

try Cyprus. His untimely and unfortunate death removed from the scene the only man who could have solved the problem of Cyprus and this because he was the only individual with the international stature enjoying the love and trust of his people and respect and recognition of the international community. The death of Archbishop Makarios is a tragic loss for Cyprus.

*Makarios: A Biography* is divided into three parts. Part one, Seed-Time; part two, Harvest; and part three, the Aftermath. The volume is enriched with interesting plates, helpful bibliography, and index. The life of Archbishop Makarios is not helpful only for the study of events in Cyprus in this century, but also for the understanding of political and diplomatic developments in south-eastern Europe in our times. A relationship between history and politics in Cyprus and Europe. Writing about Archbishop Makarios a keen observer of events in Cyprus wrote «there were two things about Archbishop Makarios. The first was that he honourably served for so long his country and the second that he appeared so thoroughly to enjoy running his impossible little island».

Mr. Mayes' biography of Archbishop Makarios written after his death is a model for biographies: historically sound, extremely readable and sympathetic and respectful of its subject. As such *Makarios: A Biography* it is a valuable contribution to the study of one of the most remarkable individuals of this century and of the recent history of Cyprus.

«The Problem of Cyprus: Reviewing the Turkish Case»

Rauf R. Denktash, *The Cyprus Triangle*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982, p. 222.

Halil Ibrahim Salih, *Cyprus: The Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State*, University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1978, p. 203.

Vamik D. Volkan, M.D., *Cyprus —War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of two Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1979, p. 192.

The third largest island in the Mediterranean, Cyprus has an area of 3,572 square miles, with a population of about 650,000 of which 530,000 (about 82 percent) are Greeks and 120,000 (about 18 percent) are Turks. The long history of Cyprus is a record of distinction and sadness. Strategically located, Cyprus has paid a heavy price for being situated at the crossroads of history and civilization. Situated at the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, Cyprus has been conquered and reconquered by every maritime power that ever shaped history in this cradle of civilization, from the Phoenicians to the British, with Greeks, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Venetians, and the Turks in between. «In the space of three thousand years» observed Dr. Henry Field, an American Theologian who visited Cyprus in the 1880s, «Cyprus had many invaders and many conquerors, until the whole island was overspread with the ashes of many civilizations. To dig into its soil is to uncover the remains of a hundred generations». Another visitor to Cyprus in the later years of the nineteenth century, W. Hepworth Dixon

of England wrote, «A race advancing on the East must start with Cyprus, Alexander, Augustus, Richard and Saint Louis took that lane. A race advancing on the West must start with Cyprus, Sargon, Ptolemy, Cyrus, Haroum-al-Rashid took this lane». It is widely accepted that the problem of this historically rich and scenically beautiful island is its strategically important location. In 1571 Cyprus became part of the Ottoman Empire which ruled the island until 1878, at which time the administration of Cyprus was transferred to Great Britain. In 1914 Cyprus was annexed by Great Britain and made part of the British Empire. In 1923, by article sixteen of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey officially renounced all her rights on the island. Two years later, in 1925, England declared Cyprus a British Crown Colony. The decade of the 1950s was a period of agitation and armed struggle by the Greek Cypriots of Cyprus against British rule. It was a struggle for the right of self-determination, the right to decide their own destiny. But the British authorities guided by strategic interests and considerations, denied that right to the people of Cyprus. During those melancholy years of the struggle of self-determination carried out by the Greek Cypriots of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriots of Cyprus remained aloof.

In 1959 the Zurich and London Agreements called for the establishment of the island of Cyprus as an independent Republic, thus prohibiting *Énosis*, union of the island with Greece, and *Taksim*, union with Turkey, as well as its partition between Greece and Turkey. On 16 August 1960 the Republic of Cyprus formally came into existence with Archbishop Makarios III as its President. Thus ended the eighty-two-year long British rule of the island. The United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey undertook the responsibility of protector and guarantor powers of «the independence, territorial integrity and security» of the Republic of Cyprus. Shortly afterwards Cyprus became a member of the United Nations. But, alas, three years after independence Cyprus experienced a period of tensions and clashes between the two ethnic communities of the island, Greeks and Turks, acts of violence and trial, episodes which planted the seeds of suspicion and mistrust among the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus. Furthermore, tensions between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus affected relations between the two allies and NATO partners, Greece and Turkey, to the detriment of NATO and the Atlantic Alliance in general. Armed clashes between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus resulted in the Security Council of the United Nations unanimous decision in 1964 to send peace-keeping forces to Cyprus and appoint a mediator to help the two communities solve their misunderstandings and find solutions to their problems. From April 1967 to July 1974, Greece was ruled by a military junta, a regime antipathetic of the President of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios. Thus, on 15 July 1974 Archbishop Makarios was overthrown in a *coup d'état*, engineered by the junta in Athens, and replaced by Nicos Sampson. Turkish reaction was immediate. On the pretext of protecting the interests of the Turkish minority of Cyprus on 20 July 1974, Turkey invaded Cyprus. The tragic developments in Cyprus contributed to the collapse of the military dictatorship in Greece and the restoration of democracy. In the United States the Turkish invasion of Cyprus — in violation of U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Foreign Military Sales Act explicitly forbidding the use of American arms by one ally of the United States against another — inspired Congress to impose an arms embargo on Turkey — lifted in 1978 during the Carter administration — and to require the American president to report to Congress

every sixty days on the status of Cyprus. At the United Nations several resolutions demanded that Turkey remove her troops from Cyprus. But despite several United Nations resolutions Turkish forces, approximately 40,000, increased their presence on Cyprus and occupied 38.5 percent of the northern sector of the island forcing 200,000 Greek Cypriots to leave their homes and move to the southern sector of Cyprus.

For years now the problem of Cyprus has been commanding attention in the world press, with numerous studies written analysing the different aspects of the problem of Cyprus and its national, regional and international implications. The problem of Cyprus remains the «apple of discord» between Greece and Turkey complicating relations between the two nations. The chronic problem of Cyprus has three basic aspects which are: first, the geopolitical aspect; second, the human rights violations aspect; and third, the aspect of international law. First the geopolitical aspect. The importance of the island of Cyprus for trade and military operations is a fact well established and documented in the island's history from ancient times to the present. Indeed within diplomatic and military circles it is generally accepted that a major problem of Cyprus is its location. The strategic value of Cyprus is simply too important to be taken lightly and much too dangerous to be ignored. The close proximity of the island to the inherently unstable region of the Middle East (the Fertile Crescent of ancient times and now the Crescent of Crisis), as well as its significant role in guarding the lines of communication and energy to the Gulf area makes situations taking place on Cyprus of great concern and importance to the great powers. For the West, Cyprus is vital to its trade, energy and defense interests.

The second aspect is the melancholy record of human rights violations on the island. The record here divides responsibility among the principal parties of Cyprus: the Greeks, the Turks and of course the British. Reacting to Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands on 2 April 1982, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher charged Argentina with human rights violation of the people of the Islands. Mrs. Thatcher correctly demanded that the people of the Falkland Islands have the right to decide their own destiny and the right of selfdetermination; and although I do agree with the British prime minister, yet history reminds me that previous British governments denied that same right to the people of Cyprus. It is therefore right to state that England is not only guilty of the violation of the human rights of the Greek Cypriots, but also responsible for the tragic situation prevailing in Cyprus today. On the Greek Cypriot side the years after Cyprus became an independent republic witnessed certain actions and policies, carried out by the Greek Cypriot community, which violated the human rights of the Turkish Cypriot community of Cyprus. Then came the tragic and dramatic episodes of the summer of 1974. Events which started with the Athens junta engineered anti-Makarios coup of July 1974, and ended with the Turkish invasion of the northern sector of Cyprus. Greece and Turkey acted in clear violation of the human rights of the people of Cyprus, and the Zurich-London Agreements which both signed in 1959. Alas, the Republic of Cyprus needed protection from its protectors! The foolish and irresponsible venture of Athens provided Ankara with the opportunity to realize its long standing strategic aim, that is control of the northern sector of Cyprus and a forced division of the island. The seizure by Turkey of the northern sector of Cyprus in July 1974, and its continuous occupation, is a perfect example

of unprovoked aggression and military expansion against an independent state. On 26 January 1983 President Ronald Reagan of the United States, in his State of the Union Message, stated that «Responsible members of the world community do not threaten or invade their neighbors...» a statement made in reference to Russian action in Afghanistan, and Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands, yet this very important principle is being violated and ignored by Turkey in Cyprus. Nine years after Turkey invaded Cyprus, the United States and other nations continue to take no action to bring justice to Cyprus. Perhaps, in establishing a policy, when words are not taken seriously then duty calls for action.

The third and final aspect of the problem of Cyprus to be considered here is that of the violation of the law of nations as embodied in the United Nations' resolutions demanding the immediate withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus and respect by Turkey and others of the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus and the human rights of its people. The crisis in Cyprus as well as situations in the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Falkland Islands and the case of the American hostages in Iran are examples of the absence of international action to effectively enforce resolutions of the international community. Cases which are tests of the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations, situations, which, alas, have not helped to enhance the prestige of the international community. Unless the international community proceeds with prompt international action to enforce resolutions taken at the United Nations, then, I fear, the importance, credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations will be seriously damaged. This is something which the international community cannot afford and should not allow to continue.

*The Cyprus Triangle* (Athens, Ankara, Nicosia), by Mr. Rauf R. Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community of Cyprus, is a short study of the Cypriot situation from early times to 1977, all in thirty-two small chapters and one hundred and one pages. The volume has twelve appendices, a postscript and index. This survey of the history of Cyprus begins in 1571 and the «chapter» is limited to two paragraphs! This makes the *Cyprus Triangle* a book of limited scope and importance. The only value of the book is, perhaps, that in one volume the author has put together many of the materials and statements about Cyprus made and recorded in Cypriot and non-Cypriot press, and, as such, are well known by all those who follow developments on the island. *Cyprus: The Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State*, by Professor Halil Ibrahim Salih, is a book of greater interest and importance in presenting the problem of Cyprus from the point of view of a Turkish Cypriot. Dr. Salih was born in the town of Kyrenia, Cyprus, and is currently a member of the department of political sciences at Texas Wesleyan College. In this timely written book, the author provides both historical background and analysis of the problem of Cyprus as it involved the two ethnic communities of the island, Greeks and Turks, since the 1950s. According to the author, «the two Cypriot communities cannot coexist under the constitution system, as it existed from 1960 to 1963, because of the nationalism of the two ethnic communities and their unwillingness to compromise their legal differences under the governmental structure established under the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959». My personal dedication to the obligation of optimism leads me to believe that agreeable compromises can and should be found for the two communities of Cyprus to coexist. It is the duty of all reasonable people to help the people of

Cyprus, Greeks and Turks, find lasting and just solutions to their problems. Many hope that the two communities of Cyprus who are so similar in so many ways with each other could make peace with each other. The volume by Dr. Salih is divided into eight chapters (108 pages), with ten appendices, notes, bibliography, illustrations and index. *Cyprus: The Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State* is a clear presentation of the Turkish Cypriot perspective of the situation in Cyprus. The author of *Cyprus War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of two Ethnic Groups in Conflict* was born in Cyprus and is now professor of psychiatry at the University of Virginia Medical Center. Dr. Volkan divides his book into eight chapters, and includes two maps, references, name index and subject index. The author argues the close similarities of the ethnic communities of Cyprus and records their hopes that the birth of the Republic of Cyprus was to bring to their island «harmony and collaboration». But «the dream never came true». Although the presentation of the psychology of the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus is interesting, the comparison of the situation of the two communities in Cyprus is disagreeable in every way. The author, alas, is subject to extremes which weaken the value and importance of the book to serious scholars. The comparison of the situation of the Turkish community of Cyprus by the author as being similar to the concentration camps and holocaust of the Jews in Germany under Hitler is totally unacceptable. Since there were no «concentration camps», and Dr. Volkan knows that, such comparisons are inaccurate and far from the true record of the situation. A misrepresentation of facts is an unethical and indeed unprofessional act. The perspective which the author presents in his study is an excellent example of blind ethnic fanaticism rather than a sound scholarly «psychoanalysis» of the situation between the two ethnic communities of Cyprus.

What are the alternatives for Cyprus and the Cypriots and what are the prospects for the future of the island? The intercommunal talks initiated by the former United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, and continued under the auspices of the present United Nations Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, an experienced man in Cypriot affairs, have had a rather limited success. The problem of Cyprus continues to be extremely critical and potentially dangerous as it involves Greece and Turkey. It is a problem which must be solved for two basic reasons: first, the matter of principle, military occupation, colonization and human rights violations of one free state against another; and second, the matter of general interest and security of the atlantic alliance. The world needs a free, united, and, most of all, a peaceful Cyprus. Unless there is progress soon the intercommunal talks, which have been deadlocked for over a year, are likely to break down. Prospects for a settlement will recede accordingly, and increased tension both on the island and between Greece and Turkey will inevitably result. But the intercommunal talks can only deal with the long-standing intercommunal differences in Cyprus. Only the international community can deal with the international aspect of the problem. Today, efforts of the United States and the United Nations Secretary-General to help bring a solution to the problem have been in vain. What is needed is a new fresh approach to the problem, a new initiative to actively involve the European Community as well. There is a role for Europe in Cyprus. Europe is capable both of an independent political and diplomatic initiative as well as a vigorous partner in the efforts of the United States and the United Nations Secretary-General to find a just and lasting solution to the problem. The

international community and especially Europe and the United States, should exert all its influence on the leaders of Cyprus to reach an accommodation, and the government of Turkey to remove all its troops from the northern sector of the island, and help bring peace and security to the people of Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean region in general. But the most important role in solving the problem of Cyprus must be played by the people of Cyprus, Greeks and Turks; they are the ones having control of their own destiny. Greeks and Turks of Cyprus must free themselves from the captivity of the errors of the past and with trust for each other work towards a better future. They need to think of themselves as Cypriots and not as hyphenated Cypriots (Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots). The pre-1974 situation of Cyprus is now historical. A *de-facto* partition of the island is extremely dangerous. What is perhaps possible is to maintain the unity, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus on a different arrangement. An arrangement which should include a bizonal constitution, with a central federal government having responsibility over the conduct of foreign policy, defense, economic affairs and higher education. Education is the strength and future of any state. The establishment of the University of Cyprus and a Center for Islamic Studies, should help bring together the present and future generations of Cyprus. Fear and suspicion should be replaced by familiarity and knowledge. An atmosphere of trust, confidence and justice must be created on the island where the two ethnic communities, Greeks and Turks, might live, work and study together — with respect for each others' religious, social, cultural and political rights — for social and economic progress. The leaders of the two communities, Mr. Rauf R. Denktash of the Turkish community and Mr. Speros Kyprianou of the Greek community have a great opportunity to, with wisdom and statesmanship, bridge their differences, come to agreeable compromises and reach a just and lasting solution to the chronic problems of their island and peoples. Cyprus should not be part of a «Triangle» or an issue of *Énosis* or *Taksim*, but of unity, integrity, strength and independence. An island where reason, peace and prosperity prevail. To conclude, I find myself in complete sympathy with Cicero, whose words about Rome will bear repetition in the context of Cyprus as a reminder to its leaders.

«Nostra autem respublica non unius esset ingenio, sed multorum, nec una hominis vita, sed aliquot constituta seculis et aetatibus».

*De Republica*. II., 1. 2.

Vassos Karageorghis, *Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982. pp. 207.

Sir David Hunt (editor), *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, London: Triagraph, Ltd., 1982. pp. 300.

The island of Cyprus is the legendary land of Aphrodite. «Ἴχθυον ποτὲ Κύπρον νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας». Euripides. «O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum». Ho-