized KKK (1935) and played a key role in the founding of AKEL in 1941, of which he was secretary general until 1945. In 1952, he was removed from AKEL. He was mayor of Lemesos (1943–1949), he participated in the Assembly and was a member of the “embassy” of EAS that visited London in 1948. He collaborated with newspapers and magazines in Cyprus and Greece for many years until his death. About Ploutis Servas in general, see Vasilis Protopapas, *The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955* (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002), Annex G. For Servas’s stay in Greece see Andreas Kyriakou, *Eyewitness* (Nicosia: [n. pub.], 2001), 17. Also see Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 24.
  29. For the coexistence of KKK and AKEL, see Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 33–54. Also Panikos Peonidis, Andreas Ziartidis: *Without fear and passion* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1995), 11–47. and Perdios, *Essay*, 15–18.

30. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 7:82.
31. *Ibid.*, 103.
32. On the program of AKEL in general, see Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 43–44. and Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 68. Also, a study on AKEL that, despite its inaccuracies and exaggerations, is of some interest, was published by the Hoover Institution within a series of studies on the communist parties out of power. See T. W. Adams, *AKEL: The Communist Party of Cyprus* (California: Hoover Institution, 1971).
33. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began*, 67.
34. Preceded by the B and C convention of AKEL on 30 January 1943 and 23 April 1944, respectively. See Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 143, 289.
35. The decision of the CC of AKEL on 11 July 1945 to accept the resignation of Ploutis Servas from the post of secretary general as well as from members of the party due to his disagreement with the party concerning his transfer to Nicosia and his resignation from the post of Mayor of Lemesos had been the subject of intense debate during the convention. See Perdios, *Essay*, 54–59.
36. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 293–99.
37. For the deposition of Servas, see Archive of Contemporary Social History [hereinafter ASKI], ASKI, “The course of the Cyprus Movement, the party leadership, the risk to the party” (ASKI, KKE Archive, 371, F20/21/40, 1951).: Also see Zavou, *The political parties of Cyprus*, 108–11.
38. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 301.
39. Perdios, *Essay*, 63.
40. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:192.
41. Perdios, *Essay*, 70.
42. *Democrates*, 24 December 1947.
43. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 257.
44. Perdios, *Essay*, 83.
45. *Ibid.*
46. On the criticism and self-criticism of the members of the CC of AKEL, see ASKI, “Criticism and self-criticism of the members of the CC of AKEL as adopted by the plenary of the CC on 26–27 February, 1949, following the discussion of the recommendation by the relevant sub-committee” (ASKI, KKE Archive, 371, F20/21/18).
47. Perdios, *Essay*, 84.
48. Perdios, *Essay*, 90.
49. Perdios, *Essay*, 91.

50. According to reports of the Greek consul, “the Archbishop and Greek associations of the city People’s Love, Athenaion, Pan-worker Association, Pancyprrian Gymnastic Association, the Scout House Eleftheria, the People’s Association, the Apoel and the Pancyprrian Greek Volunteers Association, as a result of a meeting in the Archbishopric for discussion of the most appropriate measures for confronting the communist propaganda within Cyprus, addressed the shopkeepers, factory owners, church associations, school guardianships, town halls, and so on, with a request, whose highlights are as follows: (1) Everyone able to is kindly requested to work on the improvement of the worker’s position. (2) Individuals and unions are not to hire communist technicians and workers. (3) Parents are to report communist teachers to the Office of Education and the Archbishop, and students are to be withdrawn from the schools until the removal of the communist teachers is accomplished. (4) Those coming to the cities in order to learn a craft are not to come into contact with people infected by the germ of communism. (5) Any communist publications are not to be bought or read, whether they are books, brochures, or leaflets. (6) Even the attendance out of curiosity of concentrations and celebrations of the communists are to be avoided, lest they become even more emboldened.” See DIAYE, “Antoniades, D., deputy Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, A/22/111 (1931), 1931).
51. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 22.
52. The people’s representatives replaced the MPs as, during the period between 1921 and 1925, abstention from the Legislative Council had been decided. See “Statute draft of the Cyprus Political Organization”, *Eleftheria*, 5 November 1921.
53. *Eleftheria*, Ibid.
54. George Georghallides, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1985), 351–55. The provision for appointment of the people’s “representatives” per province by bishops and MPs ensured no non-nationalist, that is communist, would become a member of the National Organization.
55. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 19.
56. Ibid., 36.
57. “The assembly of the national organization-Members’ resignations”, *Eleftheria*, 6 May 1931.
58. The most characteristic example was the appointed mayor of Nicosia and leading figure of the period, Themistoklis Dervis. The apparent true unionist Dervis, without hesitation, submitted a request in 1932 for the relinquishment of his Greek nationality to acquire the British nationality and, under the new legislation, be appointed as mayor. See DIAYE, “Antoniades, D., Deputy Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, Folder A/22/III (1932), 1932). “When Governor Palmer beckoned the

- “appointed” to submit letters to the Ministry of Colonies, requesting the extension of his term beyond December 1938, Dervis was one of the first to do so. See DIAYE, “Skarpas, L., Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, Folder A Political/12 [1939]).
59. On the extension of Greek national consciousness in Cyprus over the particular period, see Paschalis Kitromilidis, *From Coexistence to Confrontation: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus*, ed. Michael Attalidis (Nicosia: Cyprus Reviewed, 1977), 41.
  60. For more about the Cultural Associations of the Left, see Christos Petas, *The movement of Cultural Associations 1939–1945* (Nicosia: 1992).
  61. See PEK proclamation, *Eleftheria*, 10 November 1942. In the proclamation, AKEL was castigated for previously condemning PEK activities while utilizing declarations of cultural associations under its control. According to R. Katsiaounis, PEK was “an heir to the more conservative wing of the autonomous peasant movement of the 1920s and the conservative mukhtars of the 1930s.” See Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 74.
  62. Kountouriotis writes that despite the efforts of all parties to take advantage of PEK’s great power over peasants, “up to now this organization retains a fully independent status against political factions.” See DIAYE, “Kountouriotis, A., Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, 126/6, 1st Subfolder (1946), 1945).
  63. AKEL’s proposal to establish a national council with the participation of all political organizations under the leadership of the Church is characteristic. See Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 7:45.
  64. “Following the aforementioned organized movement of the communist party, the new “National” Party has been founded or is in the process of being organized, with the purpose of cooperation and understanding with the English and the pursuit, through legal means, of union. This last movement is being lead by the best elements of Cyprus.” See DIAYE, “Note written by Commander Filippas” (DIAYE, Folder 126/3, 1946).
  65. Preceded by the announcement of the founding of the party by declaration on 8 May 1943, which was signed by Themistoklis Dervis (mayor of Nicosia), George Poulidas (deputy mayor), N. Tofaridis I. Ypsilantis, P. Grigoriadis, M. Michailidis, Ioannis Spyridakis and Zinon Sozos.
  66. “The programmatic positions of the Cyprus National Party”, *Eleftheria*, 10 August 1943.
  67. *Eleftheria*, Ibid.
  68. Grigoris Grigoriadis, *History of SEK* (Nicosia: SEK, 1994), Vol. 1:179.
  69. In one of SEK’s declarations (30 August 1945), reference is made to the grounds of its founding: “Its organization was imposed by the anti-national propaganda that was methodically and deviously spread among old-union workers by corrupt agents of pan-slavic interests (...) it was imposed by the Akelic authoritarianism, the party dictatorship (...) it was imposed by the

- corruption of labour consciousness and the criminal attempt to put aside our national traditions (...) it was imposed by the socialist and democratic idealism of Cypriot workers ... ." See *Ibid.*, 180. Grigoriadis' book offers SEK's version of the history of the union movement, and despite its subjectivity, contains very interesting primary information.
70. TNA, "Charles Woolley, Governor of Cyprus, to Oliver Stanley, Minister of Colonies" (TNA, CO 67/327/10, 1944).
  71. The socialist references were dense during the first convention, culminating in the final verse of the SEK hymn: "Holding on to the homeland/the high ideas/we are all united/and we are all Socialists." See Grigoriadis, *History of SEK*, 187.
  72. AKEL's pursuance, in 1945, to publicly celebrate for the first time the anniversary of 25 March, caused the first bloody clash, leaving three members of the Left dead in Lefkoniko, and served as a stimulus for the entire bourgeoisie and the Church. For more on the events of Lefkoniko, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 259.
  73. DIAYE, "Kountouriotis, A., Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, Folder 126/6, 1st Subfolder (1946), 1945).
  74. "The ongoing uproar over the exiles on the part of these political organizations is not purely by reason of altruistic motives. Herein Archbishop of Kyrenia, Makarios, considered by the right faction as a crusader against the communists struggle. In the past, it constituted his state within Cyprus. This same policy is still followed to the letter by those responsible for the widowed Archbishopric (...) To myself it is patently clear that such great zeal on the part of the National Party for the return of the exiled Archbishop is due to the ulterior desire of its leaders, such as to gain against their political opponents a follower in the leader of the greatness of the aging Hierarch. It should be noted that the appeal to the Archbishop of Korynia by the National Party originates mainly from the failure of this Party to associate itself in the anti-communist struggle with Locum Tenens Leontios." See DIAYE, "Kountouriotis, A., Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, Folder 126/3 (1946), 1945).
  75. KEK, immediately following the parliamentary elections in Greece (31 March 1946), sent a letter of congratulations to the winners, the bulk of which referred to communism: "The results of the elections are a victory of Nationalists against Communism, a dangerous enemy of the Homeland and Religion. Heavy is Our work, of the restoration of legal order and the purging of the Nation from any treacherous enemy within, so that Greece, undistracted, after its victories and triumphs and internal civil wars, instigated by Communism, can walk the paths of its great destinies, facing its civilized allies with dignity, powerful as ever against its treacherous, impudent and dangerous enemies." See DIAYE, "Cyprus National Party to Mr. P. Poulitsas, President of the Greek Government" (DIAYE, Folder 126/2 (1946), 1946).

76. “It is not of this moment to examine whether the remorse of the Cyprus Commune is honest or not. That which is of paramount significance to the enslaved Cyprus is the fact that even former “autonomist” and “internationalist” Cypriots seek today, when even a short time separates us from the Conference of Peace, the Union of Cyprus with Greece. At this moment in Cyprus, rightists and leftists, including communists, thunder to the outside world that its only passion is the Enosis of Cyprus with Greece. That is exactly what places the foreign sovereign Power in a disadvantageous position on the Cyprus issue. Why, therefore, should this undeniable advantage be lost in misguided psychoanalysis on the true motives that push the one or the other Cypriot organization to its expressions of unification?” See DIAYE, “A. Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, Folder 126/3 (1946), 1945).
77. DIAYE, “A. Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, Folder 126/6, 1st Subfolder (1946), 1945).
78. “... nationalism is the offspring of Civil War and Civil War is its offspring” says A. Elefantis on the ideology of Greek nationalism. See Aggelos Elefantis, *Nationalism: The Ideology of terror and criminalization* (Athens: Sakis Karagiorgas Institute, 1994), 645–654. In its Cypriot version, nationalism retained the goal of totally crushing the “serving foreign interests” and “unholy” enemy, but left, however, narrow margins of ambiguity and fluidity for the development of a “centrist” area.
79. The concept of “nationalism” is definitively introduced in Cyprus after the clashes of 3 December 1944 in Athens and the conflicts that followed (leading to the Varkiza Agreement). These events gave rise to “national organizations” permanently ceasing any cooperation with the pro-EAM AKEL. On the term “nationalist” and its introduction to Cyprus, see Protopapas, Vasilis, *ibid*, p. 74. Besides, Aggelos Elefantis argues that “... nationalism is the offspring of Civil War and Civil War is its offspring.” Aggelos Elefantis, *Nationalism: The Ideology of terror and criminalization* (Athens: Sakis Karagiorgas Institute, 1994), 645.
80. “Unified National Front”—SEKA: The “Unified National Front” was the coalition led by the right-wing mayors of Cyprus. It was founded in 1949 with its main objective to promote the request for enosis. It included the participation of the right-wing mayors of Nicosia, Paphos, Kyrenia, Lapithos, Karavas, Lefkoniko, Athienou, Kythreas, Lefkaron, Acanthous and Polis Chrysochous, along with other personalities. Later, PEK and other forces joined the front, creating SEKA (Coordinating Committee of Cypriot Struggle), with the same program and objectives. For More on SEKA see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:234.
81. The Right was aptly described as “dexiofrosyni” and “ethnarchokekkofrosyni”, because of its collaboration of the Ethnarchic Church, the Cyprus National Party (KEK) and the “nationalist” ideology.

## British Methods of Rule: Political Liberties and the Constitutional Assembly

By 1913, after centuries of acquisition, more than one hundred separate territories worldwide were under British rule. They displayed almost every variety of human community, and their internal diversity was sometimes extreme. As Darwin notes,

desert peoples and nomads; hill peoples and tribals; mining, forest-dwelling and fishing communities (such as Newfoundland); farmers bound to the grueling regime of wet-rice cultivation (as in the Burma delta) and yeoman-farmers in the temperate Dominions; slave-owners and slaves (until 1830); workers and masters in plantation economies; industrial societies with ‘proletarians’ and ‘capitalists’—all these and more could be found in an empire that contained some of the world’s largest cities as well as some of its poorest and emptiest landscapes.<sup>1</sup>

Maintaining the efficient organization of these diverse territories and sufficient control over them was the chief task facing the Colonial Office.

One of the methods the British utilized to maintain their authority in every society they controlled was to discern that society’s political ‘tradition’: what forms of power were legitimate for the local elite, what was considered good governance, and how much intervention in their internal affairs would the possessed population permit. The British took great care in determining the political tradition in each of its colonies and territories, so as to maintain stability and some form of coherent policy and strategy. Any failure to comprehend and control a colony or territory accordingly

would result in gaps in governance and could spark uprisings, either by religious hierarchs claiming dispensation or by settlers demanding exemption from laws that applied to native inhabitants. Imposing a blanket form of rule across so many diverse populations would have met fierce resistance: a custom-made program of governance was necessary for each possession.

If the Empire's only concern was just the governance of its possessions, it would have been easy for Britain to maintain control of its colonies and, perhaps, hold onto them for longer than it did. This was not the case, however, with British imperial policy. Since ruling such a sprawling and diverse Empire depended on so many representatives and local allies, it was very difficult for colonial authorities to be uniformly consensual, coherent, and focused. That's why the Colonial Office, under whose jurisdiction fell settler colonies like Canada and Australia, a completely different and problematic South Africa, the West Indian colonies, the new possessions in Africa, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong, as well as other minor possessions, preferred to stand by and take a bird's-eye view of the Empire. On the ground in each of its possessions, each incident or problem had to be dealt with separately and specifically.

Cyprus was not an exception. The British administration's success on the island was usually dependent on the Turkish votes, which challenged the balance between the two communities. There were two options to address this growing challenge. The first was Governor Storrs's approach, what he used to call the 'Eastern method of administration,' a kind of English liberalism of the East. It involved the abolition of the 1928 taxes, the optimal exploitation of the new legislation of the Empire on 'Social Welfare and Development,' and, in particular, the full recognition of the Greek identity of the Greek Cypriots. Storrs wrote later that people belong to the nation to which they feel they belong; thus, a Greek Cypriot is "someone who speaks Greek, thinks as a Greek, feels Greek in the same way that a French-Canadian is one who speaks French, thinking French and feels French."<sup>2</sup> In this same way, Storrs accepted the Turkish identity of the Turks.

The other method for dissolving threats against British supremacy was even simpler: suppression. At the time, the region was emerging as the authoritative focal point for the United Kingdom abroad. From 1925 onward, British authorities in Cyprus and the Colonial Office in London lost more and more patience with the instability plaguing the legislative system of the island. The uprising of October 1931 provided the pretext



for the British Administration to commence their severe repression of the colony, a pretext which had for years eluded them.

World War II caused political turbulence in Cyprus as it did in many overseas British possessions. Unlike the other large islands of the Mediterranean—Crete, Malta, Sicily—Cyprus was not a battlefield, but was it deeply influenced by regional events and battles.<sup>3</sup> The Italian attack against Greece in October 1940, the British response in the Peloponnese at the beginning of 1941, the German invasion and occupation of Greece, and the misery the German invasion and occupation brought to the people of Greece, all this re-contextualized the war for Greek Cypriots. Cyprus could not remain isolated from these vibrations, and its sensitivity to them was no benefit to Britain. Cypriot authorities even used the slogan “for Greece and Freedom” to inspire Greek Cypriots to enlist, and a myriad of Greek–Cypriots volunteered for the Cyprus Regiment, which helped the colonial authorities fulfill their recruiting goals.

During the war, a new colonial doctrine came into effect by which the British acknowledged some sort of equality between the Empire and the people in its colonies; Britain promised to support economic and social growth and advance the idea of self-government throughout the Empire. For the Colonial Office, the complete absence of any form of representation of indigenous Cypriots in the administration constituted an anomaly. So pressure was applied to Governor Sir Charles Woolley to restore a constitutional system of representation. At the same time, Greeks began to widely dispute that the British were fighting for freedom and democracy. Overall, the situation in Cyprus at the end of the war could not be described as revolutionary. The public order faced no serious threats, but there was tension in the air, and Greek nationalism began to manifest itself more strongly than ever now that the weight of repression had lightened somewhat. After the end of the war, the British again faced the uncertainties that had plagued them before the 1931 uprising.

The Labor government formed by Clement Attle after July 1945 was characterized by a more liberal approach to colonial and imperial policy. This of course never embraced the union of Cyprus with Greece, although there was a new strain of philhellenism in the Foreign Office. The new policy introduced by Secretary of State for the Colonies Arthur Creech Jones in the House on 23 October 1946, however, included the withdrawal of the Palmer Law pertaining to the election of the Archbishop, amnesty for those exiled after the 1931 uprising, and measures to accelerate economic development. The most important development was Jones’s

announcement of the Consultative Assembly, which would consider constitutional reforms in detail.

The years 1947 and 1948 had been milestones for most of the European colonies. Some colonies began to move toward the acquisition of independence, albeit at different paces. The Labor government was against leaving Cyprus, and that British strategic interests, both in Egypt and Palestine, were under pressure at the same time meant the value of the island to the Empire increased after the war, instead of decreasing. Constant fluctuations regarding pragmatic strategy, and political necessity, in combination with unstable political structures in the Eastern Mediterranean after the war, would profoundly affect the evolution of the Cyprus issue. So when Winster arrived in Cyprus, he found the island dressed in blue and white, and Nicosia officials refused to meet with him; the local press encouraged him to return home and inform the British Cabinet that Union was the only acceptable solution. The ferment of the 1940s wrought many changes to the political affairs of Cyprus, and the elections of that period raised strong emotions within the island's Greek community.

### THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1946

From 1940 onwards, the colonial government sought to restore electoral processes, as the colonial regime had appointed mayors ever since the events of 1931. To improve the colony's legislative framework, the government solicited views from various factions as to the qualifications of electors, the method of electing mayors, the proportion of seats among religious communities, and the term of office. The debate initially revealed the majority of those "appointed," in fact, favored an indefinite postponement of elections.

In June 1942, the Governor appointed new Municipal Councils, but intense pressure from the left, and the improvement of the situation on the war front forced him to adopt additional legislation, under which municipal elections were proclaimed for March 1943. In these elections, the results were such that both factions celebrated victories among the municipalities of Cyprus.

The events leading up to the elections of 1946 were quite favorable to AKEL. The party threw its weight behind the two main fronts that concerned the masses: against the colonial regime and pro-enosis on one hand and for workers' demands on the other hand. The right found itself in a difficult situation, as it felt unable to extricate itself from its established

position of addressing the Cyprus issue within a pro-British context. The obstacles to its influence on the popular strata included the mildness of its anti-colonial tactics and its sterile anti-communism. Apart from the popular masses, however, the right's anti-communist obsessions also repelled a considerable portion of the bourgeoisie that didn't favor the introduction of the Hellenic civil war atmosphere to Cyprus, especially since neither the conditions in Cyprus nor the attitude of the Cypriot left justified these obsessions. Furthermore, the situation prevailing in Greece after the "December events" was frightful to many Cypriots; this fear was inflamed by the repatriation of numerous Cypriots from Greece, a development the colonial regime exploited in its propaganda.<sup>4</sup> A telegraph from the Consul Kountouriotis around this time noted with evident concern that the "events of past December attenuated the unification idea, despite continued unification demonstrations".<sup>5</sup>

Hence, the fear inflamed by the right's extreme anti-communism and its inability, or unwillingness, to take a more dynamic stance with regard to anti-colonial sentiment, drove a number of bourgeois "centrists" to the left as, given the respect the left enjoyed among some Church circles (see Leontios), they ultimately chose to cooperate with the left by establishing the National Cooperation Wing (PES) on a pan-Cyprian scale. AKEL took care to chart strategic alliances from early on (January 1946), while the right mobilized much later, focusing only on Nicosia.<sup>6</sup>

Ioannis Kliridis announced his mayoral candidacy in collaboration with the left, criticizing his opponent, Nicosia Mayor and General Secretary (GS) of KEK, Themistocles (Th). Dervis, for his characterization of communists as atheists and "National lepers." This time, Kliridis's party included two officials of leftist unions and AKEL.<sup>7</sup> Dervis appeared unable to rally the entire right on his behalf: the unionist fanatics harbored no particular appreciation for Dervis; neither did a portion of SEK, largely because of the close relationship Dervis maintained with the colonial regime.<sup>8</sup>

The push by the left for national unity worked against the right. AKEL submitted specific proposals for consensual distribution of positions in the Municipal Councils, as it did in Ammochostos, a municipality under its unquestioned dominance, where it offered the right three of seven councilor positions and the deputy mayoralty.<sup>9</sup> The right responded negatively to such invitations, stubbornly persisting in its view that any cooperation with the communists constituted treason.<sup>10</sup>

So while the left was building its character as a spacious and diverse faction, the right found itself trapped every time the left offered an olive

branch or some sort of political concession, while being simultaneously tripped up by extreme circles, mainly from Kyrenia, and by its stance on the national issue, which continued in its adherence to advocating Greek-British friendship as the best route to enosis.

Since 1945, the Turkish Cypriots had been expressing themselves mainly through the “Turkish National Party” led by Dr. Fazil Kucuk. The Turkish Cypriots intended to abstain from the electoral process: their abstention was meant to convey their dissatisfaction with the balances within the municipal councils and with the Greek Cypriots push for enosis.<sup>11</sup> There were, however, Turkish–Cypriot political figures, mainly from Larnaca, who opposed abstention, arguing that there had never been any form of coordination or relevant assembly to discuss the issue, and they stood for the election, essentially fracturing the Turkish–Cypriot abstention front. The final results found Turkish Cypriots in all municipal councils in which they had the right to stand as candidates.<sup>12</sup> Despite the failure of the abstention initiative, it was a harbinger of what was to come in the following years.

Mainly for better supervision, the British preferred to avoid carrying out elections on the same day in all municipalities. Therefore, they conducted the elections on three different dates: 12 May 1946, in Morphou and Kythrea; 19 May 1946 in the other seven towns; and a week later on 26 May 1946 in the six cities. While election preparations were still underway in most municipalities, the overwhelming victory of the “National Unity” parties in Morphou and Kythrea was announced. The right participated mainly with PEK in these two municipalities and was unable to win any council positions. A week later the defeat of the right continued, with unfavorable results for the party in the remaining rural municipalities. The right lost its supremacy in the countryside, but still maintained considerable influence. The left, whether it won an election or not, recorded significant gains everywhere.<sup>13</sup>

Despite its disappointing results in the countryside, KEK mainly focused on the battle for the cities, especially Nicosia, where Themistoklis Dervis was once again in charge. As its objective was Nicosia, the victory of the left and “fellow traveler” Kliridis in the capital did nothing to diminish the right’s triumph in the capital.<sup>14</sup> The parties supported by the left eventually prevailed in four large municipalities (Nicosia, Lemesos, Ammochostos, and Larnaca), while the right retained only the municipal seats of the small towns of Paphos and Kyrenia.

Based on the total votes in the six cities, the left and its allies won a percentage of 53.8 percent versus 46.2 percent by the right. Compared to the 1943 elections, the balance was more or less inverted. Aside from the clear victory for the left, also of importance was the increase in overall participation: these municipal elections were a field of social confrontation and a selection process for institutional political representation; the importance of the confrontation was more perceptible to voters in this election than it had been three years earlier.

The results of the 1946 municipal elections unsettled not only the right but also the British, who realized the left could mobilize mass segments of the populace by intertwining social and national claims with anti-British rhetoric. The colonial administration's repressive policy toward AKEL and the trade union movement had failed, serving instead to rally the members and supporters of the left and to underline the patriotic, anti-British stance AKEL took to define itself.

The right realized greater coordination of its forces was required to recapture its dominant role. Immediately following the municipal elections, the Church of Cyprus, through the Ethnarchy Council, decided to take initiatives in favor of enosis. At the same time, the Kyrenia Archbishopric decided to intensify its efforts to prevent the left from acquiring "national parity."<sup>15</sup>

### THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL ELECTIONS OF 1947

As an institution, the Church of Cyprus was the dominant religious, social, and administrative organization in Cyprus. It authoritatively determined the island's social structure and its political course and orientation: it was the most important independent institution in the hands of Greek Cypriots before the establishment of an independent state.<sup>16</sup> The British repression of any attempt at political expression by Greek Cypriots turned the Church into a unique area for Greek-Cypriot political fermentation and organization. The Church, a hierarchical and bureaucratic organization with representation across the entire geographical area of the state thanks to the multitude of churches on the island, exercised a unifying structural influence throughout Cyprus.<sup>17</sup> The main demand for the national restoration of Cyprus and numerous other national interests were advocated by the Church itself, which, as in the Ottoman period, was perceived as the natural leadership of the Greek Cypriots. During British rule,

the Church strengthened its leadership role within the Greek–Cypriot community. The tradition of the “ethnarchic” role of the Church, despite the replacement of the Ottoman millet system by the English, favored the national-political activity of the Orthodox Church. From the first years of the Legislative Council’s operation, Church leadership took an active role in the political life of Cyprus.

The first Legislative Council elected the Archbishop of Kition, Kyprianos, who was succeeded by Archbishop of Kition, Kirillos. During the 1931 October uprising, the leader of the Greek Cypriots in the Legislative Council was the Bishop of Kition, Nikodimos Milonas.<sup>18</sup> In autumn 1946, the British announced they would lift the oppressive measures adopted in 1931 and, among others renewed permissions, they would allow the repatriation of exiles and permit elections to fill any vacant sacerdotal positions.<sup>19</sup> They also discussed the possibility of a representative Consultative Conference, with a view to formulating proposals for constitutional reforms, but the left, the right and the ethnarchy rejected any discussion. The left denounced the Greek government and the Greek–Cypriot right for “selling out” to the British, even though the right rejected the British offer to arrange and convene a Consultative Conference.

A new element of the left’s approach to the national issue was its initiative to detach the Cyprus issue from the narrow confines of Hellenic-British relations and to pursue its resolution in the international arena. This had a profound impact on the Cypriot political scene, especially when it was revealed that the Greek government hadn’t even raised the Cyprus issue at the Peace Conference in Paris during the summer of 1946. By then, Greek policy was clear: the Greek Government considered Cyprus under the dominion not of a hostile state but under the dominion of its “ally” and “friend,” Britain.<sup>20</sup>

The right and the Church were in a fairly difficult position: after denying requests from the left to send a delegation—a “national embassy”—to foreign countries to raise the issue of enosis, they came under intense criticism from the left and from the general mass of Cypriots, among whom the left continued to make significant gains. It also became worse for the right once it was made clear that its refusal to consent to the aforementioned national embassy had been urged by the Greek consulate, which sought “the avoidance of such actions.”<sup>21</sup>

During the summer of 1946, Leontios received information from the Cyprus Guidance Committee of Athens that the leaders of the Greek opposition—Papandreou, Sophoulis, Kafantaris, Kanellopoulos and

Plastiras—supported the submittal of a request for the union of Cyprus with Greece. In August, Leontios agreed to the delegation of an “embassy” to London.<sup>22</sup>

The delegation was led by Leontios<sup>23</sup> and was formed without the participation of the left, save for a single invitation given to Nicosia Mayor Ioannis Kliridis of the National Cooperation Wing (PES). Leontios and his emissaries traveled to London where, after several days of waiting, they were eventually accepted by Minister of Colonies Arthur Creech Jones on 7 February 1947.<sup>24</sup> The British rejected the delegation’s request for enosis and tried to convince Leontios that while Greece was unstable and facing much adversity, the wisest choice for Cypriots was to remain under British rule.<sup>25</sup> For the English government, any discussion of ceding Cyprus to Greece was a diplomatic error, considering Britain’s problems in the region, including the rapidly-unfolding crisis in Palestine, Egypt’s demand to retain Sudan and the civil war in Greece made Cyprus a key military-defensive location, one Britain was in no way willing to abandon.

Greece was in the midst of a severe economic and political crisis which brought about the resignation of the Tsaldaris Government on 22 January 1947. The following month, the new Maximou government soon found itself in an extremely unfavorable position, when Britain informed Washington it could not continue to provide military aid to Greece. Worried Greece might fall under the control of the Soviet Union, which had wider implications for the open fronts of Turkey and Iran, on 12 March US resident Harry Truman presented Congress with a \$400 million financial aid program for Greece and Turkey, the “*Truman Doctrine*.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite the problems Greece faced, however, the Greek Parliament adopted a resolution pertaining to Cyprus on 28 February.<sup>27</sup> Although the resolution didn’t place any essential pressure on the British, it, nevertheless, bolstered the Greek–Cypriot right, which had found itself in an apologetic position for the “treasonous attitude” of the “monarcho-fascist” Greek government, as the left described it.<sup>28</sup>

Despite developments internationally and in Greece, Greek Cypriots insisted. A typical example was the Bishop of Kyrenia’s insistence that Leontios remain abroad and raise the question of enosis at the United Nations. Agnidis, the Greek Ambassador to London, managed, after considerable difficulties, to persuade the Greek Cypriots of the “devastating effects” of such an undertaking.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, no one, except perhaps for Alexandros Kountouriotis, gave much attention to the constant

protestations of the Turkish–Cypriot community against any regime change on the island.<sup>30</sup>

Consequently, the pending archiepiscopal elections had an intense political “scent” and were of particular importance to the political parties. The left was actively engaged in the elections, mostly to prevent the election of an anti-communist Archbishop. The locum tenens, Leontios, and the bishop of Kyrenia, Makarios, had agreed not to seek the post of archbishop.

In the hope of coordinating bipartisan action in response to British concessions for a constitution, the left reached out to the right, only to be spurned by those members of the far-right circles surrounding the Kyrenia Archbishopric, who refused any cooperation with the “unholy communists.” The British avoided setting a date for the Assembly as, on 5 May 1947, elections would be held to appoint 1004 special representatives. These special representatives would then elect the 66 general representatives who, along with a number of clergy, would elect a new Archbishop. The left favored the election of Leontios, who it was pushing to run. Leontios, however, chose to honor his agreement with the bishop of Kyrenia, stating that neither of them was to claim the throne, something the latter took care to remind him. The “nationalist faction” supported Porphyrios of Sinai.

The vacancy of the archbishopric throne, which had commenced in 1933, went through various stages, culminating in 1946 with the involvement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and the Archbishopric of Thyatira. In consultation with the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British government, the sensitive post of the Archbishop of Cyprus was destined for a figure “at the same time able to interact positively with the British Authorities.” The repeal of the ecclesiastical laws of 1937 and the permission given to exiles to return to Cyprus were inspired by assurances given the British that the new archbishop would be cooperative, and that Leontios and the bishop of Kyrenia would not be candidates.<sup>31</sup> Pursuant to these assurances, the Ecumenical Patriarchate appointed the bishop of Derkon, Ioakim, as the third member of the synod.<sup>32</sup>

The bishop of Derkon arrived in Cyprus with specific instructions from the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote the candidacy of Porphyrios of Sinai.<sup>33</sup> He managed without difficulty to persuade the various factions of the right, but he had no effect on the left, which capitalized



on the popularity of Leontios to establish the “Pancyprian Leontian Front.”

On 5 May 1947, the day of the election of special representatives, the “Leontian” special representative candidates prevailed with a significant margin.<sup>33</sup> Their victory was a triumph for the left, as most “leontian” representatives came from its ranks. Nevertheless, although 56 of the 66 general representatives were Leontios supporters, Leontios was allegedly preparing to retire to Mount Athos. The bishop of Derkon, in close consultation with Consul Kountouriotis, searched in vain for an alternative. The left, once it became aware of the Greek consulate’s lobbying, threatened that if Leontios were not named archbishop it would instruct the representatives from its ranks to support the Hegumen of Machaira, who suffered from impaired health and had very friendly relations with AKEL for the position of Archbishop.<sup>35</sup> The left’s decisive stance forced the bishop of Derkon and Kountouriotis to concede that Leontios was the only viable solution under the circumstances. At the same time, the right, especially the circles surrounding the Kyrenia archbishopric, exerted psychological pressure on Leontios, painting him as a traitor who was sure to breach his commitment, despite having little to no influence on the general representatives,.

On 20 June 1947, the day of the electoral Synod, Leontios was elected Archbishop.<sup>36</sup> The appointment of Leontios to the archbishopric throne was a clear victory for the left. For the right, its fear that the left now had control of the largest and most important of Greek–Cypriot institutions ceased almost immediately after the election, as the cooperation between Leontios and the left had been shaken by various accommodations the new Archbishop was forced to make to the right.<sup>37</sup>

### TOWARD A CONSTITUTION

It was four years after the British took over the administration of Cyprus from the Ottoman Turks in 1882, when the island’s first constitution was adopted. In drafting and adopting this constitution, the British created the context in which they were to wield their power and authority on the island. This document, though important, was not the definitive factor in shaping the island’s history or its political system; in fact, it was its social, political, and ethnic contradictions—a characteristic of Cyprus’ tumultuous history—that shaped the colony’s legal and administrative structure, and, consequently, came to bear on its first constitution.<sup>38</sup>

Britain's main objective was to secure its possession of colonial Cyprus, a key location in the region, with a modicum of involvement in its affairs. Executive authority was bestowed upon the High Commissioner, who governed with the assistance of an Executive council comprised of top British officials. To a degree, Cypriots were permitted to partake in the management of their internal affairs, mainly through the Legislative Council and also with the rural and municipal councils. The population of the communities usually determined the number of Greek and Turkish members elected to the respective councils. Turkish-Cypriots, however, remained distrustful of the democratic process, seeing as they only comprised one fifth of the populace, and they sought protection from the Greek-Cypriot majority by aligning themselves with the colonial administration. The British Empire, multiethnic and accustomed to this kind of dispute, used it to minimize Greek-Cypriot influence in the Legislative Council. To accomplish this, the Council's members, selected by the Governor, included a sufficient number of British officials such that the number of British and Turkish-Cypriot votes equaled the number of Greek-Cypriot votes: the Governor would then cast his vote to ensure British interests. If Turkish-Cypriot support for British objectives couldn't be guaranteed, legislation would simply be imposed from London by Order in Council.<sup>39</sup>

While this system was loathed equally by the Greek-Cypriot political elite and by Greek-Cypriot commoners, another form of discrimination arose within the colony's institutions of representation, discrimination based on class. The Legislative Council was run mainly by merchant and money-lending interests, who were selected for the council on the basis of property occupation and stability of domicile, thus ostracizing the majority of sharecroppers and other wage-earners.

It was neither the Greek nationalists nor the Marxists who eventually jeopardized the stability of the political system. It was the Turkish Cypriots, who ceased to emphatically support British Colonial policies after embracing Kemalism following the establishment of the Turkish Republic. During the elections of 1930, the island's political balance was overturned when all three of the Legislative Council's Turkish-Cypriot members voiced their desire for autonomy from the colonial administration; the latter was forced to seek the aid of London to impose legislation, as it no longer had any Turkish-Cypriot support. In October 1931, the Greeks led an island-wide revolt following the introduction by Council Order of a tax law that the Legislative Council had already rejected. The

British easily suppressed the revolt, abolished the constitution, and established a dictatorship on the island.<sup>40</sup>

Governor Richmond Palmer, whose name would become synonymous with the dictatorship, would rule from 1933 to 1939, employing not only force but also the aid of a bi-communal, pro-government body. Leading members of the Cypriot establishment sought nomination to whichever of its posts were available to Greek Cypriots in an attempt to retain their influence within the community. A few intellectuals and clergy coalesced into a small-scale opposition under the leadership of the Bishop of Paphos, Leontios, locum tenens to the Archiepiscopal Throne. The only organized opposition to the regime, however, was the covert Communist Party, which primarily concerned itself with establishing a bi-communal trade union movement.<sup>41</sup>

With the World War II looming, the dictatorship neared its end. Nevertheless, the colony's regime remained unaffected by this multitude of political transitions and remained an autocracy, enforcing decisions made by the British authorities or the municipal administrations. The demand for political liberties on the island, however, took second place to the demand for enosis, as the growing sentiment for union with Greece increased exponentially after the war. This sentiment, though, conflicted with Greek foreign policy. The Greek government, a coalition of monarchists and right-wing Republicans, a large number of whom had allied themselves with the Nazis in the effort to eradicate the Greek communists (EAM), now allied themselves with the British for the same reasons. The official Greek state policy was enosis within the context of Greek-British friendship and cooperation, so the Greek-Cypriot enosis movement put the Greek government in an awkward position. The only Greek Party supporting the movement was the Communist Party; this was the beginning of the left's longtime tradition of upholding the Cypriot cause in Greece.<sup>42</sup>

Back in Cyprus, the Ethnarchy Council, whose members were nominated by the Archbishop, ordered the alignment of all Greek Cypriots with the Greek government. On the other hand, AKEL, whose militant colonial agitation was unmatched, demanded a Council led by the Archbishop but elected by the Greek-Cypriot population; this was something the right found unacceptable, as it would imply a left leadership for the national movement and, thus, a struggle began within Greek-Cypriot ranks for political supremacy amidst the anti-colonial turmoil.<sup>43</sup>

The democratic political changes brought to Cyprus with the war stipulated the replacement of the empire's old administrative system, which was antiquated by then. The advent of the labor party, which came to power in 1945, did not affect any significant change in Colonial Office policies, though a think tank within its ranks, the Fabian Society, proposed a shift to a socialist commonwealth and the concomitant preservation of the British Empire.<sup>44</sup> Naturally, colonies, especially those with strategic value, were not to be given independence. British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, preferred to relinquish the colonies, eschewing Britain's role as a world power, but imperialist tradition was deeply ingrained in the Labour Party, and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin managed to preserve the colonies.<sup>45</sup> Ceding Cyprus to Greece was, therefore, out of the question, as it was of vital strategic importance to the Empire.<sup>46</sup>

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

On 23 October 1946, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Arthur Creech Jones, declared his plans to summon a Consultative Assembly of distinguished members of the Cypriot society to submit proposals for the adoption of a constitution and a central legislature.<sup>47</sup> Creech Jones's declaration convinced the moderate members of the Greek-Cypriot right that Britain didn't intend to cede Cyprus to Greece; the left, meanwhile, had long been pressing for a delegation to London to prosecute enosis, while the left had for a long time been pressing for a delegation in order to promote the cause of enosis. The responses to Creech Jones were, therefore, diverse. Leontios, Bishop of Paphos and locum tenens of the Archiepiscopal Throne, eventually led a delegation to Athens to discuss enosis; forty days after requesting an interview, the Greek Secretary of State finally saw them. The Secretary rejected the delegation's demands, reminding Leontios and his cohort that Greece had not, in fact, asked Cyprus to join it.<sup>48</sup>

It was on 27 March 1947, after the empty-handed return of the delegation to Cyprus, that new Governor Baron Winster took office. Winster was a personal friend of Creech Jones and, thus, a political appointment rather than a career colonial administrator. The Colonial Office and the island's top officials had already been deliberating over the Consultative Assembly for almost two years when, on 9 July 1947, Winster announced that the Assembly was to comprise delegates from the island's major associations

and interests and that it would not be an elected body. The Assembly's terms of reference were left intentionally vague:

To make recommendations to His Majesty's Government on the form of constitution to be established in order to secure participation by the people of Cyprus in the direction of the internal affairs of the Island, due regard being paid to the interests of minorities.<sup>49</sup>

The Assembly's selection process guaranteed the invitation of organizations and figures from across the island's entire political spectrum, including Turkish Cypriots,<sup>50</sup> while at the same time excluding the Church and the political parties, as the Colonial Office had stigmatized them for their enosis activities.

Leontios, along with the Ethnarchy Council, was optimistic about the future of Cyprus: he foresaw a promising case for enosis, mostly on account of the Council's liaisons with a number of contacts in Greece and Britain. Leontios, in particular, was not in favor of the Constitution concession plan, given his meetings with the Greek Archbishop Damaskinos and the Greek Consul Kountouriotis: he proceeded to propagate assurances he had received about the existence of a document signed by Damaskinos and by the British Prime Minister, Ernest Bevin, which indicated the enosis issue would in fact be favorably settled within the context of Greek-British cooperation.<sup>51</sup> Thus, on 3 July, just four days after the announcement of the British proposals for the Consultative Assembly, Leontios addressed the people with a proclamation—the main message of which was “Long live the enosis and only the enosis”—essentially rejecting any discussion on the constitutional proposals.<sup>52</sup>

AKEL and the National Cooperation Wing (PES), upon examining the circumstances prevailing internationally and in Greece, arrived at the conclusion that the struggle for Union could not have a positive outcome:

Everything, whether objectively or subjectively, promoted and supported these here findings: That, in a Cypriot, Greek and international—political and military—manner, the solution to the problem of Cyprus is difficult, and the struggle rough and lengthy. This ascertainment marks the beginning of our primary position on the proposed constitutional freedoms on the part of the British Government. A position favourable to the participation in a progressive constitution and the transformation of this constitution from a weapon of imperialistic mitigation of the national-liberation struggle to an instrument of the people and a new pedestal for the development of the struggle for union against foreign domination, exposing the inconsis-

tency and betrayal of the class of the bourgeoisie-squires, and, to the extent possible, the advocacy and solution of certain financial problems of workers and employees, within the period of the economic crisis that has spread the plebian impoverishment.<sup>53</sup>

Despite these declarations, AKEL proclaimed it was ready to dismiss the British constitutional proposals if the right and the ethnarchy agreed on a common struggle. AKEL's proposal included, in particular, the following: the founding of a national-liberation organization with the participation of all factions, under the auspice of the ethnarchy; the resignation of all Greek Cypriots appointed by the British Government; and the "enshrined abstention" from any cooperation with the colonial regime. If the right and the ethnarchy did not agree to these terms, then the National Cooperation Wing would accept the invitation to participate in the Assembly.<sup>54</sup>

The right rejected AKEL's proposal. The right's obsessive adherence to the motto "Union and only Union" was a cul-de-sac for Cypriot nationalists: the Greek Cypriots who would resign from their posts, per AKEL's proposal, were entirely drawn from the island's conservative faction, and the introduction of parliamentary life and electoral processes, which would be determined by constitutional regulations, would only benefit the left, which had already shown increased levels of organization and rallying.

In the wake of the left's concession that enosis was highly unlikely in the foreseeable future, AKEL and a host of prominent center-left figures decided to participate in the Assembly under the banner of "Self Government–Enosis." Their line of reasoning was that a constitution providing self-government could become a facilitating factor on the road to enosis. The right, adhering to its motto of "Enosis and only Enosis," considered the constitutional path an admission of defeat. Despite strong feelings of Greek patriotism among the clergy and the intellectuals, right-wing policy was dictated by the desires of the larger Greek–Cypriot community. As a result, the left would dominate any coming elections if the Assembly proved a success and parliamentary institutions were granted.<sup>55</sup>

On 27 August 1947, Georghios Chrysaifinis, a member of the Executive Council and the head of the most prominent law firm in Cyprus, sent a memorandum to the Governor explaining how Athens had intervened and eventually sealed the Assembly's fate: apparently, Greek MP Demetrios Sfaelos and the mayor of Paphos, Christodoulos Galatopoulos, had communicated the Greek Government's position to distinguished Greek Cypriots, including those invited to the Assembly. The Government's

message, which had been broadcast by Radio Athens, was clear: its efforts for enosis were nearing completion, and the Assembly would hinder these efforts. Hence, those participating in the Assembly were guilty of treason for undermining the national cause, and, after union with Greece, they would be punished.<sup>56</sup>

Athens was unnerved at the thought of the Cypriot left acquiring legitimate power within civil society, as AKEL would then intensify its struggle for enosis, leading to a chasm in Greek-British relations that could disturb the political stability in Greece. Thus, Greek leaders, in their attempt to convince Greek Cypriots that the Assembly was ill-advised, chastised all efforts on its behalf; this included nationalistic rhetoric and British assurances that it was only a step away from satisfying Greek—Panhellenic aspirations. Back in Athens, the Greek government, mired in the Greek Civil War, only petitioned London for more aid, not once broaching the subject of Cyprus with Whitehall. In Chrysafinis's memorandum to the Governor, written during the summer of 1947, he describes the degree to which the public had been convinced enosis was imminent: "If I did not already possess confidential information as a member of the Executive Council, I would have succumbed to this expectation myself."<sup>57</sup>

Even Leontios, the newly-elected Archbishop, had been convinced. He denounced the Assembly on 13 July 1947 and disassociated himself from the political factions that had helped him get elected; he also continued to push for an Ethnarchy Council whose representation would cover the entire Greek–Cypriot political spectrum. His efforts were short-lived, however, as he passed away 16 July. His illness was brief, so brief it was considered suspicious, particularly as his successor, Bishop Makarios of Kyrenia, was a known anti-communist and supporter of the Greek Government.<sup>58</sup> Following the accession of Makarios of Kyrenia, right-wing organizations refused to participate in the Assembly, which meant the only remaining participants were left-wing organizations and Turkish Cypriots, who were, of course, unwilling to leave the legislative process in Greek–Cypriot hands.

The Assembly eventually convened on 6 November 1947; it was chaired by Sir Edward Jackson, the President of the Supreme Court of Cyprus and an esteemed lawyer. The mayors of Nicosia, Lemesos, Famagusta, Larnaca and Morphou, as well as two delegates from the trade unions, represented the left; the Turkish Cypriots were represented by the mayor of Lefka—one of the larger Turkish towns—a representative of the Turkish municipal councilors, and the secretaries of the Turkish labor and farmers' unions. The British also invited the Co-operative Central Banks' five member

board, which had been appointed by the government: this particular invitation was the result of a British promise in response to strong anti-usury sentiment in the island's rural areas. Two Turkish–Cypriot invitees and one Greek Cypriot with moderate right-wing tendencies accepted. A number of distinguished community figures were invited, including two Greek Cypriots involved in right-wing politics, a lawyer of Maronite extraction who represented the smaller minorities, and a Turkish–Cypriot lawyer.<sup>59</sup> All of them accepted.<sup>60</sup>

On 6 November 1947, the very first day of Assembly deliberations, disagreements arose, most of them related to the Assembly's terms of reference. The left was under constant pressure from the right, as they had entered negotiations which did not include enosis: unfortunately for the left, their claim that self-government could facilitate enosis would only be validated if self-government could be achieved. A deadlock was reached following the president's inauguration speech, which highlighted the items limiting the Assembly's terms of reference. The left protested, claiming they were participating in the belief that the Assembly's terms of reference would permit the creation of a constitution and self-government; it was opposed by the Maronite delegate and by all of the Turkish Cypriots, who supported Sir Edward Jackson's interpretation of the terms of reference. The president, on the following day, 7 November, attempted to prevent the collapse of the Assembly by submitting the framework of a proposed constitution.

Jackson's proposal included a new Legislative Council, with Greek and Turkish representation in accordance with their respective populations, and certain officially nominated members of a number that wouldn't enable them to overrule the Greek majority. There would also be an Executive Council comprised of senior civil servants and Cypriot members from the dominant party in the Legislative Council; these Cypriots could not be called ministers, seeing as that would imply self-government so that they would be in a way "associated" with relevant departments of the government. The governor would retain supreme executive authority with the power to enact into law bills rejected by the Legislative Council and to veto bills the Council approved.<sup>61</sup>

The left made significant efforts to ease the concerns of the Turkish Cypriots, as they realized that without them, they had no hope of achieving self-government, so they accentuated that all institutional arrangements would guarantee the rights of the community, despite a Greek–Cypriot majority. To this end, on 16 November, left-wing members of the Assembly held a meeting with their Turkish counterparts, wherein they proposed a



self-governing colony that would include a ministry of Turkish–Cypriot affairs headed by a Turkish Cypriot, as well as two other ministries with Turkish–Cypriot deputy ministers. The Turkish Cypriots were indifferent to the proposal.

The Turkish Cypriots were keen to see a system in which they would control their internal affairs, but with supreme authority vested with the British administration, and so they supported Jackson's appeal to move ahead with the constitution. The left-wing members of the Assembly now found themselves in an extremely difficult position, having first agreed as a tactical move to pursue self-government instead of enosis and now effectively being asked to abandon any thoughts whatsoever of self-government. Their solution to this conundrum was a 24 November 1947 memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, in which the Assembly's seven Greek left-wing members requested self-government for Cyprus and informed the Secretary that his reply would determine their subsequent approach to the Assembly.<sup>62</sup>

This hadn't been anticipated by the Colonial Office, as they were prepared for a protracted process that would place the Cypriots' internal problems ahead of enosis. In fact, the election of Makarios II as Archbishop gave rise to this idea: he was a known anti-communist, and his victory was a triumph for the right, hence British optimism for Greek–Cypriot acceptance of a constitution that fell short of self-government. After the remainder of highest positions within the Church were taken by bishops whose views were similar to those of Makarios II, the intense ideological battle between the Church and the left was set in motion, a ruthless political conflict that even forced the Greek–Cypriot community's cultural and educational institutions to choose sides. On 4 December 1947, after a meeting in Nicosia between the Colonial Secretary and the President of the Cyprus National Party, Dr. Themistoklis Dervis, the Secretary, forwarded a report to the Secretary of State, stating that Dr. Dervis:

- (a) Admitted that enosis was unrealistic and undesirable at the time;
- (b) Preferred to see the collapse of the Assembly, if it would mean the preservation of the present administrative system;
- (c) Would be inclined to partake in the Assembly if it continued, although found its declared abstention policy difficult to reverse in a public manner;
- (d) Would nevertheless partake in future elections;
- (e) The opposition to Communism now dictated all its policies.<sup>63</sup>

On 17 December 1947, Creech Jones proposed the Cabinet's Commonwealth Affairs Committee reject the demands of the Assembly's Greek-Cypriot members, formally acknowledge the Cypriots' aspiration for self-government, and agree on a review of the constitution after a period of five years.<sup>64</sup> This proposal was in line with the Colonial Office's hope that the shift in the right's position might lead to the people of Cyprus accepting an offer that fell short of self-government. Attlee dismissed it, however, decrying the left's demand for self-government as simply a scheme to acquire power prior to Greece falling into the Soviet sphere of influence. Attlee was also certain the deterioration of Britain's strategic position in the Middle East, particularly the loss of Palestine, made it imperative to preserve Cyprus as a foothold in the region. The inherent diarchy in the constitution and "vague phrases such as the association of councilors with certain subjects" were strongly criticized by Attlee, who concluded:

If we are to take action on the subject, I would rather be steadfast in my view that we intend to retain full control of Foreign Policy and Defence, while relinquishing a fully responsible government with all fundamental safeguards for minorities. Britain's objective must be to urge Cypriots to form their own parties founded on internal socio-economic policies, and thus removing any thoughts of Greek nationalism.<sup>65</sup>

The British considered Cyprus too important to grant the island self-government, however, and even Winster's outline of a constitution was regarded as too liberal by Bevin and his like-minded allies in the Ministry of Defence and on the Imperial staff. Attlee's recommendations were met with apprehension, and the Committee decided to postpone any resolution on the subject while seeking further input from Winster. They were in actuality soliciting the opinion of Winster's close friend, Creech Jones.

Winster dismissed the idea of self-government for the colony. Should Attlee insist on letting the Cypriot people manage their domestic affairs, the Secretary of State knew he could depend on the judgment of the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence. Creech Jones submitted his proposal on 19 January 1948, recommending that Cyprus be given a constitution but not its own government. He deemed a constitution would be acceptable:

- (a) By the Left, if their request for complete self-government was permitted to proceed at a measured pace;
- (b) By the Right, if they were confident self-government would not materialize swiftly enough to empower extreme elements;
- (c) By the Turkish minority, if the constitution guaranteed their safety.

The colonial administration perceived a weakness in AKEL's leadership which, given their approach to the left in the context of the proposed constitution which entertained the prospect of the Cypriot left accepting less than complete self-government, was something they wished to exploit. The Commonwealth Affairs Committee advised the Assembly to cease formulating constitutional proposals and to instead draft an outline of a constitution the Colonial Office could submit. The four months it took to draw up the outline were marked by an inflammation of the political imbalance in Cyprus and with an unprecedented wave of strikes in the mining and construction sector.<sup>66</sup> These upheavals strengthened the right's resolve against self-government. The Church, now supervised by the caucus of Kyrenia, dismissed all forms of constitutional liberalization and, fearing communism would expand rapidly if Britain loosened its grip on the island, petitioned the Governor to outlaw AKEL. AKEL repeated its message, that a self-governing constitution could mitigate the island's social afflictions,]. This resulted in strikes involving unions and Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot villages alike, something that daunted Turkish-Cypriot leaders such as Dr. Kucuk of the Turkish National Party, who was forced to visit mining villages and argue against self-government.<sup>67</sup>

Announced on 13 May 1948, the new British constitutional proposal was very much the same, but even more restrictive, as the one outlined by Jackson in November of 1947. This was, in part, a consequence of the looming Arab-Israeli conflict, which left Cyprus as Britain's only stable foothold in the region. The Executive Council would include members of the majority party in the Legislative Council, but only in an advisory capacity and associated with certain departments of the Government, albeit of minor significance, such as those of transport and electricity supply, as had already been decided. The Governor would retain overall executive authority, including, of course, the departments of defense, internal security, and foreign policy, but he would also be able to veto bills already passed by the Legislative Council and enact into law bills the

Council had dismissed.<sup>68</sup> In other words, the new constitution granted the Governor more authority than his predecessors had been granted by the 1882 constitution.

The debate for the proposals was held on 21 and 22 May: the Turkish Cypriots accepted them, as the restrictions on elected bodies constituted a guarantee for the minority. Two of the three right-wing Assembly members and the Maronite member also voted in favor of the proposals. The same went for the third right-wing member, who happened to be abroad at the time but had previously expressed his approval of the proposals. The left, however, voted against them, declaring they would vote for nothing short of self-government.<sup>69</sup> This turn of events, in effect, brought the Assembly to its end.

The left-wing representatives withdrew after voting, rupturing the Assembly. The right-wing parties contemplated accepting the proposals and partaking in the proceedings, but in the end they rejected them, following the directives of the Greek Government and the Kyrenian circles.<sup>70</sup> The proposals were then shelved, with Britain declaring it was willing to reintroduce them if requested by an influential public body. Britain then turned toward the Turkish–Cypriot community, where it devoted its efforts to bolstering Turkish–Cypriot political institutions and strengthening its relationship with the community’s loyal, conservative leadership.

AKEL remained a mass organization supported by non-parliamentary and quasi-political bodies, trade unions, and rural associations, but it had no administrative or legislative authority. The British and Greek–Cypriot conservative nationalists weren’t prepared to forge a political system that would grant representation to the left; the colonial administration had, in fact, been laying the groundwork for constitutional instruments that would outlaw opponents of the constitution, namely AKEL, which would create space for moderate politicians to come forward. This merely led to the hardening of AKEL policy, and, by 1949, it returned to its line of “Enosis and only Enosis” after enduring a few years of criticism from within the party for having considered self-government in the first place. It was during this time that the Truman Doctrine was in effect in Greece, and both Athens and the Greek–Cypriot right had become rather inflexible. By the turn of the decade, there appeared to be no constitutional solution for what would later be named the Cyprus Problem.

In essence, the British were not inclined to abandon Cyprus at any point in the foreseeable future: that British strategic interests in Egypt and Palestine were under pressure dramatically increased the island’s importance to the

faltering empire and crushed all hope for enosis. The Assembly was an event of paramount importance to the island's political life. The Greek–Cypriot community was divided, while the Turkish–Cypriot community appeared united for the first time. The island's two communities were indeed heading in opposite directions.

## NOTES

1. John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), 189.
2. Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus* (Athens: Potamos, 1999), 29.
3. *Ibid.*, 36.
4. DIAYE, “Kountouriotis, A. Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, 126/5 (1946), 1945). Kountouriotis explains the British attempt to spread the message that the Cypriots of Greece are disappointed and the desire for union has waned.
5. DIAYE, “Kountouriotis, A. Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cryptographic Telegram” (DIAYE, 126/6, 2nd Subfolder, 1945).
6. “Two worlds completely opposite and diametrically contrasting will collide in a violent political “meeting” across the ballot box. Standard bearers of the pure national ideology of Cyprus and the entire Hellenism on one side, while, on the other, pseudo-preachers of the supposed “national cooperation” and “unity”, raising them as a shield, to achieve their particular purposes.” *Neos Kypriakos Fylax*, 25 May 1946.
7. *Anexartitos*, 7 May 1946. Also see *Eleftheria*, 12 May 1946.
8. DIAYE, “A. Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, 126/6, 1st Subfolder, 1945).
9. For more about the municipal elections of 1946, see Vasilis Protopapas, *The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955* (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002), 80.
10. The G.S. of KEK, Th. Dervis, was quick to deny any cooperation with the Left, indicating characteristically that “such would be treason.” *Neos Kypriakos Fylax*, 20 January 1946.
11. In a statement to the newspaper *Eleftheria*, Fazil Kucuk complained, “During the meetings of the city council, political issues were most often raised. Whenever the meetings are attended by the Colonial Secretary or the Governor Greeks, the Greek councillors ask on behalf of the entire Council for union with Greece. Also, during official days, they raise only the Greek Flag outside the Town Hall, while at the mayoralty of the other

- cities, the Greek, the British and the Turkish flag are all raised [...]”. *Eleftheria*, 14 May 1946.
12. *Eleftheria*, 16 May 1946.
  13. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 7:343.
  14. *Anexartitos*, 28 May 1946.
  15. See the unofficial newspaper of the ethnarchy, *Foni tis Kyprou*, 4 June 1946. A. Kountouriotis notes, “The collaboration of the bishop of Kyrenia with the Locum Tenens on the national issue has always been the ardent desire of all rightfully-thinking Cypriots, and even if this collaboration takes place only today, it will contribute greatly to the restoration of mental unity of the Cypriot people, provided of course that the foreign sovereign will not sow—as usual—new seeds towards its cancellation.” See DIAYE, “A. Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (DIAYE, File 32/1, 1st Subfolder, 1946).
  16. See Venediktos Egglezakis, *The Church of Cyprus in the 18th and 19th Century* (Nicosia: Nicosia Municipality, 1984), 309–326.
  17. Giannos Katsouridis, *Origins of the party system in Cyprus, 1878–1931: Formation and particularities* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus (Ph.D. thesis), 2009), 285.
  18. Generally on the Legislative Council in relation to the October uprising, see GS Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918–1926: With a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1979), 574.
  19. The British essentially wanted to fend off the expected pressure of the Greek Cypriots for enosis. Their goal was the maintenance of the former regime and the perpetuation of their hegemony. Thus, they did not favor the extension of electoral rights to the landless, which would strengthen the Left, while they had a positive view of the repatriation of the exiled nationalist Bishop of Kyrenia, because it would work in balancing AKEL.
  20. DIAYE, “Statement to the Cabinet” (DIAYE, Folder 126/1, 1946).
  21. The consul, Kountouriotis, intervened on several occasions from 1945 to 1946, both toward the Locum Tenens and the political forces, to prevent the delegation of embassies to London or elsewhere. Indicatively, see DIAYE, “On the delegation of a Cypr. Embassy abroad” (DIAYE, Folder 32/1, 1st Subfolder, 1945).
  22. DIAYE, “Cryptographic Document” (unpublished thesis, Folder 32/2, 1946).
  23. The delegation comprised five members, Locum Tenens Leontios, Bishop Makarios of Kyrenia, Zinonas Rossidis, Dimitris Dimitriou and Ioannis Kliridis. For more on the embassy, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:12.

24. The British prime minister, Clement Richard Attlee, refused to meet with the embassy and discuss the issue of ceding Cyprus to Greece. The firm position of Britain on this issue was bolstered by a study published at the time by the Fabian Society, which formed the core of the ruling labour party, of which Attlee himself was a member, whose findings demonstrated the importance of the island to Britain's foreign policy. The embassy finally met the minister of colonies, Creech Jones, who, among other things, questioned the representativeness of the embassy. See *Ibid.*, 24.
25. *Ibid.*, 28.
26. One of the best-documented approaches of the period is the publication of the Diplomatic and Historical Archives Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece on the verge of a new world. *Cold War—Truman Doctrine—Marshall Plan*, vol. 1, Athens 2002. From the extensive literature, among others, see Giannis Stefanidis, *From the Civil War to the Cold War: Greece and the Allied factor (1949–1952)* (Athens: Proskinio, 1999).
27. DIAYE, "Tsaldaris, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of London" (DIAYE, Folder 33/2, 1st Subfolder, 1947).
28. *Democratis*, 11 June 1948.
29. DIAYE, "Lignidis to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, Folder 32/2, 1947).
30. Kountouriotis often informed the ministry of foreign affairs about the reactions of the Turkish Cypriots, as he did in response to an open letter from Fazil Kucuk to the newspaper *Halkin Sesi*, 30 December 1946. Addressing the vice president of the Greek government, Gonatas, Kucuk wrote, "Be assured, however, that we Turks of Kapros, with the exception of a very small number of degenerate separatists and unionists, at the sound of those two words 'Autonomy and Enosis' shudder." See DIAYE, "Kountouriotis, to Ministry for Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, Folder 33/1, 3rd Subfolder, 1947).
31. DIAYE, "Archbishopric election" (DIAYE, Folder 32/3, 1st and 2nd Subfolder, 1947).
32. On 18 April, the bishop of Derkon handed out a circular "On the election of Special General Representatives for the appointment of the Archbishop of Cyprus." Voters were all male Orthodox Greeks over 21 years of age, residing permanently (for 12 months) in parishes or communities and not burdened by ecclesiastical penance. The elections were to be held on 5 May 1947, in the halls of schools or the synodical of churches and chaired by the priests. Each voter had to sign the list next to his name and then place a piece of paper on which he wrote the names of the persons he preferred (name and father's name along with their residence district) in the ballot box.

33. DIAYE, "Bishop of Derkon Ioakim to Tsaldaris Minister Foreign Affairs of Greece" (DIAYE, Folder 32/3, 1947).
34. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:43.
35. *Ibid.*, 54.
36. DIAYE, "Bishop of Derkon Ioakim, to Tsaldaris, Minister Foreign Affairs of Greece" (DIAYE, Folder 32/3, 1947).
37. Leontios, under the emotional weight of the agreement he had made with the bishop of Kyrenia, was prone to conciliatory gestures toward the Right after his election. See Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:61.
38. Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *The Cyprus Question, 1878–1960: The Constitutional Aspect* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
39. Robert Holland, *The British and the Hellenes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 168.
40. Georghallides, *Cyprus and the Governorship*, 695–708.
41. Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly, 1946–1948* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 38–63.
42. Rolandos Katsiaounis, "Greco-British relations, Archbishop Damaskinos and Cyprus", *Epeteris of the Cyprus Research Centre*, XIX (1992): 449–514.
43. "The Ethnarchy should not yield", *Neos Kypriakos Phylax*, 2 June 1946.
44. David K. Fieldhouse, "The Labour Government and the Empire-Commonwealth, 1945–1951," in *The Foreign Policy of the British Labour Governments, 1945–1951*, ed. Ritchie Owendale (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), 104–5.
45. Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1996), 321.
46. "Strategic Colonies and their Future" (paper prepared for Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1945, London), 35.
47. *The Times*, 24 October 1946.
48. TNA, "Note of a meeting on 7 February 1947" (TNA, FO 371/67081, 1947).
49. *The Cyprus Mail*, 10 July 1947.
50. TNA, "Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor of Cyprus" (TNA, CO 537/1876, 1946).
51. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 243. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 243.
52. "Message of Archbishop to the Greek-Cypriots", *Ethnos*, 14 July 1947.
53. ASKI (ASKI, Box 371, File 20/21/14).
54. "Constitutional Reforms and AKEL's position", *Democrat*, 14 March 1947.
55. TNA, "Political situation in Cyprus during April 1947" (TNA, CO 67/341/7, 1947).



56. TNA, "Memorandum on the present political situation" (TNA, CO 537/2484).
57. TNA, "Memorandum", Ibid.
58. "Cypriot doctors question the diagnosis and treatment of the Archbishop's disease", *Democrates*, 30 July 1947.
59. Invitations were sent to mayors of Nicosia, Lemesos, Famagusta, Larnaca, Paphos, Lefkas and Kyrenia, to a representative of Muslim councillors of the six major municipalities, a representative of rural municipalities, the five members of the board of the Central Cooperative Bank, two representatives of Commerce Chamber, two representatives of the Old Trade Unions, one of New Trade Unions and one of Turkish Trade Unions, a representative of the Industries Union, one of the Bar Association, one of the Medical Association, a representative of the Middle Education Teachers, a representative of the press, one of Farmers Union of Cyprus and one of the Turkish Farmers. In addition, four independent personalities who would be appointed directly by the governor would participate. "Proclamation of the Governor by the Advisory Assembly—Who is to be invited", *Ethnos*, 10 July 1947.
60. *Cyprus Mail*, 7 November 1947.
61. Secretariat Archives, "Minutes of the closed session on 7 November 1947" (SA1, File 15/47, 1947).
62. "General guidelines for a constitution of self-government", *Democrates*, 25 November 1947.
63. TNA, "Acting Governor to the Secretary of State 4 December 1947" (TNA, CO 537/2478, 1947).
64. Prime Minister's Office Archive, "Memorandum by the Secretary of State, 17 December 1947" (PREM, 8/740, 1947).
65. TNA, "Memorandum by the Prime Minister, 22 December 1947" (TNA, CO 537/2478, 1947).
66. Andreas Fandis, 1948, a year of intense class confrontation (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1979).
67. Pantelis Varnavas, A miner's reminiscences (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1986), 76–77.
68. *Cyprus Mail*, 14 May 1948.
69. TNA, "Governor of Cyprus to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 23 May 1948" (TNA, CO 537/4036, 1948).
70. TNA, "Governor of Cyprus", Ibid.

## External Influences: Cyprus as a Reflection of Greece

### THE GREEK FAR RIGHT: APPEARANCE, CHARACTERISTICS, IDEOLOGY

The history of the Greek far right and the Cypriot far right have not been analyzed adequately as far as these movements concern this region. They are worthy of attention, however, as the Greek/Cypriot far right (see below for an explanation of the term) played a significant role in events in the region during the twentieth century. In short, for nearly three quarters of the century, especially from 1920 to 1974, the far right either starred in the political life of Greece and Cyprus or participated in the background. For all its efforts, its greatest failure is it failed to achieve political or ideological unity or to secure a wider legitimacy, even though it employed the dominant vocabulary of nationalism and evoked widespread political sentiment.

The Greek far right, during the aforementioned period, played anything but a marginal role in Greek politics: it provided support to dictatorships, organized coups, collaborated with invaders and, to reduce the social dispute created mainly by the Occupation, during the 1940s it built a massive base and a powerful organization. It was consolidated in the state apparatus, which provided an opportunity for social ascendance to its political members as well as to its supporters a social rise, and, finally, it managed to consolidate nationalism as the official public discourse, guaranteeing its legitimacy for years. Nevertheless, the Greek far right failed

to be become a unified political or ideological whole; more importantly, it failed to achieve greater social legitimacy.<sup>1</sup>

During the interwar period, the Greek right had specific conservative ideological references which it shaped in accordance with the European conservatism of the period,<sup>2</sup> giving particular emphasis to the dominant version of orthodoxy and the defense of the established power (the monarchy). During this period, a great part of the right involved itself in the parliamentary system and usually supported the traditional politicians. Occasionally, though, a greater part of the right initially linked directly to the throne was gradually radicalized, becoming characterized by authoritarian tendencies and often biased toward the far right.<sup>3</sup> Similar trends among anti-monarchist Venizelists included not only powerful politicians and public intellectuals but also massive fascist organizations such as the National Union of Greece, which was linked to the Venizelists. In the 1940s, the far right began to strengthen significantly, thanks largely to the deadlock options created by traditional conformists during the German Occupation and then in response to the persecutions against the left preached by the bourgeois.<sup>4</sup>

Referring to the far right, the writer means the groups, movements, and governments that exhibit extreme hostility toward leftists and liberals and the opposition to the democratic institutions which legitimize their existence.<sup>5</sup> This is a range of different forces, from fascists to urban organizations that support conservative, authoritarian dictatorships. In Greece, these forces expressed themselves, as they do today, mainly through (urban) opposition to political or social reforms, such as the integration of refugees or other minorities into the political and social covey and agrarian reform. During the interwar period, even though they failed to acquire a common language or form even a loose bond, these forces, nevertheless, remained powerful. From time to time, different components of the right dominated Greek political life and public discourse, while their ideas were disseminated by the country's major newspapers.<sup>6</sup>

Fascism, a powerful force within the far right, practically differs from the conservative tendencies of the far right, especially because its objective is the creation of a mass movement.<sup>7</sup> Despite all the post-war attempts to conceal this bitter truth, available data shows that among the bourgeois fascism was quite favorably received, even embraced.<sup>8</sup> Many ignored the fact that the spread of fascism all over Europe, usually in combination with the fear of communism, had an enormous influence on the continent's middle classes during the period under review. The bourgeois, therefore,

even though it didn't need fascism to face the left, since the left's power was significantly reduced during this period, nevertheless embraced its authoritarian ideology, thus strengthening its overall ideological underpinning. The left, as a political force, bent beneath the authoritarian measures taken against it by the liberals and later by the anti-Venizelist governments, and, thus, capitalism was stabilized without the need for mass movements, particularly fascism.

The far right, especially fascism, reflexively regrouped exponentially whenever and wherever they were challenged by the left, and these challenges arose rapidly: the possibility that the National Liberation Front (EAM) would attempt to seize power during the Occupation and institute democratic reforms after liberation constituted a violent challenge to the bourgeois. Too weak to challenge, EAM, relied on the Occupation and on the subsequent intervention by the British and the Americans as proxy defenses, while simultaneously supporting the massive expansion of fascist groups, particularly the Security Battalions and the National Party of Chites: both sought to limit the reach of EAM and dissolve the left.

The Metaxas dictatorship, which built on the authoritarian measures implemented by previous governments, succeeded in hobbling the left through the persecution of its mass organizations and the trade unions. This repressive policy, though, rather than solving the myriad social problems plaguing Greece prior to the German invasion, inflamed them.

From the early months of the occupation, EAM managed to rally the majority of the progressive forces and become the main organ of resistance. This was partly due to the veteran leftists who were the first to regroup around it and partly due to its strategy. The great success of EAM in its mass mobilization awakened the bourgeois, which realized it would be impossible to thwart EAM by peaceful means and, thus, began to support and help strengthen the far right.<sup>9</sup>

EAM put aside the class discourse for the sake of the national discourse. Its program—generally progressive and liberal-left and, by no means, communist or even socialist—managed to convince the masses the social and political content of its national discourse was quite opposite from that of the right. The national democratic discourse of EAM (Social/Justice/Sovereignty/Democracy) was quite combative: it identified the nation with the people<sup>10</sup> and virtually excluded from the nation those layers of the population that benefited from the Occupation. The polarity of the concepts at the forefront of political and social discourse during this period, which was later carried intact to Cyprus, comprised the nation on

one side and democracy on the other, while the accusations the left leveled against its opponents were communism on the one side and monarchy-fascism on the other.

Therefore, to slow the “galloping” left, far right mass organizations and paramilitary groups were formed, the Security Battalions and “X” being the most significant and their resistance to the occupier, even when declared, was merely a pretext. As reported by a British officer, “the right elements drawn mostly by the Axis and their organizations played a double game. Their main purpose was clearly the opposition to the left. As long as the Axis would guarantee the repression of communism, they did not attempt to seriously fight it.”<sup>11</sup>

### SECURITY BATTALIONS

During the occupation, the state apparatus remained the same authoritarian and oppressive mechanism of the Metaxas dictatorship, but, under the new conditions, it was impossible to continue its repression of the left. Thus, in 1943, the state apparatus was enhanced by the establishment of the Security Battalions by Prime Minister Ioannis Rallis and the Germans. These squads, which were well-equipped and numerous, ultimately numbering around thirty thousand armed men,<sup>12</sup> were support groups for the occupational forces. The Germans controlled and equipped them, and they worked in conjunction daily to crack down on the left and terrorize the rest of the population.

According to Rallis himself, the reason for the creation of the Security Battalions was that without them the country was “at risk of falling under the communist regime.”<sup>13</sup> The reality, though, was the demand for such an extreme mechanism was raised by the bourgeois and the local lords who wished to retain their power against the democratization and social reform pursued by EAM. Therefore, in response to the threat of the left, for the first time, Venizelists and anti-Venizelists were united: the Security Battalions were their common creation, and prominent politicians from across the middle class spectrum applauded their operations. This very important change spurred the first massive fascist surge in Greece.<sup>14</sup>

### “X” AND CHITES

The initial core of “X” was founded in 1941, but, by 1943, the organization remained unknown and rather insignificant. The leader of ‘X’ was a

lieutenant colonel in the Greek Army of Cypriot origin, George Grivas. During the occupation, Grivas's organization attempted, unsuccessfully, to work with the German forces in Greece. According to Hagen Fleischer:

The "X" organisation escaped the stigma of being an infidel not because of its consistency, but because of lack of interest on behalf of the Germans. In 1943, its leader, Colonel George Grivas, had offered to cooperate with the Occupation authorities, stressing out his Anglophobia and his anti-communist beliefs. The German General Staff, however, had replied that they will not converse with a "bandit", and much more with someone that was considered as insignificant as the Colonel was.<sup>15</sup>

Thanasis Xatzis' opinion on the appearance and role of "X" is quite informative:

At this time (Spring of 1943) make their appearance the Bourandas policemen too, the Mantouvalaioi in Piraeus, the social scums of the Special Security, Grivas' Chites, Papageorgiou's Edesites and a series of other traitors of the nation who were guided by the nation's savours of the Military hierarchy like Ventiris, Spiliotopoulos, Zervas, Antonopoulos and Stathopoulos, all of which were under the commands of Rallis and through him both of the Germans and the British.<sup>16</sup>

During the occupation, "X" failed to become a massive movement. It was a paramilitary movement with a strict military-like structure and military discipline. In its first steps, "X" was mainly organized around Cypriot officers, and it maintained close and mostly economic relations with the late Archbishop and former Archbishop of Athens, Chrysanthos, and with the Bishop of Kyrenia and later Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios II. According to Woodhouse, "the name of 'X' was unknown until just before the departure of the Germans, but even then it had no connection to the Resistance. Only in the years following the post-war period it had acquired significance: the very same horrible meaning that the Ku Klux Klan had."<sup>17</sup>

"X" came into being in the fall of 1943, when the British decided to use it in the war to exterminate EAM they had been preparing. It was at this time that the New Zealand Army Captain Donald Stott, who was serving in the British Armed Forces, arrived in Athens. Captain Stott's mandate was to bring together all the far right organizations then active in Greece to create a common front of conservative forces to be deployed, at an

opportune time, against EAM, to destroy it, and to prepare the ground to bring Greece squarely within Western influence when the war ended.<sup>18</sup>

In October 1943, Stott began consultations with various organizations in Athens. That same month he met with Grivas and the leaders of other right organizations, all of whom signed a new protocol of cooperation. Grivas then called a meeting of “X,” at which he announced he had signed a protocol for the cooperation of the organizations devoted to “the National struggle” and that all of them would “put under the commands of the Middle East Head Quarters all their will and strength to fight.”<sup>19</sup>

As to the fight this united front would wage, from the interpretation the Chites themselves provided for the memorandum of cooperation, its ultimate objective was to take such measures that even after the war an “EAM coup” would be impossible, and the country would pass from the fist of the Germans straight into the hands of the British.<sup>20</sup>

Grivas used the British to unite various far right groups against EAM. A bit later, after he had accomplished this task, he accepted into “X” a great many members of the Security Battalions, and other known Nazi collaborators. It also seems that just before the Germans departed the British, with the help of Rallis, the government delivered German guns to Grivas.<sup>21</sup> The dramatic gains made by EAM during the last months of the Occupation necessitated the consolidation of the right, which pushed aside its members’ Axis-friendly or British-friendly sentiments.

Immediately after the Germans withdrew from Greece, “X” commenced its drive to rally the right and achieve a massive scale: to this end the organization drew manpower from the members of the Security Battalions which, in addition to officers, included middle class citizens, outcasts from the cities, and even farmers.<sup>22</sup> “X” soon acquired the typical profile of a fascist movement.<sup>23</sup> As Grivas bluntly described it: “TOTAL WAR. Don’t just attempt to take temporary measures. Gaze far away and beat firmly to prevent them from lifting their heads up not only for tomorrow, or after one, five, ten years, but never again on our generation or the generations to come.”<sup>24</sup>

A turning point in the evolution of “X” was the Battle of Athens in December 1944: the organization’s leadership was fortified around Thisseio and, about to be defeated by the leftists, was rescued by intervening British forces. On 3 December 1944, when conflict broke out in Athens, Chites were at the vanguard of the government forces supported by the British forces that invaded Greece. The next day, as protesters returned

to Syntagma Square, where they had gathered as part of a general strike against the bloody events, they were attacked by armed Chites, who killed 40 and wounded 70, painting the streets of Athens with leftist and civilian blood.

In February 1945, after the British won the Battle of Athens, government forces and EAM signed the Varkiza Treaty, which provided for the disarmament of all organizations, but the agreement was violated by militia forces and by right wing extremist groups who continued to recruit new members to defeat EAM/ELAS. At the core of these right wing groups were “X” members, and they played a leading role in the so-called “White Terror.” On the day of the Treaty, the newspaper *Eleftheria* (Freedom) in its first comments noted with sarcasm:

Keeping all the rules of the German tactics, a “block” took place yesterday morning. National Guard and many constables arrived in the suburb, awakened by gunfire all the residents and gathered all males from the age of 14 to 60 years old. Then, after arraying them by occupations, ordered them to declare by themselves who belonged to EAM. Then some people, who did not wear a visor, suggested to the policemen at their discretion which of EAM’s members were dangerous. Those, then, were violently forced to climb on trucks and were driven to different lockups. This brilliant ceremony lasted for five hours, to the great satisfaction of the citizens who thought that Germany has been defeated but its processes remain immortal.<sup>25</sup>

The conditions prevailing after the Varkiza Treaty gave “X” the chance to expand enormously, and, in early 1945, the organization became the foundation of the far right, a development that was demonstrated by the establishment of “X” branches all over the country. The swift empowerment of “X” after the Varkiza Treaty, when it became “the most famous secret armed organisation of the far right in Greece,” was not because of Grivas’s organizational prowess, but because the country’s infidels needed political shelter and because other political conservatives wanted to crush the left.<sup>26</sup>

The historian Mark Mazower makes a similar assessment: “In the streets below the temple of Thisseio, the gunmen of ‘X’ exchanged gunfire with the patrols of ELAS and fought beside the Security Battalions. ‘Today they are with the Germans, tomorrow with the ones that will bring back the blessed King.’”<sup>27</sup> The White Terror, which followed the Varkiza Treaty and the 1946 elections, resulted in 1289 murders; 6671 people were seriously



injured; more than 30,000 people were tortured; and 20,000 offices and homes were looted and destroyed.<sup>28</sup>

The cooperation between Grivas and the British continued until the early 1950s, when Grivas began preparing his plans for Cyprus. This raises legitimate questions as to the purpose of Grivas's activities on the island: while in Greece, he collaborated and was equipped by the British and was trusted as their loyal ally; at the same time, he was making plans, at least according to the prevailing historical record, to evict them from Cyprus.

### THE NATIONAL PARTY OF CHITES

In May 1946, Grivas informed the organization's members of his decision to establish the National Party of Chites and what some of the party's key direct objectives would be: restore the King and crush the Communist Party (KKE). Trying to minimize the importance of this mutation from a paramilitary group to a legitimate political party he stressed the need for a façade that would deflect international reactions to its activities.<sup>29</sup> According to Marketos, the National Party of Chites qualified as a fascist party:

...not only in terms of its policy and objectives and the driving forces of its members' passions, but also because of its organisational structure and practice. In fact it was the only right-wing party before 1974 that had attempted to become seriously massive. Actually, Chites tried to express, besides the great feelings of anti-communism of those who had to gain a lot from the Occupation or who were frightened of the democratisation of the country, the much broader dissatisfaction of the "politics of notables" (Honoratioren politic) which looks like it had spread among the middle class even before the Occupation.<sup>30</sup>

Grivas's organization managed to gather members from all social layers with a proportionately greater involvement by the police and the military. Chites held a partisan identity signed by Grivas himself and which had to be renewed at regular intervals: the official salutation of Chites was indistinguishable from Hitler's taut palm and clasped fingers.<sup>31</sup> After about two years, Grivas renamed the National Party of Chites the National Agrarian Party of Chites (EAKX).<sup>32</sup>

The Chites party had its own Working Youth and a National Trade Union Movement of Chites, affiliated laborers organized according to

profession and deployed to break strikes. At its regular weekly meetings, party leadership reiterated its commitment to quell class struggle and communism; the party promoted the peaceful cooperation of Greece's social classes within a context of "Country, Religion and Family."<sup>33</sup>

The party emphasized its distinct ideological strain so as to distinguish itself from other far right parties. As espoused by the party's official organs, the fundamental principle of Chites were expansionist nationalism, adherence to the middle class regime and to the monarchy, assertion of individual freedom, and the harmonious cooperation between capital and workers. Its fundamental propaganda tool was its weekly newspaper, which was published beginning in May 1945 and continued until the party was crushed in the elections of 1950. The newspaper was edited so as to continuously promote the party's nationalist, irredentist, and anti-communist slogans. An emblematic example follows:<sup>34</sup>

We will fight for a Great Greece which will include: NORTH EPIROS, THE SERBIAN AND BULGARIAN MACEDONIA, and EAST ROMILIAN AND CYPRUS. UNDER THE COMMANDS OF THE KINGS AND EMPERORS GREECE SUCCEEDED GREAT THINGS. NATIONALISTS! Let's give an oath to our homeland and our king that we will rout out communism from Greece. Nationalists, protect yourselves from fake proclamations for reconciliation with which the communists try to deceive you. Nationalists! The slogan for reconciliation is a pure fraud. Those who proclaim are preparing something suspicious. Answer to this with: "Unconditional submission of the ones who slaughtered the Greek people and the Greek state." Safety is not restored with soft answers. The entire nationalist world should ask from the government to organise a local security system in every village and town by recruiting locals to fight against them.

The marginalization and eventual dissolution of Chites the party was quite natural after the elections of 1950 and twofold: Grivas's authoritarian personality drove away capable members, and his fanaticism made cooperation or even consultation with potential allies impossible, while the changing political landscape in Greece dissolved the party's power. Each step toward political stability made it less necessary for the government to support Grivas. So while the end of the civil war signaled the defeat of the left, it also signaled the defeat of the fascist far right.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, there were insurmountable obstacles to the party's economic survival, particularly after the spring of 1946, when Chites decided to detach itself

from the right wing, interrupting the financing it had been receiving from Athens. By the end of the civil war, Chites even lacked a valid reason for its continued existence: no one outside the party supported it, and their activities threatened to expose the regime in the international arena. The party managed to survive until the elections of 1950, when it suffered a crushing defeat, which led to the final dissolution of the party.

Grivas's next plan was to attack British rule in Cyprus. The leaders of the conservative right assisted him in a way quite similar to Franco's approach to Spanish fascists during World War II, when he sent them to the Eastern front to simply get rid of them.<sup>36</sup>

### “X” IN CYPRUS

In 1948, Cyprus saw rapid developments both within the labor movement and with regard to enosis. British proposals for constitutional regulations in Cyprus, which were just an idea in 1946, became official proposals the following year. The next year, in 1948, they would have a great effect on the course of enosis and for the island's political parties, depending on their stance toward the proposals. At the same time, the large strikes that broke out that same year set fire to the climate between the Colonial Government and the right and left: these strikes became the reference point for the future development of the Trade Union movement in Cyprus. Through the strikes, the left had become even larger and more pervasive, thanks to scoring victories in a field in which it was expected to prevail. The right managed to attract some of the working class and break the monopoly of the left by establishing SEK, a new trade union for right-leaning workers who wanted to join a union.

These events were parallel to and linked to a great degree to contemporaneous events in Greece. The Greek civil war and the attitude of the Cypriot political parties toward the strikes, within the context of the civil war, was quite evident. The Greek civil war also had a tremendous effect on the radicalization of Cypriot nationalism, with the appearance of Chites in Cyprus and the establishment of a corresponding party founded along similar lines.

By late 1946, “X” members, mainly royalist youth, had made their appearance in Cyprus. Two officers of the Greek army—Kostantinos Ntabios and Charidimos Frankgeskou—had arrived in Cyprus to establish Chites on the island.<sup>37</sup> Their first activities commenced at the end of 1947 during the elections for the Archbishop of Cyprus. “X” sought to intimidate its rivals by sending them anonymous threatening letters; in

many cases, “X” members wearing a visors would visit the homes of leftists and threaten them.<sup>38</sup> The presence of Chites contributed decisively to the Archbishop elections of 1947 and created an atmosphere of unprecedented political tension and violence.<sup>39</sup>

Far right elements, some directly imported from the Greek civil war, defined Church policy, and in their newspaper they called for the official establishment of a body of Chites in Cyprus:

To establish a body of Chites in order to deal with not the communists—they are treated accordingly by the religious and patriotic people of the island—but to carry out the urgent and honourable duty of rehabilitation of those “nationalists” who have been the most generous and regular sponsors of the communist mafia. By this we mean the ones that project themselves as “nationalists” but at the same time they do not hesitate to continuously supply the communist media with commercials and other ads. (...) those will be stigmatised, they will be spat upon by the patriot youth privately and publicly; they will be torn apart and thrown in their face the yellow papers with their commercials and other ads that they will find in their offices or their pockets or houses. Then these people will be delivered to the public for pillory and mocking through the publication of their names as cheap associates of the fundamentals of slavish-communism.<sup>40</sup>

Until the official appearance of Chites on the island, the scepters in the anti-communist struggle were wielded by the Cyprus Workers Confederation (SEK), which organized campaigns and rallies against AKEL and EAM. According to Spyros Papageorgiou, a committed defender of “X,” the organization of the anti-communist and “anti-slavish” rallies was courageous and patriotic on the part of SEK, which “led the way of confronting communism and organised in September of 1946 massive anti-slavish rallies.” In an encyclical of their activities on behalf of the nationalist organizations, SEK reported:

At these demonstrations, representatives of all the nationalist organisations will greet, and pamphlets will be handed out as well as banners with phrases like: “Down Communism”, “AKEL and EAM are the traitors of our Nation”, “Death to the Slavish and their allies”, “Glory and honour to the friends of Greece”, “Long live the Union of Cyprus with Greece” etc.<sup>41</sup>

On the relationship between SEK and “X,” Mr. Papageorgiou said:

The tricks and the behaviour of the Cypriot communists are similar with those of their Greek brothers. Like a ‘Little Greece’, Cyprus, lives on the

far corner of the Mediterranean, marching at a pace comparable to that of its mother country. It has followed this collateral course in both minor and major issues. But the common facts were not only about the Communists, but about the reaction of the nationalists as well. SEK, from where Chites fighters of EOKA also originated, was at the time the vanguard of the anti-communist fight. When on 1 April 1947 King George died, Cyprus participated in the national mourning of Greece, except of course from AKEL and its offshoots. (...) the phraseology of SEK for the King impressively evokes the Greek origin texts of the royalists and Chites.<sup>42</sup>

A few days after, the nationalists demanded the establishment of an official Chites body in Cyprus. The Greek Ministry of Law and Order of Greece, in a note sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cyprus, confirmed the establishment of Chites on the island:

We have been informed that a special group of Cypriot nationalists is going to be established in Cyprus, and it will be named Group of Chites. It will take up the monitoring of the traders and businessmen who supply with commercials and other ads the communist press, as well as those who buy these newspapers. This procedure will address the Cypriot Leftists and will aim to the interruption of the cooperation and aid of them and of AKEL supporters.<sup>43</sup>

In a subsequent note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the activities of Chites on the island was confirmed:

Fortunately in this darkness, a movement has started to be formed which becomes continually more intensive on behalf of the youth, having highly nationalist ideals and all the passion and yearning needed to work for the National redemption, against all obstacles, marching upon the flawless path set by Greece. They boast for being called Chites of Cyprus and wherever they participated they defeated the communists even with the use of a bat. They have the tolerance of the Police. These youth are members of the sports club "OLYMPIAKOS" Nicosia. The club's aim is to evolve as a club of fighters against communism. All of them are enthusiastic young people who lack an organisation and a man who would lead them.<sup>44</sup>

Although the organization was characterized as nationalist and was supported by Athens, it hadn't yet undertaken any kind of action against the colonial regime. As it happened in Greece during the occupation, so it occurred in Cyprus as well: "X" attacked an inner enemy, the left, rather

than a foreign sovereign or occupier. While in Greece, Grivas and “X” had expected the British to marginalize the Cypriot left. According to the “X” newspaper in Greece: “In the meanwhile, all nationalists expect from the Government of Mother Greece to request in a diplomatic way from the Ally British Government, a change of tactics against the audacity of the communist dogs. Because they must return Cyprus back to Greece with as few communists as possible.”<sup>45</sup>

The leader of Chites in Cyprus was Dr. Euripides Zemenides, who was also the president of the Olympiakos Football Club. The Greek “X” newspaper printed the following: “The leader of Cypriot Chites and President of the ‘National Club Olympiakos,’ Dr. Euripides Zemenides, plays a primary role in the dramatic action of the anti-communist fight in Cyprus.”<sup>46</sup>

The activities of Grivas and his men in Athens between 1943 and 1944, when they were collaborating with the Germans against EAM and enforcing law and order, were the model for events in Nicosia in 1948, when Greek-Cypriot rightists were helping the colonial police suppress left trade unionists and maintain order. The Nicosia newspaper *Ethnos* reported the following on 24 October, 1948:

The communists see Chites everywhere, even when they are asleep, punishing their crimes. Does the fear of Chites seize them? Or are the loud daily protests of them a proof of the effective labour a few good men of the national-guard offer to the police in order to assist them to protect the city from the Red Terrorists? The peaceful and lawful people of the capital show great gratitude to the good lads who guard the city and thwart the satanic, criminal designs of the communists. “Chites” are the guard, the vigilantes of the city, and panic seizes the communists with the view and only of them. This measure was what the communists need, and they got what they were asking for.<sup>47</sup>

Collaboration with the colonial police included arrests by the members of “X” of anyone considered to be suspicious or a troublemaker, who were then handed over to the police.<sup>57</sup> Typical was the complaint of a trade unionist who, on 19 September 1948, was arrested by members of “X” and transported to the Olympiakos sports club, where he was guarded by two men with bats until he was surrendered to the police. On another occasion, during a trial on 1 November 1948, some “X” leaders testified they had been given verbal permission by the police to arrest citizens at their discretion.<sup>48</sup>

In July 1949, the National Agrarian Party of Cyprus Chites was founded, synonymous and parallel to that of Greece. The new party, which was established to fight communism, “will show interest in helping to raise the living standard of the working people, (...) it will require the generous contribution of the rich to enhance the fight of the Cypriots for the Union with Greece and the disbandment of the communists.”<sup>49</sup> The General Secretary of SEK, Michalakis Pissas, offered the party considerable help in enlightening the people of Cyprus, undertaking an onrush on behalf of the party in the countryside.<sup>50</sup>

Our research was limited in finding any additional information on the party’s course in Cyprus after 1950. References to the “X” organization in the press of the period are significantly few, and there was no official announcement that the organization had terminated its activities. It could be conjectured that the end of the civil war in Greece and the defeat of the Greek left, in tandem with the simultaneous electoral rollback of the Greek-Cypriot left, reassured the majority of the organization’s members, slowly bringing about the dissolution of the party. Some of its members would, however, be found five years later within ranks of EOKA.

The far right in Greece erupted in response to the possibility that EAM would seize power during the Occupation. An EAM coup would have effected a violent turnover for the upper class, which had continuously sought to limit and dissolve the influence and power of the left. To this end, the bourgeois and the upper classes were tolerant at first, but, then, as EAM gained strength, the right wing elite was forced to support the far right, as this was the only way to keep a grip on the reins of the political life of Greece. In Cyprus, AKEL acquired power in the municipal elections of 1946 and through the strikes it pioneered; thus, AKEL’s victory was achieved in the areas wherein it was expected to prevail. The appearance of Chites in Cyprus can be seen as the right’s attempt to overcome its weaknesses and its inability to halt AKEL’s upward trajectory.

In both countries, the marginalization of the far right was a natural occurrence after 1950. In Greece, the political situation following the 1950 elections was the final blow that defeated “X,” as the newfound stability of the political situation meant right wing politicians no longer had to support or even tolerate Grivas: as the Greek civil war ended with the defeat of the left, it was only natural that the far-right without an opponent would expire. In Cyprus, the left was defeated in the elections of 1949, followed by the election in 1950 of Archbishop Makarios, which marked the beginning of a new era in the struggle for enosis.

A common element of the far right in both countries was the struggle against communism. The anti-communist propaganda produced in Greece during the civil war provided ideological ammunition to the budding far right in Cyprus, ammunition which could be used in Cyprus with little difficulty. It be must stressed that this propaganda was disseminated in schools, in the army and in church; it was the Church, especially and historically, that was leading any anti-communist campaign.

The Greek-Cypriot far right would have been essentially deprived of an ideological background without the use of the Greek past in the Cypriot present. The radicalization of the far right became even more intense during the 1950s, when it reorganized and equipped itself for the goal of consolidating itself to achieve what the far right hadn't been able to achieve in Greece. Grivas, who came to believe the fundamental principles of Chites could find greater purchase in Cyprus than in Greece, carried Chites anti-communist ideology to his homeland. This time, however, the movement enjoyed a privileged relationship with the Church of Cyprus and the window-dressing of Hellenism, which enabled Grivas to disguise his virulent anti-communist struggle with the mantle of the struggle of Cyprus against a common enemy, British colonialism.

### THE INFLUENCE OF KKE ON AKEL

AKEL accepted the British Communist Party as the 'metropolitan'<sup>51</sup> party from which it sought advice and counsel during critical periods, especially when it came to the Cyprus problem. Ioannou refers to the British Party when he argues the position of AKEL toward enosis, which was contrary to that of KKE.<sup>52</sup> For other direct support or mediation with other eastern European parties, AKEL developed a special relationship with KKE, which followed internal developments in AKEL and was informed of every move its leading members made.

In a handwritten letter dated 10 February 1950, Nicos Savvides,<sup>53</sup> executive member of AKEL, reported to KKE about ex-leaders of AKEL and on certain 'suspicious' relations they supposedly had with non-communist persons.<sup>54</sup> The detailed report, both on interpersonal matters and their ideological positions on specific issues, exemplified the completeness of the information provided to KKE.<sup>55</sup> It also demonstrates how internal conflict within AKEL was exteriorized by these reports and that both sides used KKE more as a reference than as a referee.<sup>56</sup>



Similar reports are found in letters written by George Fotiou,<sup>57</sup> a member of AKEL. In a letter to KKE dated 15 July 1950, after explaining his opinions about AKEL, he proposed the integration of the party with KKE.<sup>58</sup> In several instances, KKE, because of its relations with communist parties in a number of people's republics, mediated in cases in which AKEL required financial assistance and the facilitation of travel for its members, while AKEL represented KKE at conferences other communist parties hosted which KKE could not attend.<sup>59</sup> Fotiou, who had an informal role as a liaison between AKEL and KKE, advised KKE executives about the activities of AKEL central committee members during this period (1951); he submitted his views on each leading member separately.<sup>60</sup>

Certainly, informative letters to KKE on domestic AKEL issues were sent not only by executives who may have acted voluntarily but also by the General Secretary of AKEL who officially informed KKE of various issues. In a letter to KKE on 19 July 1951, Ezekias Papaioannou disclosed AKEL's plans regarding the party's illegality.<sup>61</sup> According to the plan, leading members of AKEL were taking steps toward the establishment of a parallel illegal central guidance body comprising secret party members and the operation of small groups throughout Cyprus. On the technical aspects of the plan, Papaioannou referred to fully-equipped underground safe houses for AKEL executives and to a duplicating machine they would use to print illegal material. Papaioannou also raised the issue of communication, and he asked KKE to train some Cypriots as radio operators and also as saboteurs.<sup>62</sup>

In another report to KKE, Papaioannou analyzed all of AKEL's tactical issues, and he separately outlined the opinion of each party leader on the issues.<sup>63</sup> It is very interesting that Papaioannou, beyond the serious issues concerning constitutional proposals, workers' struggles, and cooperation with the Church in the anti-colonial struggle, also briefed KKE on minor issues such as the involvement of AKEL members on water boards or regarding the Municipal Council of Lemesos; he also requested the opinion and guidance of the 'national' party.<sup>64</sup> On behalf of KKE, Giannis Ioannidis and Costas Kolligiannis, in their letter to KKE's political bureau dated 23 August 1951,<sup>65</sup> stated that after informing their party of their findings on AKEL, asked for permission to write an article for the party's theoretical journal *New World*, which would discuss the consultation provided by KKE to AKEL.<sup>66</sup>

Indicative of the importance placed by KKE on AKEL's internal developments is a strictly confidential letter sent by KKE to AKEL on 8 May

1952, six months after the seventh AKEL congress. According to the letter, KKE had been annoyed with Papaioannou's introductory speech at the conference, wherein he mentioned tactical errors committed by KKE<sup>67</sup>; KKE was referring to an article in *Neos Dimokratias* that published the proceedings of the congress.<sup>68</sup> AKEL answered KKE on 14 June 1952 and tried to explain KKE's interpretation of Papaioannou's remarks as the result of poor recording by *Neos Dimokratias* and mentioned the paper had 'ideological problems.'<sup>69</sup> The style and expression used in KKE's reprimand and AKEL's response to it demonstrates both the respect AKEL showed KKE despite differences on tactical issues and KKE's power over AKEL. That Papaioannou was willing to criticize KKE publicly underlines that AKEL would eventually choose a different and more autonomous path, rather than remaining a KKE satellite.

The Greek civil war was in a way the local expression of the nascent Cold War. It had an enormous impact on both sides of the Greek-Cypriot political divide and shaped their political identities accordingly. It gave the Greek-Cypriot right a renewed nationalist and anti-communist fervor, and the victory of the Greek right in the civil war gave the Greek-Cypriot right added authority and gravitas, which it exploited both in municipal elections and in the anti-colonial struggle, which was now entirely controlled by the right, with the firm support of the Church.

On the left, the advice and support KKE provided to AKEL and the participation of KKE in AKEL's internal conflicts are remarkable. Indicative of the tenor of this relationship is the advice the General Secretary of KKE, Zahariadis, gave to AKEL leadership during their visit to the Greek mountains. According to Fifis Ioannou, one of the two leaders of AKEL was present at the meeting, Zahariadis advised them to change the party's position on enosis.<sup>70</sup> AKEL's position at the time was 'self-government and then enosis,' a position with which the British Communist Party agreed.<sup>71</sup> Using KKE's advice as the perfect opportunity to solve its internal problems, its central committee resigned, nominated a temporary central committee, and then published critical biographical profiles of each member of the resigned central committee.<sup>72</sup> After this series of events the party decided to change its position to "enosis and only enosis." Three years later, an article by the leading member of KKE, Kolligiannis, was effective in forcing AKEL to change its position once again, a move which eventually led AKEL to another internal crisis.<sup>73</sup>

AKEL provided full information on its leading members to KKE, even on personal matters. KKE realized the Cyprus issue presented many

potential pitfalls for the Greek government since, as George Papandreou argued, “Greece breathes with two lungs, an American one and a British one, and we cannot choke ourselves, because of Cyprus.”<sup>74</sup> So, beyond providing guidance to AKEL, KKE was interested in Cyprus because it was looking for ways to create problems for the two ‘lungs’ and for the Greek government.

Considering all of the above, AKEL formed its identity in response to Cypriot political realities, particularly the bi-communal dimension of the island and its rule by Britain. It was never modeled as a Soviet-oriented communist party, and it never looked to bring about social upheaval or socialist transformation through a proletarian revolution.<sup>75</sup> AKEL always participated in every type of election, and the party was always ready to collaborate with political personalities from the center right and the Church. Nevertheless, AKEL wouldn’t have been the same without having soaked up a great deal of the atmosphere and ideology surrounding the Greek civil war. Because of its close relationship with the Communist Party of Greece and, especially, after 1949, the party took on the characteristics of a Cypriot communist party, even though it was in constant conflict over its identity. Maintaining the internal balance between radical ideology and reformist practice, AKEL tried to meet social demands without arguing for socialism or attacking ownership and the means of production; it also worked with the right and the Church on local issues. Following the example of KKE, AKEL’s strategy was to avoid a similar confrontation while simultaneously employing the symbols, structure, and internal procedures of a monolithic communist party.

AKEL kept its predecessors’ Leninist principles and reinforced its communist message during an era when moderate politics was unacceptable to Greek Cypriots. In other words, AKEL had to choose to be identified with the Soviet Union, where everyone chose a side, or become a center left and Soviet-friendly but unassertive party; AKEL decided or was forced to follow the first path. During this period in Cyprus, as a brief reading of the daily press for the years 1947 to 1950 reveals, the climate was dominated by the Greek civil war. This forced AKEL to take a strong position on behalf of its followers, especially since, on the right, the wildfire of anti-communism continued to spread.

Conclusively, the quantity of differences and the type of these differences between the left and the right/ethnarchy during the Greek civil war seemed to indicate that a clash between the two factions would happen sooner or later and that it would be brutal: after all, the continuous climax

of the divergence between labor and capital would ultimately induce this conflict. The importation of the climate surrounding the Greek civil war, however, brought the differences between the two sides to a new level. Despite the respect AKEL had for KKE's history and its struggles, it could not be ruled by top-down external directives, and, after 1950, it became a much more complex party.

## NOTES

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51. This term appears in Ioannou's narration (2005: 349).
52. Fifis Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began—In the footsteps of a Decade, 1940–1950* (Athens: Filistor, 2005), 348.
53. Nicos Savvides (just synonymy with the Servas family name) was a dentist who was detached to Hungary on behalf of AKEL. He, as was George Fotiou (see endnote 6), was an informal liaison between KKE and AKEL. He died under unsolved conditions in 1952, and his family in Cyprus was pressuring AKEL to find out the cause of death. Papaioannou requested information from KKE (ASKI 371—20/21/51 and 20/21/90), but the results are unknown.
54. The people Savvides reported on are Vasos Lyssarides, Vasos Vassiliou, Fofu Vassiliou, Fifis Ioannou, Adam Adamantos and Ploutis Servas (ASKI 371—20/21/26).
55. ASKI (ASKI, File 20/21/26).
56. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/69, 20/21/84, 20/21/89).
57. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/37).
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59. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/67).
60. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/38).
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63. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/34).
64. Ibid. (ASKI, File 20/21/35).
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## Communism vs. Nationalism: Fields of Conflict

### CYPRIOT POLITICAL FACTIONS AND THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

As we have seen, one of the factors that brought the two opposing sides in Cyprus to a fierce clash was the transfer of the civil war climate from Greece to Cyprus. This transfer was aided and welcomed by both factions, left and right; it also inspired the official policy of the ethnarchy against communism and enabled the official establishment of “X” in Cyprus.

As early as September 1947, AKEL, at its 5th Convention (13–15 September 1947), decided to actively support the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) and the Greek left, and thus proceeded to organize events to collect money and clothing. Their efforts failed, particularly because of the controversy consuming the Greek-Cypriot left with regard to the extent of its engagement in the civil war. In their report concerning the strengthening of the DSE, Fifis Ioannou and Andreas Ziartidis explain to the Communist Party of Greece (KKE):

The continuous compromising tendencies in front of non-partisan factors of EAS, the frantic slanderous campaign of reaction, as well as certain actual objective difficulties, were the reasons that made us constantly postpone the implementation of the explicit decision of the convention towards the same direction. Only lately did we throw ourselves into action, gathering items for the D.S.E., while we always and at every place considered the conditions not ripe enough for a substantial help in manpower, except perhaps at the level of a symbolic effort. It was only after the visit of comrade N. Savvidis

that we managed to find our way, with the specific duty borne on us by the KKE leadership.<sup>1</sup>

The report delivered to the leadership of KKE during the visit of two AKEL officials to the mountains of Greece for a meeting evidences the problems AKEL faced in providing the DSE with manpower and the intraparty frictions roiling the party. AKEL's intention to send 500 volunteers is obvious by the following:

The Polit Bureau of AKEL has found that the goal of 500 volunteers is not unattainable. The influence of the party is sufficiently massive, the sympathies towards the DSE and its struggle within the popular movement is very highly developed, and even if our slogan falls short, and even if we are characterised by a certain qualitative selectivity, we still believe it will not be difficult for us to meet our goal as soon as possible.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the issue of dispatching manpower, the testimony of Giorgos Fotiou is also quite informative. Fotiou, along with F. Ioannou represented, AKEL in the 1st Convention of Communist Parties of the British Commonwealth in London. On his return, Fotiou met with Porphyrogenis, an official of the Communist Party:

Since 1947, after our return from London, we saw comrade Porphyrogenis and as he responded to our question on what stance the Cypriot people must take in the armed struggle of the Greek people, I formed the idea that our aid in manpower was an immediate duty for our party. From then on and during [every] meeting of the Polit Bureau and the C.C. I proposed to turn our contribution into a new 16th of June 1943, instead of wishes and brave words. The thousands of our veterans and popular masses were ready to accept the slogan, as long as we found a practical way of transporting them to the DSE. Procrastination continued for two whole years on various pretexts (indifference, irony on my "hot-headedness" and the like). Too late and after the return of our delegation that met with the P.B. of the KKE's C.C. (1949), the question was posed on the departure of those having passports. The Temporary Partisan Guidance approved my own enlistment in late June 1949. On the 29th of June I departed from Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

Fotiou blames AKEL's inaction on Ioannou and Ploutis Servas, former General Secretary (G.S.) of AKEL: he claims Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou, speaking to the collective bodies, insisted that, in consultation with



Porphyrogeinis, they had concluded it was best if AKEL's contribution was limited to inanimate material.<sup>4</sup>

Another letter, that of Vassos Vassiliou to Partsalidis, reveals that since the summer of 1948 systematic attempts were made to establish a body of around 350 volunteers, the vast majority AKEL members and WWII veterans who, as explained in the letter, had no family obligations in Cyprus. These efforts were unsuccessful as the cost of transport and the non-possession of travel documents made the entire undertaking nearly impossible. An alternative might have been the secret transport of volunteers with Romanian or Polish ships passing by Cyprus, but this couldn't have been accomplished without the approval of the respective governments. In any case, the letter provides details on the ships' approach points in preparation for the party's successful efforts, as well as the names of the AKEL officials who would undertake responsibility at each point for the rebels boarding the ships<sup>5</sup>—the letter even mentions the code words to be used if the ships successfully approached Cyprus. AKEL's intention to send rebels to the DSE was genuine, and the reasons it was unable to do so were purely technical in nature.

On 22 February 1949, the Polit Bureau (P.B.) of KKE's Central Committee (C.C.) in a special meeting addressed the issue of reserves. The decision the P.B. adopted mentions, among other items, the reinforcement of the DSE by Cypriot fighters, to be arranged by Ioannou (Fifis) and Ziartidis. The objectives for recruiting volunteers during 1949 were:

Based on the above finding, the PG of the KKE's KE hereby decides:

1. During 1949, to recruit for the DSE from the above areas 5000 Greeks with the following distribution:
  - a) Dockers 1500
  - b) Middle East 1500
  - c) Cyprus 500
  - d) USA 500 and
  - e) From other regions 1000

...The task will be implemented by the following:

1. In the USA by lieutenants Civil Commissioners Kyriazidis and Kaloudis.

2. In Egypt and the Middle East by captain Political Commissioner comrade Pagkalos.
3. In Cyprus by comrades Ioannou and Ziartidis.<sup>6</sup>

There were two options for sending volunteers to Greece: the legal way, i.e., through France or the Peoples' Republics and from there to Free Greece; the illegal way, by transporting volunteers with Romanian or Polish ships. In their letter to KKE leadership, Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou and Andreas Ziartidis explained that the legal means to send volunteers to Greece was difficult due to the expense and the necessity of travel documents; the illegal means of sending volunteers to Greece was dependent on the frequency with which ships from the Peoples' Republics approached Cyprus.<sup>7</sup>

Eventually, neither of the two options, legal or illegal, was feasible, and so, besides a few doctors<sup>8</sup> and several Cypriot students who were at the time studying in Europe<sup>9</sup> who traveled to Greece to stand with DSE, AKEL focused on fund-raisers to support of the Democratic Army. At every opportunity party officials reiterated, "... AKEL is EAM" and that "... the culture of Greece today is its rebels."<sup>10</sup> The right, observing the events and AKEL fund-raisers on behalf of the National Liberation front (EAM), was forced to react. The Cyprus Workers Confederation (SEK) began issuing warnings such as this since the middle of 1947:

Stay far away from the plans of the corrupt ethnic-traitors, the instruments of the enemies of our People who work in every way to subjugate Greece to the Slavs and to communism. Tomorrow, Sunday, they will burst out into the streets attempting in a fundraiser in order to raise money to send to Greece, to the paid rebels of EAM, to the traitor criminals of the Nation, to the Bulgarians and Albanians who have been massacring our Greek brothers. Do not give even a penny to the boxes of betrayal. Do not give even a penny so that Bulgarians can make weapons to slaughter Greece. Do not give even a penny so that Albanians can buy bombs to shell the Parthenon. Do not look at them, do not approach them, do not even greet them as long as they ask for money for the robbers and murderers of our Mother Greece. Give them a lesson so that they realize we are not green caviar, we are not fools for their hooks. But we can tell apart the traitors and spit in their faces. NOT EVEN A PENNY FOR THE ROBBERS AND BULGARIANS. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL PHALANX FOR OUR FREEDOM AND OUR UNION."<sup>11</sup> The Efimeris newspaper will later encourage Cypriots to stay away from AKEL's fundraisers for the "traitor

Markos”, threatening them that if they reinforce “Stalin’s feet-kissers they will be marked and stigmatized.”<sup>12</sup>

AKEL, with articles in the newspapers of the left multiplying day by day, declared its full solidarity with DSE and its leadership. Miltiadis Christodoulou, a leading official of the party, wrote:

The first but decisive step has been taken. General Markos, the glorious leader, the honoured tobacco worker of Macedonia and embodiment of the most beautiful and epic traditions of the nation, the great guider of the new Filiki Etairia, has formed the Government of Free Greece and has mapped out its program for the nation’s uprising, for the country’s independence, for the prosperity of the people, for democracy and peace. And even if they brought—in falsehood and deceit—a foreign and foreign-interest serving king whose only occupation was a life of grand hotels in large foreign cities with all their dissolute morals, and even if they brought the frayed Tsaldaris and Sofoulis to power, with the power of British spears and Truman’s and Marshall’s silver coins, this unyielding people still was not enslaved.<sup>13</sup>

It was at this time that the left had entered into a stage of political and ideological crystallization, and conflict raged within the party, mainly on account of the Constitutional Assembly. Meanwhile, although the right rallied around the “Enosis and only Enosis” slogan, enosis wasn’t as adhesive element for this faction as was its fanatical anti-communist stance. AKEL’s stance in favor of the DSE and the Soviet Union sparked a flurry of anti-communist propaganda from the right, and the ethnarchy began its insistent demand of the colonial authorities to outlaw AKEL and imprison all of the communists in concentration camps “... as a democratic means for the safety of the numerous by limiting the dangerous few.”<sup>14</sup>

The nationalists, allied against the enemy, stepped up their struggle against communism by organizing campaigns to raise awareness of “the communist leadership that is committed to Moscow and works for Slavic interests.” The Cyprus National Party (KEK) invited patriots to rally, inciting them with anti-communist fanaticism and urging them not to give any support to the communists, “whether with various contributions or by recruitment in their work”, but “with a militant mood and fanaticism to support the nationalists. Our grocer, our baker, our greengrocer, our employee, our worker, must be a nationalist....All towards the ideological struggle, the struggle of economic sanctions.”<sup>15</sup>

The support of the right for Greek nationalists and the government army was significant. In addition to the efforts of “X” of Cyprus and their support for their brethren in Greece, nationalist association and organizations in Cyprus held fundraisers “to relieve the gang-stricken.”<sup>16</sup> There was, however, also manpower support, as Greek-Cypriot nationalists and Greek army officers fought alongside like-minded Greeks: Officers Menelaos Pantelidis, Loizos Charalambous, Savvas Papakyriakou, Christos Christodoulidis and Georgios Azinas are some of the Cypriot nationalists who actively participated in the civil war.<sup>17</sup>

### THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF CYPRUS

The Church of Cyprus, having adopted anti-communism as its official policy, could not remain uninvolved in the prevailing, tumultuous climate. On 7 September 1948, the Holy Synod condemned the members of AKEL as “atheists” and “stateless,” making it plainly apparent it would implement a plan excluding the left from every aspect of Greek-Cypriot life under its control.<sup>18</sup>

AKEL’s support for KKE and the DSE was the main reason for its persecution by the ethnarchy, but at the same time, and in this particular case, the main reason the Church so vituperatively attacked AKEL was the party’s electoral power. That a large portion of the Church’s “membership” was beyond the ideological and political control of the bourgeoisie and the upper clergy provoked the Church’s reflexes, and from this point on full transparency during the elections for the primates of the Church was a thing of the past. The massive participation of the left in the archiepiscopal elections of May 1947 led to the crushing defeat of the right’s candidate, Sinaïou Porphyrios. It was only the sudden death of Leontios and the assumption of the position of locus tenens by Makarios Myriantheos that it became possible for the bourgeoisie to regain control of the Church.

During the elections of October 1947, Myriantheos’s supporters availed themselves of Church mechanisms to get him elected. The exclusion of leftists from the electoral lists meant the composition of the electorate was decidedly in favor of Myriantheos.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, even though a Holy Synod with a firm anti-communist orientation had been designated, the ruling circles of the ethnarchy did not yet feel safe. There were many leftists, and their number made it difficult to remove them: it also meant they could register a large number of parishes in the future. The ethnarchy’s definitive solution was the preparation from scratch of new directories

in which only those acceptable to the ethnarchy would be permitted to register. On 30 September 1948 the Holy Synod addressed the issue by modifying the Statute of the Church of Cyprus:

Not able to register in the electoral rolls are those finding themselves in ecclesiastical penance, those imperatively expressing opinions opposed to the Orthodox Christian teaching, those expressing themselves in a manner disrespectful towards this Church or workers thereof and those acting or cooperating so-promoting or assisting such expressions, unless convincing the Bishop of their sincere repentance....<sup>20</sup>

The political significance of the amendment of the statute is clearly illustrated by the expressive instrument of the Kyrenia Metropolis:

From the lists for election of ecclesiastical guardianships are also excluded the communists and fellow travelers. Not one of them shall register. Priests who do not faithfully observe the provisions of the Episcopal Circular are subject to strict disciplinary punishment.<sup>21</sup>

### THE CONFLICT IN EDUCATION

School Committees—along with the Office of Education, which belonged to the colonial government—constituted one of the main pillars of the island's Greek-Cypriot education and, to a large degree, the intellectual life of the island. Since these committees were staffed exclusively by people from the right, they chose not to remain apart from the island's internal conflicts. On 29 April 1948 the newspaper "Ethnos" welcomed the announcement by the School Committee and the teaching staff of the Lemesos Gymnasium regarding their position on the Greek civil war.<sup>22</sup>

Another case was that of a group of teachers belonging to the Pancyprian Organisation of Greek Secondary Education Teachers. This group refused to approve resolutions in favor of the King of Greece, which was required by all secondary education teachers. "Ethnos" urged the school committee to take this rebellion under serious consideration, since "neither the Office of Education nor the Ethnarchic Church should allow the dismantling of the national and religious life of the Cypriot people."<sup>23</sup> "For faith and fatherland," a statement that was signed by all teachers who agreed with its content or wished to remain in their profession was circulated.<sup>24</sup> In

this period, we find the roots of later efforts to use the public service, the education service, and the various intellectual and cultural institutions as tools for the enforcement of policy are found. The situation in Cyprus did not differ greatly from the corresponding situation in Greece.<sup>25</sup>

### THE REACTION OF THE CONSULATES

The Consul of Greece in Cyprus, Alexandros Kountouriotis, played an important role in the conflict between the two factions, as is apparent from his reports to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Kountouriotis took AKEL into account, as he did not share the right's obsession with excluding the left from the enosis struggle. He changed his stance when AKEL, which had professed its support for the National Liberation Front (EAM) and KKE, began making active contributions to the DSE. The Consul's shift wasn't of course his personal stance but the official policy of the Greek government, which took every opportunity to interfere with political developments on the island.

In mid-1947 the Greek Member of the Parliament (MP) and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Greek Parliament, Dimitris Sfaellos, visited the island, and he was careful to make clear to the Greek Consul the stance he was to take regarding the political processes in Cyprus. In Sfaellos's report to Tsaldaris he mentions his request that the Greek Consul intervene "and in close cooperation with the Ethnarch, to assist the reconstitution of the Ethnarchic Council under the Archbishop in a safe manner (avoiding elections) by persons of moral authority and enforcement, so that the Ethnarchic Council overshadows the parties."<sup>26</sup>

Indicative of the revised position of the Greek Consul was his exclusion of organizations from and representatives of the left from the time-honored festive reception for 25 March at the Consulate.<sup>27</sup> This continued even after Kountouriotis was replaced at the beginning of the following year: the new Consul of Greece, Alexis Liatis, refused to meet with the mayor of Nicosia, Ioannis Kliridis, and the municipal councilors, because they "closely cooperate with the communists and support the gangsters in Greece."<sup>28</sup>

The US consulate in Cyprus also entered the conflict. Consul William Porter believed the Greek-Cypriot communists were particularly dangerous and could, by order of the Soviet Union, take control of the island.<sup>29</sup> To stave off such a scenario, he sought the cooperation of the Greek

Consul and exerted pressure on the colonial government to toughen its stance toward the communists.<sup>30</sup>

Most of the interventions by the Greek Consulate in Cyprus had been in favor of the right, as seen during the period of the Assembly, but, generally, throughout the period under examination, the Greek government served as an indefatigable guide for the Greek-Cypriot right and the Church. The participation of the Greek right in the confrontation between the Greek-Cypriot left and right, through the Greek Consulate, as well as the contribution of the consulate in the conveyance of the climate of the Greek civil war to Cyprus, is of essential importance, and the evidence can be found in Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents and in the correspondence between the Greek Consuls and Athens.

The solidification of the two poles of Cypriot society, communists vs. nationalists, which had formerly divided Cyprus, can be located in every aspect of public life, and the results of the financial war in which the two sides engaged are still evident in the Republic of Cyprus after all these years. The fundraising efforts of the left on behalf of the DSE and its efforts to liberate its imprisoned leaders, as well as the right's appeals to nationalists for support, have resulted in certain stereotypes in Cypriot society. Thus, especially in the countryside, we have the right Wing grocer, the right wing baker, the right wing barber, etc., and their left wing counterparts.

Even the coffeehouses in almost every Greek-Cypriot village, usually on the same road, are divided into left and right establishments. Additionally, *Morfotikoi Syllogoi* (Cultural and Sport Associations), a left creation for organizing the countryside workers and peasants, are usually opposite the *Ethnikofrona Somateia* (Nationalist Associations) in the villages which are home to both organizations.

The division between right and left in Cypriot society can be seen clearly in athletics, especially football. In 1948, the right-left conflict entered Greek-Cypriot athletics. Kleopas, the Bishop of Paphos, on behalf of the Church, initiated a policy of dismissing members of the left from sports unions: they were unwelcome at any events in which the athletic union, *Kinyras*, participated; this was also the case in Larnaca at the Club of *Pezoporikos*.<sup>31</sup> *EPA*, another Larnaca club, took the same position as *Pezoporikos*, while in Nicosia *Olympiakos* decided to rescind the membership of any of its members with leftist views. On 23 May 1948, the board of *APOEL* sent a telegram to the Hellenic Association of Amateur

Athletics in Greece, stating its desire for the end of “communist mutiny”; the club then demanded its players declare their “National beliefs.” Club players who felt the club was forcing them to choose a side in the civil war in Greece distanced themselves from *APOEL* or were expelled. As a result of this purge, by early 1948, exiled athletes with leftist views were creating new clubs in every town in Cyprus: *Nea Salamina* was founded in Famagusta in March; *Akli* was founded in Larnaca in April; *Orpheas* was founded in Nicosia in May; *Omonia* was founded in June. These clubs are still considered leftist to this day, and their followers are in the majority well disposed toward the left.

### THE CASE OF LABOR MOVEMENT

The dispute between the left and the right that included the forceful intervention of the Church in favor of the latter and of the Greek consulate and “X” extremists might have been rooted in the civil war raging in Greece, but its trigger was the left’s decision to participate in the Assembly. The conflict threaded its way into all areas of public life: education, church institutions and public services. Nevertheless, the culmination of the conflict was, unsurprisingly, an ideological confrontation ultimately and clearly expressed as a class conflict: in other words, the political conflict was converted into a conflict between workers and employers. While the influence of the right depended on its access to the government apparatus or to the Greek community’s power structures, the left drew its strength from the support provided by the popular strata, which were organized through local branches of cultural associations, cooperative institutions and, principally, labor unions.

The backbone of the union movement comprised the large unions of the construction workers, dock workers and miners, all of which were at the vanguard of the mass leftist movement. Three strikes were held during 1948: one by miners in the employ of Cyprus Mining Company (KME), one by asbestos miners and one by construction workers. Combined the strikes lasted a total of 266 days, with 4300 construction workers, miners and asbestos miners taking part.<sup>32</sup>

#### *The Miners’ Strike*

On 16 December 1947, the Miners’ Union of the PEO and the respective union of the Turkish Trade Unions (KTIVK) submitted their requests to



the management of the Cyprus Mining Company (KME) for increases in wages, better working hours and observance of Christian and Muslim holidays. These requests were rejected in their entirety by the company and, following a number of meetings, resulted in the declaration by KME employees of a five-day warning strike beginning 13 January 1948.<sup>33</sup>

On 14 January, KME halted the distribution of the daily glass of milk that had been provided to the miners' children and ordered all employee-patients in the company hospital who were not in serious or critical condition to leave its premises.<sup>34</sup> In response, on 15 January 400 children from the schools of Xero and Lefka organized a large protest rally. On 18 January the miners unanimously decided to make the warning strike an indefinite strike. SEK declared that there had been no coordination between it and PEO and that PEO had incited the strike to prevent SEK from soliciting members among the miners of Cyprus; these declarations were made to undermine the strikers and create a negative atmosphere around the strike.<sup>35</sup>

On 10 February 1948, PEO and the Turkish Union KTIVK invited the workers from other sectors to a 24-hour universal strike in support of the miners. During the strike, the main political forces of the Cypriot society took their respective places, the left with the strikers<sup>36</sup> and the right with the KME.<sup>37</sup>

In the press, the steadiest support for the KME was provided by the newspaper "Efimeris," which was controlled by circles of the Archbishopric of Kyrenia and by "X." On 14 February 1948, "Efimeris" published in Los Angeles, California, a statement from Harvey Mudd, President of KME (KME was an American-owned company):

Radical and irresponsible journalistic instruments along with certain union leaders have accused the Cyprus Mining Company of exploiting the island's workers and resources to the benefit of foreign brokers ... The Company's history proves that it sincerely cares for the well-being of its workers or external elements that have spun the present worker difference ... The working conditions within the Mavrovounio mine are excellent and favourable in comparison to any country's most modern mines... The workers can terminate the detriment by returning to their work.<sup>38</sup>

The colonial government also sided with the company, as did SEK, which recruited strikebreakers from the surrounding villages.<sup>39</sup> SEK leaders, especially G.S. Michalakis Pissas, published articles lambasting the

strike and the PEO miners' union,<sup>40</sup> in an effort to openly undermine the strike. The report by Greece's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which included information on Cyprus, praised the SEK G.S.: "Pissas is the sleepless guardian of the National Idea and thanks to him the Nationalist workers have been organized and the torpedoing of all communist strikes is due to his actions."<sup>41</sup>

The Church also played an essential role in supplying strike-breakers.<sup>42</sup> The KME's demand that workers return to their jobs was reiterated by the newspaper of the Kyrenia Archbishopric and by the right wing press. For three months, "Efimeris" was published with the headline: "MINERS! Kick your communist exploiters and go back to your jobs."<sup>43</sup> The intervention of the Church became even more strident: it issued a circular on 20 March 1948 in which it urged the strikers to return to work and not be swayed by the "unholy communists."<sup>44</sup>

As the strike continued and the warring sides came to a frontal collision, the political parties identified ever more clearly with the protagonists. In the words of the Kyrenia Archbishopric:

KME will never subside to the blackmail of the anarcho-communist gang. It will never accept negotiations with instruments of Stalin. It repeatedly stated so and let the miners not delude themselves that it will be blackmailed into retreat by the undermining attempts and all other barbaric and terrorist methods. If they so wish, let them observe the news piece of the "*Democrates*", which states that the Government has already begun purging its services of communists.<sup>45</sup>

The strikers' motto, "to block the strikebreakers' path," became part of their consciousness and practice; thus the courts were full almost daily with accused miners who were collectively sent to prison.<sup>46</sup> Cases against the miners were tried every day throughout the strike, with some ongoing cases even after the strike ended. Sentences ranged from two months to two years.<sup>47</sup>

March was the bloodiest month of the strike. On 2 March 1948, the KME managed to organize 12 strikebreakers who, with police accompaniment, attempted to pass through the barrier erected by the strikers. Tensions escalated, and the police opened fire. They seriously injured eight people, strikers, and women and children who were in the area at the time. After these bloody developments, news of which was instantaneously broadcast throughout Cyprus, massive rallies were held, and a new 24-hour universal strike was proclaimed for 6 March 1948.<sup>48</sup>

On 8 March 1948, a ship carrying materials for the mines arrived at Xero. New strikebreakers accompanied by armed policemen were brought in to unload it. The strikers' attempt to reach the pier and prevent the strikebreakers from unloading the ship was met with police gunfire,<sup>49</sup> and six strikers were wounded, two of them seriously. These episodes once again roused a storm of protests and prompted universal-strikes throughout Cyprus.<sup>50</sup>

On 20 April, Harvey Mudd arrived in Cyprus and immediately began negotiations with the strikers; the colonial government also got involved.<sup>51</sup> Negotiations lasted until 14 May, with KME trying to torpedo the talks and impose its own objectives on the outcome of the negotiations. It is characteristic that rather than accept the leaders of the trade unions as interlocutors, KME selected the interlocutors from a list of names provided by the unions.<sup>52</sup>

The final agreement between KME and the strikers took place on 14 May 1948. It was unanimously approved by the strikers at mass gatherings in Lefka and Xero, with 16 May selected as the final day of the strike that had lasted a total of four months. Throughout the history of labor relations and the trade union movement in Cyprus, the KME miners' strike was the longest and the toughest.

### *The Strike of the Asbestos-Miners*

In the Amiantos mining area in the early months of 1948, management commenced its efforts to undermine the PEO asbestos-mining union; the company encouraged its employees to establish a SEK union.<sup>53</sup> After the election of all of the company's leftist workers to the local trade union committee, the company laid off 150 workers and ordered the elected secretary of the trade union to leave the area. In response, on 2 August 1948, the asbestos miners mobilized for a strike, but their activities were suppressed by the police, who fired warning shots and carried out mass arrests.<sup>54</sup> As it did in the KME strike, SEK once again supplied the company with strikebreakers. According to "Eleftheria," the "newly-unionized workers had remained in their jobs, while the order was maintained by a unit of 50 policemen."<sup>55</sup>

The events in Amiantos took place on 2 August 1948, the day after the Self-government<sup>56</sup> Conference organized by the National Liberation Coalition (EAS); for this reason the demands of the asbestos miners and the PEO unions in general included the abolition of the arbitrary power

of foreign companies and the uncontrolled action of the colonial police, and these demands became part of the political climate. The newspaper “*Democrates*” reported that on the night of the Amiantos mobilization workers organized a protest in the streets of Nicosia with slogans such as “hands off workers”, “power to the people”, “self-government” and “freedom”.<sup>57</sup> Hence the left, exploiting present developments, lodged its social demands within a larger political context. In an article in *Democrates* newspaper, the G.S. of AKEL, F. Ioannou, stated his contention that self-government depended on each specific struggle that would take place in pursuit of it:

Now the opportunity has been provided to us directly. We have before us the universal-strike tomorrow for the workers of Amiantos. We have tonight the pan-worker mobilizations in all cities. The timeliness of the psychological moment must not be missed. Where things have been going in Cyprus with the authoritarian regime, every economic problem, typically and practically, is a POLITICAL problem.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, the strikers’ issues became part of the left’s broader request for self-government-enosis and acquired a highly politicized and anti-colonial character. The culmination of the events in support of the asbestos-miners was the proclamation of a universal strike for the 13th of August by PEO unions. “*Democrates*” noted:

A survey we did among the workers on the meaning of tomorrow’s 24-hour universal strike we understand that the worker has truly felt that his struggle is not only for bread but is also a blow against all those causes creating hunger and social misfortune. “The universal strike”, stressed all workers that we approached, “is directed against the privileges that the Asbestos Company has acquired. It is also aimed against the Government that has provided these privileges without even asking the owner—the Cypriot people.” And from this point on, the strike struggle acquires a political character and takes the form: bread to the people, power to the people, self-government, national remediation. On this path is the working class forced to move if it wishes to see progress.<sup>59</sup>

The payments for the penalties imposed by the courts on the strikers were covered mainly by fund-raisers, thus communicating the relevant political messages.<sup>60</sup> On 26 August the confrontation between workers in Amiantos and their employers, confrontation equally as harsh as the

strike at KME, ended in victory for the strikers, whose key demands were accepted by the Company.<sup>61</sup>

### *The Construction Workers' Strike*

The conflagration between the construction workers' union of PEO and the Contractors' Association began in August 1948, when the latter rejected the PEO proposal for the establishment of a Labor Office which would be administered jointly by PEO and SEK and which would channel workers to construction jobs. After the impasse in the negotiations, PEO construction workers declared a strike on 26 August: the strike lasted until 18 December 1948.<sup>62</sup>

The bourgeoisie encouraged contractors not to sign a collective agreement with PEO, asking them to instead find workers through SEK; its goals were to create employment conditions more favorable to employers than to employees and, ultimately, to disrupt the dynamics of the left's labor movement, particularly ahead of upcoming municipal elections.<sup>63</sup>

The PEO proposal for the establishment of a Labor Office affected labor relations nationwide and forced the bourgeoisie to become even more active in its efforts against the left. Unlike the two miners' strikes, which occurred in remote villages, the construction workers' strike took place in Nicosia, which gave even more importance to its outcome. At a meeting of right organizations held on 18 August in Nicosia, the participating nationalist organizations, though apparently unrelated to labor relations, proclaimed in a vivid tone and with phrasing clearly influenced by the civil war that they were in favor of the contractors in the event of a dispute with PEO. The statement signed by representatives of KEK and nationalist associations and organizations states<sup>64</sup>:

A series of indisputable facts demonstrates unto all that the communist leadership, DEDICATED BODY AND SOUL TO MOSCOW, works and will work guided by SLAVIC INTERESTS, undermining Religion and subverting the Fatherland. [...] It is to all people of good faith obvious by now that the strikes provoked by the communists have as their objective the formation of confusion and chaos, poisoning relations between employers and workers, to incalculable damages for both and the entire economy of the country....<sup>65</sup>

The contractors insisted they should have the freedom to hire whom-ever they wished, and this brought a political element to the dispute. According to G.S. Andreas Ziartidis:

This “freedom” demanded by contractors is one they will never attain. The only freedom they had, have and will have is the freedom to lay off any worker who, in their opinion, does not technically respond to their requirements; it is the freedom to keep any workers who perform quantitatively and qualitatively in their work. This however is not the freedom they seek. The freedom they seek is the freedom of political extortion. Become a nationalist or you will be kicked out of the job. Disavow Communism or we do not have work for you. Become a member of the new Union or someone else will replace you. Vote for the mayor of the Right or you will lose your bread.<sup>66</sup>

The strike by PEO construction workers became incredibly challenging because of SEK’s continual supply of strikebreakers.<sup>67</sup> As during previous strikes, the workers struggled under unfair conditions. Since they had on their side neither the law nor the police, so to protect their strike the construction workers occasionally resorted to violence. There were clashes between strikers and strikebreakers; there were even allegations made by contractors who recruited and employed the strikebreakers that the strikers had used dynamite to intimidate them.<sup>68</sup>

This strike had a number of peculiarities that made it quite different from the miners’ strikes. This conflict had an intense class character, since the employers were Cypriots and had the full support of the bourgeoisie and the Church; contrary to this, in the strikes against KME and in Amiantos, the workers were battling foreign companies who received political support from the bourgeoisie and the Church, and mainly through the press.

The severity of this conflict, which was heightened by its political character, climaxed with the involvement of “X.” “X,” looking to mold the group into a paramilitary organization, now provided its members with certain types of insignia, tags and black berets. The Governor’s report of September 1948 stated: “The Right for its part tried to revive the ‘X’ organization and coordinated paid groups, which had as their mission to protect workers at their work places and hinder the aspirations of any left groups.”<sup>69</sup> The employers, as per the Governor’s report, used “X” personnel to terrorize unionists and accompany strikebreakers on construction sites where strikes had been declared.<sup>70</sup>

In no other case had the class struggle been conducted with such intensity and tenacity, nor had it been so politicized, as it was during the construction workers’ strike. The governor, in the same September report, mentioned the widening Greek-Cypriot political divide: “The general

picture of events during the month presented scenes of growing chasm between the right and the left. These scenes constituted a spectacle depicting almost a civil war.”<sup>71</sup>

Consequently, what inspired “X” to establish itself in Cyprus and become involved to such a great degree in this strike was its class orientation. With its own newspaper, both in Cyprus and in Greece, “X” waged psychological warfare, painting its own version of events. In Cyprus, “Efimeris ton Chiton” (the “X” newspaper) provided a relatively optimistic (for the employers) picture of the conflict:

More than 140 newly-unionised builders and builder workers worked in 12 construction sites in which strikes had been declared by the communists. The picketers do not show up at all to guard their strikes, since they themselves realize that the newly-unionised workers have bent their strike.<sup>72</sup>

In mid-November, when it seemed the strike had been bent, “X” announced victory for the bourgeoisie: “At last, after two and a half months of the contractors’ heroic struggle, the great danger threatening the working class, of subjugation to the communist bosses, has passed. Today the issue of the strike for the contractors and the newly-unionized builders and workers exists no longer.”<sup>73</sup>

Of course, the reality was quite different. The strike continued, despite the left pondering its termination.<sup>74</sup> The strike finally ended in early December with the strikers victorious, their demands fulfilled.<sup>75</sup>

## NOTES

1. ASKI, “F. Ioannou-A. Ziartidis to the KKE, “The technical difficulties in the duty of reinforcing the D.S.E.”” (ASKI, 371 File 20/21/13, 1948).
2. Ibid.
3. ASKI, “G. Fotiou, Budapest, “My Biographical report”” (ASKI, 371 File 20/21/37, 1951).
4. ASKI, “G. Fotiou, “The course of the Cyprus Movement, the party leadership, the risk to the party”” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/40).
5. ASKI, “Letter of Vassos Vassiliou to Partsalidis” (ASKI, 371 File 20/21/15). Also mentioned in the letter are the efforts of the two parties to communicate by radio to coordinate their activities.
6. Rizospastis, *The three-year saga of the Democratic Army of Greece (1946–1949)* (Athens: Syghroni Epohi, 2004), 418–19. This number (500 volunteers) was of course not met, mainly for the same reasons the

- earlier attempt, mentioned in the above letter, also failed (of Vassos Vassiliou to Partsalidis).
7. ASKI, “F. Ioannou-A. Ziartidis to the KKE, “The technical difficulties in the duty of reinforcing the D.S.E.”” (ASKI, 371 File 20/21/13, 1948).
  8. For the doctors who formed AKEL’s delegation to the mountain, see Ezekias Papaioannou, *Remembrances of my life* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1988), 86. For the case of doctor Vassos Vassiliou and his wife Fofo, see Andreas Kyriakou, *Eyewitness* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2001), 26. In an interview with the magazine “Kalimera” of the Greek community in Prague, Theoris Zambas, an AKEL official, states, “many hundreds of Cypriots registered in AKEL’s long lists for volunteering in guerrilla warfare. They didn’t make it. They reached Czechoslovakia.” According to Zambas, many of the Cypriots who fought on the side of the DSE found themselves in the mountains either by shifting sides from the English army or, after their capture by the Germans, they escaped and sought refuge in the mountains. See Interview of Theoris Zambas mag. *Kalimera*, December 2008.
  9. Spyros Papageorgiou, *Grivas and the X organization: The lost archive* (Athens: Nea Thesis, 2004), 613.
  10. Spyros Papageorgiou, *AKEL the other KKE* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1984), 119.
  11. *Ibid.*, 123.
  12. *Efimeris*, 9 October 1948.
  13. “Democracy—national integration”, *Democrates*, 30 December 1947.
  14. “In the line, Lord”, *Efimeris*, 3 April 1948.
  15. Papageorgiou, *AKEL the other KKE*, 52.
  16. Papageorgiou, *Grivas and the X*, 634.
  17. For more on Cypriot nationalists participating in the civil war see Papageorgiou, *AKEL the other KKE*, 160. and Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), vol. Vol. 8:180.
  18. *Ibid.*, 183.
  19. Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly, 1946–1948* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 485.
  20. “The statute of the Church of Cyprus has been amended- Exclusion from electoral rolls of communists and fellow travellers—Neither General or Special Representatives nor Patronal or Parish Commissioners may be elected”, *Eleftheria*, 23 October 1948.
  21. “CAUTION!”, *Efimeris*, 28 October 1948.
  22. “This is what the national needs demand”, *Ethnos*, 29 April 1948.
  23. “Professors and teachers”, *Ethnos*, 8 May 1948.
  24. “The teachers’ statement—Proclamation of their loyalty to the ideals of Christianity and the Greek motherland”, *Ethnos*, 18 May 1948.



25. On this topic see generally Constantine Tsoukalas, "The Ideological Impact of the Civil War," in *Greece in the 1940s—A Nation in Crisis*, ed. John O. Iatridis (London: UPNE, 1981).
26. DIAYE, "Dim. K. Sfaellos to Mr. Tsaldaris, Observations on the situation and measures for the protection of Hellenism in Cyprus" (DIAYE, Folder 42/2, 1947).
27. DIAYE, "Kountouriotis, to Ministry for Foreign Affairs" (DIAYE, Folder 88/1, 3rd Subfolder, 1948).
28. Efimeris ton Chiton, 7 March 1949.
29. Generally on the US perspective on the position of Cyprus in the context of competition between the two superpowers see T.W. Adams and Alvin J. Cottrell, *Cyprus Between East and West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).
30. DIAYE, "A. Kountouriotis, Consul of Greece, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "On the involvement of the US Consul in the internal affairs of Cyprus"" (DIAYE, Folder 17/4, 1948).
31. "Communists have no position in our Sports Club", *Ethnos*, 4 April 1948.
32. Generally on the strikes of 1948 see PEO, *The strike struggles of Miners and Asbestos-Miners of 1948—A milestone in the course of the Cyprus Workers Trade Union Movement* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1979). For the stance of SEK regarding the strikes, see Grigoris Grigoriadis, *History of SEK* (Nicosia: SEK, 1994), Vol. 1.
33. Andreas Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union movement during the British rule (1878–1960)* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2005), vol. A:427–33.
34. PEO, *History PSE-PEO* (Nicosia: PEO, 1991), 134.
35. Grigoriadis, *History of SEK*, 257.
36. Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 441–42.
37. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 490.
38. "A statement of the President of the Cyprus Mining Company", Efimeris, 14 February 1948.
39. Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 445–46.
40. "The stance of the New Trade Unions on the struggle of the miners", *Ethnos*, 22 February 1948. Also see Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 411.
41. DIAYE, "Information Bulletin on Cyprus" (DIAYE, Folder 88/1, 1948).
42. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 412.
43. See all editions of the newspaper *Efimeris* between 14 February and 15 May 1948.
44. Encyclical of Archbishop Makarios II on 20 March, 1948. Cited in Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 835.

45. “Miners! You only have one way out: Kicking the commune”, Efimeris, 6 March 1948.
46. Mass arrests for illegal strike gatherings and cases of beatings were a daily occurrence. See Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 452.
47. PEO, History PSE-PEO (Nicosia: PEO, 1991), 136.
48. For a description of the bloody events of March see TNA, “Political situation in Cyprus in March 1948” (TNA, CO 537/4041, 1948).
49. Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 458.
50. Democrates, 9 March 1948.
51. While the government had so far not sought to pursue arbitration in the dispute, with the coming of Mudd and the apparent shipwreck of the negotiations, it decided to send the Labor Administrator as mediator. See Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 482.
52. PEO, *History PSE-PEO*, 139.
53. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 472.
54. “Old-trade-union workers in Amiantos went on strike”, Eleftheria, 3 August 1948.
55. “Work in Amiantos continues”, Eleftheria, 4 August 1948.
56. “For new militant struggles, for new horizons—The Self-government People’s Convention that took place the day before yesterday spoke to the soul of our entire enslaved populace”, Democrates, 3 August 1948.
57. “Thousands of working people marched last night in indignation, in all cities of Cyprus”, Democrates, 3 August 1948.
58. “To perform our duty towards Cyprus”, Democrates, 12 August 1948.
59. “All at tomorrow’s 24 hour universal strike—All at the battlements for guaranteeing the trade union rights”, Democrates, 12 August 1948.
60. “Our popular fundraiser daily grows”, Democrates, 18 August 1948.
61. “Possible ending today of the Amianots strike”, Eleftheria, 26 August 1948.
62. On the stance of the PEO see Fantis, *The Cypriot trade union*, 526. and on the stance of SEK see Grigoriadis, *History of SEK*, 276.
63. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 488.
64. “On the side of the contractors”, Eleftheria, 19 August 1948.
65. For the full statement of the organizations participating in the meeting see Papageorgiou, *AKEL the other KKE*, 45.
66. “The ‘48, year of the most bitter struggles of the working class—The speech of f. A. Ziartidis at the rally of the p. Thursday”, Democrates, 19 September 1948.
67. Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly*, 490.
68. “Two explosive attempts to blow up contractors’ homes”, Eleftheria, 31 August 1948.

69. TNA, "Confidential, Political situation in Cyprus in September 1948" (TNA, CO 537/4041, 1948).
70. "Yesterday's shocking events in Nicosia- Fierce conflicts in construction workplaces", *Democrates*, 2 September 1948.
71. TNA, "Confidential, Political situation in Cyprus in September 1948" (TNA, CO 537/4041, 1948).
72. "Cyprian News—The developments of the construction workers' strike", *Efimeris ton Chiton*, 27 September 1948.
73. "The failed strike", *Efimeris ton Chiton*, 15 November 1948.
74. ASKI, "Letter of Alekos Lympouris to Andreas Ziartidis" (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/11). The subject of continuing the strike concerned the P.G. of AKEL, in the absence of the leader of PEO, A. Ziartidis, who was with the S.G. of AKEL on a delegation abroad (a meeting with a representative of P.S.O. followed by a meeting with Zahariadis on the "mountain").
75. "The contract signed yesterday between contractors and the Old trade Union", *Eleftheria*, 19 December 1948. Essentially meeting the request of the strikers to not include a provision in the legislation entitling contractors to hire workers exclusively from the New Trade Unions.

## Leading the Anti-colonial Movement

### THE COMMUNIST RETROGRESSION

While the right began to coalesce as a single faction and was led by the ethnarchy, AKEL had to contend with its intraparty issues. Specifically, the party's stance toward self-government seemed to weaken when a member of the Central Committee (CC), Nikos Savvidis, on his return from Greece, informed the CC that KKE disagreed with AKEL's "self-government-enosis" position.<sup>1</sup> To clarify the issue, the CC commissioned party General Secretary F. Ioannou and Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO) General Secretary A. Ziartidis to travel to DSE headquarters in the Greek mountains for a meeting with KKE leadership regarding the tack they should take.<sup>2</sup>

After an adventure beginning on 20 October 1948 that took them through Cairo, Paris, Prague, Budapest, Belgrade and Skopje, Ioannou and Ziartidis finally arrived in a DSE-controlled area of Greece. During their meeting with the KKE Polit Bureau (PB), they discussed AKEL's "self-government-enosis" position, the key topic, as well as AKEL's participation in strengthening the DSE and the introduction of special programs for Cyprus by the "Free Greece" radio station. Ioannou, Ziartidis, and the KKE PB also discussed organizational issues pertaining to KKE's experience with illegal activities: AKEL feared a dictatorship would be imposed on Cyprus after the party was declared illegal.<sup>3</sup> Among the documents submitted to KKE leadership by Ioannou and Ziartidis was a document titled, "The attached list of special issues for a more detailed

discussion,” which lists the main issues concerning AKEL leadership and on which the party requested the opinion and guidance of KKE. The following predominated the list:

Enosis with any Greece, regardless of its regime, or Enosis with a democratic Greece?

How is our stance assessed as opposed to the constitutional proposals of the Br. Government?

What are your views on the economic war, as outlined in the report?<sup>4</sup>

Also included were questions concerning scholarships for Cypriot youths at schools in the People’s Democracies, thoughts on the establishment of consular authorities by these countries in Cyprus, and on the internal problems of AKEL, and so on.

As regards the secondary issues, there is no evidence as to the reaction of KKE leadership apart from subsequent correspondence regarding some of these issues. Regarding the key issue and the reason for the meeting, AKEL’s position on “self-government-enosis,” and the testimony of Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou himself is enlightening. At the meeting, Nikos Zachariades, General Secretary of KKE, commenting on the report submitted by AKEL officials on the situation in Cyprus, described AKEL’s position and potential constitutional reforms in Cyprus as liberalism, and he urged AKEL to reorganize its strategy and tactics around the motto of “immediate enosis.” Zahariadis specifically told Ioannou and Ziartidis the following: “You cannot talk about constitutional reforms within the context of the British Commonwealth when our prospect is to soon take over Athens. Your motto must be ‘Enosis and only Enosis.’”<sup>5</sup>

Given this mandate, F. Ioannou was uncertain which guidance to take, that of KKE or that of the Communist Party of Britain, which advised AKEL to follow the legal route toward enosis, which included the pursuit of constitutional reforms or the “Enosis and only Enosis” path demanded by KKE. According to Ioannou’s testimony, Zahariadis suggested the matter be taken up by the Comintern: “Since you place your own line and tactic as a local party in juxtaposition with the views of the ‘metropolitan’ (British) party and our own ‘national’ (Greek) party, all I can recommend is that you go to Bucharest.”<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Ioannou and Ziartidis traveled to Bucharest where, after preparing three reports outlining the positions of the Communist Party of

Britain, KKE, and their own party, respectively, awaited the decision of the Comintern. The secretary of the Comintern, Yudin, ruled that this issue was too complex for Bucharest and deemed it should be addressed by the Soviet Communist Party. The two AKEL representatives then returned to Cyprus to await a reply from the Soviet Union. According to Ioannou, it never came.<sup>7</sup>

The ‘meeting on the mountain’ was of such great importance because of its effect on AKEL’s revised stance toward enosis. The influence exerted by KKE on AKEL, both at that time and later on, was quite significant, to which Zahariadis himself testified.<sup>8</sup> But this influence, which was essentially institutional guidance, was a factor in the progress of AKEL from the commencement of the communist movement in Cyprus until the end of the 1950s. AKEL sought this guidance and never differed with it or spurned it; this was perfectly reasonable while AKEL pursued enosis, either directly or through constitutional reforms, since KKE had been appointed by the Third International to ‘guide’ the Cyprus Communist Party.<sup>9</sup>

### AKEL IN CRISIS

Immediately after the return of Ioannou and Ziartidis from Bucharest, the party’s CC convened on 16 January 1949. It announced that its efforts toward self-government for the island were misguided, “a liberal bourgeois approach of the Cyprus Unifying issue which tended to subdue the revolutionary worker-peasant movement to compromising reforms that essentially aligned it with the dispositions and interests of imperialism.” In its statement, the CC stressed that the only desire of the Cypriot people is to “break the colonial context suffocating them, to nationally restore themselves, to unite with mother Greece.”<sup>10</sup>

In a following session, the CC decided each member would deliver a “self-critical biographical note,” and on the 26 and 27 February 1949, a new CC session adopted these notes as the consolidated text of its decision.<sup>11</sup> On 5 March, the members of the CC, based on the notes, declared the membership “consists of elements with bourgeois influences and tendencies that cannot belong to the party leadership.” Thus, the entire Central Committee of AKEL resigned and a Provisional Central Guidance was designated to the lead the party to its sixth convention, which was scheduled for July.<sup>12</sup>

The Provisional Central Guidance members included Ezekias Papaioannou, Andreas Ziartidis, Andreas Fantis, Savvas Ioannou, Stelios

Iakovidis, G. Christodoulidis, and Pavlos Georgiou: Papaioannou, Ziartidis, Fantis and S. Ioannou had been members of the CC which had resigned in March. Provisional Central Guidance made an announcement on 8 March, 1949:

The Central Committee found serious errors in the political line and tactic of our Party. These errors were borne by the whole of the C.C. and the party officials. (...) From the criticism and self-criticism it was unanimously found that in its majority the C.C. consists of elements with bourgeois influences and tendencies that cannot [remain] in the party leadership.

As a result of the above findings, the C.C. decided, with only one dissent, to resign. Before resigning, the C.C. decided that, until the coming 6th Convention of the Party, which will take place in late July 1949, it shall entrust the leadership of the Party to a Provisional seven-member Central Guidance....<sup>13</sup>

Those who resigned from the CC stood in solidarity with its Provisional Central Guidance and, on the day following the publication of the CC's decision, they called upon AKEL membership to unite to unite around the party's Provisional leadership:

Friends and Comrades, after the intentional noise that the large-bourgeois reaction sought to rouse in order to create confusion and blur the waters concerning our latest decisions on the regrouping of our Central Committee, we feel obliged to openly come forth and proclaim the following:

In our extreme concern and worry to solve the problem of popular national-political and economic survival, we made errors. Errors in the line we followed, and tactical errors. (...) But all together, united, we stood in front of our errors. Not for a moment did we try to hide them. We placed them all—our errors and ourselves—under the prism of the voluntary, the higher party-popular criticism and self-criticism. Our unanimous conclusion was the need for all-round party reconstruction and the first example had to be given by us, who held the senior party offices. (...) All together, alongside our Provisional Central Guidance, let us go forwards to new struggles. All united, forwards to alter the 6th Convention of AKEL into a Convention of all-round party consolidation, party strength and development of our national liberation struggle.<sup>14</sup>

Provisional Central Guidance led the party to its sixth convention, at which AKEL ratified the decision to shift toward “Enosis and only Enosis” and unanimously elected Ezekias Papaioannou as the party's General

Secretary.<sup>15</sup> The crisis in AKEL's leadership was not a factor in the party's adoption of "Enosis and only Enosis" as its motto, but the crisis, a dispute between the two sides of the party, remained unresolved. Papaioannou himself later wrote: "the crisis was between the truly revolutionary portion of the leadership and the compromising or reformist one (...) Within this division of course entered the issue of the political line, that, as we have said, in those circumstances, the truly militant, anti-imperialist, national liberation motto, was the Union's motto."<sup>16</sup> AKEL's shift toward its single-minded pursuit of enosis took the form of an internal consolidation of the party and triggered an attempt by AKEL to achieve ideological purity.<sup>17</sup>

### THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1949

The left and the right tabulated victories and losses following the strikes, then readied themselves for the next series of confrontations, which would be electoral. The left had built a solid foundation for massive gains, having brought a large segment of the labor movement to its side and with new leaders at its helm, but it was still vibrating from the revision of its position on enosis. The right had established SEK as a genuine expression of its segment of the labor movement, thanks to the frontal collision of communists and nationalists and its growing organizational strength, rallied the party prior to the elections.

The crisis in AKEL-Kliridis relations, which had been forgotten for several months, surfaced again when municipal elections were proclaimed for May 1949.<sup>18</sup> Elections would be held in six cities: Nicosia, Lemesos, Ammochostos, Larnaca, Kyrenia, and Paphos and in the towns of Morphou, Kythrea, Lefka, Lapithos, Karavas, Lefkoniko, Lefkara, Polis Chrysochous, Acanthus, and Athienou. Though the elections in other cities on the island were important, the key prize was the capital.<sup>19</sup>

AKEL decided not to support Kliridis for the Nicosia municipality, announcing instead its support for A. Ziartidis, a candidate who was popular but not bourgeois. Despite the crises it faced, both in the EAS and internally, the left maintained its cohesion and scope. The prevailing civil-war climate in Cyprus strengthened the class consciousness and party identification of AKEL's members, and both served to forge greater party unity: they were not, however, sufficient to fill the void left by Kliridis's absence from the ballot. The right's candidate and Ziartidis's rival, Themistoklis Dervis, had been the mayor of Nicosia for the previous two decades, with the exception of the three years from 1946 to 1949.<sup>20</sup>



Though it first it appeared as though the elections would be a battle between the two factions, the newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* that was close to Kliridis, announced on 11 April 1949 that Ioannis Kliridis would run for mayor as head of an independent faction. *Eleftheros Typos* called on the people to vote for Kliridis so as to smash Themistoklis Dervis, whom it described as “an ethnically harmful situation.” Kliridis’s had an impact on both factions: for the right it meant a loss of votes to AKEL, since Kliridis was appreciated throughout the right; Kliridis might also take votes away from AKEL, given the party’s many years of cooperation with him.<sup>21</sup>

But while the barrage of attacks from Kliridis supporters was directed against the candidate supported by the right and the ethnarchy, the AKEL-Kliridis controversy was the dominant issue during the run-up to the elections. Recriminations, letters, and press reports made the election seem like a battle between the two former partners; this was obviously to the benefit of Kliridis, who had hopes of massive support from the progressive-bourgeois voters of AKEL. The climate, however, was such that it would not permit good results for a third state candidate: Kliridis realized the battle was lost and withdrew his candidacy, leaving the two sides to clash “until annihilation.” In other statements, however, he called on the people to vote Dervis out, implying he was willing to support the right’s other candidates.<sup>22</sup>

The road remained open to the clash between Dervis on the right and Ziartidis on the left, but the left was undermined by Law 34 of 1948 for the Municipal Elections: among its provisions, it declared an increase of the period one must have resided within a city’s municipal limits to exercise voting rights, from 12 to 24 months. Thus, a large number of workers with no fixed residence because they had to travel to find jobs were excluded from the new electoral lists.<sup>23</sup> In accordance with the new law, the preparation of new electoral rolls was undertaken by the mayors of the cities and towns where the elections were to take place, and the majority of them were aligned with the right. AKEL’s *Democrates* attacked the colonial government, accusing it of “plotting with the National Party and the mukhtars, to prepare false electoral lists for all municipalities and particularly Nicosia for the purpose of placing as mayor of the capital a favored to it person.”<sup>24</sup> The court suspended the publication of the newspaper for three months, but AKEL responded by publishing a temporary newspaper, *Neos Democrates*.<sup>25</sup>

The right had the open support of the Greek Consulate, and the new Consul, Alexis Liatis, was an advocate for the candidates of the right and

the ethnarchy; in Greece, various rightists broadcast speeches on the radio in favor of KEK candidates. In joint declarations, Greek–Cypriot nationalist organizations and affiliated unions called on the people to support the Right “for the salvation of the Race.” A joint declaration on 30 April 1949 by the nationalist unions of Larnaca stated the following:<sup>26</sup>

The Slavic-communist enemy in the fight against our Nation, has as its instruments the fifth-phalangist Hellenic-communists. The Communist Party of Greece, as demonstrated by its vile rebellion against the Greek Homeland, the mass kidnappings of innocent children of our Race and the recent convention with the participation of the NOF via three Bulgarian representatives, decided the sell-out of Greece to the Slavs (...). With the traitor communists of Greece those in Cyprus have linked their fate.<sup>27</sup>

Beginning on the 8 May and concluding on 29 May, the elections took place in four phases in a highly-polarized climate marked by tension and outbreaks of violence. There were numerous injuries and, in the capital, two deaths. *Democrates* reported on the elections as follows:

The Municipal Elections last Sunday in the six Cypriot cities were held in an electrified atmosphere and recurrent incidents and clashes were successively announced from all over. As we were informed by a police officer, the agitation of the two rival factions was particularly strong in Nicosia. Every 3 minutes emergency phone calls were made to police stations around the capital, announcing Homeric battles between members and supporters of the two rival factions. The police with great difficulty managed to keep hold of the situation and prevent more serious events. Over a hundred different incidents and clashes happened in Nicosia alone, from Saturday night, election eve, until the time of completion of the voting. Hundreds of people were apprehended by police and taken into custody at police stations in Nicosia and the central prison. Dozens of wounded were transferred for treatment to the hospital, many of whom were quite seriously injured.<sup>28</sup>

The candidates of the right won the 1949 municipal elections, at least in the countryside, with the nationalist parties prevailing in all of the rural municipalities: Lefkoniko, Karavas, Lapithos Lefkara, Akanthou, Kythrea, and Polis Chrysochous. The left managed to win Morphou, where its candidate, Nikolopoulos, was elected and to retain the municipalities of Lemesos,<sup>29</sup> Ammochostos, and Larnaca; the right won the municipalities of Nicosia, Paphos, and Kyrenia, managing to reverse the drubbing it took

in 1946 by dominating the countryside and only losing by narrow margins three of the island's largest cities.<sup>30</sup>

Given its intraparty problems, the electoral lists issue, and the absence of fellow travelers from its ballots, the left, at least in the large cities, was able to leverage its privileged relationship with the island's workers: without this relationship, AKEL would have been devastated in these elections, perhaps irreparably. An AKEL report on the municipal elections of 1949 sets out the difficulties the party faced, including the withdrawal of Kliridis and the resignation of its CC, then continues:

Our Party was not defeated in the Municipal elections. It cannot be considered a defeat when, among the blackmail and terrorizing, our Party garnered 45 % of votes, when they managed to place under labour control the Municipalities of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th city of Cyprus, when, with the exception of Nicosia, they cornered the reaction in the rural municipalities of 1500–5000 inhabitants. It is not a defeat when nationalism with its famous victory controls less of the Greek population than the Party (43.373 Greek inhabitants the right, 43.900 the left).

Changes within AKEL and its problems with EAS deprived the left of access to the centrist segment of the population, preventing the party from becoming the island's political faction of majority inclination.<sup>31</sup>

### THE ENOSIS REFERENDUM

The right, strengthened by the election results, was determined to keep the left in isolation and on the political sidelines, with the main goal of the primacy of the unifying struggle. On 23 July 1949, the Coordinating Committee of Cypriot Struggle (SEKA) was founded, with its members being the KEK the PEK, the SEK, the nationalist municipal councilors, and other prominent factors of the right. SEKA was the popular arm of the faction, with the ethnarchy as its supervisory authority.<sup>32</sup>

While the right celebrated its victory in the municipal elections of 1949, AKEL proceeded to settle the intraparty issues which had remained open since its sixth Convention. At the convention, the party officially adopted "Enosis and only Enosis" as its slogan and tried to shake off the 'stigma' from its participation in the Constitutional Assembly.<sup>33</sup> The friendly overtures it made to the ethnarchy and its efforts to form a united national front assembly with the right, both in its pursuit of "Enosis and

only Enosis," were core to its revised policy. On 27 September 1949, the EAS sent a memorandum to the ethnarchy in which it called for the submission of a joint memorandum to the UN General Assembly for the organization of a delegation to the United Nations and for Pancyprian demonstrations in support of enosis.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the party organized mass rallies to express a number of social demands, which resulted in the arrests of party officials and heavy fines. Around 300 members of the left were imprisoned during this period, while the fines incurred by the party amounted to thousands of pounds.<sup>35</sup>

The ethnarchy refused to cooperate with the left, which forced EAS to send its own memorandum to all of the delegations from the UN member-states and to begin planning for a collection of signatures within Cyprus in support of the memorandum.<sup>36</sup> Fearing the left would take the lead in the unification movement, on 2 December, the ethnarchy called for a referendum, which was scheduled for 15 January 1950.<sup>37</sup> EAS then decided to immediately cease its activities and support the referendum, while simultaneously criticizing the right's anti-communist hysteria and its refusal to cooperate with the left. Both sides worked vigorously for the success of the referendum, but did so separately.<sup>38</sup>

The British made it clear there would be no regime change on the island, exerting pressure so as to impede the referendum: this included deportations, the prohibition of open gatherings, and threatening civil servants who participated in the referendum with termination.<sup>39</sup> The Greek government, following the approach of the British embassy in Athens, essentially condemned the referendum and even recalled its Consul while it was being conducted.<sup>40</sup> In Turkey, demonstrations were organized against enosis, and the government declared its concerns over the fate of the island if and when the British withdrew.<sup>41</sup>

From its pulpits, the ethnarchy called on its members to participate in the referendum, while the left addressed the other communities, urging them to support enosis. In a 12 January 1950 circular, AKEL specifically informed the island's Turkish Cypriots and Armenians on the referendum and invited them to join the Greek Cypriots since, as the circular explained, "the fight of the referendum is not just a fight for national and social freedom of the Greek people of Cyprus. It is at the same time a fight for your own national social progress and prosperity. Imperialism is an exploiter and oppressor of all Greeks, Turks and Armenians."<sup>42</sup>

In another statement, one addressed exclusively to the Turks of Cyprus and lamenting the disruptive role of the British on the island, AKEL refers

to the disruptive role of the British on the island: “Every Turk with democratic perceptions will agree with us that it is the democratic right of the Greek inhabitants of this island to proclaim their aspirations, as it is the democratic right of the Turks to be interested in safeguarding their own national rights as a minority.”<sup>43</sup>

The referendum eventually took place as planned, from 15 to 22 January 1950, in a climate of general enthusiasm,<sup>44</sup> with 95.7 percent of Greek Cypriots voting in favor of enosis.<sup>45</sup> The most salient result of the referendum was that, for the first time, Greek Cypriots had something tangible in their hands: the will of the majority of the population for the union of Cyprus with Greece, written and signed. This made it possible for both sides of the island’s political divide to strengthen their drive for enosis. The referendum was an intersection in the history of Cyprus, defining the *before* and *after*. Before the referendum, the strong participation of the left in the enosis movement colored the movement with anti-imperialism; the referendum and the assumption of the leadership of the enosis movement by the Church and the nationalists altered the character of the movement, removing it from its former Cold War context. At the same time, though, this drained some of the energy from the universal and anti-colonial struggle against the British occupation. Additionally, the result of the referendum became the foundation from which the struggle for enosis would take a more dynamic shape.

### THE DELEGATIONS’ EXERTION

Relations between the two Greek–Cypriot factions remained static, even though AKEL had made a significant shift in its position on enosis and the right had made a dynamic comeback with a number of key victories in the 1949 elections and even though the referendum had restored the primacy of the unifying struggle for enosis. AKEL and its fellow travelers continued to seek cooperation with the right and the ethnarchy, particularly more potent anti-colonial actions and the internationalization of the Cyprus issue which would also include the Eastern countries. The ethnarchy spurned all of AKEL’s proposals: it was now in a position of strength and could ignore the left while monopolizing the struggle for enosis; the Church maintained a mild anti-British mien while simultaneously refusing to promote the Cyprus issue in the Eastern countries.

On 6 March 1950, the ethnarchy decided to send a national delegation to the UN General Assembly to formally present the results of the

referendum and the demand for enosis to which the referendum results gave significant heft.<sup>46</sup> EAS and the rest of the left, excluded from the delegation, decided to send their own people's delegation,<sup>47</sup> a decision opposed by Santama and Nikolopoulos, the mayors of Morphou and Larnaca, respectively. Neither mayor was a member of AKEL nor one of its front organizations, and each had previously voiced his displeasure with the control AKEL exerted on the coalition of leftist organizations. Nikolopoulos eventually resigned, and Santama was removed from EAS and harshly attacked for undemocratic behavior, apostasy and being in the service of imperialist interests. After giving up on I. Kliridis, AKEL then lost two more key allies with broad influence on local communities.<sup>48</sup>

The 'national delegation' was led by the Bishop of Kyrenia, Kyprianos, and included Savvas Loizidis, George Rossidis and Nicolaos Lanitis. The delegation departed on 14 May for Athens and, on its arrival on 20 May at Piraeus, was greeted by an enthusiastic gathering which had been organized by the Church and various other organizations.<sup>49</sup> The British government immediately proceeded to demand of the political leaders of Greece and King Paul that they refuse to accept the delegation. Plastiras met with the delegation despite British pressure, but he promised London he would try to persuade the Cypriots to remain in Athens and not journey to the UN, which would severely damage Greek–British relations.<sup>50</sup> British objections notwithstanding, the Greek Cypriots now enjoyed the support of the Palace, the Greek Church, and a variety of para-religious organizations and national associations. It could now pursue the Greek political parties, since the rather emotional Cyprus issue met the requirements for registration in the Helladic political agenda. For the people in favor of Greek nationalism, and, especially the Palace, the annexation of Cyprus was undoubtedly an irredentist issue. At the Kallimarmaro Stadium, where the delegation was hosted at a grand reception on 21 May 1950, the speakers praised the King's stance and condemned the government's neutrality.<sup>51</sup>

After Athens, the Cypriot delegation continued on to London and New York. Britain's Minister of Colonies chose not to meet with the delegation and sent a message reiterating the British government's position. In New York that September, the delegation sought to persuade the US Assistant Secretary of State as to the justness of their cause. They also delivered the volumes of the referendum to the Assistant UN Secretary-General, made several contacts with delegations from member-states, and, after traveling home through Paris and Athens, arrived in Cyprus on 21 December 1950.

It was also at this time that the People's National Delegation which was comprised of Papaioannou, Adamantos and Ioannidis, having failed to secure an entry permit to Greece and the USA, toured London, Paris, Prague, Bucharest, Budapest, and Warsaw. Returning to Cyprus, Ezekias Papaioannou thanked the governments of the eastern countries for their support and launched a severe attack on the ethnarchy and the Greek government.<sup>52</sup> The goodwill expressed by the AKEL General Secretary to the eastern countries was done for the sake of expediency, in an attempt to boost the prestige of the 'people's delegation.' In reality, AKEL leadership encountered numerous difficulties and weathered many disagreements with regards to enosis with delegations from other communist parties.<sup>53</sup>

### THE MAKARIOS ERA

On 22 June 1950, while the delegation was still in Athens, Archbishop Makarios II passed away. The Cypriot Church was once again headless, but the right reacted immediately and, for the first time, as a single, coordinated faction. Immediately after the Archbishop's funeral, the executive committee of the Coordinating Committee of Cypriot Struggle (SEKA), which included the mayor of Nicosia, Themistoklis Dervis; General Secretary of SEK, Michalakis Pissas; and GS of PEK, Stefanos Protopapas, met hastily and selected the Bishop of Kition, Makarios, as their candidate for the archbishopric throne.<sup>54</sup> This was deemed necessary because of the absence of the Bishop of Kyrenia, Kyprianos, who was in Athens with the delegation, which rendered the circles surrounding Kyprianos unable to designate him as a candidate. This series of events ultimately split the right wing.<sup>55</sup>

As it did during previous archiepiscopal elections, the ethnarchy, through Locum Tenens Kleopas, Bishop of Paphos, issued a circular in which it announced it would exclude from the electoral lists "those finding themselves in ecclesiastical penance, those imperatively expressing opinions opposed to Orthodox Christian teaching, those expressing themselves in a manner disrespectful toward this Church or workers thereof and those acting or cooperating so-promoting or assisting such expressions, unless convincing the Bishop of their sincere repentance...." This paragraph essentially enabled the priests to exclude whomever they wished from the electoral lists: it was what they had done in previous elections to disenfranchise as many leftist voters as they could.<sup>56</sup>

The Bishop of Kition was the favorite to win the election as he had secured the early support of almost the entire right. The circles surrounding the

Bishop of Kyrenia were, of course, opposed to the nomination of Makarios and turned against SEKA for its hasty decision to support him.<sup>57</sup> The left, while protesting the exclusion of its supporters from the electoral lists, recommended the selection of a common candidate; when its proposal was rejected, it chose to abstain from the election, decrying the popular legitimization as an electoral coup.<sup>58</sup> Eventually, the general representatives unanimously elected Makarios of Kition as the new Archbishop.<sup>59</sup>

Because he had experienced the right's pluralism and questions about the legitimacy of his candidacy, most of which originated in Kyrenia, Archbishop Makarios III was determined to gradually rid himself of the traditional structures of the right. From early on, Makarios sought to develop ethnarchic presence within a network of absolute trust and positive influence, a clear difference from the policies followed by his predecessors.<sup>60</sup> On 19 February 1951, retaining a few bridges of communication with the left but careful to avoid coming into conflict with the anti-communists on the right, Makarios met with a delegation of representatives from EAS and AKEL, with the objective of limiting leftist attacks on his person.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, so as to acquire control over and eventually lead the Greek-Cypriot right, Makarios established the Office of Religious Enlightenment, which could convene large ethnarchic assemblies throughout the island with representative participation by the various nationalist organizations.<sup>62</sup>

Makarios became progressively and more uncompromisingly devoted to unity. He made clear criticisms of Britain and put pressure on the Greek government. During his visit to Athens in March 1951, Makarios persuaded Prime Minister Sofoklis Venizelos to convene a meeting of political leaders to devise a strategy for the Cyprus issue in case the friendly approach toward the British Government underperformed. As Venizelos revealed on the floor of the Greek Parliament on 25 April 1956, Makarios, in defiance of US instructions, exerted irresistible pressure, often resorting to blackmail, to push Greece to seek UN intervention.<sup>63</sup>

The separate delegations, national and people's, continued their work, and so both the ethnarchy and the left were represented separately at the UN General Assembly in November 1951. The Greek government maintained its neutral stance on the Cyprus issue, but the case was put to the Guardianship Commission for non-self-governing countries by Greek Members of the Parliament (MPs) Giorgios Mavros and Loukis Akritas.<sup>64</sup> In addition to the surprising support of the Greek Members of the Parliament. MPs, the Polish representative, who had been approached by the people's



delegation, voiced his support for the union of Cyprus with Greece on the floor of the Assembly, an event that provided significant prestige to the people's delegation and the Greek-Cypriot left.<sup>65</sup> The distance separating the two sides remained unbridgeable, however, and it seemed their paths would never converge. The left, mainly for tactical reasons, pursued cooperation and joint events, which the ethnarchy emphatically refused.<sup>66</sup>

### AKEL: THE FINAL SHAKEDOWN

The unbridgeable gap between the left and the right with regard to the dispatch of a delegation to the UN, in particular the decision of EAS to send its people's delegation along with AKEL's radical stance toward the Greek civil war, had a significant impact on the left. AKEL's two 'fellow travelers,' the mayors of Morphou and Larnaca, withdrew from EAS in disagreement over the 'people's delegation.'

Policarpos Nikolopoulos, whom EAS supported for mayor of Morphou, withdrew from the coalition in protest over the 'people's delegation.' EAS accepted Nikolopoulos's resignation with a 23 March 1950 letter to the former mayor characterizing his decision as undemocratic.<sup>67</sup> At the next meeting of the Morphou city council, on 9 May, Nikolopoulos submitted a resolution to the council that Morphou would side with the ethnarchy and support the national delegation. The resolution was adopted after a stormy discussion, and Nikolopoulos officially joined the ethnarchy's camp; he commenced a series of meetings with the bishops at which he declared unequivocally that he stood on the side 'of the Ethnarchic Church of Cyprus.'<sup>68</sup>

Nikolopoulos's objective, according to *Democrates*,<sup>69</sup> was the release of EAS from AKEL and the creation of an autonomous third pole. The Mayor of Larnaca, Lysos Santamas, sided with Nikolopoulos and submitted a formal proposal to EAS for its release from AKEL. The Executive Council of EAS rejected the proposal and decided to expel Santamas from the coalition. EAS issued a statement accusing Santamas and Nikolopoulos of being apostates: according to EAS, they were working behind the back of the coalition to found a third party that would accept the colonial administration's constitutional reforms and that once they realized they couldn't, they attempted to reshape EAS and extract it from AKEL and other popular organizations of the left.<sup>70</sup> Santamas accused EAS of having been converted by AKEL into a "party organism instead of National-Liberation thereof, dependent and driven entirely by AKEL."<sup>71</sup>

These disagreements and the departures of fellow travelers that they prompted were related to the intraparty problems continuing to plague AKEL. The party had endured an internal crisis for a number of years, and it finally came to a head at AKEL's seventh convention, which began on 1 December 1951. The ideological differences between Servas and his supporters and the rest of the party's leadership, as well as disagreements among party leaders beyond the conflict with Servas, particularly after Papaioannou exacerbated the situation, left the party in a disheveled, agitated state—a volcano ready to erupt.

The dissidents expressed their dissatisfaction with party leadership at the convention, many of them referencing an extensive article by KKE officials G. Ioannidis, K. Kolligiannis and P. Roussos in the November 1951 edition of the KKE magazine *Neos Kosmos*. This particular article examined all of the issues concerning Cyprus and AKEL; it was written to provide guidance to AKEL and was requested in July 1951 on behalf of the Polit Bureau of the party by Papaioannou.<sup>72</sup>

In many places, the article was quite critical of AKEL's tactics. The authors, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the October 1931 uprising, analyzed the situation in Cyprus, in general, and the role of AKEL on the island, in particular. According to the authors, whose assertions sparked a number of acrimonious intraparty discussions, AKEL had made a number of grave mistakes: participating in the Assembly; waiting too long to adopt "Enosis and only Enosis" as its motto; abstaining from electoral processes; failing in much of its ideological and organizational work; and cooperating with the Turkish-Cypriot community. While the article characterizes "Enosis and only Enosis" as "a correct and consistent with Marxism-Leninism motto," it castigates AKEL for not outlining a clear set of tactics to help the Greek-Cypriots achieve such a union. Ioannidis, Kolligiannis, and Roussos also wrote that AKEL should take advantage of every opportunity "to conquer even the smallest seats within the colonial regime. [...] We must use every existing political institution to bring the masses each time closer to our main motto."<sup>73</sup> With regard to the island's Turkish population and the stance AKEL should take toward it, the article warns:

AKEL will not be able to become a leading revolutionary party of the Cypriot people if it fails to influence and conquer politically and organizationally the working Turkish minority. The Turks distrust the Greeks and the members of AKEL because they have no confidence in the large-greek chauvinism. And ignorance or underestimation of the Turkish minority by the party leader is nothing but a clear manifestation of this chauvinism.<sup>74</sup>

These criticisms triggered an attack by Servas's group on the party's leadership. The criticism from the intraparty opposition revolved around the errors delineated in the KKE article and were a source of real tension during the convention.<sup>75</sup> On the subject of abstention from electoral processes, the General Secretary of AKEL, in his introductory speech, was the first of the party's leaders to declare the party's abstention from elections its most severe misstep. Papaioannou's preemptive self-flagellation, however, didn't staunch the flow of criticism rushing toward him, particularly from Servas who delineated the instances over the two years preceding the seventh convention in which the Central Committee (CC) committed serious errors or failed to tend to its responsibilities.<sup>76</sup>

Papaioannou was determined to maintain the balance achieved in 1949, and, immediately following the convention, he began the process of "correction of the opportunist right derogation." The dismissal of Servas as a salaried official, however, and the contest between the two sides of the party to control the editorial team of *Neos Demokratēs* sparked a definite crisis. In a letter to KKE, Papaioannou explained the situation:<sup>77</sup>

We must also tell you that our Party continues to hold today a struggle with opportunism and fractionalism whose main representative is c. Ploutis Servas. We have much evidence in our hands showing the anti-party downhill and the suspect role of certain elements and we are going to clarify the situation.<sup>78</sup>

At its meeting from 10 to 12 August 1952, the plenary of the CC of AKEL decided to expel Ploutis Servas, Christofis Nousis, and Giorgos Kakogiannis from the party. The CC also expelled two other party officials, the Mayor of Ammochostos, Adam Adamantos, and EAS official Chatzimatthaios Chatzinikolas<sup>79</sup> and deposed Vassos Lyssarides from the presidency of the Pancyprian Peace Committee.<sup>80</sup> Those expelled were described as a "fractionistic-opportunistic" group that operated within the party so as to destroy the unity and the monolithic aspect of the party and to restore the desire for self-government to the AKEL platform.<sup>81</sup> In its statement, the CC also mentioned evidence of destructive activities undertaken by those it expelled, as well as their attempts to meet with KKE officials at international conventions for the purpose of calumniating the party's General Secretary and AKEL leadership in general.<sup>82</sup>

AKEL went through its most severe crisis at this point, losing key officials who had access beyond the left. With Papaioannou as General Secretary, the

character the party would have over the following years began to take shape and solidify. AKEL was now free of the elements who had sought to broaden the party: it no longer had any reason to communicate with the British, and it was now autonomous with regard to foreign influences. It became a monolithic party, immovable in its positions. Its numerous members and other left wing organizations were completely loyal to the party, but for the time being it remained unable to establish itself as a majority faction.

### THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1953

Makarios constantly gained ground in his competition with AKEL for leadership of the unifying struggle. Taking advantage of the left's electoral decline, its political isolation, and its shrinking organization, all brought about by its ongoing internal crises, Makarios continually knocked on the UN's door while simultaneously exerting immense pressure on successive Greek governments, which he was able to do by using the excellent relationships he had nurtured with the Greek Church, with the opposition political parties, and with a significant portion of the Greek press.<sup>83</sup>

AKEL still proposed a collaboration with the right, while continuing its criticism of the ethnarchy for excluding the party from all anti-colonial activities. On 1 February 1953, AKEL sent a proposal to KEK for the establishment of an electoral coalition to include all political parties that was based on a minimum program and with a common goal of enosis. The right wing press cut off all possible communication, characterizing the leftists with the usual derogatory adjectives and calling on the ethnarchy to reject any request for cooperation from a dying party.<sup>84</sup> After consistent pressure from the right wing press, on 20 April 1953, the ethnarchy announced it would abstain from any cooperation with the left on the grounds that such cooperation would be detrimental to the national struggle of Greek Cypriots.<sup>85</sup>

The climate became acrimonious during the municipal elections in May, wherein the ethnarchy functioned as the official leadership of the right. The decisive battle took place in the capital, where AKEL and Ezekias Papaioannou attempted to claim the municipality for the left.<sup>86</sup> Presumably to make an impression, AKEL extended an offer of cooperation to Themistoklis Dervis, but the right not only wanted an electoral confrontation but also an exceptionally heated electoral confrontation. The campaign was conducted with numerous personal attacks, many of them often quite insulting, and also included references to the Greek civil war.<sup>87</sup>

The elections were conducted in four phases: first in the towns of Morphou, Lefkoniko, Lefkara, Athienou and Lefka on 10 May 1953; then in the six cities on 17 May; then in Karavas and Lapithos on the 25th; and, finally, in Kythrea on the 31st. The right easily prevailed in four of the ten countryside municipalities (Polis Chrysochous, Karavas, Lefkoniko, Acanthou), while in Lefka, the municipality with a majority of Turkish Cypriots and a minority of left wing Greek Cypriots, the two councilor positions available to Greek Cypriots were traditionally occupied by the left, without elections. As for the remaining five municipalities, the right won by wide margins in Lefkoniko, Athienou and Lapithos, while the left won marginally in Kythrea and Morphou.<sup>88</sup>

The picture in the urban centers was quite different: the right was triumphant in Paphos and especially in Kyrenia, where the left only captured 30 percent of the vote. In Ammochostos, however, the left confirmed its absolute dominance despite the competitive presence of the independent faction of Adamantos. In Larnaca, the left managed to retain its strength and win the election despite significant gains by the right; its victory here was also important because it was achieved with the election of Giorgos Christodoulidis, a well-known party official. In Lemesos, the left managed with 51.8 percent of the vote to obtain the absolute majority in the city council. In Nicosia, the right not only triumphed with 71.4 percent of the vote but also won by its largest-ever margin.<sup>89</sup>

In the context of the period's political circumstances, the 1953 election results demonstrate that the left was consolidated as the largest and the only rival of the right and the ethnarchy. Its successes were particularly impressive given the internal challenges it repeatedly faced. For the right, its election results conferred primacy in the enosis struggle and legitimized the strategy of its de facto leader, Archbishop Makarios III. The vertical division of Cypriot society was fertile ground for the growth of two powerful factions, factions which seemed to encompass all of the Greek-Cypriot community's divisions and conflicts, essentially crushing the growth margins where an intermediate-centrist movement might have taken root.

## NOTES

1. Fifi Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus issue began—In the footsteps of a Decade, 1940–1950* (Athens: Filistor, 2005), 319–20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 338.

4. ASKI, "Newsletter of Neophytos (Fifis) Ioannou and Andreas Ziartidis to the Secretariat of the C.C. of the KKE" (ASKI, 371 File 20/21/13).
5. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus*, 348–9.
6. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus*, 349.
7. *Ibid.*, 353.
8. For the influence of KKE on AKEL during the meeting on the mountain, Zahariadis himself several years later said, "We fixed AKEL since 1948, comrades, when it came out with the flag to accept the English constitution and we safeguarded it of large pileups. And thus we promoted the Cyprus issue with errors and doubts many but essential and did not allow the party, in this issue, to be isolated." See KKE, *Official Texts* (Athens: Syghroni Epohi, 1997), Vol. 8:701.
9. Ioannou, *This is how the Cyprus*, 15. The version Ioannou gave of the meeting on the "mountain" is the most prevalent. For the version of Ziartidis, see Giorgos Leventis, "Self-government-Enosis or immediate Enosis: the influence of Zahariadis on the shift in AKEL's strategy (November 1948–January 1949)", *Cyprus Review*, 13:1: 75–101.
10. Minos Perdios, Essay for the History of KKK ([n.p]: Unpublished, [n.d.]), 83.
11. The self-critical biographical notes of the members of the C.C. of AKEL are in the ASKI, "Criticism and self-criticism of the members of the C.C. of AKEL as adopted by the plenary of the C.C. on 26–27 February, 1949, following the discussion of the recommendation by the relevant sub-committee" (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/18).
12. Perdios, *Essay for the History*, 84.
13. *Democrates*, 9 March 1948.
14. *Democrates*, 10 March 1948.
15. The sixth convention of AKEL was held on 27–28 August 1949. For more about the convention, see Perdios, *Essay*, 86.
16. Ezekias Papaioannou, Remembrances (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1988), 88.
17. At its meeting on 10–12 August, 1952, the plenary of the C.C. of AKEL decided on the expulsion from the party of Ploutis Servas, Chr. Nouis and G. Kakogiannis and later of Vassos Lyssarides, Adam Adamantos and Matthaïos Chatzinikolas.
18. For more on the municipal elections of 1949, see Vasilis Protopapas, The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955 (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002), 115.
19. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 8:228.
20. *Ibid.*, 220.
21. *Eleftheros* Typos, 11 April 1949.

22. Cypriot, 28 April 1949.
23. One of the painless changes introduced by the new law increased the councilors' terms from 3 to 4 years. An important change, however, apart from increasing the period of residence in a particular municipality, was the provision for the drafting of electoral lists by the appointed community presidents. Law 34 was published as a draft in the Official Government Gazette on 2.9.1948 and officially adopted on 28.10.1948. All Laws of 1948 are on the website.
24. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 227.
25. Perdios, *Essay*, 86.
26. "What concerns me is that communist community presidents or communist organs are not elected in half the municipalities of Cyprus as they are enemies and collaborators of the enemies of Greece." The entire statement of the Greek consul in Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, *Ibid.*, 227.
27. Spyros Papageorgiou, *AKEL the other KKE* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1984), 36.
28. *Ibid.*, 232.
29. The victory in Lemesos deserves special mention because it was achieved through the efforts of K. Partasidis and not Pl. Servas. Although Servas was heavily charged with allegations of "opportunism" and the "petty-bourgeois influences" that led to the "error" of the Assembly, the provincial committee of the Lemesos chapter estimated that the elections could not be won without him leading the party. The "provisional central guidance" allowed Servas to lead in Lemesos, but his three-month imprisonment for participating in a demonstration deprived him of his electoral rights. See ASKI, "E. Papaioannou towards the KKE, A brief report on the situation in Cyprus from January 1949 until today" (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/59, 1949).
30. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 228–231.
31. ASKI, "The municipal elections of May 1949" (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/20, 1949). The particular report also mentions how the right-wing press of Greece addressed the results: "One need only take a look at the Athenian newspapers to realize that the winner in the municipal elections is not nationalism but the democratic working people of Cyprus. All Athenian newspapers of the Monarcho-Fascism, the day after the elections, as if already agreed in advance, considered the results unsatisfactory for nationalism."
32. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 234.
33. Perdios, *Essay*, 88–89.
34. The memo appears in Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, *Ibid.*, 252–272. Of course according to Papaioannou, "We have made this demarche

- not because we thought the leadership of the right and the ‘ethnarchy’ would agree to our proposals but to use their refusal in order to unmask them before the people and especially the masses that they influence.” See ASKI, “A brief report on the situation in Cyprus from January 1949 until today” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/59, 1949).
35. *Democrates*, 27 September 1949.
  36. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 256.
  37. *Ibid.*, 273.
  38. *Ibid.*, 274–277.
  39. *Ibid.*, 288–289.
  40. *Ibid.*, 306.
  41. For the reactions in Turkey, see Aggelos Vlachos, *Ten years of the Cyprus issue* (Athens: Estia, 1980), 24–27.
  42. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 294.
  43. *Democrates*, 12 January 1949.
  44. Greeks, men and women over 18 years old had voting rights. The vote was held after Mass in the courtyard or within the churches. The “voter” placed his signature on a form (list), which on the frontispiece wrote “I claim union with Greece.” If he disagreed, he signed another document that read “I oppose the Union of Cyprus with Greece.” It is the first time women were allowed to participate in any type of electoral process.
  45. Vlachos, *Ten years*, *Ibid.*, 354.
  46. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 354.
  47. Perdios, *Essay*, 96.
  48. Vasilis Protopapas, The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955 (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002), 128.
  49. *Eleftheria*, 20 May 1950.
  50. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9:18.
  51. For the stance of Greek parties and the Palace against the delegation, see *Ibid.*, 21–29.
  52. *Democrates*, 9 September 1950.
  53. In his letter to the C.C. of AKEL, Adam Adamantos states that the French communists and the leadership of the PSO found it difficult to understand why AKEL insisted so adamantly in favor of union with “monarcho-fascist” Greece. The letter of Adamantos to the C.C. (26 February, 1951) is included in the book by Lukas Kakoulis, Adam Adamantos, the nightingale of Ammochostos (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2002), 420–28. Also, Papaioannou himself wrote on 17 July 1950 to Rousos of KKE, “the Czech party could not understand why we call for Union with Greece and sent us to the Information Desk.” He says they stayed in Prague for a week without achieving anything, since they could not persuade the S. of



- Information nor give any press meeting or meet with the ministry of foreign affairs. That is why he requested the intervention of KKE in Prague. See ASKI, “Ez. Papaioannou, AKEL G.S. to Rousos” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/29, 1950).
54. The decision of the Right to support Makarios was of strategic importance, since the only one who could have opposed Makarios was Kyprianos of Kyrenia, whom the Left could not support because of his extreme anti-communist views. Makarios, despite decades later being characterized as the “Mediterranean Castle” because of the relationships he developed with the East, was a fanatical anticommunist. As Bishop of Kition, in 1948 he visited Vitsi, encouraging the soldiers who were fighting against the DSE, and Makronissos, where in the visitors’ book he wrote, “A mental bath was for us our visitation to Makronissos. We leave with the impression that our Greece never dies.” For these two incidents, see Spyros Papageorgiou, “How much of an X was Makarios and how he treated the Xs”, Simerini, 25 January 1998, as well as Giorgis Pikros, *The chronicle of Makronissos* (Athens: [n.pub.], 1975), 204.
  55. *Ethnos*, 30 June 1950.
  56. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 119.
  57. *Ibid.*, 113–116.
  58. “Today, the last act of the electoral farce for the emergence of an ‘Archbishop’”, *Neos Democrates*, 20 October 1950. The article includes information collected by representatives of the Left at the various electoral stations, according to which only 27 percent of the electorate participated in the elections, mainly due to the exclusion of a large proportion of supporters of the Left from the electoral lists. The reaction of the Left continued after the election of Makarios, with Ezekias Papaioannou calling the new Archbishop a “Genuine anti-communist” and “advertiser of the torture of Makronissos.”
  59. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 163–165.
  60. The reorganization of the ethnarchic council, the dynamic policy against the British and the Greek government, the establishment of the Pancyprian National Youth Organisation (PEON), which was basically the answer to the Left AON, were some of the steps Makarios took as he built the title of “Ethnarch”. See *Ibid.*, 180–190 and Pantazis Terlexis, *Diplomacy and Politics of the Cyprus issue* (Athens: [n.pub.], 1971), 90.
  61. For the first time since the death of Locum Tenens Leontios, the ethnarchy met with an EAS-AKEL delegation. In the meeting, Makarios explained his view of cooperation between the Left and the ethnarchy, stating that in such a case the struggle of the Cypriot people would be characterized as communistic. For more on the meeting, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 191.

62. *Eleftheria*, 3 March 1951.
63. Terlexis, *Diplomacy*, 93–94.
64. Athinaiki, 19 December 1951.
65. *Neos Democrates*, 27 November 1951.
66. The request of the Left for cooperation, at least at the level of the two delegations, fell on deaf ears due to political expediencies and the instructions of Makarios himself. While the two delegations were in Paris (November 1951), Partasidis, on behalf of EAS, approached Socratis Loizidis of the “national delegation” seeking cooperation and joint memorandums. In fact, the “people’s delegation” had secured the commitment of Guatemala that it would raise the Cyprus issue in the UN Guardianship Commission. The consensus proposal of the Left was for either Makarios or any other representative of the ethnarchy to speak on behalf of all the people of Cyprus, if and when cooperation and an agreed-upon text were achieved. Socratis Loizidis responded negatively, saying he had instructions from Makarios to avoid any contact with the communists. Similar instructions were sent to the Greek government, as well as to the Greek newspapers, to “not to give prestige to the Cypriot communists.” For more about the shipwreck of the cooperation between the delegations, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 277–287, and *Neos Democrates*, 5 November 1951.
67. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 362.
68. *Ibid.*, 365.
69. *Democrates*, 20 May 1950.
70. *Democrates*, 21 May 1950.
71. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:367–68.
72. ASKI (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/32, 33, 34, 1951).
73. ASKI, “The struggle of the Cypriot people for freedom and peace, Article by G. Ioannidis, K. Kolligiannis and P. Roussos published in the theoretical journal of the KKE ‘Neos Kosmos’” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/46).
74. *Ibid.*
75. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9:349–50.
76. Perdios, *Essay*, 104.
77. ASKI, “Decision of the 2nd Plenum of the C.C. and the K.E.E. on the topic: Opportunism-Fractionalism-Spying against our party” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/80).
78. ASKI, “Papaioannou to C.C. of the KKE” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/76, 1952).
79. For the expulsions of Adamantos and Chatzinikolas, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 374–81.
80. Vassos Lyssarides, although not a member of AKEL, in his capacity as president of the Pancyprian Peace Committee participated in both sessions

- of the C.C. and the P.G. of the party. The charges against Lyssarides mainly concerned his refusal to travel to Greece and join the DSE as a doctor, which gave rise to an investigation, beginning in mid-1949, by the “special vigilance bureau” of AKEL (see ASKI (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/23)). He was also accused of being an agent because of his relationships with factors of the Right but also because, according to the “indictment”, he had paid for his studies with funds provided of Dr. Detex, a Dutch archeologist who, according to the vigilance bureau, was an agent of the British Intelligence Service (see ASKI, “Decision of the 2nd Plenum of the C.C. and the K.E.E. on the topic: Opportunism-Fractionalism-Spying against our party” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/80)).
81. The “rebellion” of dissidents broke the closed borders of AKEL and was no longer considered news for the Right press. The *Ethnos* newspaper of 9 September 1952, states, “There are many communists that have begun to think with their own mind, not with his head of Ezekias Papaioannou, the already shaky head of AKEL”.
  82. The entire text of the decision was published in the newspaper *Democrates* on 28 September 1952. AKEL’s decision, among others, made reference to “conscious or unconscious agents of the class enemy and imperialism ...” and contains data provided by the “special vigilance bureau” of AKEL for all contacts of the group members who were deemed “suspicious” and “of a spying nature”. The P.B. of AKEL, according to the decision, was aware long before the convention of the crimes of the expelled; the main sources of information, beyond the surveillance of these members, were allegedly officials of the C.P. of Britain and Greece who informed the parties, with them in turn informing AKEL about contacts with the expelled members of AKEL. See ASKI, “Supplementary information on the enlightenment of party groups on the actions of the fractional gang”, 23 August, 1952 and ASKI, “KKE Archive k. 371 F 20/21/89, Papaioannou to Porphyrogenis” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/81, 1952).
  83. Evaggelos Averof-Tositsa, *History of Lost Opportunities. The Cyprus Issue 1950–1963* (Athens: Estia, 1982), 33–35.
  84. *Ethnos*, 27 February 1953.
  85. *Ethnos*, 20 April 1953.
  86. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 111.
  87. *Ibid.*, 116–132.
  88. Apart from the press of the time, rough but useful information on the climate in certain municipalities is available in various editions, including Michalis Pitsillidis, *Memories of Lemesos*, (Lemesos: 1991). The author provides some information on the class stratification of various parishes during the 1930s and 1940s. Also, Kostas Kalathas, *The world of Morphou*, (Nicosia: 1999).
  89. Protopapas, *The informal establishment*, 145.

## The Internationalization of Enosis

The shipwreck of the Consultative Assembly served to sharpen the left-right conflict and to further radicalize the right, which adopted new characteristics in its approach to enosis. The right began using anti-British rhetoric after realizing how exposed it was by its adherence to riding the coattails of Greek–British friendship to its desired resolution of the Cyprus issue and also because the new Archbishop, a powerful figure, had taken a new political attitude toward the issue of union with Greece. The colonial authorities, of course, contributed to this shift by seeking permission from London to institute repressive measures on the island to declare a state of emergency.<sup>1</sup>

The Churchill government well understood that the development of Greek nationalism in Cyprus could threaten British interests on the island. Thus, to avoid the missteps of the island's two previous governors, Lord Winster and Sir Andrew Barkworth Wright, Churchill decided to more actively involve Turkey in the debate on Cyprus and to more decisively assert Britain's stance on the future of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time in Greece, beginning during the elections of 16 November 1952, Greek citizens see the rise of the first post-war government of substantial strength, that of Alexandros Papagos. Papagos took Greece down a new path, one autonomous from the recommendations pressed on Athens by the Western Alliance. Alexandros Papagos, Prime Minister of Greece was under constant pressure from Makarios to take action on the Cyprus issue. This pressure came directly from the

Archbishop, as well as indirectly, since Makarios was able to involve a wide range of organizations under the auspices of the Greek Church and around the royal court in the Cyprus issue, thus raising awareness of the issue through the Greek press and, thereby, addressing the Greek people without mediation.<sup>3</sup> In the face of these pressures, Papagos attempted to reach a settlement with the British on the issue of Cyprus, only to meet London's outright refusal, allegedly expressed by Anthony Eden in a rather absolute manner during his meeting with Papagos in Athens on 22 December 1953.<sup>4</sup>

Papagos made known his insistence on raising the issue of Cyprus at the UN on 23 February 1954, sounding an alarm in London, which hoped to definitively clear up the Cyprus issue and put a halt to continuing pressure from Greece.<sup>5</sup> To this end Henry Hopkinson, Deputy Minister of Colonies, crudely but effectively intervened, stating the following in the House of Commons on 28 July 1954, in response to a question about the constitutional future of Cyprus: "Since long time ago we have realised and agreed that there are some regions in the Commonwealth which, due to the specific circumstances surrounding them, can never hope for complete independence ..."<sup>6</sup>

The refusal of the British to consider an independent Cyprus or to cede the island to Greece was embodied in a policy Britain adopted during 1954. This policy was comprising a new attempt to draft a constitution and efforts to see it approved by the Greek-Cypriot community. Also a series of official statements even more categorical than before should be made that Cyprus would remain under British sovereignty and that London would in no way agree to negotiate with the Greek government on the future of one of its colonies.<sup>7</sup>

These activities were connected. The sovereignty declarations were intended not only to discourage Greek-Cypriot unionists and the Greek government but also to encourage moderate Greek-Cypriots to agree to the preparation of a constitution and thus facilitate the acceptance of a constitutional project. A new governor, Robert Armitatz, arrived in Cyprus on 19 February 1954 to prepare the new constitutional proposal, with instructions to examine the introduction of a constitution to the island. According to Armitatz, there were a sufficient number of moderate politicians and personalities on the island who would favorably approach a constitution and would be willing to participate in its implementation.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, British officials in the provinces of Cyprus assured the new governor that peace prevailed on the island and that the introduction of

a constitution could be attempted. The governor was also convinced that the unification movement did not constitute a serious threat and that there was no fear of an armed uprising.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, in early June 1954, the governor, having concluded conditions favored attempting a new constitution, suggested to the Ministry of Colonies that the government make a statement in Parliament concerning its intentions in Cyprus. To strengthen the position of the moderates and discourage the nationalists, Armitatz believed the statement had to communicate that the British government intended to maintain its sovereignty on the island and that existing laws against rebel actions would be rigorously enforced. If the statement made London's intentions clear, Armitatz concluded, constitutional reforms could be set in motion.<sup>10</sup>

Thus on 28 July 1954, British policy with regard to Cyprus was publicly defined by Hopkinson. The timing of the statement was not accidental: although the British government would have preferred to prepare a draft constitution in more detail, it was under pressure from Parliament to clarify its intentions. Meanwhile, the British were almost certain Greece would appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations in late September; the new constitution, as discussed at the General Assembly, would be a testament to Britain's liberal intentions.<sup>11</sup>

Although Hopkinson's statement was significant for asserting the refusal of Britain to discuss any concession of Cyprus to Greece, it was still a reiteration of previous policy. The revelation that the British government intended to draft a new constitution, however, had special significance: Britain had lost its desire to convene a Consultative Assembly or to seek the approval of the island's political forces and would now simply impose a constitution on the island. This constitution would organize political activity on the island as follows: a legislative assembly, to include civil servants and appointed members, the majority of the body, would be established; some of the elected members would also serve on the Executive Board and would be entrusted with the administration of various departments. Britain asserted this constitution would "mark the first step on the path towards constitutional development."<sup>12</sup>

Proposals for the new constitution, which was obviously less democratic than the one proposed in 1948,<sup>13</sup> were prepared within the context of the failed Assembly. At the time, the British government had sought the collaboration of the leading Greek-Cypriot political forces, but their intractability had made the Assembly impossible to realize; the British knew,

in the present case, that neither left nor right would cooperate on the implementation of the new proposal and that both sides might boycott the elections and sabotage the work of the Legislative Assembly. Its majority composition of civil servants and appointed members meant the colonial government could make the Assembly work, despite potential abstentions.

The British were concerned the island's communists might try to dominate the Assembly; they did not underestimate AKEL and were worried by the progress its affiliated organizations and satellites were making.<sup>14</sup> Of course, the communist danger was used mainly as a pretext, one the British government widely exploited to justify the absence of an elected majority in the Legislative Assembly.

The new constitution did, however, include some elements that, compared to the 1948 proposal, were liberal: the Legislative Assembly's elected members were permitted to participate in the decision of the Executive Board and would administer the departments; the 1948 draft only permitted the participation of elected officials in the operation of certain departments, but not in their administration. The new proposal also included Cypriot ministers, a provision that hadn't been part of the 1948 proposals.<sup>15</sup>

The British considered the moderate Greek Cypriots an important element of the success of the new constitution and, thus, sought to staunch the enosis movement and protect the conciliatory Greek Cypriots, all abhorred, especially by the press, for their willingness to cooperate with the British government. In support of Hopkinson's 28 July 1954 statement, Attorney General Kritonas Tornaritis issued his statement of 2 August 1954, declaring that any criticism of the government should not be seditious; that current anti-sedition laws would be strictly enforced; and that gatherings, statements and publications with "seditious intent" would result in prosecution. Tornaritis stressed that under the Cyprus criminal code "seditious intentions" included any attempt to induce hatred or hostility toward the Queen, the British Government, the government of the colony, and, especially, any challenge to British sovereignty on the island. Any organization that encouraged sedition, particularly enosis, would be declared illegal. Offenses were punishable with a five-year imprisonment for members of illegal associations and for individuals participating in illegal gatherings; the publication of any newspaper convicted of publishing "seditious libel" could be suspended for three years.<sup>16</sup>

These declarations triggered strident protests in Cyprus, in Greece, and, even in England, and the Attorney General was forced to publicly

clarify that the authorities would consider the circumstances of each case with the greatest care and that anyone accused of sedition would be dealt with in the most humane manner possible; the Attorney General implied there would be no prosecutions except in cases in which seditious intention could be clearly proven. So, theoretically, all pro-enosis organizations were illegal, but, in practice, prosecution would be exercised depending on the nature of their activities.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the proclamation, 20 days later, on 22 August 1954, Makarios gave the "Oath of the Faneromeni,"<sup>18</sup> which concluded ended with the repetition of the motto, "Enosis and only Enosis." It was a flagrant violation of the anti-sedition laws, and, if the government wanted to strictly enforce them as it had announced, it was obligated to prosecute the Archbishop. According to Crouzet, the British seriously considered doing so; their position had a weak legal foundation, however, because there was no irrefutable evidence Makarios had urged the crowd to use violence. Besides, the government in London had also been roundly criticized for its declaration, and the prosecution of the Archbishop of Cyprus would turn British public opinion decidedly against Whitehall. Finally, the government didn't want to render Makarios a martyr and risk sparking riots in Cyprus.<sup>19</sup>

The British returned to the constitutional field. Armitatz prepared a draft plan of the constitution and provided it to the Minister of Colonies on September.<sup>20</sup> According to Crouzet, the Greek Cypriots with whom Armitatz discussed the plan made it clear only a more liberal system than that delineated on the 28 July was likely to be accepted.<sup>21</sup> The governor then visited London where, during discussions at the Ministry of Colonies, he recommended his government submit to Parliament its intention to offer a constitution as a first step toward self-government on the island. This would be followed by greater self-government, so Cyprus could eventually acquire full internal autonomy. Armitatz recommended that once this had been achieved, Britain should begin negotiations with Greece and Turkey on the status of the island while granting a new constitution that provided for a small majority of elected members in the Assembly.<sup>22</sup> These recommendations were not pursued, however, as the start of the EOKA struggle forced the British to reconsider their plans.

Thus, during the final months of 1954, British policy as decreed on 28 July and 2 August did not bring about the results the government expected. With the draft constitution, Britain hoped to sway Greek-Cypriot public opinion in its favor while, with its declaration regarding seditious activi-



ties on the island, it hoped to scare extreme unionists while encouraging the support of moderates. The preparation of the constitution was significantly delayed, and, although the British took a different tack during the process toward more liberal positions, it was of no benefit, as the public was unaware of this more liberal version of the document. Meanwhile, as the anti-sedition declaration remained unenforced, the nationalists remained undeterred.

Of the current triptych of British policy, which comprised a new constitution, prosecution for seditious activities, and continued British sovereignty on the island, the only remaining element in effect was British sovereignty, which included London's absolute unwillingness to discuss the status of the colony with Greece. The British repeated this position so many times during 1954 that the Greek government came to view it as propaganda designed to provoke the people of Greece and the Greek-Cypriot community. Thus, the policies pursued by the British throughout 1954 essentially failed to either frighten or entice; instead, they irritated Greek Cypriots on the right and the left as well as many Greeks and accelerated the deterioration of the situation on the island.<sup>23</sup>

### THE APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The Greek government's position was a largely a response to British policy. In late 1953, Papagos decided to raise the issue of Cyprus to the United Nations; this was merely a decision in principle, however, and its details, as well as the moment of its implementation, remained undecided. Moreover, the decision was not irreversible. Alexis Kirou, Director General of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had a considerable influence on Papagos. He believed the timing was right for an appeal to the United Nations, since Greece had a stable government and could thus mount a successful appeal.<sup>24</sup>

In early February 1954, Makarios, who wanted to obtain firm commitments from the Greek government regarding its appeal to the UN, visited Athens. In contrast with his previous efforts, on this occasion, he encountered little opposition from Greek decision makers who, nevertheless, insisted on seeking a dialog with the British: if by the next session of the UN General Assembly, in September, Greek attempts to arrange a bilateral meeting with London were unsuccessful, Greece would appeal to the General Assembly. On 14 March 1954, Makarios announced he had received "clear and unequivocal assurance" from Papagos regarding the

appeal.<sup>25</sup> The Greek Government implied that, although it intended to appeal to the United Nations, it was prepared to revise its stance if Britain agreed to a dialog on the issue of Cyprus.<sup>26</sup>

The British repeatedly rejected proposals from Athens for bilateral negotiations. On 30 March, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Britain, Sir Anthony Eden, received the Greek Ambassador, Vasilios Mostras, and informed him Britain wouldn't participate in any bilateral discussion of the Cyprus issue. On 6 April, Mostras presented Eden with a personal message from Papagos: Papagos insisted on a bilateral solution and assured Eden his government preferred friendly negotiations but he was willing to appeal to the United Nations if England persisted in its refusal to negotiate. London did not respond to Papagos's warning, and, on 15 April, Papagos, in a meeting with Kirou and Mostras, announced his decision to continue down its previously-designated path: either England would consent to negotiations, or Greece would appeal to the United Nations.<sup>27</sup>

Papagos strongly believed the British feared debating the Cyprus issue at the UN so much that, at the last minute, they would consent to bilateral talks. Mostras, however, was of the opposite opinion. He was certain England was unafraid of jeopardizing the current Anglo-Greek friendship because it could count on Turkey to support its interests in the eastern Mediterranean and because England was aware any movement on the Cyprus issue risked the intervention of Turkey. Papagos and Kirou did not share the Ambassador's concerns.<sup>28</sup>

In the face of Britain's continued refusals, Athens began preparing for its appeal to the United Nations, although the appeal's parameter hadn't been defined. In June 1954, during the visit of Greek-Cypriot ethnarchic consultant, Zinonas Rossidis, to Athens, the strategy to be followed at the United Nations was discussed. Despite the recommendation of diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to request only that the General Assembly pass a resolution recommending negotiations between Greece and England, Papagos assured Rossidis his government would clearly raise the issue of self-determination for the people of Cyprus.<sup>29</sup>

The deadline for filing the appeal was to expire on 22 August 1954. The Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations, Christos Xanthopoulos-Palamas, presented the United Nations with a document on 20 August signed by Papagos, himself, seeking registration of the following item on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly: "The implementation, under the auspices of the United Nations, of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples

on the population of Cyprus.” The Greek government’s stated objective was “to allow the population of the island of Cyprus to express itself in complete freedom and under the auspices of the United Nations on its future.” An explanatory memorandum followed which emphasized that “Cyprus is a Greek island inhabited by Greeks for thousands of years” and that “the overwhelming majority of the population had repeatedly and officially expressed its will to unite with Greece.”<sup>30</sup>

In press conferences held by Kirou in Athens and by Xanthopoulos in New York, both officials made it clear that the appeal did not seek to unite Cyprus with Greece, that Greece did not seek to extend its dominance over Cyprus, and that, if there was a referendum in which Cypriots decided to unite with Greece, the Greek government would be prepared to cede to the British the military bases they required not only in Cyprus but also in Greece within the context of NATO.<sup>31</sup>

On 21 September 1954, the ninth session of the UN General Assembly began. The registration of the Cyprus issue on the agenda had to first be evaluated by the 15-member General Committee. On 23 September, Alexis Kirou presented the Greek argument to the Committee. Britain’s response was given by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Selwyn Lloyd. Lloyd informed the Committee that Cyprus was very far from Greece, that a significant portion of its population was Turkish, that if Greece’s request was registered on the General Assembly’s agenda it would constitute a very dangerous precedent, and that a Member State could raise questions pertaining to the territories of another Member State; this would open the doors to a stream of revisionist claims and subversive movements that would put all territorial regulations and treaties at risk. Lloyd declared the Cyprus issue wasn’t a threat to peace and accused Greece of asking the United Nations to “intervene in the internal affairs of a foreign state in order to bring about a territorial change that would favour it.” Finally, according to Lloyd, Cyprus was a vital factor in enabling Great Britain to meet its obligations in the Middle East, whose “political, social and military stability could be seriously jeopardized by the consequences of this registration.”<sup>32</sup>

In the vote that followed, nine countries—Burma, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Iceland, Syria, Thailand and the USSR—were in favor of registering the Cyprus issue on the agenda; three countries—the United Kingdom, Australia and France—voted against it, and three countries—Colombia, Netherlands and the United States, abstained.<sup>33</sup>

The Cyprus issue was referred to the Political Committee and set for discussion on 14 December 1954. The Greek side made contacts with several delegations from other states but soon realized the key role the USA would play in any decision. After a period of intense backstage discussions between representatives of the Greek government and US officials, on 11 December 1954, US Secretary Foster Dulles informed the Greeks his government would vote against any decision in favor of the self-determination of Cyprus and recommended Greece withdraw its appeal. The Greek government informed Dulles it respected his position but asked him to not make it public, so as to not influence other members of the UN.<sup>34</sup>

When the discussion of the Political Committee began on 14 December, the representative of New Zealand, Leslie Munro, filed a decision anti-plan, by which the General Assembly decided not to continue its discussion of the Cyprus issue, and the New Zealand proposal was put to vote before the Greek proposal. The Committee decided in favor of the New Zealand proposal with 28 votes for, 15 against, and 16 abstentions. This was unfavorable to the Greek side, as now the Committee wouldn't address the essence of the Cyprus issue during the current session. After heated debate on the New Zealand plan, on 17 December, the General Assembly decided "that at this time it is not advisable to make a Decision on Cyprus."<sup>35</sup>

All official parties were satisfied with the outcome of the UN General Assembly. In Turkey, the decision was greeted with great satisfaction by the press and the government, and, on 18 December, Menderes announced that the Cyprus issue had been definitively closed and that from then on Turkey should pursue a stronger Greek-Turkish friendship; in Cyprus, Turkish-Cypriot newspapers welcomed the event as a victory for Turkey.<sup>36</sup> The Greek side also expressed its satisfaction, emphasizing the phrase "at this time" meant that under these conditions the Cyprus issue had finally been put forward internationally and that the United Nations recognized the competence of Athens as it pertained to the matter. At a press conference in Athens on 21 December, Kirou told the press great progress had been made.<sup>37</sup>

The reality, of course, was the outcome of its efforts in New York were negative for Greece: the General Assembly had clearly refused to address the issue of Cyprus and support the Greece's claims. Violent protests against Britain and the USA erupted in Cyprus and in Greece. In Athens and other Greek cities, beginning on the 14 December, daily demonstrations

were held with many wounded.<sup>38</sup> On 16 December, incidents broke out in Nicosia and Ammochostos with many students protesting the decision. Left and the right, along with their respective trade unions, called for a 24-hour general strike on 18 December. In Lemesos, thousands of people attacked the police station; the police were unable to restore order and the military intervened with gunfire, wounding three young protesters.<sup>39</sup> On 19 December, by government mandate, proclamations were circulated announcing the prohibition of gatherings of more than five persons and the possession of offensive weapons and instructions for police to shoot rioters and troublemakers.<sup>40</sup>

The General Assembly's decision was certainly a success for British diplomacy, but the internationalization of the Cyprus issue created new problems for London. Britain's continued occupation of Cyprus or, in the least, its control of the island, now required entertaining Turkey's interest in the island, which up until 1954 had been lukewarm. The reality was, of course, that Turkish-Cypriot nationalism had been swelling in Cyprus since 1945 and had been championed in Turkey since the 1950 referendum.<sup>41</sup> Turkey was now negotiating from a position of strength since, in contrast to Greece, Turkey supported the preservation of British rule and made no pronouncements regarding the return of the island to Turkey. Up until 1954, successive Turkish governments had avoided embracing or enhancing the reaction of Turkish-Cypriot in response to Greek-Cypriot demands for enosis, largely in an effort to improve relations with Greece but also because Britain's avowed unwillingness to discuss the Cyprus issue served Turkish policy.<sup>42</sup>

Greece's appeal to the UN, however, disturbed Greek-Turkish relations, and, on 19 February 1954, Turkey officially declared its opposition to any regime change in Cyprus. If negotiations between Greece and England pertaining to were held, it would seek to participate. Turkey could not be indifferent to an island where a hundred thousand Turks lived, which was its geographical extension, and where the preservation of the existing regime was necessary for its security. With the Soviet Union along its northeast border, Bulgaria to the northwest, and a chain of Greek islands along its west coast, Turkey's only outlet to the Mediterranean was its southern coasts: it was only from these ports, and mainly from Alexandretta (Iskenderun), that the Turkish General Staff could refuel its military and communicate with its allies during wartime. The Turks could not accept the union of Cyprus with Greece: it would mean delivering the island into the hands of a country for which it harbored immense distrust,

a country it considered unstable and under communist danger.<sup>43</sup> And it would bring that country to within a few dozen miles of its southern coast.

Moreover, in 1954, Turkey witnessed Britain's departure from its Suez Canal base, and they began to doubt the determination of the British. They soon adopted an intransigent attitude and asserted their rights on Cyprus, denouncing plans for self-determination and union and incessantly repeating that the annexation of Cyprus by Greece would destroy the island's Turkish community or, if it didn't destroy it, it would bring it under the authority of an oppressive regime, the same regime under which the Turks of Western Thrace were currently suffering. Turkish opposition to any plan for self-government was categorical, as they considered this would quickly lead to enosis.<sup>44</sup> Ankara was even more skeptical about British proposals for a new draft constitution, as they believed any constitution would be the first step on the island's road to autonomy, which would ultimately, again, lead to enosis.<sup>45</sup>

Both Makarios and Athens underestimated the Turkish factor. Despite the "symptoms" that had manifested themselves ten years earlier, the enosis struggle continued without any consideration of the reaction of Turkish Cypriots or of Turkey itself. This was because of articles 16 and 20 of the Treaty of Lausanne, according to which Turkey had given up all of its rights to former Ottoman territories, Cyprus in particular.<sup>46</sup> The Greek-Cypriot community never approached the Turkish-Cypriots to discuss enosis or mitigate the latter's reaction to it. This, according to Alexantrakis, Theodoropoulos, and Lagakos was for two reasons: "First, because the awareness of their economic supremacy over the Turkish Cypriots created feelings of arrogance, and second, because the Turkish Cypriots, as descendants of the conquerors of Cyprus, were 'foreigners' and thus had no say in the matter." Greek-Cypriot leadership lacked even minimal political insight, thanks to its limited political experience, and the prevailing irredentism within the national center was a means of political legitimacy: both contributed to Greek-Cypriot disregard for any Turkish-Cypriot agenda and the utter devaluation of the Turkish-Cypriot reaction to enosis.<sup>47</sup>

The absence of such elementary political sensitivity from Greek-Cypriot leadership is perhaps one explanation for wilful Greek-Cypriot ignorance of the Turkish factor. Crouzet, however, presents an alternative interpretation:

There is no doubt that [Makarios] always honestly and earnestly wanted to liberate Cyprus from the British colonial rule, but certain observers, impressed by his ambition and his will to gather power in his hands, wondered if he really ever wished for Union, which would limit him to the position of Archbishop of a remote province of Greece, or whether his goal from the beginning was an independent regime, which would ensure him the position of Head of State. [...] He was also too smart not to have realized the insurmountable obstacles which interfered with the Union.<sup>48</sup>

In the Greek–Cypriot historical memory, the idea that the rupture in relations between the two communities was solely the responsibility of the British policy of the divide-and-rule has been reduced to a falsehood. The competitive activities of the Greek–Cypriot left and right, however, as manifested during the interwar period and continuing through 1954, were only partially in response to British diplomacy: to a large extent they were the result of the vertical ethnic division and asymptotic political objectives which had crystallized far earlier and independently of the British.

## NOTES

1. Then-governor Winster asked London for permission to apply penal measures and to gather more power. London's reluctance, as well as the failure of the Assembly, were the main causes of his resignation and his replacement by Sir Andrew Wright in May 1949. London griped when local government resorted to illiberal measures, such as condemning on 3 June 1950 the mayor and four members of the city council to "indefinite detention" after they renamed a street in Lemesos bearing the name of former governor Palmer. The unprecedented penalty made a deplorable impression and was even criticized in the British parliament itself, eventually forcing the local government to release the prisoners a month later. See Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 8:402. In 1951 the most restrictive measures since 1931 were applied, as laws were amended so the government could control the press, proceed with the displacement of persons without particular cause and enforce house arrests. For more about the dictatorial actions of the English, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 9:330.
2. Despite the disagreement of Foreign Minister Eden for how this was handled, mainly due to the prevailing situation on the island, London issued the tactless decisions we shall see below; these decisions triggered serious reaction on the island. Generally on British policy in Cyprus, see Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus* (Athens: Potamos, 1999), 49–153.

3. The pressure of Makarios on Greek political leaders was often unbearable. In 1951, when Makarios visited the Greek prime minister, Plastiras, he said to him, “If you had come to my modest shack and asked me to go to fight for Cyprus, I would do it gladly, because I am a soldier. But to come to the Office of the Prime Minister of Greece and ask me to burn Greece without being able to benefit Cyprus. So sit quietly”, Spyros Papageorgiou, *Cyprus storm 1955–1959* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1977), 50. In another case, Sofoklis Venizelos, while speaking in Parliament, said, “I do not hesitate to admit that, in 1951, as President of the Government, I refused to appeal to the UN. In 1952, after strong pressure by Ethnarch Makarios, I again refused to appeal, and Makarios, then in my office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told me, ‘I will denounce to the Greek people that you refuse to appeal to the UN’, I replied ‘you can do whatever you want, denounce me wherever you want, but you are not going to dictate the foreign policy of Greece’.” *Proceedings of the Greek Parliament*, 25 April 1956, at: Pantazis Terlexis, *Diplomacy and Politics of the Cyprus issue* (Athens: [n.pub.], 1971), 93.
4. See Holland, *Britain and the Revolt*, 70.
5. Giannis Lambrou, *History of the Cyprus issue, 1960–2004* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2004), 35.
6. See Holland, *Britain and the Revolt*, 80.
7. Francois Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict, 1946–1959* (Athens: MIET, 2011), Vol. A:377.
8. Lawrence Durrell, *Pikrolemona* (Athens: Grigoris, 1959), 147.
9. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 380.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 381.
12. *Ibid.*, 385.
13. From the declarations made by the British, since the new constitution was never submitted because of subsequent developments.
14. Crouzet mentions that the British press of the time discussed the power of AKEL and the communist risk in Cyprus, referring to *The Times*, 5 April 1954, 29 July 1954, 17 December 1954 and *The Economist*, 14 and 28 August 1954. See Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 386.
15. This provision clearly intended to lure “moderates”, whom the government was counting on for the implementation of the draft constitution, and who the commander felt were an important and influential group.
16. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 388.
17. *Ibid.*
18. More on the “Oath of the Faneromeni” below.
19. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 390.



20. According to Durrell, the draft also circulated in Cyprus. See Durrell, *Pikrolemona*, 170.
21. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 390.
22. *Ibid.*, 391.
23. *Ibid.*, 393.
24. *Ibid.*, 401.
25. *Eleftheria*, 15 March 1954.
26. *Kathimerini*, 22 April 1954.
27. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 404.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Kathimerini*, 17 June 1954.
30. *Kathimerini*, 21 August, 1954.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 435.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Kathimerini*, 15 December 1954.
35. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 437.
36. *Ibid.*, 447.
37. *Kathimerini*, 22 December 1954.
38. *Vima*, 17 December 1954.
39. Durrell, *Pikrolemona*, 192.
40. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 451.
41. In response to the constitutional proposals of the British in 1947 and the referendum of 1950, the Turkish Cypriots began to intensify their contacts with the national center, and Turkey responded immediately but diplomatically. See Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 8:307.
42. See Nikos Kranidiotis, *Difficult years* (Athens: [n.pub.], 1981), 72. For Turkish interest in Cyprus, particularly in relation to the appeal to the UN, see Alexis Iraklidis, *Cyprus issue, Conflict and resolution* (Athens: Sideris, 2002), 272–74.
43. Iraklidis, *Cyprus issue*, *Ibid.*, and Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 428.
44. Iraklidis, *Cyprus issue*, 41.
45. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 429.
46. Menelaos Alexantrakis, Vyron Theodoropoulos and Eustathios Lagakos, *The Cyprus issue 1950–1974: An introspection* (Athens: Evroekdotiki, 1987), 99.
47. *Ibid.*, 100.
48. Crouzet, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 309. An answer to this interpretation is that perhaps Makarios sought a political leadership role in Greece after the realization of the enosis.

## Armed Struggle: A One-Way Path?

The demand for enosis began to take on new characteristics, especially after the 1950 referendum. Britain hardened its stance toward Cyprus; the primacy of the enosis struggle began to wane in some quarters; and the right and the Church undertook more dynamic initiatives in the island's political arena. Each played a catalytic role in reshaping the character of the enosis struggle.

Under the guidance of KKE, AKEL continued to criticize the “dirty role of Anglo-American imperialism.” Additionally, and within the context of the emerging cold war, AKEL tried to organize an illegal mechanism to respond to its internationalist duties in the event of a generalized conflict in the region or if the party was declared illegal.<sup>1</sup> Despite the steps taken in this direction, it wasn't possible for AKEL to organize such a mechanism, as KKE informed the party that it could provide advice but could not in practice assist AKEL.<sup>2</sup> The real reasons a rudimentary infrastructure for armed action wasn't created, however, might be more political than practical: the party understood it was making political gains through mass mobilizations that combined political, social-economic, and national claims.<sup>3</sup>

Makarios took the reins of the ethnarchy in tandem with right-wing factions, so it was obvious that on this side of the Greek-Cypriot political divide, the demand for enosis would intensify. The extreme anti-communist circles in Kyrenia had promoted Bishop Kyprianos to be the Archbishop, but they eventually accepted Makarios and were by his side

after the latter, who was quite anti-communist, had been inculcated with irredentist nationalism and took the lead in the enosis struggle. The leading role played by the circles around the Kyrenia Bishopric in the violent right–left confrontations during the biennium of 1948–1950 pushed Makarios to the fore within the right subsystem and made the supporters of Bishop Kyprianos privileged interlocutors for the ethnarchy. Given these circumstances, a meeting between Makarios and the “extremes” of Athens, and with Grivas in particular, was inevitable.<sup>4</sup>

The push for a more dynamic struggle resumed during Makarios’s stay in Athens during the summer of 1952 and, again, during the celebrations of the second anniversary of the referendum on 13 January 1952, when Makarios warned that “the right for freedom we shall claim in any way from the Sovereigns.”<sup>5</sup>

After much hesitation,<sup>6</sup> in 1953 Makarios adopted the recommendation submitted two years earlier by Grivas and his colleagues for undertaking an armed struggle against the British.<sup>7</sup> On 7 March 1953, at 36B Asklipiou Street in Athens, the home of Gerasimos Konidaris, professor at the Theological School of Athens, the meeting of the Twelve Apostles, as the dominant historiography describes them, was held. The Twelve Apostles were the 12 people who decided to establish a secret organization for the union of Cyprus with Greece, and each signed an oath to keep “sacrificing his own of life, suffering the hardest torments, secret, everything he knew and wished to hear on the issue of the Union of Cyprus. He would obey any respective given orders.”<sup>8</sup>

The first signatory was Archbishop Makarios, followed by Georgios Grivas, retired Cypriot officer Nikolaos Papadopoulos, exiled Greek–Cypriot brothers Savvas and Sokratis Loizidis, professors Gerasimos Konidaris and Dimitrios Vezanis, Georgios Stratos, Antonios Avgikos, Ilias Tsatsomoiros, D. Stavropoulos, and Ilias Alexopoulos. There are no records of or testimonies to the way in which the leadership of the armed struggle was assigned to Georgios Grivas, as it was also claimed by retired Greek–Cypriot officers Menelaos Pantelidis and Nikolaos Papadopoulos. Spiros Papageorgiou, a close associate of Grivas in the “X” organization and in EOKA, argues that “Makarios declared himself in favor of Grivas, whom he met in 1948 and whose skill and action at the head of organization ‘X’ he appreciated.” According to Andreas Azinas, a close associate of Makarios, the selection of the organization’s leader did not take place until the later stages of preparation.<sup>9</sup>

When Grivas returned to Greece from Cyprus in 1951, he informed Papagos through General Kosmas that he was preparing for a dynamic struggle, and Papagos, on 8 May, 1951, responded that he wished no involvement. Papagos held these positions until 1954 (...) In 1954 Makarios reported to him that now we are ready -the first shipment of arms has already arrived- for armed struggle. He put the name Grivas down, and [Papagos] told me I have heard something [by Grivas] through General Ventiris in 1952 and 1951 through General Kosmas. And he spoke the phrase, be careful your Eminence, because Grivas is a difficult character. And when Papagos said this thing, he was referring to the hitherto political life of Grivas. (...) Then there was a discussion between us, Loizidis, Makarios and I, and three names were inserted, because in the meantime, General Pantelidis, who was a resplendent officer of the Greek army and to whom we owed the success of the Greek army in the Greek-Italian war, as we had Pantelidis responsible of conscription....<sup>10</sup>

In any case, the choice of Grivas as military chief of any attempted armed struggle against the British didn't belong exclusively to Makarios, who knew he couldn't succeed with the support of Greek political leaders. According to Nikos Psyroukis, Grivas was the ideal leader for a movement that could appease the revolutionary on the island, a movement that excluded the majority of Cypriots, and that he was considered expendable by Athens. It would be expedient for Athens to keep Grivas under its guardianship, so at any moment, if necessary, it could reveal his activities. Finally, with Grivas at the helm of the rebellion, the left's activities would be curtailed.<sup>11</sup>

Alongside the 12-member Athens Committee, in 1953, a secret organization, Cypriot Fighters, Daring Leaders (KARI), was founded through the initiative of a Cypriot doctor, Ioannis Ioannidis, who had been exiled to Athens in 1931. KARI members, initiated in Greece and in Cyprus, began preparing for armed struggle. Following consultations between the Committee of Athens and the leadership of KARI, however, the organization's few members were placed under the control of the Committee of Athens.<sup>12</sup>

All developments augured that the situation would be extreme. Makarios, either because he wanted to prepare the ground in the Greek-Cypriot community or because he needed to constantly reaffirm his leadership of the enosis struggle, sought to stimulate Greek-Cypriot nationalism with gatherings and rallies. The Oath of the Faneromeni he took before

thousands of Greek Cypriots at the aforementioned 22 August 1954 rally is indicative:

Under these sacred domes let us take today this holy oath. To our national claim we shall remain faithful until death. Without retreats. Without concessions. Without negotiations. We shall scorn violence and tyranny. With courage will shall raise our moral stature above the small and ephemeral obstacles, pursuing one and only one, aspiring one and only one goal, Enosis and only Enosis.<sup>13</sup>

Hopkinson's statements during the summer of 1954, the General Assembly's unwillingness to consider Greece's petition on behalf of Cyprus, and the violence that followed reinforced the feeling within the Greek-Cypriot community that it was on a one-way path.

The Committee of Athens proceeded apace with its preparations. The first shipment of arms and other war materials from Greece arrived in Cyprus on 22 February 1954 on a sailboat, the *Sirin*, and eight machine guns, 21 automatic weapons, 47 rifles, seven pistols, 290 grenades, 20 kg of explosives, and several rounds of bullets were secretly received and stored at a safe location.<sup>14</sup> The *Sirin* was employed for a second import of arms import to Cyprus. The ship left Greece on 20 November 1954, but, as it approached Paphos, its commander observed unusual activity on shore and, believing the mission had been betrayed, dumped the cargo and set a course for Rhodes.<sup>15</sup>

During the first half of October 1954, Makarios and Grivas met in Athens four times to discuss preparations for the revolutionary movement in Cyprus. Grivas then departed for Cyprus: "On the 26th of October 1954 I said goodbye to my wife, and armed with only FAITH, I took on the greatest endeavour of my life, which, with the help of God, proved the wonderful virtues which adorn the Greek Cypriot people."<sup>16</sup>

Escorting Georgios Grivas on his trip to Cyprus was lawyer Sokratis Loizidis and Notis Petropouleas. On 26 October, the three men boarded the sailboat *Aigaion* at Piraeus. They disembarked the next day at Rhodes due to a storm, remaining on the island until midnight on 8 November. Then, they boarded the "*Sirin*" and sailed for Cyprus. The ship almost sank but eventually reached the coast of Chlorakas in Paphos at 8:00 p.m. on 10 November 1954. Georgios Grivas and his escorts were accommodated in Chlorakas at the home of Nikolaos Azinas.<sup>17,18</sup>

On 25 January 1955, after receiving relevant information, the British captured off the coast of Chlorakas a small boat named *Ag. Georgios*, which was full of weapons. An even more important find than the weapons was perhaps the proclamation of the so-called National Liberation Front of Cyprus (EMAK), which revealed how the right, and, particularly Grivas and his colleagues, perceived the armed anti-colonial struggle<sup>19</sup>:

EMAK asks of them and their party to not only not counteract EMAK, but to also not get involved in its struggle, as should the entire populace. We shall not accept communists in EMAK, mainly for reasons of expediency, and if the communists sincerely care for the Enosis, they shall not want to interfere in our liberation struggle ... The most patriotic of actions is their non-participation and we shall recognise this one day as a wise and highly-patriotic action. The communists should be certain that EMAK has all the necessary fighters and all means for the successful carrying out of the liberation struggle....<sup>20</sup>

The exclusion of the left from the anti-colonial struggle was a process that began immediately following the unification referendum. AKEL, despite its efforts to coordinate joint actions with the right, was not a participant in any of the activities the ethnarchy undertook to internationalize the Cyprus issue (delegations, appeals to the UN, etc.). Regarding the exclusion of the left, the opinion of Nikos Kranidiotis, a close associate of Makarios at the time, is interesting:

The election of Grivas testifies to the spirit of the Cypriot leadership regarding the form of the struggle. Within the Cyprus Ethnarchy existed, especially in the early stages, an intense anti-communist spirit and common course with the Helladic right royalist faction. The Ethnarchy, at times, with circulars and announcements, condemned communism in Greece and kept in line with the government in Athens on the various developments and vicissitudes of the civil war. That is why the recruitment of the fighters of EOKA (the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) was carried out by conservative elements of the Cypriot youth, and especially teenagers belonging to church organizations and religious unions, and were thus impregnated with the “nationalistic” right ideals and expansionist traditions of the Church and the Nation. Grivas had ruled out the participation in the Organization of leftist elements. The Organization thus had a unilateral character, and the struggle stayed -outside the context of liberation movements of his era- true to the standards of the irredentist movements of Macedonia, Crete

and other parts of Hellenism.... The fact that the Left was excluded, was not just a weakness of the struggle, but also an entanglement within the international contrasts of East and West. So, the struggle did not take the anti-colonial character of other similar struggles and did not immediately rely on the principle of self-determination, especially in its early stages, and thus the request was only union with Greece, a move that was not favoured by the US, Great Britain, Turkey, the Soviet Union and the United Nations, and which inevitably led to conflict between Greece and Turkey, and by extension, between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.<sup>21</sup>

Grivas, during the initial period of his tenure in Cyprus and in addition to establishing and training armed groups, distributed weapons, created political nuclei, organized an information network, built a system of contacts, and began searching for buildings to be rented for EOKA. The difficulties in forming armed groups were many, since the youth of OHEN, PEON of PEK and SEK, the first members of EOKA, had no previous experience with arms. Grivas writes on the matter: "The Cypriots were totally inexperienced in war, naturally calm and placid of character, foreigners to the idea of using armed force for any purpose ... Cypriots never went to war and never knew the use of weapons."<sup>22</sup>

On 29 March 1955, Makarios and Grivas, during a meeting at Kykkos Monastery, decided the struggle would commence on the night of 31 March (early in the morning of 1 April).<sup>23</sup> Shortly after midnight on 31 March, the first explosions rocked Nicosia and other cities in Cyprus. Although recorded as "deafening explosions that shook Cyprus,"<sup>24</sup> Grivas was disappointed with the initial results. Except for blowing up Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (RIK) in Nicosia, the rest of the attacks were deemed as either failures or only modest successes, particularly after police in Ammochostos found explosive materials belonging to EOKA. Other disappointments included the discovery of the identity of Grigoris Afxentiou, one of EOKA's best soldiers, and Larnaca where, despite some successful explosions, all of the participants were arrested. In Lemesos, the operation began at 2:00a.m., and, after the police came into full alarm, most of the perpetrators were arrested.<sup>25</sup>

AKEL was opposed to the conduct of an armed struggle against the British and, in an announcement on 2 April, 1955, condemned the blasts, describing them as suspicious: "This type of activity can only cause damage to the Cypriot struggle."<sup>26</sup> The announcement also made references to Lenin and leveled severe criticism at EOKA, which didn't help clarify

AKEL's position on the struggle and, ultimately, placed AKEL and its leadership in EOKA's sights.<sup>27</sup> Two years later, in the plenary of the CC on May 1957, AKEL reaffirmed "the correctness of the stance of the party against the armed struggle of the Right. At the same time, however, the C.C. openly underlines that in our stance against the EOKA we committed a series of errors, some of which are quite serious."<sup>28</sup>

From the outset of preparations for the struggle, the different approaches of its two strongest players, Makarios and Grivas, were apparent. Makarios preferred actions that could be used as leverage to pressure the British, that is, sabotage and attacks on inanimate targets. Grivas was committed to widespread armed action, although in his memoirs emphasizes that the ground in Cyprus was unsuitable for a guerrilla war and that his fighters would be at a disadvantage.<sup>29</sup>

For decades, the perception, cultivated through historiography, has been that only the left, initially, at least, maintained the "treacherous" stance of condemning EOKA and its armed struggle. The reality, however, is different, since segments of the Greek bourgeoisie, for their own reasons, also condemned the armed conflict, particularly the way in which it began, alleging it was a provocation that served English interests and was actually directed against the Cypriot people. The newspaper *Vima*, for example, on the day after the struggle began noted the following:

With a few hand-held bombs, which do not cause damage and do not leave victims, Cyprus is certainly not going to be liberated, as it also is not going to be liberated with the dynamite caps of "Agios Georgios" ... What therefore do the makeshift and unnecessary explosions in Nicosia and the three other Cypriot cities signal? The liberation of Cyprus they will not be able to achieve, even if they are repeated... "But perhaps they might give the English the opportunity and the motive to claim that they face an active resistance movement in Cyprus and thus take steps and treat the Cypriot people accordingly? That is the suspicion born today to Greek People."<sup>30</sup> Still, referring to the question of armed struggle, Kranidiotis mentioned: "The question of armed struggle was subsequently a controversial subject even in the circles of the Right. There were not few who did not cease to believe that without the armed struggle the development of the Cyprus issue would be much better, safely ending in Enosis. It was the era of anti-colonial movements in Africa and Asia, and the general resistance of the enslaved peoples against imperialism and foreign occupation. In the period of a few decades immediately after the end of WWII, the British and the French Empire dissolved, colonial peoples were liberated, and, based on



the principle of self-determination, new states were created, especially in the regions of the Middle East, Africa and Asia.”<sup>31</sup>

Another important element is that the British Secret Services, regardless of what has been said, knew from very early on almost everything about EOKA and its activities. They even knew it was Grivas who was leading the organization. Grivas:

13 February: According to evening information by Noti, police monitors the area from Trikomou up to Bogaziou Trikomou where a section of the Intelligence Service has set up base. Of course they seek me in this area which is my hometown.<sup>32</sup> Additionally and approaching the 1st of April, 1955, 7 March, 1955: Since the English know I am here, I purposely spread the rumour that I am disappointed with the situation and I seek to secretly depart from Cyprus.<sup>33</sup>

EOKA, despite having the support of a large portion of the Greek-Cypriot population, its politico-military approach excluded the Greek-Cypriot left and Turkish Cypriots. The armed struggle for enosis was designed and implemented such that it could only result in failure and in the further division of the people of Cyprus, either ethnically or ideologically. The idea that AKEL could have either blankly supported the struggle or participated with its own insurgent groups disregards the depth and intensity of the partisan conflict of the years preceding the commencement of the EOKA struggle. The ethnarchy, meanwhile, was trapped by its need to consistently assert its role and fend off any challenges to its political hegemony and by its forced navigation of the unstable equilibrium created by the power relationships within the right. Thus, the choice of anti-communist Grivas to take the helm of the struggle was the only destination on the one-way road the ethnarchy chose to travel.

By Cyprus standards, the anti-colonial form of struggle embarked upon by EOKA was clearly a radical undertaking. It was also, mostly, the result of a long confrontation, a complex lattice formed by the ongoing conflict between the dominant ideological factions of the Greek-Cypriot community and always within the context of the British administration. As a result, therefore, and not as a starting point, the choice of armed struggle for enosis, inspired by elements of irredentist nationalism, represents the most basic expression of the vertically divided sections of the local community during the period in question.

## NOTES

1. In a report to KKE in 1951, Papaioannou confessed the party could not carry out an anti-occupation struggle and could only contribute to sabotage. "We do not have any war material apart from only 24 revolvers 2–3 handguns, a machine-gun and nothing else. We have 2–3 technicians for sabotaging, explosions, etc., but do not have the material for this work." Papaioannou called for both financial assistance and expertise to enable AKEL to organize if it was declared illegal or in case of war between East and West. See ASKI, "Papaioannou to KKE, Issues of Organizational-technical Preparation" *Neos Demokratias*, 5 February 1950, p. 1 (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/33, 1951).
2. "For the financial assistance that they requested, for training saboteurs, radio operators, etc. We answered them that there are no such capabilities, such things cannot take place here, and to look to resolve them themselves in Cyprus." This answer was given to Papaioannou from G. Ioannidis and K. Kolligiannis. See ASKI, "Report of Giannis Ioannidis and Kostas Kolligiannis to the PG of the K.E. of the KKE" (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/43, 1951).
3. In its decision shortly before the armed struggle of EOKA began, the CC of AKEL "reiterates and clarifies that when we declare that the struggle of the Cypriot people is massive, open, peaceful and democratic, we mean it. The massive peoples' gatherings, the demonstrations, the strikes, when taking place at a suitable time, with appropriate mottoes and demands, and above all, when they rally the people in unison, are forms of the peoples' democratic struggle." See *Neos Dimokratias*, 20 February 1955.
4. For the acquaintance between Makarios-Grivas, see Spyros Papageorgiou, *Grivas and the X organization: The lost archive* (Athens: Nea Thesis, 2004), 620–21.
5. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 9:299. An Athens University Hall at 57 Solonos Street was used for training purposes, as well as a house on Skoufa Street in Kolonaki and a house on Cyprus Street in Kifissia.
6. Nikos Kranidiotis, *Difficult years* (Athens: [n.pub.], 1981), 55–57.
7. According to Grivas himself, he recommended to Makarios to take action, beginning the relevant preparations from July 1951. Georgios Grivas mentions in his memoirs (pp. 14–15) that the first thoughts on the conduct in Cyprus of an armed liberation struggle took place in Athens between himself, Achilleas Kirou and others, in June 1948. At the same time, similar thoughts, according to Grivas, were expressed in various circles in Cyprus by then-bishop of Kition Makarios (who later became Archbishop Makarios III). In May 1951, the group in Athens, consisting of Cypriot exiles and Greeks, offered Georgios Grivas the leadership of the armed struggle in

Cyprus, to Makarios's knowledge. In July 1951, Grivas visited Cyprus to study on the spot the potential for armed struggle on the island. At the same time, he had contacts with Makarios and recruited his first collaborators in Cyprus. On October 1952, he came to Cyprus for the second time and remained for nearly five months (3 October 1952 to 25 February 1953). This visit was intended to determine the applicability of the project. He then took care to create the first nuclei for action and for receiving and concealing military equipment. For more on the preparation of the EOKA struggle, see Andreas Varnavas, *History of the liberation struggle of EOKA (1955–1959)* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2002). and Giannis Lambrou, *History of the Cyprus issue, 1960–2004* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2004).

8. The text of the oath with the signatures and the New Testament that were used are today kept in the National History Museum of Greece; the table on which the New Testament was placed was donated to the Museum of the Struggle of Cyprus. See Papastauros Papagathangelou, *My testimony, How I experienced the pre-production and the struggle of EOKA* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1995), 261. According to a testimony of Gerasimos Konidaris, one of the signatories of the oath, Grivas was absent from the meeting of 7 March 1953 and signed the oath later. See Kostas Katsonis, *Cyprus in the path of History* (Larnaca: [n.pub.], 2002), 34. Also see Makarios Drousiotis, *EOKA the dark aspect* (Athens: Stahi, 1998), 53.
9. In his interview with Alexis Papahelas on the show *Neoi Fakeloi*, Papageorgiou even mentioned that Makarios was also an "X", and specifically that he was the organization's contact, conveying messages between its members. For the entire interview, see Alexis Papahelas, "Neoi Fakeloi", in Skai <http://folders.skai.gr/main/theme?locale=el&id=20> [accessed 15 November 2015].
10. Interview of Andreas Azinas by journalist Michalis Michail on the radio station Astra (Cyprus) on 1 April 1998.
11. Nikos Psyroukis, *History of Modern Greece, 1940–1974* (Athens: Koukkida, 2010), Vol. 2:314.
12. Doctor Ioannidis took care to create a group of Cypriot students in Athens who were trained in the use of weapons and guerrilla tactics. The first 15 students were trained in Athens by reservist officer Georgios Kontopoulos, curator then and later professor of astronomy at the University of Athens. The training was on the basics of armed action and sabotage. An Athens University Hall at 57 Solonos Street was used for training purposes, as well as a house on Skoufa Street in Kolonaki and a house on Cyprus Street in Kifissia. On the founding of the KARI organization, see Varnavas, *History of the liberation struggle*, 36 and Petros Stylianou, *Cypriot students in Athens and the Struggle of 1955–1959* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 2010).
13. Andreas Fantis, *The burial (of a sweet dream) of the Enosis* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1994), 108–109.

14. This armor, as Grivas notes, came from the arms depots of the “X” organization. See Grivas, *Memoirs*, 20.
15. Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 10:372.
16. Grivas, *Memoirs*, 25–26.
17. Drousiotis, *EOKA the dark aspect*, 19–87.
18. Grivas, *Memoirs*, 25–26.
19. For the whole background of the case of the boat, the narratives of the protagonists are informative, as listed in Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 384–390.
20. This declaration is cited in several books. Among others, see Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, 404–405.
21. Kranidiotis, *Difficult years*, 74–75.
22. Grivas, *Memoirs*, 12–13.
23. Grivas writes in his diary, “29 March. 20th hour saw General. TO BEGIN. He gave me his blessing. God with us.” Panagiotis Machlouzaridis, *Cyprus 1940–1960. Diary of developments* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1985), Annex, Part I, 17.
24. Indicatively I mention Lambrou, *History of the Cyprus issue*, 38, and Katsonis, *Cyprus*, 92.
25. Drousiotis, *EOKA the dark aspect*, 79. Regarding the disappointment of Grivas, see Colonial Office, *Terrorism in Cyprus—The diary of Grivas* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1957), 19. (This document is part of Grivas’s found diary and was published by the British.) In his later memoirs, Grivas mentions the document issued by the British: “Of the published in Greek extracts, most are accurate, I have reservations on the accuracy of certain points of this.” Grivas, *Memoirs*, 127.
26. The entire statement of AKEL in Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia*, vol. 11:13–14.
27. Giannakis Kolokasidis, “Issues of strategy and tactics in the anti-colonial struggle”, *Chroniko of Politis* newspaper, 183 (2011): 12.
28. *Ibid.*, 13.
29. Grivas, *Memoirs*, 16. For the opposition of Makarios to the bloodshed and actions beyond the sabotages, see also Kranidiotis, *Difficult Years*, 58–59; Azinas Andreas, *50 years of silence, The moment of truth* (Nicosia: [n. pub.], 2001), Vol. A: 219–221.
30. Vima, 17 April 1955. Generally on the reactions of the Greek political world, see Spyros Linardatos, *From the civil war to Junta* (Athens: [n. pub.], 1977), Vol. 2:281. and Kostas Athanasiadis, *By Who and how Cyprus was betrayed* (New York: [n.pub.], 1991), 356.
31. Kranidiotis, *Difficult years*, 77.
32. Colonial Office, *Terrorism in Cyprus*, 12.
33. *Ibid.*, 14.

## Conclusions

The decade between 1945 and 1955 offers a particularly appealing challenge to the researcher of modern Cypriot history. It is, among others, the period that saw the formulation and eventual crystallization of the ideological frameworks, policies, and organizational structures each of the two major political factions in Cyprus, right and left, brought to the anti-colonial struggle. The decisive battle was conducted for the final victory on all fields of the social and political sphere, with the result shaping the distinct political identities of each. The left founded its identity on its representation of the popular strata, particularly the working class, on its respect for and cooperation with the Turkish Cypriots, and on its anti-ethnarchic (almost anti-religious) rhetoric. The right embraced religiosity, nationalism, and enosis, thus establishing itself within the powerful structures of the colonial government.

The inability of Greek Cypriots to form a single line on behalf of their struggle for national restoration naturally expanded to their response to the announcement of the Consultative Assembly. AKEL participated, hoping it would be able to abolish the institutions endeavoring to crush it, while the nationalist organizations and the Church rejected the Assembly because of the balance of power within the political life of Cypriot society; thus, the left was called to assume the exclusive responsibility of negotiating a constitution that would guarantee the British would retain their essential powers. The interventions of the Greek government on behalf of the ethnarchy and the Greek–Cypriot right, the tremors within AKEL on

the occasion of the Assembly, the oscillations of the two factions on the constitutional proposals (despite what each publicly proclaimed), and the strategic interests of the British together, which, for the first time, were in line with those of the Turkish–Cypriot community, highlight the importance of the Assembly as a bellwether of the anti-colonial struggle.

Nevertheless, the entire political argument of the period, which was intensified by elements imported from the Greek civil war, boiled over during the discussion of the constitutional proposals. The concept of nationalism had already been introduced in Cyprus after the riots of 3 December 1944 in Athens and the conflicts in the wake of these riots continued until the Varkiza Agreement; this conflict also prompted the national organizations to permanently cease cooperating with the pro-EAM AKEL. The establishment of “X” in Cyprus and the active participation of Cypriot nationalists on behalf of the Greek army, coupled with AKEL fundraisers, rallies, and shipments of material to the DSE and KKE transposed the civil war climate to Cyprus and further widened the gap between the two factions.<sup>1</sup>

Electoral processes on the island were marked by tension and outbreaks of violence. The escalation of polarization is clearly delineated in the book with comparisons of the municipal elections of 1946, 1949, and 1953. The gradual escalation of political violence was also part of the archiepiscopal elections. The election of Leontios to the archbishopric throne in 1947 saw harsh recriminations and significant tension, but during the next election, also in 1947, and again in 1950, when Makarios III was elected, the conflict between the two factions was emblematic of the severity of the claims of sovereignty at all levels made by both left and right.

The culmination of the conflict, however, as was natural, appeared once the ideological confrontation was clearly expressed by class status, when it became a conflict between workers and employers. While the right relied on its access to the government apparatus and Greek–Cypriot power structures, the left drew its strength from the popular strata, which was organized via local branches of cultural associations, cooperative institutions, and, especially, labor unions. The severity of this conflict opened a door to the “X” organization: the Governor’s report for September 1948 characteristically stated: “The Right for its part tried to revive the “X” organization and organized paid groups, which had as their mission to protect workers at their work places and hinder the aspirations of any left groups.”<sup>2</sup> The employers used “X”, whose members terrorized unionists and accompanied strike-breakers on construction sites where strikes had been declared.<sup>3</sup>

In the battle for dominance within the labor movement, the left mobilized its entire mechanism, which yielded significant political and union benefits. The successful outcome of the strikes ignited a mass popular movement and enhanced the prestige of the left. The cooperation between Greek–Cypriot and Turkish–Cypriot workers during strikes was a catalyst for the further development of common claims. AKEL tried to fold the class issue into the national issue and, by integrating strikes into a wider context, one that encompassed the demand for self-government and enosis, communicated a strong message to Cypriot society that rallied the democratic front.

In the class confrontation fomented by the left, the right gained greater access to the island’s working class, as evidenced by the list of union members during this period. The introduction of SEK, as the opposite pole of the PEO and the genuine expression of the right within the labor movement despite its ultimate defeat, rallied the party ahead of municipal elections.<sup>4</sup>

The differences between left and right were unbridgeable and would ultimately lead to a frontal collision. The introduction, however, of the civil war climate to Cyprus launched these differences sky-high: left and right now crossed swords in a divided political climate which was re-contextualized by the Greek civil war. Both factions adopted the propaganda of the conflict but, for a number of reasons, most of them internal, avoided armed confrontation.

The transposing of the climate prevailing in Greece was completely normal, as the vast majority of Greek Cypriots had been furiously seeking union with Greece. That Greek Cypriots considered themselves an integral part of Greece justified their great interest and their partial involvement in the events of the civil war. The right sought the introduction of a civil war confrontation to satisfy its political principles but also for the sake of expediency, since, in this new arena, it could pursue arguments ancillary to its purpose: the right’s efforts to convince the majority of the population to fear an internal enemy, AKEL, which it accused of conniving with its “fellow travellers” for having completely associated itself with EAM and the DSE so as to unite a “free Cyprus with a free and democratic Greece.”

The “influence of the civil war on political developments in Cyprus is part and parcel of the partial two-way relationship between the two sides of the Greek civil war and their commensurate Greek–Cypriot factions. More specifically, the Greek government never relented in its attempts to steer the Greek–Cypriot right and the Church of Cyprus. Cyprus, either

as an internal matter for the political leadership of Greece or as an irredentist issue, as a continual point of reference: the claim for enosis made by Greek Cypriots and the British response to these claims had a direct impact on Greek foreign policy. The decisive interventions of successive Greek governments to push enosis forward or back were significant. The participation of the Greek right, through its Consulate, in the confrontation between the Cypriot left and the right, as well as the Consulate's contribution to conveying the atmosphere of the Greek civil war to Cyprus, are of importance, as proven by a number of Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents and correspondence from Greek consuls in Cyprus with Athens.

AKEL might have considered the British Communist Party as the metropolitan party with which it consulted, particularly during critical periods and, especially, with regard to the Cyprus issue, but official guidance came from the national party, KKE. KKE monitored AKEL's internal affairs, keeping informed of every move its leading officials made. Apart from the visit to the mountain and the subsequent change in AKEL's stance toward self-government-union, the instances wherein KKE decisively steered AKEL were many. KKE understood that within Cyprus lay many pitfalls for the Greek government, since "Greece today breathes with two lungs, one American and one English, and thus cannot, because of the Cyprus issue, risk suffocating."<sup>5</sup> So besides its responsibility to guide its fellow travelers in Cyprus, KKE was interested in how it could use the political situation in Cyprus to weaken the two lungs, namely American-British imperialism, while simultaneously suffocating its opponent, the Greek government, by exposing it.

In the case of the influence of the Greek Government on the Greek-Cypriot right and the influence of KKE on AKEL, there were examples when guidance was conflicted due to circumstances prevailing in Greece: this conflicted guidance often created turmoil within each Greek-Cypriot faction. An example is the Consultative Assembly, when the advice of the Greek government's representatives to the right and the ethnarchy varied, with Deputy Foreign Minister Pipinelis believing "... all of the factions, showing a common front, participate in the announced Committee",<sup>6</sup> while other Greek diplomats warned Greek Cypriots not to risk their national future by participating in the Assembly.<sup>7</sup> The Greek government, following approach to the British embassy, denounced the referendum and called its Consul back to Athens, while other Greek political leaders welcomed it.<sup>8</sup>



As for KKE and AKEL, shifting guidance from KKE, especially regarding enosis, triggered internal tremors within AKEL in 1949 and again in 1952. Zachariadis's push to change the party's stance from self-government and participation in the Assembly to "Enosis and only Enosis"<sup>9</sup> resulted in the resignation of AKEL leadership and the submittal of CC member Ezekias Papaioannou. Two years later, and, after the final defeat of the DSE, the leadership of KKE appeared to have revised its position and, with an article by Ioannidis, Kolligiannis and Roussos, encouraged AKEL to exploit every opportunity "to conquer even the smallest seats within the colonial regime."<sup>10</sup>

The ethnarchy, which played a key role in all political developments of the period, assumed the leadership of the right with the unification referendum. The appointment of Makarios III as archbishop and his absolute accession to the head of the nationalist faction created the necessary conditions for the right's victory in the battle for leadership of the enosis struggle. The anti-British rhetoric of certain circles within the right left the party exposed, rendering futile its earlier hope of achieving enosis through the friendship between Britain and Greece; what truly solidified its leadership in the enosis struggle, however, was a powerful archbishop who was devoted to the struggle.

At the same time, in Greece, the elections 16 November 1952 ushered in the government of Alexander Papagos. With Papagos at the country's helm, Greece set out on an autonomous foreign policy path, one in direct defiance of the recommendations of the Western alliance. Papagos was under constant pressure from Makarios to take action in the enosis struggle. While Makarios applied this pressure, neither he nor the Greek government took either the Turkish-Cypriot community or Turkey into account. Despite the symptoms that had manifested ten years earlier, the struggle for union continued with wilful ignorance of any reaction Turkish Cypriots or Turkey might have. Thus, the situation devolved into an extreme scenario with Makarios marching arm in arm with Grivas down the path to armed struggle, while the Greek government kept its distance, at least at first.<sup>11</sup>

In conclusion, the class conflict within Greek-Cypriot society would inevitably lead the two factions to clash. But the civil war in Greece and the identification of the two factions in Cyprus with their respective Greek factions engendered another field of conflict for the Greek-Cypriot right and the Greek-Cypriot left, accelerating a bipolar political system through which, ultimately, the vertical division in the Greek-Cypriot community

would express itself. Given that both the ruling class and the ruled essentially claimed ideological hegemony over the class struggle, so as to espouse particular class interests as the interests of the entire Greek–Cypriot community, in unique ideological struggle the ideology of the winner of the Greek civil war would come to dominate the political dialog of Cyprus.

## NOTES

1. On the term “nationalist” and its introduction to Cyprus, see Vasilis Protopapas, *The informal establishment of a two-faction party system: parties and municipal elections, Cyprus 1940–1955* (Athens: University of Athens (thesis), 2002), 74. Aggelos Elefantis argues that “... nationalism is the offspring of Civil War and Civil War is its offspring.” Aggelos Elefantis, *Nationalism: The Ideology of terror and criminalization* (Athens: Sakis Karagiorgas Institute, 1994), 645.
2. TNA, “Political situation in Cyprus in September 1948” (TNA, CO 537/4041, 1948). Also, the governor mentions, “The general picture of events during the month presented scenes of growing chasm between the Right and the Left. These scenes constituted a spectacle which depicted almost a civil war.”
3. “Yesterday’s shocking events in Nicosia- Fierce conflicts in construction workplaces”, *Democrates*, 2 September 1948.
4. Republic of Cyprus, “Annual Report of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance for the Year 1968” (MLSI, Nicosia, 1969), 108.
5. Content of the conversation between Georgios Papandreou and mayor of Nicosia Themistoklis Dervis on 23 June 1950. See article of Makarios Drousiotis in *Eleftherotypia*, 11 July 2006.
6. DIAYE, “Council of Political Affairs, 15th Session” (DIAYE, Folder 28/2, 1st Subfolder, 1947).
7. Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly, 1946–1948* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 273.
8. Panagiotis Papadimitris, *Historical Encyclopaedia of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1980), Vol. 8:306.
9. KKE, *Official Texts* (Athens: Syghroni Epohi, 1997), Vol. 8:701.
10. ASKI, “Article by G. Ioannidis, K. Kolligiannis and P. Roussos ‘The struggle of the Cypriot people for freedom and peace’” (ASKI, 371, File 20/21/46, 1951).
11. Interview of Andreas Azinas to journalist Michalis Michail, on the radio station *Astra* (Cyprus) on 1 April 1998.

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