

cases may occur but every rule has its exceptions. It has to be added that the terrorist's activity in Italy at least during the last years constitutes an obstacle for the economy without however leading to a complete interruption of operation nor of expansion. Similar developments are noted from time to time in many Central or South American countries.

I should say that one of the best contributions of the author is his insistence on the importance of the Aegean Sea for the survival of Greece as an independent and flourishing state. Those who dare to recommend a division of the Aegean will be well advised to read the chapters concerned in Mr Spiridonakis' book. The latter has also successfully dealt first with the causes of the diminution of the Greeks before the middle of the XVIIIth century, namely the frequency of the plague, the expansion of malaria, emigration, malnutrition, islamisation, the child tribute, the lack of security, the enslavement, the constant exploitation and the frequent plundering by the Turks. The author is also able to explain the resurrection of the Greek nation after a very long servitude, the contribution of the mountain shelters, of the evasion possibilities through the sea, of the support of the Greek colonies all over Europe, of the success in trade and in shipping inducing those concerned to do their best also in fighting and in administration. The author shows the size of his historical and philosophical knowledge, his ability to apply it in the subject he has chosen, last but not least, his objectivity. I should conclude by recommending all those interested in the problems of the Eastern Mediterranean to read Mr Spiridonakis' book.

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Nancy Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1978, pp. 447.

The period of the *Enosis*, union with Greece, struggle occupies an important place in the long and episodic history of Cyprus. Those were melancholy years characterised by an atmosphere of fanaticism and acts of extreme nationalism and violence on the island. The elements included declining British colonialism versus the rising tides of nationalism and forces of self-determination. The island of Cyprus was transformed into a battleground between the forces and policies of a declining and desperate "empire" and the forces of local nationalism and independence. There is no doubt that Nancy Crawshaw's well-documented and thoroughly researched book is a very significant contribution to understanding that very important period of the history of Cyprus as well as to the knowledge of British colonial policy and administration.

The book is divided into eleven chapters with appendices, maps, index, and an extensive bibliography. It opens with a short, but very helpful to the general reader, chapter covering the earlier years of Cypriot history to the outbreak of the Second World War, proceeds with a thorough presentation and a detailed analysis of the enosis struggle to 1960, and ends with a synoptical account of the years since independence, from 1960 to 1976.

Mrs. Crawshaw is highly qualified for the writing of this book. As a reporter on Greek and Cypriot affairs for the Manchester Guardian, she was an eye-witness to many of the events described in her book and has known most of the leading protagonists of the enosis struggle. Indeed, Mrs. Crawshaw has established herself with this book as an outstanding authority on the Cyprus Revolt.

On the 16th of August 1960, eighteen months after England, Greece and Turkey signed the Zürich and London agreements which were to settle the Cyprus question, the Republic of Cyprus came into being and joined the world of independent nations. Shortly afterwards Cyprus was admitted to the United Nations, thus symbolically attaining full recognition as a sovereign nation.

The roots of the struggle for enosis can be traced to the early days of the birth of the modern Greek state in 1829, after a long and torturous war for independence which the Greeks officially launched against their Turkish master on 25 March 1821. The Greeks of Cyprus like those in other regions of the Greek *Diaspora* actively participated in the preparations for, and the upheavals of, the Greek revolution (1821-1829). It has been estimated that, in the years 1821 to 1825, more than 20,000 Greek Cypriots left Cyprus to join the struggle in Greece. But although the Greeks of Cyprus paid dearly for their apparent sympathies and endured severe deprivations and hardships as well as the full force of the Ottoman reactions, they unfortunately were denied the fruits of victory. The Greeks of Cyprus made substantial contribution to the Greek revolution so that at the end of the struggle a more fortunate minority of Greeks on the mainland, approximately 750,000 persons, might attain freedom in 1829.

The chronicles of the time record that, in August of 1828, Panaretos, Archbishop of Cyprus, with three bishops and a number of leading Greek Cypriot laymen, in a letter to Ioannis Kapodistrias, President of Greece, appealed to include Cyprus in the Greek negotiations with the governments of Europe. Two years later, in 1830, an official delegation of Greek Cypriots pressed the Greek authorities for the annexation of Cyprus by Greece. Thus one can clearly trace the continuing struggle for enosis from the years following the establishment of the modern Greek state to 1960. This was an ethnic struggle that was incorporated in the Greek nationalistic idea known as *Megali Idea*, greater idea, to unite motherland Greece with all the "unredeemed" Greeks, whose incorporation became the keystone of Greece's foreign policy. This Mrs. Crawshaw recognizes when she writes that the "fundamental inspiration of the movement for union (enosis) with Greece is Hellenism; its origins are rooted in the mainland".

Guided by strategic interests in 1878, the British government under the secretly signed "convention of defensive Alliance" with the Ottoman Empire, leased the island of Cyprus. In 1914 following Turkey's entry into the war against the Allies, Great Britain annexed Cyprus, and on 10 March 1925 the island was formally proclaimed a Crown Colony, a status retained until independence in 1960. Efforts for enosis were frequent in the nineteenth century but became especially intensive and very emotional with periodic episodes of violence and other atrocities during the 1950's. Hopes and expectations of enosis were occasionally strengthened and even nurtured by irresponsible, self-serving pronouncements of the British authorities in London, as during World War I, which unfortunately were aimed at meeting British periodic diplomatic situations and strategic interests rather than representing actual British intentions. According to Mr. Christopher M. Woodhouse, a leading British scholar of Greek history, the tragic events on the island of Cyprus in the 1950's could have been avoided if the British had agreed in 1945 to cede the island to Greece, unfortunately this solution was rejected. The opposition to it came mainly "from the Colonial Office and the Chiefs of Staff. The Colonial Office naturally disliked giving up its responsibilities... The Chiefs of Staff added the argument that Cyprus was an essential link in the chain of strategic bases stretching from Gibraltar to the Indian Ocean". But while the British were determined

to hold on to Cyprus the Greek Cypriots were equally strong in their determination to end British rule over their island. The 1950's were especially crucial for the Greek Cypriots and their leaders in their demands for self-determination from the British authorities. Of the Greek Cypriot protagonists in the struggle, Mrs. Crawshaw writes that "Grivas had little confidence in his subordinates" and was driven by blind objectives of "Greek nationalism". As for Archbishop Makarios, Mrs. Crawshaw states that "the Archbishop was" "the inspiration of the campaign", an "astute politician" and much more realistic, unfortunately his account of the events "has yet to be told".

It was not long before the struggle between the British authorities of Cyprus and the Greek Cypriots brought the Turks, the second major ethnic group of the island, into the picture. From 1948 onward, the Turks of Cyprus tried to "interest Turkey in their political position", while at the same time Mrs. Crawshaw writes, the "press in Turkey showed a growing interest in the Cyprus question". Thus, while Greece followed closely events happening on Cyprus with her sympathies clearly on the side of the Greek Cypriots; Turkey entered the picture with an active interest on behalf of the Turks of Cyprus. In both Greece and Turkey, Mrs. Crawshaw writes, the situation in Cyprus "had become a national obsession". While "the Cypriot Nationalists" Mrs. Crawshaw points out, "could achieve nothing without the support of the mainland Greeks", at the same time the Turkish nationalists found the support of mainland Turkey necessary in their situation. Thus, the struggle going on in Cyprus in time contributed to a dangerous and an on-going conflict between Greece and Turkey. Because of the problem of Cyprus, Mrs. Crawshaw writes, "relations between Greece and Turkey sharply deteriorated with serious dangers for the eastern flank of NATO".

The Cyprus issue not only endangered Greco-Turkish relations but it also involved, through the United Nations, the international diplomatic community, thus making it a chronic issue in international affairs. The question of enosis ended with the London-Zürich agreements, which clearly prohibited "both union of the island with Greece, and its partition between Greece and Turkey", and established Cyprus as an independent Republic. However, the long and episodic struggle had planted the seeds of suspicion and mistrust among the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus. Thus, after Cyprus became an independent state, problems continued and intensified between the Greeks and the Turks of the island. According to Mrs. Crawshaw,

"the inherent complexity of the Constitution gave rise to difficulties from the outset, but the main reason for the breakdown of the settlement was the lack of goodwill which had persisted between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots since the intercommunal fighting of 1958. The Greeks discriminated from time to time against the Turks... The Turks for their part, made excessive use of their constitutional powers".

Conditions on Cyprus after independence are described in melancholy terms by Mrs. Crawshaw; she is right when she writes that, "Life in Cyprus after Independence was characterized by a long spell of uneasy calm broken by a major intercommunal crisis every few years; each new crisis brought the island closer to disaster". The Cyprus revolt developed into the problem of Cyprus which in time became the tragedy of Cyprus. The blind "imperial" pride of Britain and her irresponsible policies in the 1940's and 1950's can be stated as being the cause of the Cyprus problem, then, now, and, alas, in the future. Mrs. Nancy Crawshaw has written a scholarly book of many virtues. There is no question as to the scholarly quality, and significant historiographic contribution made by this book. An excellent addition to

the growing list of books on Cyprus. The *Cyprus Revolt* is strongly recommended.

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Philip Sherrard, *The Wound of Greece—Studies in Neo-Hellenism*. Rex Collings, London, and Anglo-Hellenic, Athens, 1978, pp. 128.

This collection of six essays on Neo-Hellenism by a distinguished philhellenic scholar, despite its small size, deserves a very warm welcome for its depth of insight. All who wish to understand what modern Greece means in the world should read and re-read it with care. Sherrard writes with an historian's expertise and as a literary critic. But he goes further. For he tells us that he is concerned with 'the living fate of Greece, which is not a doom but a destiny...in which past and present blend and fuse'. Not for him the tourist's patronizing approach, on a visit there to see 'how graced with or delightfully free from western virtues the natives are'. (My italics) He turns instead to the literary sources of modern Greece—Kalvos, Makriyannis, Sikelianos and Seferis (his Epilogue dealing with the *Eratokritos* is added as a make-weight) and within this field seeks to bring before us the quintessential Greek, shaped out of a complexity of forces, historical, cultural and social. The aim is to de-romanticize the popular image of Greece.

In his illuminating introductory chapter S. shows how tangled the picture has been of the inhabitants of the island-girt Balkan southland and their achievements. The one obviously permanent reality is geographical, whereas ethnological notions follow fashion, as do estimates of what history owes to the Greeks. S. analyses the differences between the Hellenistic and the Roman attitude, the Renaissance humanists and nineteenth century writers, such as Shelley, Fallmerayer and Finlay. Nowadays (p. 3) 'the dream of classical Greece has lost its hold'. If so, what has taken its place? S. seems to say that our first thought must be the 'element of tragedy, working itself out in a landscape of bare hills and insatiable sea, in the miraculous cruelty of the summer sun'. He clearly upholds the view of Sikelianos (p. 92) that the Greeks have succumbed to the danger of dependence on the West, its morality and its politics. One wonders whether at the present time the ordinary Greek feels his country is thus tragically situated. His mind is surely occupied with what has accrued to the country from tourism, with industrial development, and with closer economic and cultural links with Europe through the E.E.C. The mood of the people is better called optimism than pessimism.

It is right for us to remember, with S. (p. 61) that Greece when it won political independence and homogeneity early last century lacked both Middle Ages, and Renaissance, and an Age of Enlightenment. To this must be added the significant fact that the Golden Age of Hellenism in the fifth century B.C. was not characterized by nationhood. A Greek state, in the modern sense, was first fashioned by Macedonia from the north. Its heir was the Byzantine Empire. As S. observes (p. 12) the importance of Byzantium was first grasped in England by the pre-Raphaelites in their study of Byzantine art. With the knowledge of what the Greek East achieved during its millennium of power, together with an awakening awareness of pre-classical Greek history and art, Neo-Hellenism is now studied in a new and broader perspective (p. 14). We take our way northwards from the Parthenon in Athens to the palaeo-Christian basilicas of Thessalonica and the monasteries of Athos (good examples, surely, of the new interest and the proof that 'the image of Greece has now assumed new dimensions').