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## CYPRUS

"Once upon a time a Cypriot told me..."

- Chapter Ten. The Old Man.

### CYPRUS.

The Greek Cypriot guerrillas EOKA that initiated a military campaign in the 1950s to have the British leave Cyprus was nationalist in its political character so it always important to keep in mind (if there is a need to do so) that an anti-colonial movement is not necessarily left-wing. In fact, in the case of EOKA it could be argued that it was not wholly anti-colonial as EOKA's aspiration was that when the British were gone there would actually be a Pan-Hellenic *enosis* (union) with Greece which from EOKA's point of view was perceived as a common national sentiment and encouraged by the Greek Orthodox Church on the island that went all the way back to Greece's independence from Ottoman rule in 1821. \*

*\* From what I have read an initial military campaign of so called harassment involving bombings aimed mostly at British army targets (along with Greek Cypriot collaborators which basically meant anyone working with the British) to make the 'Cyprus problem' so troublesome as to prompt a diplomatic settlement with Great Britain would widen out to terrorist acts with all perceived 'traitors'; Greek leftists; Turkish Cypriot policemen as well as British army personnel and civilians to be counted amongst the victims. George Grivas a war veteran who had fought as a right-wing partisan led EOKA along with Archbishop Makarios it was more so the latter who wanted the campaign against the British to be limited to acts of sabotage with fatalities kept low while Grivas was willing to do whatever had to be done to win Cyprus's freedom so paradoxically it could then be entwined with 'Mother Greece'.*

*There was no all out parallel campaign against Turkish-Cypriots from the start of hostilities with the British as EOKA did not want the Turkish to have any cause to propose partition although EOKA publicly claimed that it had no dispute with Turkish-Cypriots and only saw the British as the enemy. Yet independence with enosis with Greece was certainly not welcome by the Turkish-Cypriots as it was feared they would be entrenched as second class citizens which would lead also to them having to leave Cyprus for mainland Turkiye. If EOKA (by way of leaflets) was saying it was not its intention to fight against the Turkish-Cypriot community it certainly was not fighting for them as the Turks at the moment preferred to live under British jurisdiction.*

*As it is there would inevitably be the killing of Turkish-Cypriot policemen who were recruited by the British and it is said that from the inter-communal violence that ensued had worked to EOKA's short term tactical advantage by drawing British troops way from hunting them down to have to deal with this civil crisis.*

*In 1958 a Turkish paramilitary group the Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) would form to oppose EOKA and as well advocate for 'takism' which called for a separate state in northern Cyprus for Turkish Cypriots.*

*It should be noted that along with Greek nationalists calling for enosis there were also Turkish nationalists who desired that all of Cyprus should 'return' to Turkiye and so for them at least through their 'Ottoman eyes' partition was seen as a reasonable compromise.*

*As to why there were ethnic tensions between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the first place it is argued that actually for hundreds of years both communities had basically tolerated each other's differences and which were mostly viewed through a cultural/religious perspective during the time of the Ottoman Empire (1571-1878) which was when Turks started coming to Cyprus in substantial numbers. Cyprus has been dominated by many*

empires from time immemorial e.g. Mycenaean, Assyrians, Ptolemaic Egyptians, Romans, Crusaders, Franks, Venetians, Ottomans, British + but apparently this was the first time that an empire had directly transmigrated a substantial cohort of its own citizens onto the island.

+ After all, it is said the name Cyprus probably came from the word copper a mineral on the island coveted by many thus this island was to be a victim of the so called resource curse along with being cursed at such a strategic position in the Mediterranean Sea.

### *Cyprus-Island of Copper. The Met*

[https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cyco/hd\\_cyco.htm#:~:text=The%20discovery%20of%20rich%20copper.10%2C%20had%20to%20be%20imported.](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cyco/hd_cyco.htm#:~:text=The%20discovery%20of%20rich%20copper.10%2C%20had%20to%20be%20imported.)

### *Resource Curse. Wikipedia.*

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resource\\_curse](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resource_curse)

It was only under British rule (1878 to 1960) that grievances started to occur as the two communities started to perceive each other through competing nationalist points of views which first emerged in Greek Cypriot communities with the national notion of *enosis* and then in Turkish communities with the rise of Turkish nationalism in the 1940s. However, the British were against such nationalist sentiments and would downplay Greek-Cypriot ambitions for independence - from which it was hoped would then be political union with Greece. Turkish-Cypriots were obviously against *enosis* so welcomed the suppression of Greek-Cypriot nationalist aspirations by the colonial ruler and this, of course, would lead to resentment from Greek-Cypriots towards Turkish-Cypriots.

Yet although there was now an increase in ethnic tension between Greeks and Turks there was no ensuing communal violence until EOKA killed Turkish policemen who had been recruited by the British as part of a divide and rule strategy that became increasingly apparent when EOKA began its guerrilla war.

At first Turkish policemen were killed by EOKA not because they were Turkish but because they were policemen working on the behalf of the British just as a Greek Cypriot policeman could be killed for the same reason.

George Grivas only started to deliberately target Turkish policemen so as to provoke the Turkish-Cypriots to riot against the Greek Cypriots in towns etc and so British forces would have to be diverted from hunting down EOKA and instead deal with such civil strife.

As for the British they would claim they Turkish Cypriots had to be employed into the police force due to EOKA intimidation towards the Greek-Cypriot community - which included Greek members of the police force - thus they could no longer be trusted etc. while an understanding could still exist with Turkish-Cypriots to extend British interests. \*

Here is one take on the issue of the British employment of Turkish-Cypriots into the police force.

### *The First Demarcation Line. Military Histories. The Green Line.*

<https://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/first>

*\*Depending on one's point of view both explanations come across as plausible so perhaps the actual truth is somewhere halfway in between as 'divide and rule' is a known colonial tactic and intimidating host communities is also a common terror tactic as after all Greek policemen who were perceived as collaborating with the British along with Greek public servants and civilians were lethally targeted by EOKA. The reader may wish to differ and thus the liberal employment of links – on this subject and some others - so as to come to one's own summation and that is understandable when looking at anything complex on a basically introductory level as I am now doing). Nevertheless, having Turkish-Cypriot policemen employed by the British would have certainly exacerbated already increasing inter-communal tensions which ultimately led to the take up of two polarising nationalist positions: enosis vs takism.*

*Cyprus, British Colonialism and the Seeds of Partition: From Coexistence to Communal Strife.* Christos Ionaddes. *The Journal of Modern Hellenism.* (Note this article is only accessible as a download PDF).

<https://journals.sfu.ca/jmh/index.php/jmh/article/view/12>

*Christopher Hitchens is mentioned a couple of times in the above article which reminded me of how he had an interest in Cyprus so will present here a couple of links that I found. A documentary as well as a critique of Henry Kissinger in regards to the events of July 24, 1974 which is when Turkish troops landed on Cyprus after the Greek junta coup over Archbishop Makarios's national government.*

*Christopher Hitchens, Cyprus stranded in time. BBC. Frontiers. (1989).*

<https://youtu.be/2ckyukTwmZw?si=RLOCVudsL4uPaXBB>

*A nation betrayed. Christopher Hitchens. Guardian. (February. 2001).*

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/feb/26/extract.features11>

*Furthermore, intimidation also inhibits moderate voices from being able to have a say which allows the extremist to appear to be the only valid point as well as appearing to also have consensual community approval when the reality may actually be the exact opposite.*

*Apart from the ideological antipathy that EOKA had against Greek-Cypriot Communists that would incite EOKA to kill them it is interesting to find out that one strategy that had occurred to the Greek Left to bring about an end to British rule was to adopt a non-violent approach with strikes and street demonstrations. Persuasion is the tactic of the moderate by which moral capital can also be built up while fear is the tactic of the extremist whereby moral capital ran the risk of being drawn down. (It had occurred to EOKA to not run an outright terror campaign on the Turkish-Cypriot community but George Grivas was a war veteran who fought against the German occupation and thus presumably could only think in military terms to fight as well against the British although British rule was relatively benign compared to Nazi rule. However, the British counter-insurgency response would not always be benign as is so common the case that terrorism can inculcate a savage response from those it is aimed at and as Great Britain was an imperial power it had been militarily ruthless to get its way. However, with Cyprus which had been handed to them by the Ottomans and officially annexed without any resistance from the Ottomans having lost in World War One there was no real reason to harshly deal with the local population which had not had any say who would rule over them anyway and by which the Greek-Cypriot majority actually thought there was a possibility to diplomatically reason with the British to achieve enosis. It is when it was clear that the British would not accept enosis that British-Greek-Cypriot relations became fraught as was the case*

*after the 1931 rioting in Cyprus which was instigated by nationalist advocates for enosis which after being put down led to a more autocratic approach by the British.*

*1931-Cyprus Revolt. Antony Antoniou.*

<https://cyprus.trellows.com/1931-revolt-cypriot-history/>

*EOKA would have the British to respond in a ruthless manner which led to the use of torture.*

*Technologies of emergency: Cyprus at the intersection of decolonisation and the Cold War. Chatzicharalampous, M.P.; Stolte, C.M. Institute for History, Leiden University, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands. Cambridge University Press. (2022). Please see pages 14 onwards.*

<https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/access/item%3A3391013/view>

*Fighting EOKA. The British Counter Insurgency Campaign. Cyprus. 1955-1959. David French. Research Gate. [Link to download PDF].*

<https://www.google.com/search?client=safari&rls=en&q=FightingEOKA-TheBritishCounter-InsurgencyCampaignonCyprus1955-1959.pdf&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8> ]

*\_In regards to the geopolitics of the Cold War - which would disadvantage the Greek Cypriots as in raw realpolitik terms Turkiye was a greater strategic NATO asset to the United States than what Greece could be - brings to mind a Special Report which I first read decades ago from the 1975 Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book. Defense: Cyprus and the Great Power Balance. Robert. J. Ranger. Pages 216-217. However, it is a matter of downloading the whole Year Book 1975 to access the article.*

*Cyprus and the Great Power Balance. Robert. J. Ranger. Special Report. Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book. 1975.*

<https://dokumen.pub/qdownload/britannica-book-of-the-year-1975.html>

Due to the strong anti-communist stance of EOKA it was inevitable that Greek Cypriot leftists would also be targeted while invariably U.K. citizens were indiscriminately lethally caught up in the ongoing military campaign against British sovereignty.

Yet in regards to the Turkish-Cypriot community which was spared from direct EOKA attack for so long points out how it is important to understand that with such ‘strategic discernment’ in mind how there is method in regards to how a hostile actor behaves no matter that it does not always appear so at the time and which does not necessarily follow any pre-conceived expectation. As it was the intercommunal strife that did result was in the long term counter-productive as it did raise the spectre of partition and because of the civil strife that ensued EOKA apparently also lost support from the Greek-Cypriot community. \*

*\*As suggested towards the end of this article on EOKA:*

*65<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the commencement of the EOKA struggle for the liberation of Cyprus. NEOS KOSMOS. April. 2020.*

<https://neoskosmos.com/en/2020/04/01/life/65th-anniversary-of-the-commencement-of-the-eoka-struggle-for-cyprus-liberation/>

...it is also implied in this review towards the end as well in regards to Chapter 8 that Greek Cypriot support for EOKA should not be taken as a given. As well support for enosis was also uneven.

*Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959*  
David French. Reviewer: Dr Andrekos Varnava

<https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/1901>

By the end of the 1950s and although EOKA had been militarily weakened in the first year of the next decade 1960 would see Cyprus become an independent nation as Archbishop Makarios had decided it seemed increasingly improbable that it would come about that it was best for now to dispense with any demand for *enosis* in order to (i) have the British leave Cyprus which they were satisfied to do after securing for themselves two army bases which has allowed Great Britain to maintain a strategic footprint in the Mediterranean and which became a significant achievement after the debacle of the Suez Crisis in 1956 when it was no longer viable for Great Britain to have a military presence in Egypt.

*The Suez Dispute and the Death of Empire*. Peter Boyce. Australian Institute of International Affairs. 2016.

<https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/the-suez-dispute-and-the-death-of-empire/>

(ii) to avert any chance of partition and allaying Turkish fears of there being any immediate possibility of an extension of Hellenic power into the eastern Mediterranean.

Great Britain, Greece and Turkiye also committed to security guarantees to assure the peace on the island along with Greek and Turkish troops to be stationed on Cyprus. Significantly, it was also agreed that Cyprus would not be able to join politically or economically with any other state which, of course, also included Greece.

Yet, the future of Cyprus had apparently been decided with Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots unable to have any substantial input on the particulars of what that future should be while EOKA could only apparently accept with a 'heavy heart' that the end of British sovereignty had not come with *enosis* and it could be presumed that the TMT would have been displeased that partition had not been realised. Nevertheless, there was more so displeasure on the Greek Cypriot side that Turkish Cypriots had achieved political gains and municipal rights which seemed disproportionate to their otherwise minority presence on the island. Some features of the constitution were (i) the President would be Greek-Cypriot the Vice-President would be Turkish-Cypriot and both with veto rights (ii) three of the ten cabinet positions would be Turkish-Cypriot of which significantly one of their ministries would have to be either defence, finance or foreign affairs (iii) 30% of the public service would be made up of civil servants from the Turkish-Cypriot community which was a generous ratio as at the time Turkish-Cypriots made up 18% of the population. As for the House of Representatives there would be 50 seats with 35 to Greek Cypriots and the other 15 seats to be reserved for Turkish Cypriots.

(As not to ignore mentioning them 4% of the Cypriot population was made up of other minorities such as Maronites, Armenians and Latin Catholics. One cannot help not to ignore).

*Thirteen Amendments.* However, in November 1963 Archbishop Makarios called for thirteen amendments to the constitution so as to rebalance its provisions to favour more the Greek-Cypriot community. \*

*\*Apparently, this was in response to a political paralysis that occurred over issues relating to municipalities, taxation etc. with the Turkish Cypriots using the legislative veto power (or rather a majority of the 15 parliamentarians had to agree on for legislation to succeed) to ensure the passing of reforms that favoured their community but which the Greek Cypriots were slow to act on such as fulfilling the 70:30 % public service ratio and so there would be a deadlock on a personal income tax bill that could not be passed in full due to dissatisfaction on the Turkish Cypriot to perceived Greek Cypriot constitutional intransigence; take also for instance how there was a legislative and judicial impasse over the issue of separate municipalities which were meant to be established but the Greek Cypriots did not want and even though the Supreme Court judged in favour of the Turkish Cypriots who had started to set up separate municipalities anyway (a pre-emptive action also seen as unconstitutional) the Greek-Cypriots would still not set down legislation to properly legitimate their existence. A constitution that was set up to guarantee the minority interests of one ethnic group from being subjugated by the majority interests of another ethnic group seemed to be by such constitutional separatism only to be increasing a tense sense of divide rather than mutually encouraging any hoped for result of increasing mutual co-operation between the two ethnic groups.*

The Turkish-Cypriot minority which was basically pleased with the 1960 constitution were certainly displeased with what Archbishop Makarios was recommending as handing over extra power to the Greek-Cypriot majority would in their eyes open up the way for them to be second class citizens which is what they always feared and a possible return to the prospect of *enosis* which for them would be a further negative impact. The essence of what Archbishop Makarios called for was to not have mixed representation rather than proportional representation throughout all levels of the Cypriot polis from the Presidential level down to the municipal one as well as to have the public service more representative of the actual population mix which would be ideal if there were an equal mix in the Cypriot population but with the Greek-Cypriot community making up nearly 80% of Cyprus's populous it is hard to see how genuine Turkish-Cypriot interests could be guaranteed and grievances could be addressed thus the obvious displeasure from this minority group. Yet, from the Greek Cypriot point of view there was frustration that it's majority interests could be stymied by a minority cohort as if to feel hostage to it. (There was even the case that while Archbishop Makarios wanted an integrated army the Vice President Fazil Kucuk wanted a separate ethnic entity and so he vetoed the possibility of a non-segregated national army forming). \*

*\* If able a good article to read is: THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS: A REVIEW OF AN UNWORKABLE CONSTITUTION. T.W. ADAMS. Washington D.C. The Western Political Quarterly. Volume 19. Issue 3 (September, 1966). Accessed via JSTOR but if do not have an account it may then only be accessed by an institution, library etc. Unfortunately many worthwhile articles do not seem accessible to the general public online.*

*However, a PDF can be viewed via online by going to the following link:*

*THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS: A REVIEW OF AN UNWORKABLE CONSTITUTION. T.W. Adams. Sage Journals.*

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/106591296601900303>

Thus depending on one's point of view what Archbishop Makarios was recommending was a genuine attempt to fairly rebalance the constitution or it was an ingenious attempt to tip the

scales of political power firmly on the side of the Greek-Cypriot community. In any case, the Turkish government in particular and then the Turkish Vice-President rejected Makarios's proposals as for them it was a too obvious case of the latter especially when it was felt that Archbishop Makarios was not wholly committed to an equal bi-communal development of the island but rather that Greek Cypriot interests would in time solely gain the upper hand and which of course included *enosis*. Yet in such a polarising environment it could be said that – rightly or wrongly - Greek Cypriots may have also increasingly felt a sort of 'defacto takism' was also on the political cards if every Turkish Cypriot 'separatist demand' had to always first be met before any legislative proposal could be followed through to a satisfactory end – even though at first Turkish Cypriots were only asking for what had apparently been agreed on at the time of bringing about an end to British rule. (Agreements that Makarios probably only abided to accept due to a growing concern that with *enosis* appearing increasingly unlikely the ongoing presence of the British on Cyprus may still lead to something even worse: partition).

It seems complexity rather than simplicity in the myriad checks and balances of such embryonic governance were leading only to confusion or subterfuge which could only add to mutual resentment rather than to reduce mutual mistrust. It would not take long for intercommunal violence to flare up after President-Archbishop Makarios's amendment letter to the Vice-President Fazil Kucuk. Despite any early optimism political independence if it ever really existed for Cyprus was inertly still-born. 1960 had brought about a Cyprus that physically existed without a foreign power directly in control of it but with three foreign powers still very much still politically invested in what would develop between the two main communities on the island and with mutual mistrust never fully nullified there would only be political suffocation rather than a political blossoming; so unable to fully breathe as if still on life support to be tentatively alive rather than to be fully living there would suddenly begin in 1963 a slow deterioration of the body politic that would literally be split in two at its death knell in 1974 first by way of a foreign power inspired coup and secondly by way of a foreign power invasion and by which to this day there still appears to be no way to stitch the two separate polities together to bring about as if miraculously a full body national resurrection.

*Bloody Christmas. 21 December 1963.* From what I can gather on December 21 there was an incident whereby in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia (apparently within the old Venetian walls) Greek Cypriot police patrol were checking the identification papers of passengers in a taxi driven by a Turkish taxi driver leading to a dispute which attracted a hostile crowd which would end up leaving two Turkish-Cypriots being killed by the Greek Cypriot police. One of the dead was the taxi driver and the other was his ex-lover who fatefully turned up on the scene.

*Bloody Christmas. 1963.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bloody\\_Christmas\\_\(1963\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bloody_Christmas_(1963))

*Cypriot intercommunal violence.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cypriot\\_intercommunal\\_violence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cypriot_intercommunal_violence)

In north Nicosia the Turkish Cypriots protested next day possibly encouraged by the TMT and by the evening there was open hostility with gunfire between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots which would develop on and off over the next few days with militias opportunistically taking advantage of the sudden crisis to accentuate it while there was also attempts to negotiate

ceasefires. In a town by northern Nicosia an EOKA veteran led a small Greek-Cypriot force which would end up with a massacre of Turkish Cypriots being committed.

The street battles in Nicosia would by Christmas Day develop an international dimension with Turkish fighter jets flying over in support of the Turkish Cypriot side.

*Battle of Omorphita*. Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Omorphita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Omorphita)

Another account of Bloody Christmas and its aftermath but in essence two Turkish-Cypriots were dead killed by Greek-Cypriot police and this was the spark for inter-communal violence.

*Bloody Christmas, 1963*. Military Histories. The Green Line in Cyprus.

<https://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/xmas63>

It is not surprising that such fighting broke out so quickly as militant groups on both sides had stockpiled their weapons since independence in the interest of finally bringing on either *enosis* or *takism*. The compromises that had been reached that had been arrived at for independence to occur had really only benefited the British who would end up with two major army bases (notably both in southern Cyprus) while the underlying reasons for the intercommunal tensions that had substantially increased by the end of the 1950s had not really been resolved.

*A newly formed Cyprus in tatters*. Nikolaos Prakas. Cyprus Mail. (December 2023)

[https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/12/17/a-newly-formed-cyprus-republic-in-tatters/#disqus\\_thread](https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/12/17/a-newly-formed-cyprus-republic-in-tatters/#disqus_thread)

*The Green Line*.

A critical point had quickly been reached and British troops would have to be sent in as the only way to establish a permanent ceasefire. \* A green line drawn through Nicosia by the leading British officer using a green wax pencil would serve as the demarcation line between opposing fighting forces of the two communities. Turkish Cypriots to the north and Greek Cypriots to the south.

*\*Although one can read in certain articles that there were also Greek and Turkish peacekeepers on the whole Greek and Turkish troops were kept to a minimum compared to the number of British troops (in one report: 6,000 British, 1,000 Greek and 800 Turkish) as Greek and Turkish troops could not be trusted to be employed as 'neutrals' to help bring an end to the fighting, in fact, such troops were more likely to help their respective side to fight the opposing force.*

*U.N. Peacekeepers. March. 1964.*

By March 1964 at the request of Archbishop Makarios U.N. peacekeepers would be brought in to keep the peace especially with Greek-Cypriots fearing that the island would be invaded by Turkiye which would do so to support Turkish-Cypriots of whom up 25,000 to 30,000 were already moving to protected enclaves in northern Cyprus due to the escalation of anarchic violence from militant actors. Thus a de facto partition was coming into existence. The U.N.



peacekeeping force was about 6,500 strong and it should be mentioned that the Australian Federal Police were to play a UN role on Cyprus.

A documentary about The Green Line and issues at the time:

*The Green Line. Cyprus.*

<https://youtu.be/SFw1KTEoplk?si=nRbCienBLBjilNdW>

However, in summary with this outbreak in intercommunal violence there was only a downward spiral in the relationship between the two communities as evidenced by the return of George Grivas from Greece to lead Greek-Cypriot forces on the island. Ultimately, there would be up to 20,000 Greek troops stealthily sent to Cyprus and although one may argue this was to offset the possibility of a Turkish invasion this heightened military presence helped raise the prospects of *enosis*.

As well as Turkish-Cypriots removing themselves to safer areas in the north they ha also removed themselves from government soon after the refusal of the thirteen amendments. The experiment of a bi-communal approach to national governance had spectacularly collapsed.

The presence of a UN peacekeeping force had allayed fears of a Turkish invasion which was to occur to support Turkish-Cypriots. Nevertheless, due to the Turkish threat Archbishop Makarios had instigated the formation of a Greek Cypriot National Guard and it is with this prospect of a war between Greece and Turkiye that Greek troops were shipped to this fraught island. As well a Greek Cypriot National Guard was formed which would be led by Greek officers with as mentioned this overall force to be led by George Grivas the former EOKA leader and whose one overriding political yearning was that enosis would finally be achieved. Perhaps up to 10,000 armed Turkish-Cypriots would defend the enclaves that had been established and there was again a threat of Turkish invasion but U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson strongly dissuaded Turkiye from taking such an action in June 1964 one reason being that he wanted to avoid a war between two NATO allies.

*The Battle of Tillyria (Kokkina). August 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>. 1964.*

Although an all out war had been avoided and the U.N. would play its role in more-or-less keeping the peace there would still be one major outbreak of hostilities in August, 1964 under Grivas's pro-active command. It had occurred to the Greek-Cypriots that Turkish arms were being smuggled onto Cyprus from the Turkish mainland to Kokkina which was in Turkish-Cypriot hands in northern Cyprus towards the western end of the island.

*Kokkina. Wikipedia.* <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kokkina>

Thus there was a military attempt to take it and in response there would end up being a limited Turkish intervention with the use of jet fighters against Greek-Cypriots (which would also cause civilian casualties) to aid the under-manned Turkish-Cypriot forces. It would take U.N. involvement to avoid any escalation. The battle lasted from the the 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> August and although the Greek-Cypriots did not take Kokkina there would be a blockade that helped to nullify its military significance.

*Battle of Tillyria. Wikipedia*

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Tillyria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Tillyria)

*Professor Andrekos Varnava on the Cypriot Civil War 1963-67, a paper co-authored with Tim Mansueto.*

<https://youtu.be/y2cacCLECmI?si=FwxXi6Cp7joJyAYC>

1967.

Cyprus was an island akin to being a simmering volcano always ready to erupt with the nationalist ambition of *enosis* still a major subterranean force that would also reinforce the countering nationalist need to crystallize partition into a collective whole which since 1964 was still in an early splintered enclave stage throughout northern Cyprus. This nationalist embryo was still to fully form to be born. Ironically, it would be points of departure among the Greek Cypriots themselves that would bring about an opportunity for *taksim* to be realised. One presumes that Archbishop Makarios who had always advocated for *enosis* could see no possibility under present circumstances and saw that with the establishment of Turkish enclaves there was actually more a need to steer Cyprus towards restoring trust between the two communities to have Cyprus resume as a whole national entity. Yet, nationalists such as Grivas thought otherwise and would persist in their enmity towards the Turkish Cypriot community and now saw Archbishop Makarios as an impediment to Cypriot union with Greece.

In November 1967 George Grivas with the Cypriot National Guard mounted an attack on Turkish Cypriots in southern Cyprus in the vicinity of Larnaca at two villages Kofinou and Ayios Theodoros (which was a mixed village and I wonder if it is my father's village which if it is when I visited for a few weeks in 1982 – and with not ever learning of its recent historical significance - was from what I saw no longer mixed. As for my father who left Cyprus in the 1950s he had a positive view of the Turkish-Cypriots and you can read many anecdotes of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots getting on well on a personable level so despite an apparent encroaching historical polarization between the two communities on a general level everyday reality can be quite mixed especially if you shift away from extremist narratives from both sides. Having met Turkish-Cypriots albeit outside Cyprus there have been no issues and anything close to concern was when I was at Gallipoli and befriending a couple of English speaking Turkish guys with whom I played backgammon with and who assumed I was Australian but then mentioned my parents were Greek Cypriots they smiled and mentioned not to publicize that fact although any real threat would've been non-existent; my hosts certainly were not fussed). The TMT had road blocks at Kofinou which made it difficult for Greek-Cypriots to travel along the Limassol to Nicosia road without UN escorts and this restriction on the freedom of movement was certainly seen by Greek Cypriots as a provocation. Over 20 Turkish Cypriots died in the ensuing hostilities including civilians. However, all that this attack achieved was to escalate the tensions over Cyprus back to the international stage as *Turkiye* again threatened invasion. To defuse the crisis George Grivas and most of the Greek troops on the island eventually returned to Greece. (Interestingly, George Grivas would back in Athens would be involved in the next two years in a clandestine movement to try and restore democracy to Greece. However, this resistance group was found out before it could start its militant operations which led to Grivas returning to Cyprus to set up EOKA B which was aimed at overthrowing Archbishop Makarios (who must have also been seen as an 'anti-democrat' in Grivas's eyes due to denying the Greek-Cypriot people their right to *enosis* as well as in the

spirit of the non-alignment movement having developed national ties with the Soviet Union. It should also be noted that there were several assassination attempts on Archbishop Makarios).

*Kofinou*. Wikipedia.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kofinou>

*UNFICYP. 1967 Crisis. Cyprus*. United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus..

<https://unficyp.unmissions.org/1967-crisis>

*A turning point in the history of Cyprus: The events of Kofinou...* (Cyprus Today/Alithia. 2005).

<https://www.cyprus-forum.com/cyprus21404.html>

*Cyprus Crisis. 1967*. ONWAR.COM.

<https://onwar.com/data/cyprus1967.html>

*Georgios Grivas*. Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgios\\_Grivas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgios_Grivas)

*EOKA B*. Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EOKA\\_B](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EOKA_B)

*\*Nationalist hostility towards Archbishop Makarios had also accentuated due to his non-alignment stance which would see him court the Soviet Union to strengthen his domestic position as for instance the Soviets would provide military aid in 1965. The Soviet Union had an interest in Cyprus remaining a 'neutral' independent nation as the Soviets did not want NATO's strategic influence to be strengthened further either by way of Turkiye or Greece in the eastern Mediterranean although NATO was already present in Cyprus with two British bases on the island. The Soviet Union also attempted to discourage the Turkish from invading the island while after 1967 it saw that Greece would be a threat to Cypriot neutrality. There was also a strong communist party in Cyprus which of course worried the United States and which the Soviets took into account but there was no real intention on the part of Moscow to want Archbishop Makarios ousted from power as he still seemed to be the best guarantor to maintaining regional stability especially in resisting enosis with Greece. (Yet as the article below infers the Soviet Union's positive focus shifted from Cyprus to Turkey after Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev*

*What was also preferred was to have the 'Cyprus problem' be an issue that would allow for NATO's southern flank to be destabilized which is what the U.S. feared with its efforts to dissuade its two NATO allies Greece and Turkey from going to war. (Noting the Soviet Union's interest in encouraging friendly relations with Archbishop Makarios they would foolishly accuse the President of Cyprus as being the Castro of the Mediterranean. Yet surely, the US would have had to realise that stability in this region was still best assured by someone who was now working to be a moderate bulwark in between the still vibrant opposing extremist nationalist forces of enosis and taksmi.*

*The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem, 1967-1974.* John Sakka, Nataliya Zhukova.

<https://www.cairn.info/revue-les-cahiers-irice-2013-1-page-123.htm#pa8>

*What is interesting from the above article is that Turkiye after it had been dissuaded by the United States to invade Cyprus in the 1960s would develop its foreign policy to take into account countries in its region as well as the Soviet Union so as to not only see its international relations through a western perspective which perhaps would allow it to be independently adaptive in the present multi-polar world with the Cold War over whereby although Turkiye is still in NATO it does not always align its national interests to that of its respective allies which predictably causes tensions such as stalling on Swedish membership to NATO (to have some argue that Turkiye is an internal wildcard of NATO); yet by not seeming to be fully aligned with the West it can also diplomatically play the role of a go between as has happened with a grain deal which occurred between the two warring states of Ukraine and Russia.*

*Food crisis: Ukraine grain export deal reached with Russia, says Turkey.* BBC. July. 2022.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-62254597>

A grain deal which in 2023 Russia chose to no longer be involved with.

*What was the Black Sea Grain Deal and Why Did it Collapse?* Patrick WIntour. (July. 2023).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jul/20/what-was-the-black-sea-grain-deal-and-why-did-it-collapse>

*How is Ukraine exporting its grain now the Black Sea deal is over?* BBC. (September 2023)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-61759692>

*Matters also become complicated when Turkiye is hostile towards the Kurdish PKK which seeks separation or at least autonomy as well as to the Kurds (YPG) in Syria that allied with the United States to fight ISIS although the Kurds feel betrayed by the US with ISIS defeated for not pushing back on Turkiye attacking them.*

*Kurdish–Turkish conflict (1978–present).* Wikipedia

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdish–Turkish\\_conflict\\_\(1978–present\)#:~:text=The%20Kurdish–Turkish%20conflict%20is,inside%20the%20Republic%20of%20Turkey.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdish–Turkish_conflict_(1978–present)#:~:text=The%20Kurdish–Turkish%20conflict%20is,inside%20the%20Republic%20of%20Turkey.)

*ISIS and the false dawn of Kurdish statehood.* Omer Taspinar. December. 2019.

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/isis-and-the-false-dawn-of-kurdish-statehood/>

*Turkey attacks Syrian Kurds, the U.S. partner in fight against ISIS.* PBS NEWSHOUR. December 2022.

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/turkey-attacks-syrian-kurds-the-u-s-partner-in-fight-against-isis>

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*Donald Trump criticised over decision to abandon allied Kurdish-led forces that defeated IS caliphate.* ABC (Australia). October. 2019.

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-10-08/donald-trump-threatens-turkey-withdrawal-troops-syria-is-defeat/11581298>

*Kurdish politician among nine civilians shot dead by pro-Turkey forces in Syria.* (Guardian. October 2019).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/13/female-kurdish-politician-among-nine-civilians-killed-by-pro-turkey-forces-in-syria-observers-say>

*Hevrin Khalaf: Death of a peacemaker.* BBC. (January. 2020)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-51068522>

*The above links are just a few amongst so many in relation to the Kurds that one can peruse by doing a rudimentary web search while below is a webpage associated with New Lines Magazine with many articles on the Kurds.*

<https://newlinesmag.com/?s=kurds>

*However, from a Cypriot point of view it is an irony that Turkiye is dealing with a non-Turkish separatist movement while it supports a separatist impulse in Cyprus due to it being Turkish. As for the Kurds it is not just a matter of dealing with the Turkish but if Kurdistan was to exist its territory would cover regions now occupied by Turkiye, Syria, Iran and Iraq. As for the war against ISIS there was another irony when for awhile Iran and US shared a mutual interest to destroy ISIS.*

*Iran and US face common foe in effort to stop Isis fighters in Iraq.* Ian Black. Guardian. 2014.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/15/iran-iraq-us-isis-fighters-sunni-jihadi>

*Where Is Kurdistan? The Kurdish Project.*

<https://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/>

- *Kurdistan.* Wikipedia.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdistan> ]

1974

George Grivas was to die of a heart attack at a safe house in Limassol and EOKA B would then be directed by Ionaddis of the Greek military junta who was committed to have Cyprus as part of Greece. The 'Red Priest' as Ioannides had pejoratively nicknamed Archbishop Makarios (Ioannides was nicknamed the 'Invisible Dictator) forced his hand when Archbishop Makarios announced that the Greek officers who led the Greek Cypriot National Guard would have to return to Greece due to the obvious threat they had become to his government. Thus there was a Greek junta inspired coup against Archbishop Makarios on 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1974 by these very same officers which nearly cost the Archbishop his life but he was able to escape to Paphos at the furthest western tip of the island and the British would safely take him to one of their bases and eventually he would end up in London; by the 19<sup>th</sup> of July Archbishop Makarios would be speaking at the UN:

*Cyprus, a call for help to the UN from Makarios.* CYPRUS SCENE. (2013).

<https://cyprusscene.com/2013/07/16/cyprus-a-call-for-help-to-the-un-from-makarios/>

*Makarios III.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Makarios\\_III](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Makarios_III)

The coup would install Nikos Sampson as the new President who was an EOKA veteran and who had been associated with the massacre that had occurred in Omorphita in northern Nicosia back in 1963. Türkiye took this moment with the ousting of Archbishop Makarios and the instalment of an EOKA man to power to claim that as a signatory to the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee that it had the right to invade Cyprus which it did on July 20 to nominally protect Turkish-Cypriots before they too became fully embroiled with lethal consequences in this Hellenic civil dispute. As it was there would be both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek Cypriot civilians killed. (See a list of massacres in Cyprus below and in the following link there is also mention of human rights violations including also missing people and to reiterate there were women who were also sexually abused and children would also die).

*Turkish Invasion of Cyprus*. Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish\\_invasion\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_invasion_of_Cyprus)

*Military operations during the Turkish invasion of Cyprus*. Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_operations\\_during\\_the\\_Turkish\\_invasion\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_operations_during_the_Turkish_invasion_of_Cyprus)

*INTERNATIONAL LAW ON THE TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION OF CYPRUS: The Argument from the Treaty of Guarantee*. Dr Iacovos Kareklas CCW Visiting Research Fellow. June 2022.

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55faab67e4b0914105347194/t/62d01ffa55951d03df9a7ed4/1657806843466/Iacovos+Kareklas+-+International+Law+on+the+Turkish+Military+Intervention+of+Cyprus.pdf>

The coup would turn out to be a political disaster for the Greek junta which would soon collapse along with the Nikos Sampson presidency. Five months after the coup Archbishop Makarios would return to Cyprus as its legitimate leader. Türkiye would militarily acquire 33% of northern Cyprus and thus the Greek military junta coup which was meant to lead to *enosis* had - in the end in the spirit of *taksim* - achieved for the Turkish-Cypriots an official partition of the island with a Turkish-Cypriot republic declared but which to this day remains only recognised by Türkiye.

Greek Cypriots in northern Cyprus suddenly became refugees with up to maybe 160,000 moving from north to south with 50,000 Turkish-Cypriots from the south enabled with the opportunity to move to the north. Greek Cypriots were also disappointed that the United States did not attempt to stop the Turkish invasion.

*Kissinger owed and apology to Greece and Cyprus*. Greek Reporter. November. 2023.

<https://greekreporter.com/2023/11/30/kissinger-greece-cyprus-turkish-imperialism/>

*Verbatim record of Kissinger's meetings over the Cyprus crisis four days after the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974*. Neos Kosmos. Dec. 2023.

<https://neoskosmos.com/en/2023/12/01/features/verbatim-record-of-kissingers-meetings-over-the-cyprus-crisis-four-days-after-the-turkish-invasion-of-the-island-in-1974/>

Yet it is argued maintaining a stable NATO southern flank which had Türkiye right beside the Soviet Union meant sacrificing Cyprus especially when it now looked a war between the two NATO allies could be avoided.

(As for the Soviet Union which perhaps could have taken advantage of such a war - if it had happened - it would have been pleased that the threat of a Hellenic *enosis* had been extinguished - thus for the Soviet Union this time the invasion of Cyprus was to its advantage

especially when its relationship with Turkiye had by now improved with an improving diplomatic relationship occurring along with increased economic ties).

Archbishop Makarios like before whereby he lurched from dealing with one national crisis, then the next one and then the next one after that and so on worked until his death (from a heart attack in 1977 at age 63) towards uniting the country but to no avail and with democracy restored to both Greece and Cyprus world opinion shifted to sympathising that Cyprus should not remain partitioned.

While Turkish-Cypriots had at last achieved partition it has in nationalist terms been a mixed blessing with Turkiye having encouraged a transmigration of mainland Turks to northern Cyprus to 'Turkify' the north which has not always been welcome by Turkish-Cypriots. In any case, as far as one understands the status quo achieved in 1960 at the point of independence is what the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee was meant to protect not to secure a partition but to secure and establish the national circumstances whereby the country's unity would only be strengthened by mutual co-operation (rather than to be sabotaged by competing actors) and thus to state the obvious mutual trust has to again return to again reach a final resolution for all that live on this island with their civil, political, human rights equally secured.



*Banner at a Free Cyprus Rally. Sydney.\**

*\*Annually on a Sunday nearest to July 20 there is a large well attended wreath laying service at the Cenotaph. Martin Place held by the Greek-Cypriot community. (One should also note that a suburban brass band from southern Sydney plays many well known tunes beforehand as well as having a trumpeter who eloquently plays the Last Post and Reveille). After the wreath laying service there used to be a march from Martin Place up to Sydney Town Hall a few blocks along the CBD's main thoroughfare George Street, perhaps about a kilometre, but unfortunately since the establishment of a light rail along George Street it does not seem possible to rally along the street. It was usually a silent march by a few hundred people (notably many of a senior age and I should add slogans would be called out by some but one remembers mostly a solemn silence) and would certainly catch the attention of passers-by for a international trauma issue that is perhaps not well known by many in the general community. [This photograph and the one below is by the author.*

The extreme quest for *enosis* had only led to partition which has also had Cypriots born of a post-1974 generation to live on an island mostly with no experience of living with the other culture. An accentuated nationalism had thus only led to hostile division when if there could have been the opportunity for a moderated pluralism to prosper there could have been national unity. \*

*\*Yet when extreme causes are allowed to set the political agenda then moderate opinions are not allowed to be emphatically voiced in the mainstream which may thus become hostage to extremist actors who will often maintain their political ascendancy by way of violence and intimidation and as well as by populist means to propagate historical prejudices that work to the advantage of an extremist agenda; especially when it can present a charismatic leader to 'validate' its nihilist views and 'solutions'.*

While the relative peace that existed between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities for centuries is perhaps not wholly unblemished it is nevertheless such a human tragedy that nationalist impulses had come to the fore in modern times to wholly vandalise national unity and multi-ethnic harmony as evidenced by the following table of massacres that have happened on Cyprus noting as well the many atrocities committed by both hostile sides on one another since independence.\*

*\*Note that as the table states this list is incomplete and it should also be noted that there were also Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who did not buy into this madness – which it should also be stated included rape - and would warn and help each other out so as to not become victims of it. There are also many victims still deemed as missing and I was given some insight into this still ongoing issue after reading the following novel which was gifted to me *The Island of Missing Trees*. Elif Shafak. Viking Press. 2021).*

*List of massacres in Cyprus.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_massacres\\_in\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_massacres_in_Cyprus)

*Civilian casualties and displacements during the Cyprus conflict.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilian\\_casualties\\_and\\_displacements\\_during\\_the\\_Cyprus\\_conflict#External\\_links](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilian_casualties_and_displacements_during_the_Cyprus_conflict#External_links)



*A question posed at a Free Cyprus Rally. Sydney.*



While the interest in *enosis* apparently died down after the tumultuous events of 1974 there is still a far right nationalist impulse that exists in Cyprus which needs to be noted much like in many other countries today where anti-democratic populist approaches to deal with perceived social and economic ills have come to the fore. While in the eastern Mediterranean an old fashion competition over resources may lead to heightened international tensions.

*Greek Cypriot Nationalism of the 21st Century: How Did the Far-Right Rhetoric Affect It?* Burak. Kurtcebe. 2022.

<https://www.europeanproceedings.com/article/10.15405/BI.20221101.6>

Four videos from a Youtube account titled The Cold War which provides a general overview of the Cyprus issue from the time of the post-war world through to 2022. (Sifting through the catalogue of this account there are many other videos relating to the Cold War.

*How Cyprus Kicked Out the British - Cyprus Conflict Origins.* The Cold War. (2021?).  
[https://youtu.be/5v22DC\\_8l74?si=ZuW1HaskjgHlZ5z2](https://youtu.be/5v22DC_8l74?si=ZuW1HaskjgHlZ5z2)

*Cyprus Conflict - Political Aspects - Cold War DOCUMENTARY.* The Cold War. (2023).

[https://youtu.be/olo\\_lh09wf8?si=jrgsNptnZ2xKqXHS](https://youtu.be/olo_lh09wf8?si=jrgsNptnZ2xKqXHS)

*Cyprus Crisis 1974 - COLD WAR DOCUMENTARY.* The Cold War. (2019).

<https://youtu.be/DPxyCuzFG0Q?si=zT8z8jGs17OLcuW6>

*Future of Cyprus - Post Cold War DOCUMENTARY.* The Cold War. (2023).

[https://youtu.be/er-iPJ8o\\_Cg?si=xWfrJ9WMXeKiDOW-](https://youtu.be/er-iPJ8o_Cg?si=xWfrJ9WMXeKiDOW-)

Other videos randomly selected amongst so many - but not part of the above series:

*The Cyprus Problem (Lecture) - Professor Innes Keighren.* RHUL. Geography. (January. 2023).

<https://youtu.be/mGQ5pc3kQuc?si=UaOEyn7B11B4s6IU>

*The Green Line.* - Cyprus. Compass. Channel Four. (1985).

<https://youtu.be/SFw1KTEoplk?si=VpfxJLWGdwyIRcDo>

*Turkish invasion of Cyprus | A divided Cyprus | This Week | 1974.* Thames TV. (1974).

[https://youtu.be/yB1xwOfHYsM?si=G\\_ZivS71tBZxPevY](https://youtu.be/yB1xwOfHYsM?si=G_ZivS71tBZxPevY)

*1974: Turkish Invasion of Cyprus Captured Up Close.* ITN Archive. (1974).

[https://youtu.be/Zb7wrbXfh\\_o?si=J0eUfSe-slfUzqmC](https://youtu.be/Zb7wrbXfh_o?si=J0eUfSe-slfUzqmC)

*'I feel like I'm stuck.'* : Living in Europe's last divided capital. France 24. (28/06/2023).

<https://www.france24.com/en/on-france-24/20230628-i-feel-like-i-m-stuck-living-in-europe-s-last-divided-capital>

Three other links:

*In Their Own Words. The Cyprus issue in quotations.* (Greek Cypriot/Turkish Cypriot/UN/US/British/Miscellaneous). Lobby for Cyprus. (London based NGO).

<https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/in-their-own-words/?s=09#misc>

*The Green Line. Nicosia's Urban No Man's Land.* Google Arts & Culture.

<https://artsandculture.google.com/story/the-green-line-nicosia-s-urban-no-man-s-land/qQLy4s1nBVyoKA>

When in Cyprus in 1982 I went to Nicosia to see how the city was divided in two and the main area I remember now was a street devoid of people divided by a high corrugated iron fence where there were also still bullet holes in the buildings nearby this particular division. The Berlin Wall still existed but this intricate wide barrier with its concrete walls, obstacles, guard towers, minefields etc. would all be down by the end of the decade while Nicosia still remains separated in two halves. (The above link is one of many that focus on Nicosia's dividing line and this one intrigued me as it mentions how plants and animals have taken over where humans once thrived).

*Nicosia, Cyprus: the last divided capital in Europe | Divided Cities.* *The Guardian.* (2019).

<https://youtu.be/bMA6QyuhrsU?si=3UGyRPG9aKLMb1f>

The above video ends up focusing on the issue of conscientious objection on both sides of the Green Line which piqued my interest. When I went to Cyprus in 1982 (my father was already there on a long term visit) I was there for six weeks and it was interesting for me to realise that although I was Australian born I was seen as a Greek Cypriot first no matter the passport I held. I thus understood how on a brief return stay to Cyprus in 1986 catching the ferry from Haifa, Israel to go to Athens I was told at the port I disembarked that as I had stated that I was of Greek Cypriot heritage I was eligible for national service even though I was not officially a Greek Cypriot citizen. I had to go to Nicosia for an exemption which I did not bother to do. A couple of weeks later when I went to catch a ferry to head towards Athens I actually came across the same official and he saw that I had not sought the exemption and gave me a stern warning as he actually remembered me from two weeks before yet for a moment I thought I would be detained on the island but this did not eventuate but such was the seriousness of the security situation on the island at the time which a visitor cannot always appreciate as one's everyday experience seemed peaceful on the surface. (I cannot recall being asked to gain an exemption in 1982, perhaps I did while I was there having had gone to Nicosia).

Another interesting experience was a day when an elderly British tourist couple (judging from the accents of these English speakers) had obviously decided to go for a day trip to a nearby village which just so happened to be my father's and I was sitting with some local young males and they watched the two tourists walk by who were simply walking down a main village street oblivious to the social effect they were having on those who observed them who as those nearby were wondering as to why they were in the village and I realised that what seemed to be a public space was a communal private space in the eyes of the villagers and so it was as if these two outsiders were actually walking through someone's house uninvited and ignoring the people in the house. I mention as it brings to mind how territorial space is envisaged differently by people and this can have an effect on how territorial issues are either resolved or

accentuated. It was an interesting insight I gained that day which helped make me aware of private/communal spaces in later overseas travels.

*Cyprus peace process.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus\\_peace\\_process](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus_peace_process)

*Cyprus Flag.* The Cyprus flag is designed by a Turkish-Cypriot - which I must admit I did not know - and the olive branches under a copper coloured Cyprus are symbols of hope to represent peace between the two ethnic communities.

[See as well: *Flag of Cyprus.* Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flag_of_Cyprus) ]



The above links along with many others in this Cyprus overview have been randomly selected for as one knows the internet - as in the case of the so called Cyprus Problem - is akin to Pandora's Box that once opened it can reveal a never ending number of links on its troubles. I have probably satisfied no one and I am sure some presuppositions in what has been presented can be challenged. Thus, I invite the interested reader to use this general and somewhat disjointed discussion on modern Cyprus as merely a starting point for it is basically superficial and as is the case with all aspects of human history a more in-depth study is always needed to gain some inkling of understanding to its true underlying complexities. As for me I have learnt some more that I did not know before and as it is knowledge is the only way to overcome ignorance and knowledge when properly utilized may also help to bring on human resolution. Thus, let us also remember that at the bottom of Pandora's Box there is hope and may that also be the case with Cyprus.

Although there has been a relative peace in Cyprus post-1974 there have been violent and lethal incidents mainly in the vicinity of the Buffer Zone. One incident that stands out is in August 1997 the death of Solomos Solomou who was shot at and killed by Turkish soldiers when trying to climb a flagpole to take down a Turkish flag. This incident occurred when there was a demonstration after the funeral of another Greek-Cypriot Tasos Isaak had been beaten to death in the buffer zone by Turkish Cypriots who apparently belonged to a Turkish group the Grey Wolves. These incidents and others are mentioned in the following 1997 Amnesty International Report for Cyprus:

<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a9fe50.html>

One notable protest was when hundreds of Greek-Cypriot women marched into the Buffer Zone in 1987.

*GREEK CYPRIOT WOMEN MARCH IN TURKISH HELD LAND.* Chicago Tribune. November, 1987.

<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1987-11-23-8703280266-story.html>

*Cyprus- 'Women Walk Home'.* Video.

<https://youtu.be/AbMLVo6cw0M?si=j5kDH0WO-8z4x0DL>

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In regards to extreme vs moderate one can think of that area to the east of Cyprus the Levant where Palestinians and Israelis have disputed over whereby there are the extremists (or 'maximalists') who desire that only one entity should have total occupation of the land while there can be also moderates who are willing to equivalently partition the land and co-exist with the other group on an equal footing.

*Once this war between Israel and Hamas is over, a deeper conflict looms.* A lasting peace has to become thinkable again. And it will be –if extremists on both sides are shunned. Jonathan Freedland. Guardian. November, 2023.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/nov/03/war-israel-hamas-conflict-peace-extremists>

The Likud Party which under Prime Minister Netanyahu which with its present coalition (2023) has followed a hard right agenda as well as face the accusation of undermining Israeli democracy to stay in power can trace its political roots back to the Irgun.

*Irgun.* Jerusalem Story.

<https://www.jerusalemstory.com/en/lexicon/irgun>

*Irgun.* Jewish Virtual Library.

<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/background-and-overview-of-the-irgun-etzel>

*Likud.* Wikipedia.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Likud>

*Israel's Netanyahu facing off against the supreme court and proposing to limit judicial independence – and 3 other threats to Israeli democracy.* Boaz Atzili. The Conversation. Jan. 2023.

<https://theconversation.com/israels-netanyahu-facing-off-against-the-supreme-court-and-proposing-to-limit-judicial-independence-and-3-other-threats-to-israeli-democracy-197096>

In regards to Hamas is the following article:

*Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence.* Andrew Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/13833234.pdf>

Finally, to return to Cyprus - and not to discount Turkish war criminalities committed towards Greek-Cypriots - one cannot help but still note that in 1974 one of the worse cases of outright extremist violence was committed by EOKA B:

*Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda massacre.* Wikipedia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maratha,\\_Santalaris\\_and\\_Aloda\\_massacre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maratha,_Santalaris_and_Aloda_massacre)

On the question of terrorism in order for instance to work towards a political goal such as national liberation one can see no morality in a military exercise that will deliberately involve the killing of innocent civilians and that can extend from a bus bombing or plane hijacking (militia terror) through to the carpet bombing of a whole city (state terror) as first well exemplified by the Condor Legion bombing of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. It can also be seen as counter-productive when amongst the innocents who have been killed there could have been people actually in sympathy of the cause for which such a heinous act was committed. There is also the issue of counter-terrorism where in the particular case of Cyprus the British would end up acting criminally themselves such as torturing captured EOKA militants which would lead to deaths.

*Tortured to death: the 14 Cypriot men killed by the British in the 50s uprising.* Guardian. (2020).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/07/tortured-to-death-the-14-cypriot-men-killed-by-british-in-50s-uprising>