
La capitale de l'Hellénisme du Nord malgré toutes les aventures (long et dur asservissement, guerres balcaniques et mondiales, la révolution de E. Venizelos, l'incendie de 1917) avait combattu pour maintenir son ancienne autonomie littéraire et reconstruire sa vieille tradition intellectuelle: aussi avait-elle créé son propre mouvement littéraire avec ses principaux facteurs les hommes des lettres et le texte imprimé. Les deux études de Christianopoulos démontrent l'effort de l'Hellénisme de Macédoine à retrouver ses forces culturelles en dépit de toute difficulté d'ordre politique ou autre. Soulignons, pour finir, l'utilité des recherches de Christianopoulos en tant qu'instruments de travail dans l'étude de l'histoire culturelle offrant de nouvelles perspectives à la recherche.

*I Institute for Balkan Studies

ATH. E. KARATHANASSIS


The one volume by Mr. Nikos Kranidiotis, Dyskola Chronia: Kypros 1950-1960, and the two volume work by Mr. Evanggelos Averof-Tositsa, Istoria Chame- non Efkairion: Kypriako 1950-1963, are two recent studies in the growing list of books written covering the recent history of Cyprus, and more specifically the decades before and after the birth of the Republic of Cyprus. The books reviewed here are authored by individuals well informed in the affairs of Cyprus, both of them having served in important positions for their respective countries during those crucial years of terror, danger, and turmoil in Cyprus and the southeastern region of the Mediterranean in general.

Mr. Nikos Kranidiotis, a Cypriot, is a career diplomat who had served as counselor to the President of Cyprus the late Archbishop Makarios and Secretary-General of the Ethnarchia of Cyprus, and after the birth of the Republic of Cyprus
as ambassador of his much troubled island to Greece. And although in the preface of his splendid book the author writes that he is not writing a history of Cyprus, but recording his memoires and personal experiences, yet because of the important positions he held during the critical period under study, makes this book an important contribution to our knowledge of the history of Cyprus in our times. The author's presentation of the events taking place in Cyprus and abroad on the problem of Cyprus and the addition of letters and other official and personal correspondence, increases the value and importance of the book to all those interested in obtaining a personal knowledge of aspects in the history of Cyprus for the years 1950 to 1960.

Evangelos Averof-Tositsa, a Greek, the author of the two volume study, *Istoria Chamenon Efkarion: Kypriako 1950-63*, is an established figure in the political world of Greece having served the interests of his country in different capacities from the 1930's to the present. He is highly qualified to write about Cyprus having been directly involved in the struggle of Cyprus before and since its establishment as an independent republic in 1959/60. *Istoria Chamenon Efkarion* is a record of Mr. Averof's personal involvement, personal experience, and personal concern for an island of such beauty and melancholy history.

The first volume is divided into eleven short chapters beginning with an introductory chapter which traces the record of Cyprus to the year 1950 and the last chapter which presents the situation at the United Nations on the problem of Cyprus. The second volume is divided into nine short chapters which concentrate on events leading up to the establishment of Cyprus as an independent Republic, with an epilogue and a selective bibliography. I have personally found the second volume of greater interest and more enlightening. The author writes from the basis of knowledge since he was Greece's foreign minister from May of 1956 to June of 1963, and although what he recounts are matters of established knowledge, yet his presentation, and analysis of events makes the study of considerable importance to scholars and students not only of the history of Cyprus but also of Greece. In the years before the birth of the republic of Cyprus, the problem of Cyprus was the long struggle for *Enosis*, a struggle which is traced to the early years of the independence of Greece.

Efforts for *Enosis* were frequent in the nineteenth century but became especially intensive, and very emotional, at times characterized by acts of violence and terror, during the first half of the twentieth century. Early in this century, during the last days of the First World War, the island of Cyprus was promised to Greece by the British government, among other promises, in an effort to attract Greek participation in the war on the side of the Allies, but the promise was never honoured. In the 1950's successive Greek governments gave their moral, political and diplomatic support to the struggle of the Greek Cypriots against the British colonial administration of the island. It is ironic to read the statements of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, demanding that the people of the Falkland Islands have the right to decide their own political destiny, yet previous British administrations had declined to give to the people of Cyprus the right of self-determination, the right to decide their own destiny, indirectly contributing to and being responsible for the present situation in Cyprus. This was one of the several lost opportunities, *Chamenes Efkaries*. The struggle for *Enosis* became an important emotional issue in the oratory of Greek political figures. In the
foreign and diplomatic sphere, Greece became the sponsor of the cause of Cyprus in the United Nations at the expense of its relations with both Britain and Turkey. Successive Greek governments found themselves bound to situations in Cyprus, and on numerous occasions came dangerously close to war with neighboring Turkey. This was particularly so after Cyprus became an independent State. Events in the summer of 1974 document this potentially dangerous situation. Turkey of course has direct interest in developments on Cyprus because of the eighteen percent Turkish population of the island.

In time the *Kypriako Problima*, the problem of Cyprus, as it is known in Greece, not only endangered Greco-Turkish relations, but through the United Nations, came to involve the international community, thus making it a chronic issue in international affairs. The *Enosis* struggle, a major aspect of the problem of Cyprus, ended with the London-Zurich settlement (1959/60) which clearly prohibited "both union of the island with Greece, and its partition between Greece and Turkey", and established Cyprus as an independent republic. But difficult years were ahead for the new nation as well as the protecting powers Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. The years after independence for Cyprus were crucial years, years of error, phobia, terror, lack of effective communication, and blind nationalism with lost opportunities for all parties involved.

Indeed the recent history of Cyprus is a history of lost opportunities. The physical control of the northern sector of Cyprus has been a long standing Turkish strategic aim. Opportunities to secure this were missed, thanks to prompt and effective international action, especially of the United States, in 1964 and again in 1967, and the Turks must have seen in the anti-Makarios irresponsible coup of July 1974, the ideal opportunity to achieve it, under the cloak of international «respectability» which the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee afforded. Having exercised the «right» of intervention under the Treaty, the Turks have consigned its consequential obligations to oblivion. They have established a firm control of the northern sector of Cyprus, in the absence of international action to enforce the resolutions of the United Nations. Unless there is a *force majeur* to compel it, it is unrealistic to think that Turkey shall relinquish her occupation of northern Cyprus in the foreseeable future.

The failure of England to deal with and stop the dangerous events which were taking place in Cyprus in December 1963 between the island’s two ethnic communities, Greeks and Turks, brought the United States into the picture. America entered the picture in search of peace-keeping formula to stop the dangerously deteriorating situation in Cyprus. The aim of the American diplomatic efforts (the 1964 «Ball mission» and the Johnson letter, and the 1967 «Vance mission») was to prevent the Cyprus dispute from drawing Greece and Turkey into direct conflict thus directly influencing the effectiveness of N.A.T.O., and the organization’s ability to defend the south-eastern sector of Europe. But the opportunities afforded by the American missions before and after the independence of Cyprus accomplished very little towards the cause of Cyprus and peace in the area. Events developed rather dangerously in the decade of the 1960’s finally climaxing in the melancholy episodes of the summer of 1974 and subsequent situations. The problem of Cyprus is a chronic one. The record indicates that many opportunities have been lost in the past and, alas, similar opportunities are not given the proper consideration and change today. The responsibility for the failure to find a just solu-
tion to the problem of Cyprus is widely shared. In Cyprus both communities, Greeks and Turks, lack wise and realistic leadership. Also, the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus rely respectively on Greece and Turkey rather than on their own initiatives. Thus the blame for the absence of any concrete progress on Cyprus must be shared by both Greeks and Turks. In Athens and Ankara both governments can ill afford the present situation on the island and would very much like to settle the problem peacefully and permanently. As one keen observer wrote, «Athens and Ankara are the actual prisoners of the problem of Cyprus». I am sure Athens and Ankara would like to solve the problem of Cyprus and turn their attention to the more serious and potentially more dangerous dispute over the Agean Sea. The United Nations, Europe and the United States of America as well as all peace-loving nations should join their efforts to find a just and long-lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. The urgency for such an initiative is greater now than ever before because simply the opportunities are not as many now as they were in the past nor are the national and international situations conducive to long and time consuming arguments and deliberations. In Cyprus time is running out, and only the past is certain.

*Dyskola Chronia* and *Istoria Chamenon Efkarion* are two important additions to the bibliography of Cyprus covering aspects of the most crucial years in recent history. Mr. Kranidiotis and Mr. Averof-Tositsa have given us an incisive account of years of frustration and conflict, years of opportunity and error, years of cooperation and intransigence, they should be commended for their efforts. The reader of *Dyskola Chronia* and of *Istoria Chamenon Efkarion*, a specialist or not, will come away both informed and enlightened.


On 2 August 1977 His Beatitude, Archbishop Makarios III, President of the Republic of Cyprus died in Nicosia, Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios was a remarkable man, the charismatic leader, both religious and political of his nation, and the father of independence of Cyprus. An intelligent and tenacious defender of the independence of his small island republic, who held his volatile people together through a number of crises, the most recent of which was the tragic invasion and occupation of nearly forty percent of the northern sector of the island of Cyprus in the summer of 1974 by Turkish armed forces, a condition which most unfortunately persists to this day.

I was honoured with the friendship and trust of Archbishop Makarios. I first met the Archbishop in 1965 when I first visited Cyprus as a graduate student from Cambridge, England. I then had the privilege of visiting with the Archbishop again in 1969 and held a number of meetings with him during the years 1974 to 1977. Archbishop Makarios was a man of great charm and personal charisma and it was easy to understand why he had such immense support among his people. Although his was a small country Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus will come to be