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**LETTER  
FROM THE  
EDITOR-  
IN-CHIEF**



**Dear Readers,**

As the semester winds down, our team is taking a break over the Christmas holidays and I am once again reflecting on the year that was for our Journal. Seeing *The Cyprus Review* grow in the past few years has been very rewarding, but it has also come with many challenges. As a flagship journal of cypriological research in our community, *The Cyprus Review* upholds the ethical principles and standards of scientific publication, which are also safeguarded by our very strict double-blind review process. The great increase in the number of articles that we have been receiving has not compromised these principles at all, and we are more ready than ever to intensify these efforts and work towards sustaining a high degree of scientific rigour in an even more timely fashion.

Promoting cypriological research to the wider community, while at the same time rewarding excellence in research and inspiring others to engage in the field, is an integral part of our role. This is something that we address through our Annual Book Awards Ceremony (CRABA), which was held this year on 31<sup>st</sup> October 2023. The books under consideration were those written in 2022. In the category of History and Political Science, the ‘Stanley Kyriakides Award’ was conferred this year to Dr Nikos Moudouros for his book *Διεκδικώντας την πατρίδα. Η τουρκοκυπριακή αντιπολίτευση την περίοδο 1964-2004* (Ψηφίδες), while the Junior Researcher Award in the same category was conferred to Dr Beatrice Pestarino for her book *Kyprion Politeia: The Political and Administrative Systems of the Classical Cypriot City-Kingdom* (Brill). In the field of Social Sciences, the ‘Peter Loizos Award’ was conferred to Maria Mathaiou and Argyro Xenofontos for their book *Τα Παραμύθια της Κύπρου* (Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών), while Nicoletta Demetriou received an Honourable Mention in the same category for her book *Ο Κύπριος Βιολάρης. Η Προφορική Ιστορία μιας επαγγελματικής τάξης στον εικοστό αιώνα* (Ψηφίδες). In the field of Law, the Junior Researcher Award was conferred to Maria Kyprianou

for her book *Η Πύθμιση της Πορνείας στην Κύπρο* (Νομική Βιβλιοθήκη). The ‘Lifetime Achievement Award’ was conferred to Polys Polyviou in recognition of his significant body of published work, especially on Cypriot public and private law.

This issue includes six articles. The first, by Alexia Zalaf, Andronikos Chatzis, Anastasia Economou and Diamantoula Pappa, investigates the relationship between intimate partner violence, perceived stress, and quality of life in Cyprus during and after the first lockdown as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The second article, by Theodoros Tsakiris, considers how the effects of the Russian-Ukrainian War have been catastrophic for the EU-Russian gas trade. In this context, the author explores the opportunity for the Republic of Cyprus to be part of the EU’s strategic long-term pivot away from Russian gas.

Alex Ioannou focuses in his article on the redesign of Eleftheria Square, trying to position it within Nicosia’s urban historical context. As such, the paper encourages discussions about the historical dimension of urban development and urban change in Nicosia.

Evaghoras L. Evaghorou analyses Turkey’s strategy in relation to the Cyprus question, as well as its political and negotiating positions. According to the author, determining the strength of this connection between Turkey’s political and negotiating positions and its wider strategic pursuits, leads to conclusions regarding a possible resolution of the Cyprus problem.

Nicos Trimikliniotis critically reviews historical debates over anticolonialism and liberation struggles in Cyprus. His article is essentially a contribution to the history and historiography of Cypriot communism, inspired by two recent volumes on Cypriot communism.

Finally, Marina Athanasiou-Taki explores the ways in which artists experience the issue of national/cultural identity and its connection with language during the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Cyprus. In this context, the author focuses on the use of the Cypriot dialect by Greek Cypriot directors in theatre performances.

This issue also features a Policy Paper by Andreas Theophanous, entitled *The Cyprus Problem, the EU and the UN: An Overall Assessment and the Way Forward*. The author utilises Reports that he submitted over time in an attempt to assess the current phase of the Cyprus Problem and to submit a brief proposal for its resolution.

In this issue's Book Review Section, you can find 19 reviews. They all concern strictly cyprological books, which have been recently published.

At the end of this issue you can find our open Calls for Papers for our upcoming Special Sections. There are currently three open Calls: The first on "Cypriot Diplomacy and its Evolution Post-EU Accession"; the second on the "Twenty Years after the Accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU"; and the third on "Cyprus and International Law" dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides.

**Christina Ioannou**  
**Editor-in-Chief**



# **ARTICLES**



# The Relationship between Intimate Partner Violence, Perceived Stress and Quality of Life during and after the First COVID-19-Related Lockdown in Cyprus

ALEXIA ZALAF<sup>1</sup>, ANDRONIKOS CHATZIS<sup>2</sup>,  
ANASTASIA ECONOMOU<sup>3</sup>, DIAMANTOULA PAPPA<sup>4</sup>

## Abstract

*This study investigates the relationships between intimate partner violence (IPV), perceived stress, and quality of life in Cyprus during and after the first lockdown as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Methods: Data was collected from the same participants during the lockdown period and once the restrictions were lifted. A total of 381 participants from the general population of Cyprus (alleged victims, perpetrators, and neither) took part during the lockdown period, while 117 of these participants completed the measures after the lockdown period. Results: Results indicated that psychological abuse experienced by alleged victims and carried out by alleged perpetrators was greater during the lockdown period than after this period. Across both time points, psychological and physical abuse victimisation and perpetration were predicted only by greater perceived stress, and only more positive psychological health predicted overall quality of life. Conclusions: Discussions of the findings centre on the support we found for increased reports of IPV during the lockdown measures. Finally, we also discuss sampling and methodological reasons for the reason some results were not in the direction expected.*

**Keywords:** COVID-19 pandemic, Cyprus, intimate partner violence, perceived stress, quality of life

## Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic that first emerged in March 2020 resulted in massive physical and mental health difficulties, social changes and financial upheaval for most of the world's population.<sup>5</sup> COVID-19 has since spread rapidly, infecting more than

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<sup>5</sup> Dan Li et al., 'Internet Use, Risk Awareness, and Demographic Characteristics Associated with Engagement in Preventive Behaviors and Testing: Cross-Sectional Survey on COVID-19 in the United States'

566,000,000 people to date and killing more than 6,000,000 people worldwide.<sup>6</sup> Social, economic, and interpersonal aspects of life were completely altered because of the pandemic and led to social communication changes, financial instability, high levels of stress, and difficulties in living conditions<sup>7</sup>. Studies have indicated that stress and quality of life have also been two of those factors significantly affected during the COVID-19 pandemic, possibly contributing to an increase in intimate partner violence (IPV).<sup>8</sup> The research study below will examine the presence of IPV during pandemic-related lockdown, and how IPV was impacted by the perceived stress and quality of life of the participants.

### **IPV During the COVID-19 Pandemic**

The Istanbul Convention defines IPV as ‘*all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit, or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim*’.<sup>9</sup> Earlier figures have estimated that about 25% of women across the world had, at some point during their lives, been physically or sexually abused by their partner.<sup>10</sup> However, and as recognised by the World Health Organization (WHO), the very restrictive measures enforced to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., quarantine, isolation, and social distancing) could intensify the danger of violence against women.<sup>11</sup> Female victims of IPV often report being afraid to be alone with their abusive partner and are either forced into or choose to

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(2020) 22(6) *Journal of medical Internet Research*.

<sup>6</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard* (2022), available at <https://covid19.who.int/>. Accessed 6 September 2022.

<sup>7</sup> Samantha K. Brooks et al., ‘The Psychological Impact of Quarantine and How to Reduce it: Rapid Review of the Evidence’ (2020) 395(10227) *The Lancet* 912

<sup>8</sup> Anders Carlander et al., ‘COVID-19 Related Distress in the Swedish Population: Validation of the Swedish Version of the COVID Stress Scales (CSS)’ (2022) 17(2) *PloS One*; Amir H. Pakpour, Mark D. Griffiths, Chung-Ying Lin, ‘Assessing Psychological Response to the COVID-19: The Fear of COVID-19 Scale and the COVID Stress Scales’ (2021) 19(6) *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction* 2407.

<sup>9</sup> Council of Europe, *The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence* (2014), available at <https://www.refworld.org/docid/548165e94> [accessed 6 September 2022].

<sup>10</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *Violence against women* (2017), available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women> [accessed 6 September, 2022].

<sup>11</sup> Li Duan, Gang Zhu, ‘Psychological Interventions for People Affected by the COVID- 19 Epidemic’ (2020) 7(4) *The Lancet Psychiatry* 300; Emily A. Holmes et al., ‘Multidisciplinary Research Priorities for the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Call for Action for Mental Health Science’ (2020) 7 *Lancet Psychiatry* 547.



be highly socially isolated because they are ashamed of what is happening, they fear what their partner will do to them or their children, and are generally afraid to tell anyone what is happening. The COVID-19 restrictive measures thus raised the risk of injury by having these victims spend more time at home with their abusive partner.<sup>12</sup>

The WHO found that emergency calls from women abused by their partner had increased by 60%.<sup>13</sup> Countries such as France, Italy, Spain, Argentina, USA, Brazil, and Cyprus, reported significant increases in domestic violence during the COVID-19 outbreak.<sup>14</sup> This notable increase in reports of IPV is worrying, particularly considering that victims are in danger of being killed by their partner or of choosing suicide. The danger of psychological disorders (e.g., anxiety, depression, eating disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder, and alcohol or substance abuse), physical diseases (e.g., chronic pelvic pain, sleep disorders, gastrointestinal and cardiovascular diseases), and other physical harm, also remains high.<sup>15</sup>

Past research has indicated that extreme periods of societal upheaval also tend to exacerbate problems already existing at home. For instance, couples with previous socioeconomic problems are at risk of having disagreements and feeling dissatisfied with each other.<sup>16</sup> Unemployment rates during the great recession in the USA in the years 2007-2009 were linked to more abusive behaviors by men.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, a rise in domestic violence contacts to the only nongovernmental domestic violence support

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<sup>12</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence Against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19> [accessed September, 2022].

<sup>13</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *Mental Health and Psychosocial Considerations during the COVID-19 Outbreak* (2020a), available at <https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/mental-health-considerations.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Ayesha S. Al Dhaheri et al., 'Impact of COVID-19 on Mental Health and Quality of Life: Is There Any Effect? A Cross-Sectional Study of the MENA Region' (2021) 16(3) *PLoS one*; Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family, *Statistics* (2021), available at <https://domviolence.org.cy/statistika/>. Accessed September, 2022.; Graham-Harrison et al, 'Lockdowns Around the World Bring Rise in Domestic Violence' (2020), *The Guardian*, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/mar/28/lockdowns-world-rise-domestic-violence>.

<sup>15</sup> Anant Kumar, 'COVID-19 and Domestic Violence: A Possible Public Health Crisis' (2020) 22(2) *Journal of Health Management* 192; Amber Peterman, Megan O'Donnell, *COVID-19 and Violence against Women and Children: A Third Research Round up for the 16 Days of Activism* (2020), available at <https://covid19.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/covid-and-violence-against-women-and-children-three.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Julianne Holt-Lunstad, Timothy B. Smith, J. Bradley Layton, 'Social Relationships and Mortality Risk: A Meta-Analytic Review' (2010) 7(7) *PLoS Medicine*.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Schneider, Kristen Harknett, Sara McLanahan, 'Intimate Partner Violence in the Great Recession' (2016) 53(2) *Demography* 471.

agency in Cyprus was positively correlated with fluctuations in unemployment registrations during the years 1996 and 2016.<sup>18</sup> Within these years, the economic crisis took hold in Cyprus, in 2011, with signs of recovery appearing in 2015. This study further supports the view that periods of intense national crises can lead to more incidents of domestic violence.<sup>19</sup>

## **IPV, Perceived Stress and the COVID-19 Pandemic**

Liu et al. define perceived stress as the product of an individual's assessment as to whether a stressor is threatening or non-threatening and how well the individual can cope with such a situation.<sup>20</sup> The COVID-19 pandemic has led to significant stress in huge numbers of people.<sup>21</sup> The sudden onset of the virus, high levels of transmission, failure to find a cure and fear of the unknown, were key factors in the beginnings of perceived stress, anxiety and other mental health issues.<sup>22</sup> The pandemic influenced peoples' intellectual fitness, leading to a rise in anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress signs and symptoms (PTSS).<sup>23</sup> One in five participants in Italy had significant PTSS as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, and these high PTSS were also predicted by low quality of life.<sup>24</sup>

The relationship between IPV and perceived stress has consistently been identified as significant. Specifically, psychosocial stressors, including financial difficulties, were likely to increase family strain leading to domestic violence.<sup>25</sup> Stress related to employment, unemployment and housing insecurity further increase the risk of vi-

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<sup>18</sup> Marilena Kyriakidou et al., 'Longitudinal Fluctuations of National Help-Seeking Reports for Domestic Violence before, during, and after the Financial Crisis in Cyprus' (2021) 36(15-16) *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 8333

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Dan Liu et al., 'Psychological Impact and Predisposing Factors of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) Pandemic on General Public in China' (2020) *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

<sup>21</sup> Yanping Bao et al., '2019-nCoV Epidemic: Address Mental Health Care to Empower Society' (2020) 395(10224) *The Lancet* 37.

<sup>22</sup> Jun Shigemura et al., 'Public Responses to the Novel 2019 Coronavirus (2019-nCoV) in Japan: Mental Health Consequences and Target Populations' (2020) 74(4) *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 281.

<sup>23</sup> Md Zahir Ahmed et al., 'Epidemic of COVID-19 in China and Associated Psychological Problems' (2020) 51 *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*.

<sup>24</sup> Lorys Castelli et al., 'The Spread of COVID-19 in the Italian Population: Anxiety, Depression, and Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms' (2020) 65(10) *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry. Revue Canadienne de Psychiatrie* 731.

<sup>25</sup> Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

olence developing among the couple.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, the likelihood of IPV rises with increased stress related to parenting and the upbringing of children.<sup>27</sup> This can cause significant negative effects on both partners' physical and psychological health.<sup>28</sup> Financial difficulties and upheavals in parenting and domestic life have all been major effects of the pandemic and associated lockdown measures, thus leading to increased stress and more instances of IPV.

### **IPV, Quality of Life and the COVID-19 Pandemic**

The WHO defines quality of life as '*an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns*'.<sup>29</sup> Their assessment tool for quality of life (the World Health Organization Quality of Life, WHOQOL) operationalises the definition by specifically measuring the individual's environment, physical and psychological health, and quality of social relationships. Below we will concentrate on aspects of people's lives that correspond to those identified by the WHO as significant in measuring quality of life. According to Mazza et al., the implementation of mandatory lockdowns and restrictions during the pandemic affected the general functioning and wellbeing of individuals due to the massive changes in their daily routine.<sup>30</sup> Brooks et al. confirm that quarantined individuals were expected to experience psychological distress more so than those who were not.<sup>31</sup> Past research has highlighted depression, symptoms of post-traumatic stress, irritability, insomnia and

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<sup>26</sup> Deborah M. Capaldi et al., 'A Systematic Review of Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence' (2012) 3(2) *Partner Abuse* 231; Jana L. Jasinski, Nancy L. Asdigian, Glenda Kaufman Kantor, 'Ethnic Adaptations to Occupational Strain: Work-Related Stress, Drinking, and Wife Assault Among Anglo and Hispanic Husbands' (1997) 12(6) *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 814.

<sup>27</sup> Janice C. Probst et al., 'Potentially Violent Disagreements and Parenting Stress among American Indian/Alaska Native Families: Analysis across Seven States' (2008) 12 *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 91.

<sup>28</sup> Christina J. Catabay et al., 'Perceived Stress and Mental Health: The Mediating Roles of Social Support and Resilience among Black Women Exposed to Sexual Violence' (2019) 259 *Journal of Affective Disorders* 143.

<sup>29</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *WHOQOL: Measuring Quality of Life* (2012), available at <https://www.who.int/tools/whoqol#:~:text=WHO%20defines%20Quality%20of%20Life,%2C%20expectations%2C%20standards%20and%20concerns>.

<sup>30</sup> Cristina Mazza et al., 'Nationwide Survey of Psychological Distress among Italian People during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Immediate Psychological Responses and Associated Factors' (2020) 17(9) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3165.

<sup>31</sup> Samantha K. Brooks et al., 'The Psychological Impact of Quarantine and how to Reduce it: Rapid Review of the Evidence' (2020) 395(10227) *The Lancet* 912.

anger, as the main problems facing individuals who have been quarantined, whose movements have been restricted, or who have experienced social detachment.<sup>32</sup>

A survey of 7,005 citizens during the COVID-19 pandemic showed that 31% of all participants claimed their family income had been affected, while 39% said that their income had not yet been affected but they anticipated it to be in the future.<sup>33</sup> Past research has clearly indicated that wealth and a higher income are positively related to greater subjective wellbeing and higher quality of life.<sup>34</sup> It is within reason to expect, therefore, that quality of life may have declined during the pandemic as a result of the many social, health, employment and financial issues faced by people.

Women in Norway who reported experiencing IPV reported a lower quality of life than women who had not reported experiencing IPV.<sup>35</sup> Three cross-cultural studies from Iran, China and the USA have indicated similar findings; women who have experienced IPV tend to report low quality of life scores.<sup>36</sup>

Research has not directly measured whether IPV impacts the overall quality of life of individuals, but this can be investigated through markers of quality of life, like physical and mental health. The physical, emotional and psychological state of the

<sup>32</sup> Laura Hawryluck et al., 'SARS Control and Psychological Effects of Quarantine, Toronto, Canada' (2004) 10(7) *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 1206; Donna L. Reynolds et al., 'Understanding, Compliance and Psychological Impact of the SARS Quarantine Experience' (2008) 136(7) *Epidemiology and Infection* 997; Sing Lee et al., 'The Experience of SARS-Related Stigma at Amoy Gardens' (2005) 61(9) *Social Science & Medicine*, 2038; Zdravko Marjanovic, Esther R. Greenglass, Sue Coffey, 'The Relevance of Psychosocial Variables and Working Conditions in Predicting Nurses' Coping Strategies during the SARS Crisis: An Online Questionnaire Survey (2007) 44(6) *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 991.

<sup>33</sup> E Duffin, 'Opinion of Adults in G7 Countries of the Expected Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on their Household Income as of March 2020' (2020), available at <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1107322/covid-19-expected-impact-household-income-g7/>

<sup>34</sup> Ed Diener, 'Subjective Well-Being' (1984) 95(3) *Psychological Bulletin* 542; Ed Diener, Carol Diener, 'The Wealth of Nations Revisited: Income and Quality of Life' (1995) 36(3) *Social Indicators Research* 2751995; Enzo Barberio Mariano, Daisy Aparecida do Nascimento Rebelatto, 'Transformation of Wealth Produced into Quality of Life: Analysis of the Social Efficiency of Nation-States with the DEA's Triple Index Approach' (2014) 65 *Journal of the Operational Research Society* 16642014; Jean-Luc Tavernier, Philippe Cuneo, Claire Plateau, 'Measurement of Quality of Life and Well-Being in France: The Drivers of Subjective Well-Being' (2014) 61(1) *The Review of Income and Wealth* 25.

<sup>35</sup> Kjersti Alsaker et al., 'Intimate Partner Violence Associated with Low Quality of Life - A Cross-Sectional Study' (2018) 18(1) *BMC Women's Health* 1.

<sup>36</sup> Gina Dillon et al., 'Mental and Physical Health and Intimate Partner Violence against Women: A Review of the Literature' (2013) 2013 *International Journal of Family Medicine*; Maryam Gharacheh et al., 'Domestic Violence during Pregnancy and Women's Health-Related Quality of Life' (2016) 8(2) *Global Journal of Health Science* 27; Zahra Tavoli et al., 'Quality of Life in Women who were Exposed to Domestic Violence during Pregnancy (2016) 16(1) *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth* 1.

victim, their social status and their children's behaviour, are the main areas of the victim's life that are affected.<sup>37</sup> Migraines, heart attacks, high blood pressure and insomnia are some of the elementary physical symptoms, while, on a psychological and emotional level, sadness, hopelessness, stress, anxiety and fear are some of the most basic symptoms resulting from IPV that may affect the quality of life of the victims.<sup>38</sup> The abovementioned findings confirm that IPV can have a significant effect on both the psychological and the physical health of the victim, thus negatively influencing their overall quality of life.

### **Aim and Hypotheses**

To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first studies in Cyprus examining how the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting restrictions impacted IPV experiences, perceived stress and quality of life of alleged victims of IPV. We aim to combine these three constructs in an exploratory analysis, to shed light on how the lives of people were affected by these restrictive measures.

Based on the aims and objectives stated above, the following hypotheses will be considered:

- (1) We expect more reports of IPV during the lockdown measures than when these measures are not in place.<sup>39</sup>
- (2) Furthermore, perceived stress is likely to lead to more IPV during the lockdown measures than when they are not in place.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Eve Wittenberg et al., 'Measuring the Effect of Intimate Partner Violence on Health-Related Quality of Life: A Qualitative Focus Group Study' (2007) 5 *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes* 67.

<sup>38</sup> Eve Wittenberg et al., 'Measuring the Effect of Intimate Partner Violence on Health-Related Quality of Life: A Qualitative Focus Group Study' (2007) 5 *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes* 67.

<sup>39</sup> Ayesha S. Al Dhaheri et al., 'Impact of COVID-19 on Mental Health and Quality of Life: Is there any Effect? A cross-sectional study of the MENA region' (2021) 16(3) *PloS One*; Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family, *Statistics* (2021), available at <https://domviolence.org.cy/statistika/>; Li Duan, Gang Zhu, 'Psychological Interventions for People Affected by the COVID-19 Epidemic' (2020) 7(4) *The Lancet Psychiatry* 300; Emily A. Holmes et al., 'Multidisciplinary Research Priorities for the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Call for Action for Mental Health Science' (2020) 7 *Lancet Psychiatry* 547; Graham-Harrison et al, *Lockdowns around the World Bring Rise in Domestic Violence* (2020), available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/mar/28/lockdowns-world-rise-domestic-violence>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19/>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Mental Health and Psychosocial Considerations during the COVID-19 Outbreak* (2020a), available at <https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/mental-health-considerations.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup> Deborah M. Capaldi et al., 'A Systematic Review of Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence' (2012) 3(2) *Partner Abuse* 231; Christina J. Catabay et al., 'Perceived Stress and Mental Health: The Mediat-

- (3) We also expect to see more reports of perceived stress during the lockdown measures than after they have been lifted.<sup>41</sup>
- (4) We expect women to report more instances of IPV both during and after the lockdown measures.<sup>42</sup>
- (5) Finally, we expect reports of IPV to predict a lower quality of life both during and after the lockdown measures.
- (6) We expect participants to report lower quality of life during the lockdown measures than when they are not in place.<sup>43</sup>

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ing Roles of Social Support and Resilience among Black Women Exposed to Sexual Violence' (2019) 259 *Journal of Affective Disorders* 143; Jana L. Jasinski, Nancy L. Asdigian, Glenda Kaufman Kantor, 'Ethnic Adaptations to Occupational Strain: Work-Related Stress, Drinking, and Wife Assault Among Anglo and Hispanic Husbands' (1997) 12(6) *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 814; Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>41</sup> Md Zahir Ahmed et al., 'Epidemic of COVID-19 in China and Associated Psychological Problems' (2020) 51 *Asian Journal of pPsychiatry*; Lorys Castelli et al., 'The Spread of COVID-19 in the Italian Population: Anxiety, Depression, and Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms' (2020) 65(10) *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry. Revue Canadienne de Psychiatrie* 731; Jun Shigemura et al., 'Public Responses to the Novel 2019 Coronavirus (2019-nCoV) in Japan: Mental Health Consequences and Target populations' (2020) 74(4) *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 281.

<sup>42</sup> Li Duan, Gang Zhu, 'Psychological Interventions for People Affected by the COVID- 19 Epidemic' (2020) 7(4) *The Lancet Psychiatry* 300; Emily A. Holmes et al., 'Multidisciplinary Research Priorities for the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Call for Action for Mental Health Science' (2020) 7 *Lancet Psychiatry* 547; WHO (World Health Organization), *Violence against Women* (2017), available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19/>.

<sup>43</sup> Kjersti Alsaker et al., 'Intimate Partner Violence Associated with Low Quality of Life - a Cross-Sectional Study' (2018) 18(1) *BMC Women's Health* 1; Samantha K. Brooks et al., 'The Psychological Impact of Quarantine and how to Reduce it: Rapid Review of the Evidence' (2020) 395(10227) *The Lancet* 912; Gina Dillon et al., 'Mental and Physical Health and Intimate Partner Violence against Women: A Review of the Literature' (2013) 2013 *International Journal of Family Medicine*; Maryam Gharacheh et al., 'Domestic Violence during Pregnancy and Women's Health-Related Quality of Life' (2016) 8(2) *Global Journal of Health Science* 27; Laura Hawryluck et al., 'SARS Control and Psychological Effects of Quarantine, Toronto, Canada' (2004) 10(7) *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 1206; Sing Lee et al., 'The Experience of SARS-Related Stigma at Amoy Gardens' (2005) 61(9) *Social Science & Medicine*, 2038; Zdravko Marjanovic, Esther R. Greenglass, Sue Coffey, 'The Relevance of Psychosocial Variables and Working Conditions in Predicting Nurses' Coping Strategies during the SARS Crisis: An Online Questionnaire Survey' (2007) 44(6) *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 991; Cristina Mazza et al., 'Nationwide Survey of Psychological Distress among Italian People during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Immediate Psychological Responses and Associated Factors' (2020) 17(9) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3165; Donna L. Reynolds et al., 'Understanding, Compliance and Psychological Impact of the SARS Quarantine Experience' (2008) 136(7)

## Method

A power analysis was carried out where an effect size of 0.50 and a  $p = 0.05$  significance level for a repeated measures t-test indicated that to reach a power of 0.95, a minimum sample size of 45 was needed. For a multiple linear regression, a minimum number of 107 people was needed to reach a power of 0.95 with a moderate effect size (0.15) and a  $p = 0.05$  significance level. The data gathered below come from a survey of self-reported experiences from a community sample of people in Cyprus.

## Participants

This research study was carried out online with the selection criteria being above 18 years old and cohabiting with an intimate partner at the time of the research. Participants could either be married, in a relationship or a civil partnership, but the requirement was that they were living with their current partner.

### During Lockdown:

The analyses were based on a total of 381 participants. The sample comprised of 288 females (76%) and 93 males (24%). Ages ranged from 18-79 years old across both time points ( $M=38.26$ ,  $SD = 13.34$ ). During this period, 198 people reported being married (52%), 157 people were in a relationship (41%) and 26 people were in a civil partnership (7%). Twenty-eight percent of participants (105 individuals) did not report any instances of psychological abuse perpetration. A similar number (112 participants, 29%) did not report ever being a victim of psychological abuse, 20% (78 out of 381 participants) did not report any instances of physical abuse perpetration, and 21% (82 out of 381 participants) did not report ever being a victim of physical abuse.

### After Lockdown:

The analyses of this time period are based on data from 119 participants who chose to receive an invitation for the study at a later time and who agreed to take part. Data for the repeated measures analysis are based on 117 participants, as we were not able to match the data across both time points for two participants. The sample comprised 89 females (75%) and 30 males (25%), and the details for age as follows,  $M= 43.39$ ,  $SD = 14.11$ . The sample after lockdown consisted of 73 married people (62%), 39 people cohabiting with their partner (33%), and 5 people in a civil partnership (4%).

## Materials

### *The Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse (MMEA)*<sup>44</sup>

The MMEA is a tool for measuring psychological aspects of IPV. A 10-point Likert Scale measures the number of times a specific type of emotional abuse has occurred, either by the participant or the partner. The MMEA consists of 56 statements (28 perpetration and 28 victimisation). Two variables were created for use in this study and they were named MMEA Victimisation and MMEA Perpetration. These two variables measure the same concepts, but the MMEA Victimisation variable refers to experiences of victimisation and the MMEA Perpetration variable refers to experiences of perpetration. These variables were created to allow us to differentiate between the experiences of the alleged victims and the perpetrators in the analysis. The MMEA has exhibited good reliability and is a statistically valid instrument.<sup>45</sup> Examples of items include 'You/your partner secretly searched through the other person's belongings' and 'You/your partner drove recklessly to frighten the other person'. The Greek MMEA displayed high alpha reliabilities of .82 for perpetration items and .94 for the victimisation items.

### *The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale Short Form (CTS2S)*<sup>46</sup>

The CTS2S consists of 20 items and is the short form of the longer version of the CTS2<sup>47</sup>. The CTS2S is considered the most extensively used instrument for measuring IPV.<sup>48</sup> An 8-point Likert Scale is used in the CTS2 and measures how many times aspects of IPV have been used in a relationship. Participants record the frequency in which they themselves and their partners have engaged in these behaviours. Tactics measured when in conflict in a relationship are negotiation, physical assault, psychological aggression, injury from assault, and sexual coercion.<sup>49</sup> The CTS2 was considered the most appropriate tool for measuring physical aspects of IPV, as it has shown sufficient construct and concurrent validity.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Christopher M. Murphy, Sharon Anne Hoover, 'Measuring Emotional Abuse in Dating Relationships as a Multifactorial Construct' (1999) 14(1) *Violence and Victims* 39.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>47</sup> Murray A. Straus et al., 'The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2): Development and Preliminary Psychometric Data' (1996) 17(3) *Journal of Family Issues* 283.

<sup>48</sup> Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*



The CTS2S was scored using a total score of the scale by converting the scores to the midpoint of the range of scores in each category, and then summing these scores.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the analysis was based on a total score of physical abuse tactics as experienced by the participant (the variable named CTS2S\_Victimisation) and a total score of physical abuse tactics as perpetrated by the participant (CTS2S\_Perpetration). Calculating the CTS2S's reliability has been problematic, because of how it is scored and this is what we found in this study too.<sup>52</sup> Please see Table 1 for means, standard deviations and reliabilities of the measures used in this study. Example of items in the CTS2S include 'I pushed, shoved or slapped my partner/My partner pushed, shoved or slapped me' and 'I punched or kicked or beat up my partner/My partner punched or kicked or beat me up'.

The CTS2S and MMEA were not available in Greek and were translated for use. The translation-back-translation method was used whereby the measures were translated into Greek by a native speaker and then back translated into English to ensure the translations were accurate and reflective of the original versions. Any discrepancies were discussed and resolved amongst the translators. The Greek CTS2S displayed alpha reliabilities of .47 for the perpetration items and .40 for the victimisation items. The low alpha reliabilities of the Greek CTS2S seem to reflect the arguments above regarding the difficulty in demonstrating high reliabilities with these methods of scoring.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Perceived Stress Scale (PSS)***<sup>54</sup>

The PSS was originally developed as measure of an individual's perception of stress and has strong validity and reliability, including for its translated versions.<sup>55</sup> Items

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<sup>51</sup> Murray A. Straus et al., 'The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2): Development and Preliminary Psychometric Data' (1996) 17(3) *Journal of Family Issues* 283.

<sup>52</sup> Gina M. Sacchetti, Elizabeth K Lefler, 'ADHD Symptomology and Social Functioning in College Students' (2017) 21(2) *Journal of Attention Disorders* 1009; Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>53</sup> Gina M. Sacchetti, Elizabeth K Lefler, 'ADHD Symptomology and Social Functioning in College Students' (2017) 21(2) *Journal of Attention Disorders* 1009; Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>54</sup> Sheldon Cohen, 'Perceived Stress in a Probability Sample of the United States' in Shirlynn Spacapan, Stuart Oskamp (Eds.) *The Social Psychology of Health* (Sage Publications, Inc. 1988) 31.

<sup>55</sup> Christina Diane Bastianon et al., 'Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10) Psychometric Properties in Migrants and Native Germans' (2020) 20 *BMC Psychiatry* 450; Robabe Khalili et al., 'Validity and Reliability of the Cohen 10-item Perceived Stress Scale in Patients with Chronic Headache: Persian Version' (2017) 26

include 'In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?' and 'In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside your control?'

The PSS has previously been translated and validated for use in Greek.<sup>56</sup> The alpha reliability for the Greek version was previously found to be high at .82 and correlated significantly with other measures of stress, depression and anxiety.<sup>57</sup> The 10-item measure in Greek was used here and our data yielded a good alpha reliability of .84.

### ***WHO Quality of Life – BREF (WHOQOL-BREF)***<sup>58</sup>

The WHOQOL-BREF, a short version of the WHOQOL-100, has been developed to assess an individual's quality of life. The WHOQOL-BREF comprises 26 items on a 5-point Likert Scale and produces a profile of the individual's quality of life based on total scores of four subscales: Physical health, Psychological health, Social relationships, and Environment. To minimise the complexity of the analysis, the subscales deemed most relevant to our research, and thus used in the analysis, were psychological quality of life (QoL Psychological health) and quality of social relationships (QoL Social relationships). An additional single item of the WHOQOL-BREF measuring their overall perception of quality of life was also used in the analysis (QoL). The WHOQOL-BREF has been extensively used in research worldwide and has displayed good reliability and validity.<sup>59</sup> Examples of items include 'How much do you enjoy life?' and 'How satisfied are you with your personal relationships?'

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*Asian Journal of Psychiatry* 136; John M. Taylor, 'Psychometric Analysis of the Ten-Item Perceived Stress Scale' (2014) 27(1) *Psychological Assessment* 90.

<sup>56</sup> Eleni Andreou et al., 'Perceived Stress Scale: Reliability and Validity Study in Greece'(2011) 8(8) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3287.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *WHOQOL-BREF: Introduction, Administration, Scoring and Generic Version of the Assessment: Field Trial Version, December 1996* (1996), available at <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/63529>

<sup>59</sup> Marcelo P. A. Fleck et al., 'Aplicação da versão em português do instrumento abreviado de avaliação da qualidade de vida "WHOQOL-bref"' [Application of the Portuguese version of the abbreviated instrument of quality life "WHOQOL-bref"] (2020) 34(2) *Revista de Saúde Pública* 178; Fredrick Dermawan Purba et al., 'Quality of Life of the Indonesian General Population: Test-Retest Reliability and Population Norms of the EQ-5D-5L and WHOQOL-BREF' (2018) 13(5) *PLoS One*; Helena Rosén, Gerd Ahlström, Annika Lexén, 'Psychometric Properties of the WHOQOL-BREF among Next of Kin to Older Persons in Nursing Homes' (2020) 18 *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes* 103; Suzanne Skevington et al., 'The World Health Organization's WHOQOL-BREF Quality of Life Assessment: Psychometric Properties and Results of the International Field Trial. A Report from the WHOQOL Group' (2004) 13(2) *Qualitative Life Research* 299.

The WHOQOL-BREF in Greek, as validated by Ginieri-Coccosis et al. was used here.<sup>60</sup> In their study, the 26-item measure displayed good Cronbach’s alpha reliabilities (.87 for overall QoL; .79 for psychological health; .65 for social relationships). Our corresponding Cronbach’s alpha reliabilities for the Greek version were also high at .84 for psychological health and .72 for social relationships. Finally, data from the English and Greek measures were merged to produce a single dataset for both time points.

Table 1. *Descriptive statistics for all variables across both time points*

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Reliability
Time 1			
MMEA Perpetration I	10.75	16.24	.87
MMEA Victimisation I	13.65	26.79	.93
CTS2S Perpetration I	10.05	13.31	.52
CTS2S Victimisation I	9.43	13.07	.58
PSS I	17.92	8.98	.89
QoL Psychological I	14.20	3.47	.86
QoL Social relationships I	14.80	3.72	.70
Time 2			
MMEA Perpetration II	16.88	26.74	.83
MMEA Victimisation II	22.70	52.28	.96
CTS2S Perpetration II	10.09	12.70	.47
CTS2S Victimisation II	9.59	12.87	.43
PSS II	17.87	8.54	.88
QoL Psychological II	14.42	3.37	.85
QoL Social relationships II	14.77	3.59	.70

Note: MMEA - Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse;  
 CTS2S - Revised Conflict Tactics Scale short form; PSS - Perceived Stress Scale;  
 WHOQOL-BREF - WHO Quality of life – BREF

### Context of Study

Measures enforced during the three-month period of the first lockdown included closed schools employing online teaching, work from home, closure of airports and cancellation of flights into and out of Cyprus except for repatriation purposes, a curfew, closure of public gathering places (parks, playgrounds), prohibition of attendance to places of worship, suspension of retail businesses, and movement allowed only for

<sup>60</sup> Maria Ginieri-Coccosis et al., ‘Psychometric Properties of WHOQOL-BREF in Clinical and Health Greek Populations: Incorporating New Culture-Relevant Items’ (2012) 23(2) *Psychiatriki* 130.

transfer to and from the workplace, visits to a doctor, pharmacy or bank, purchase of basic necessities (e.g., from supermarkets), and for physical exercise. Following the final phase of the easing of the restrictions in June 2020, the only measures in place remained the mandatory use of masks and limits to the number of people allowed in closed spaces.<sup>61</sup>

## **Procedure**

The study was carried out in two phases; during the first lockdown (27/4/2020-14/5/2020) and after the removal of most of the COVID-19 restriction measures (9/9/2020-18/10/2020). The main communication channels used to reach participants were social media (Facebook and Instagram), through the mailing lists of NGOs active in the area of domestic violence and abuse, and personal contacts. Reaching alleged victims and perpetrators of IPV was a concern of ours, so we also chose purposive sampling through NGOs. Relevant NGOs were asked to assist in the recruitment of participants, in the hopes that we could reach a satisfactory number of participants.

All participants in both phases of the study completed four psychometric questionnaires and provided demographic data for gender, age and their relationship status. Two versions of the questionnaires were made available to the participants (English and Greek) and they were able to choose which one to complete. Both versions were identical in their content and formatting. The participants provided consent and were debriefed regarding the aims of the study. Participants were reminded that their participation was voluntary, all data would be anonymous, and they were free to end their participation at any time by closing their browser window. Participants could also contact the researchers at a later point and ask to remove their data by quoting their unique identifier. During the first phase of the study, participants could provide their email address if they wanted to take part in a future wave of this study. Their unique identifier would be used to match their data across both time points. Ethical approval was given to this research study by the Cyprus National Bioethics Committee.

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<sup>61</sup> *Cyprus Mail*, 'Coronavirus: Timeline of the Covid-19 Outbreak in Cyprus' (2020) available from <https://cyprus-mail.com/2020/12/30/coronavirus-timeline-of-the-covid-19-outbreak-in-cyprus/>; FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), 'Coronavirus COVID-19 Outbreak in the EU Fundamental Rights Implications' (2020) available from [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/cyprus-report-covid-19-april-2020\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/cyprus-report-covid-19-april-2020_en.pdf).

## **Statistical Analysis**

Analyses were carried out using SPSS 21.0 (SPSS Inc.) for Windows. The first analyses tested for reliability and normal distribution. Spearman's Rho correlations were then carried out to test for associations between the CTS2S, MMEA, PSS and WHO-QOL-BREF and to establish the relationships between the variables across both times. Differences in the test scores during and after lockdown were investigated using a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test. Finally, regressions were observed to determine how the variables of interest can be predicted.

## **Results**

### *Preliminary Analyses*

Z-scores indicated that across both time groups' age, MMEA\_Perpetration, MMEA\_Victimisation, CTS2S\_Perpetration and CTS2S\_Victimisation were positively skewed, whereas QofL, QofL\_Psychological and QofL\_Social relationships were negatively skewed, thus indicating a non-normal distribution. Following square root and log transformation, the data remained skewed so non-parametric tests were used where appropriate and ranked outcome data were used for regressions.

### *Correlations between Variables of Interest for Each Time Period*

#### **During Lockdown:**

Tables 2 and 3 show the Spearman's Rho correlations for the variables in the analysis. The MMEA (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) was positively correlated with the CTS2S (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) and perceived stress, and negatively correlated with overall quality of life, quality of social relationships and quality of psychological health. MMEA perpetration scores were positively correlated with MMEA victimisation scores. The CTS2S (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) was positively correlated with perceived stress, and negatively correlated with overall quality of life, quality of psychological health and quality of social relationships. CTS2S victimisation scores positively correlated with CTS2S perpetration scores.

Perceived stress was negatively correlated with overall quality of life, quality of social relationships and quality of psychological health. Significant positive correlations were present amongst all three quality of life variables. All variables at this phase had significant positive correlations with their counterparts at the next phase.

**After Lockdown:**

The MMEA (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) was positively correlated with the CTS2S (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) and perceived stress, and negatively correlated with overall quality of life, quality of social relationships and quality of psychological health. MMEA perpetration scores were positively correlated with MMEA victimisation scores. The CTS2S (both victimisation and perpetration total scores) was positively correlated with perceived stress and negatively correlated with quality of psychological health. CTS2S perpetration scores were negatively correlated with quality of social relationships. CTS2S victimisation scores were positively correlated with RCTS perpetration scores.

Perceived stress was negatively correlated with overall quality of life, quality of social relationships and quality of psychological health. Significant positive correlations were present amongst all three quality of life variables.

Table 2. Spearman’s correlations between variables subsequently used in regressions

	MMEA Victimisation	CTS2S Perpetration	CTS2S Victimisation	PSS	QoL	QoL Psychological	QoL Social Relationships
<i>Time 1</i>							
MMEA Perpetration	.86**	.45**	.48**	.43**	-.25**	-.33**	-.27**
MMEA Victimisation		.46**	.48**	.38**	-.30**	-.31**	-.30**
CTS2S Perpetration			.92**	.30**	-.20**	-.22**	-.16**
CTS2S Victimisation				.28**	-.20**	-.23**	-.14**
PSS					-.50**	-.67**	-.35**
QoL						.57**	.40**
QoL Psychological							.54**
<i>Time 2</i>							
MMEA Perpetration	.91**	.49**	.42**	.42**	-.21*	-.36**	-.38**
MMEA Victimisation		.49**	.43**	.45**	-.27**	-.38**	-.42**
CTS2S Perpetration			.94**	.36**	-.09	-.30**	-.23*
CTS2S Victimisation				.36**	-.10	-.29**	-.14
PSS					-.40**	-.73**	-.38**
QoL						.50**	.32**
QoL Psychological							.58**

Note: \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ ; MMEA - Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse; CTS2S - Revised Conflict Tactics Scale short form; PSS - Perceived Stress Scale; WHOQOL-BREF - WHO Quality of life – BREF

Table 3. Spearman's correlations between the variables across both times

	MMEA Perpetration II	MMEA Victimization II	CTS2S Perpetration II	CTS2S Victimization II	PSS II	QoL II	QoL Psychological II	QoL Social Relationships II
MMEA Perpetration I	.46**							
MMEA Victimization I		.47**						
CTS2S Perpetration I			.29**					
CTS2S Victimization I				.28**				
PSS I					.63**			
QoL I						.50**		
QoL Psychological I							.78**	
QoL Social Relationships I								.77**

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; MMEA - Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse; CTS2S - Revised Conflict Tactics Scale short form; PSS - Perceived Stress Scale; WHOQOL-BREF - WHO Quality of life – BREF

### Differences between Time Points

Significant differences in scores on our variables during and after lockdown were determined through a Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test. Differences were only found between the MMEA victimisation and MMEA perpetration scores across both time points. Higher scores for MMEA perpetration were present during lockdown (mean rank = 51.66) than after lockdown (mean rank = 44.69) ( $Z = -2.60, p < .01$ ), with the same being true for MMEA victimisation scores (during lockdown mean rank = 51.27; after lockdown mean rank = 42.18) ( $Z = -2.22, p < .05$ ). All other differences were nonsignificant. These results indicate that participants reported significantly more victimisation and perpetration of psychological abuse during lockdown than after lockdown. An exploratory Mann-Whitney test of the gender differences related to IPV indicated that women reported higher scores on the CTS2S victimisation measure ( $U=11274.50, p < .05$ ) during lockdown. There were no gender differences after lockdown.

### Regressions

Multiple regression models tested whether each form of abuse (for both the alleged victim and the perpetrator) can be predicted by perceived stress and gender, in line with hypotheses 2 and 4 above. Subsequent regressions tested whether overall quality of life can be predicted by psychological and physical abuse and the quality of social relations and psychological health (hypotheses 5 and 6). These analyses were carried

out separately for data during lockdown and after lockdown. Please see tables 4 and 5 for the details of the regression analyses.

**During Lockdown:**

Only greater perceived stress predicted perpetration and victimisation of both psychology (MMEA) and physical (CTS2S) abuse. Overall quality of life was predicted only by better quality of psychological health and better quality of social relationships.

**After Lockdown:**

Only greater perceived stress predicted perpetration and victimisation of both psychology (MMEA) and physical (CTS2S) abuse. Overall quality of life was predicted only by better quality of psychological health. Gender was a nonsignificant predictor in all regression analyses.

Table 4. Multiple linear regressions at Time 1 (N = 381)

Predictors	B	SE B	$\beta$
Outcome variable: MMEA Perpetration			
PSS	-5.15	0.57	-0.42***
Gender	-0.11	11.94	0.00
$R^2$		.18	
$F$		41.50***	
Outcome variable: MMEA Victimisation			
PSS	-4.65	0.58	-0.38***
Gender	9.30	12.17	0.04
$R^2$		.14	
$F$		31.87***	
Outcome variable: CTS2S Perpetration			
PSS	-3.54	0.61	-0.29***
Gender	-13.64	12.64	-0.05
$R^2$		.10	
$F$		19.08***	
Outcome variable: CTS2S Victimisation			
PSS	-3.25	0.61	-0.27***
Gender	-19.48	12.69	-0.08
$R^2$		.08	
$F$		17.15***	
Outcome variable: QoL			
MMEA Perpetration	-0.09	0.21	-0.03
MMEA Victimisation	0.22	0.14	0.11



CTS2S Victimisation	-0.23	0.63	-0.04
CTS2S Perpetration	0.48	0.64	0.08
QoL Psychological health	-14.34	1.58	-0.47***
QoL Social relationships	-3.26	1.49	-0.11*
$R^2$		.33	
$F$		31.00***	

Note: \*  $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; MMEA - Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse;  
 CTS2S - Revised Conflict Tactics Scale short form; PSS - Perceived Stress Scale;  
 WHOQOL-BREF - WHO Quality of life – BREF

Table 5. Multiple linear regressions at Time 2 ( $N = 119$ )

Predictors	B	SE B	$\beta$
Outcome variable: MMEA Perpetration			
PSS	-1.66	0.35	-0.42***
Gender	2.14	6.89	0.03
$R^2$		.17	
$F$		11.84***	
Outcome variable: MMEA Victimisation			
PSS	-1.80	0.34	-0.46***
Gender	4.01	6.74	0.05
$R^2$		.20	
$F$		14.23***	
Outcome variable: CTS2S Perpetration			
PSS	-1.41	0.36	-0.35**
Gender	-1.16	7.12	-0.02
$R^2$		.13	
$F$		8.41***	
Outcome variable: CTS2S Victimisation			
Gender	-2.03	7.14	-0.03
PSS	-1.36	0.36	-0.34***
$R^2$		.12	
$F$		7.95***	
Outcome variable: QoL			
MMEA Perpetration	-0.09	0.12	-0.08
MMEA Victimisation	0.11	0.05	0.22
CTS2S Victimisation	0.65	0.50	0.27
CTS2S Perpetration	-0.69	0.50	-0.29
QoL Psychological health	-14.35	1.00	-0.39***

QoL Social relationships	-0.71	0.95	-0.08
R <sup>2</sup>		.27	
F		6.77***	

Note: \*  $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; MMEA - Multidimensional Measure of Emotional Abuse; CTS2S - Revised Conflict Tactics Scale short form; PSS - Perceived Stress Scale; WHOQOL-BREF - WHO Quality of life – BREF

## Discussion

Key findings showed that levels of psychological abuse, indicated by alleged victims and carried out by perpetrators, were higher during the lockdown period than after the lockdown. Specifically, women reported more physical abuse victimisation during lockdown. We also found that, across both time points, psychological and physical abuse victimisation and perpetration were predicted only by greater perceived stress, and overall quality of life was predicted only by more positive psychological health. After the lockdown, overall quality of life was predicted only by more positive psychological health.

The suggested outcomes that psychological abuse victimisation and perpetration were greater during the lockdown period supports our hypothesis. Our outcomes also support past research from the Middle East and North Africa region, China and the UK, indicating that cases of psychological IPV increased during the lockdown period.<sup>62</sup> It would appear that increases in IPV were a global phenomenon during the lockdown, pointing to universal factors contributing to the rise of such behaviours. Seeing as IPV victimisation and perpetration were predicted by greater perceived stress both during and after lockdown, we may make a tentative suggestion that stress should be examined as a possible universal factor in contributing to IPV.

<sup>62</sup> Ayesha S. Al Dhaheri et al., ‘Impact of COVID-19 on Mental Health and Quality of Life: Is there any Effect? A Cross-Sectional Study of the MENA Region’ (2021) 16(3) *PloS One*; Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family, *Statistics* (2021), available at <https://domviolence.org.cy/statistika/>; Li Duan, Gang Zhu, ‘Psychological Interventions for People Affected by the COVID- 19 Epidemic’ (2020) 7(4) *The Lancet Psychiatry* 300; Emily A. Holmes et al., ‘Multidisciplinary Research Priorities for the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Call for Action for Mental Health Science’ (2020) 7 *Lancet Psychiatry* 547; Graham-Harrison et al, *Lockdowns around the World Bring Rise in Domestic Violence* (2020), available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/mar/28/lockdowns-world-rise-domestic-violence>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Mental Health and Psychosocial Considerations during the COVID-19 Outbreak* (2020a), available at <https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/mental-health-considerations.pdf>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19/>.

We have also found partial support for the fact that women tend to be the victims of this form of violence.<sup>63</sup> Our results indicated more reports by women of physical abuse victimisation during the lockdown, but no gender differences in physical abuse perpetration and psychological abuse victimisation. It may be that the impact of the lockdown was felt equally by both men and women, leading to more instances of psychological abuse victimisation and perpetration by both males and females. On the other hand, the alleged victims of physical abuse were mostly women, but only during the extreme circumstances of the lockdown period. The uneven distribution of males and females in the sample may also have contributed to the inconsistencies of the gender-related results. With a more equal distribution of men and women we could have come to more firm conclusions regarding the reliability of gender differences in the data.

Our hypothesis that participants would have a lower quality of life during the lockdown was not met here and contradicts past research.<sup>64</sup> A possible reason may be that the data was collected early in the first lockdown, before people fully experienced its longterm effects. If data were collected later in the pandemic, our hypothesis might have been confirmed. We also did not find greater perceived stress in our participants during the lockdown, as compared to afterwards. Once again, this is surprising considering the wealth of research suggesting otherwise.<sup>65</sup> The feeling of stress fluctuates

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<sup>63</sup> Li Duan, Gang Zhu, 'Psychological Interventions for People Affected by the COVID- 19 Epidemic' (2020) 7(4) *The Lancet Psychiatry* 300; Emily A. Holmes et al., 'Multidisciplinary Research priorities for the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Call for Action for Mental Health Science' (2020) 7 *Lancet Psychiatry* 547; WHO (World Health Organization), *Violence against Women* (2017), available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19/>.

<sup>64</sup> Samantha K. Brooks et al., 'The Psychological Impact of Quarantine and how to Reduce it: Rapid Review of the Evidence' (2020) 395(10227) *The Lancet* 912; Laura Hawryluck et al., 'SARS Control and Psychological Effects of Quarantine, Toronto, Canada' (2004) 10(7) *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 1206; Sing Lee et al., 'The Experience of SARS-Related Stigma at Amoy Gardens' (2005) 61(9) *Social Science & Medicine*, 2038; Zdravko Marjanovic, Esther R. Greenglass, Sue Coffey, 'The Relevance of Psychosocial Variables and Working Conditions in Predicting Nurses' Coping Strategies during the SARS Crisis: An Online Questionnaire Survey' (2007) 44(6) *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 991; Cristina Mazza et al., 'Nationwide Survey of Psychological Distress among Italian People during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Immediate Psychological Responses and Associated Factors' (2020) 17(9) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3165; Donna L. Reynolds et al., 'Understanding, Compliance and Psychological Impact of the SARS Quarantine Experience' (2008) 136(7) *Epidemiology and Infection*, 997.

<sup>65</sup> Md Zahir Ahmed et al., 'Epidemic of COVID-19 in China and Associated Psychological Problems' (2020) 51 *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*; Lorys Castelli et al., 'The Spread of COVID-19 in the Italian Population: Anxiety, Depression, and Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms' (2020) 65(10) *Canadian Journal of*

more in magnitude and frequency in the individual than the perception of quality of life, so it is surprising that no differences were found here. We would have expected that lockdown measures, which at the time were a new experience for most people, would have led to a spike in perceived stress. One final suggestion for our finding relates to the massive media campaign concerning the risks of infection and the spread of fear and panic. Particularly at the beginning of the pandemic with the first lockdown, confinement may have led to reduced perceived stress levels, as confinement was perceived as the main protection measure.

Our finding that greater perceived stress can predict perpetration and victimisation of both psychological abuse and physical abuse, supports our hypotheses and previous findings.<sup>66</sup> We specifically expected this finding to be more prevalent during the lockdown measures due to the extreme circumstances of this period, but seeing as this finding was present across both time points we could tentatively argue that perceived stress is an overarching factor that contributes to IPV despite the presence of other environmental factors. Studies mentioned above discuss financial and employment stress, and comorbidity with depression and PTSD in instances of IPV. Our study here supports the above on a more general level, but without being able to identify the specific form of stress that is implicated in our Cyprus sample.

The finding that reports of IPV do not predict the quality of life of the participants was unexpected and does not support our hypotheses or past research.<sup>67</sup> Reports of IPV were admittedly very low in our study ( $M=16.75$  of a total score of 441 for

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*Psychiatry. Revue Canadienne de Psychiatrie* 731; Jun Shigemura et al., 'Public Responses to the Novel 2019 Coronavirus (2019-nCoV) in Japan: Mental Health Consequences and Target Populations' (2020) 74(4) *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 281.

<sup>66</sup> Deborah M. Capaldi et al., 'A Systematic Review of Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence' (2012) 3(2) *Partner Abuse* 231; Christina J. Catabay et al., 'Perceived Stress and Mental Health: The Mediating Roles of Social Support and Resilience among Black Women Exposed to Sexual Violence' (2019) 259 *Journal of Affective Disorders* 143; Jana L. Jasinski, Nancy L. Asdigian, Glenda Kaufman Kantor, 'Ethnic Adaptations to Occupational Strain: Work-Related Stress, Drinking, and Wife Assault Among Anglo and Hispanic Husbands' (1997) 12(6) *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 814; Murray A Strauss, Emily M. Douglas, 'A Short Form of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales, and Typologies for Severity and Mutuality' (2004) 19(5) *Violence and Victims* 507.

<sup>67</sup> Kjersti Alsaker et al., 'Intimate Partner Violence Associated with Low Quality of Life - A Cross-Sectional Study' (2018) 18(1) *BMC Women's Health* 1; Gina Dillon et al., 'Mental and Physical Health and Intimate Partner Violence against Women: A Review of the Literature' (2013) 2013 *International Journal of Family Medicine*; Maryam Gharacheh et al., 'Domestic Violence during Pregnancy and Women's Health-Related Quality of Life' (2016) 8(2) *Global Journal of Health Science* 27; Zahra Tavoli et al., 'Quality of Life in Women who were Exposed to Domestic Violence during Pregnancy' (2016) 16(1) *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth* 1.

MMEA victimisation and  $M=12.15$  of a total score of 137 for RCTS victimisation) and this may be the reason for nonsignificant findings.

### ***Limitations***

One significant flaw is the unequal numbers of males and females in the sample. Considering women are more frequently the victims of IPV,<sup>68</sup> it is understandable that a research study of this nature will appeal to women more than to men. This unequal distribution, however, has not allowed us to reliably argue for the presence of gender differences in the results above. Furthermore, we were not able to capture the phenomenon of IPV during the pandemic adequately, as we only had few reports of such behaviours. This, on the one hand, is positive, as most of our participants seemed to be in healthier relationships. On the other hand, a low base rate of these variables has made it very difficult to show statistically that an increase in IPV has come about from the expected relationships.

One final limitation of this study may be the very environment in which the data was collected. This may have had an impact on the truthfulness of the answers and the honesty of the participants. This study asked questions on IPV during a time where alleged victim and abuser were spending unusually large amounts of time in the same space. If the abuser was near the alleged victim when answering the questionnaire, it is likely the answers would have been more favourable towards the abuser and the relationship. It is possible that the abuser may have even guided the participant as to what answers to give. This is a drawback of data collection during the lockdown period, as privacy was limited. Similarly, our study suffers from the same limitation as all other self-report surveys; we cannot be sure of the truthfulness of the data as a whole.

Suggestions for future research centre primarily on methodological issues. To come to reliable conclusions regarding the findings, a larger and more balanced sample is needed. Future research could also utilise the MMEA and RCTS measures in an exploration of the above constructs in perpetrators of IPV. The focus tends to be on identifying the needs of victims; identifying the needs of perpetrators would further improve services offered to them and assist with rebuilding their interpersonal skills in more positive ways.

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<sup>68</sup> WHO (World Health Organization), *Violence against Women* (2017), available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>; WHO (World Health Organization), *Q&A: Violence against Women during COVID-19* (2020b), available at <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/violence-against-women-during-covid-19/>.

This study aimed to highlight the difficulties faced by alleged victims of IPV during the COVID-19 pandemic. Our key results indicated that alleged victims reported more psychological abuse during the lockdown period and that psychological and physical abuse could be predicted by greater perceived stress both during and after the lockdown period. The authorities and relevant organisations may use this data to target stress in prevention, support and treatment of victims and perpetrators of IPV. Furthermore, changes in living arrangements might be another factor that organisations assisting victims of IPV should keep track of, in order to provide an appropriate level of assistance. This study suffers from a number of issues that have made the interpretation of our results more difficult, but we believe that our support for previous findings lends weight to the reliability of ours. Future research employing stricter methodological criteria could provide support for our findings and offer concrete guidelines on how to effectively support these individuals.

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Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study. The datasets generated during and/or analysed during the current study are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Approval for this study was obtained from the Cyprus National Bioethics Committee. The procedures used in this study adhere to the tenets of the Declaration of Helsinki.

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# **The Effects of the Russian-Ukrainian War on Russian Gas Exports to the EU and the Role of Cyprus as an Alternative Gas Provider**

**THEODOROS TSAKIRIS<sup>1</sup>**

## **Abstract**

*Putin's invasion of Ukraine has forced the EU to eradicate its energy dependence on Russia. This is a shift of historic proportions, particularly when it comes to natural gas, given the fact that Russia has been the EU's primary exporter since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. By February 2023 almost all EU member states had imposed complete embargoes on the importation of Russian coal, crude oil, and oil products, whereas no consensus has thus far emerged at the EU level on the continuation of Russian gas exports.*

*Despite the absence of a formal embargo on Russian natural gas, exports have drastically dropped since 2022, yet this does not necessarily entail that the EU will be able to achieve the goal of zero Russian gas exports by 2027, as is declared in its RepowerEU strategy. Through 2022, the EU has managed to cope with the loss of Russian gas exports by massively importing US LNG and, to a secondary extent, Norwegian pipeline gas. These exports though were contracted at a considerable premium and on a short-term basis. Most EU states have not managed to replace Gazprom's long-term contracts with alternative gas imports that would be available at competitive prices and on a long-term basis.*

*Herein lies an opportunity for the Republic of Cyprus (RoC), since the natural gas reserves discovered in its Exclusive Economic Zone have the potential to offer a partial long-term alternative to the EU's dependency on Russia, but the window for the monetisation of these reserves is rapidly closing. Alternative EastMed exporters have already started to export to the EU, as well as to the East Med region, as early as 2020, whereas the first Cypriot exports cannot realistically reach any market before 2027. Nicosia's current plan to build a pipeline to Egypt in order to autonomously monetise the Aphrodite field is unlikely to offer Cyprus an export gateway to EU markets by 2027 and may even result to the stranding of the asset.*

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*At the same time a string of smaller discoveries in the RoC's western offshore blocks that took place between 2019-2022 are still at a very early stage of their potential development process and, if they are not developed jointly, they are also likely to be stranded. If a joint monetisation plan is indeed developed, these fields, namely Glaukos, Cronos and Zeus, are likely to begin exporting their gas by 2030 or, most likely, even later.*

**Keywords:** Russia, EU, Ukraine, Cyprus, Energy Security, Natural Gas, Egypt, Israel, Eastern Mediterranean

## 1. Introduction

Apart from Russia's role as the world's preeminent petroleum exporter since the early 2010s,<sup>2</sup> the ability of Russia, and, in particular, that of Gazprom to dominate European gas markets underpinned Moscow's claim as the energy export 'superpower' of the world during the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Despite systematic attempts by the European Union to diversify its import dependency since at least 2010, Gazprom's grip over EU markets proved extraordinarily resilient as Russia tried to limit its own overdependence on European markets by expanding its LNG (Liquified Natural Gas) capacity and opening new pipeline export routes to China.

This paper will first analyse the Russian-EU natural gas interdependency before the second Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, in order to highlight the level of uneven interdependency between the two sides and the failure of common EU action to secure alternative import sources to Russian gas that was considered of low political risk by both its primary consumers, Germany, and Italy. This first section is important in order to highlight, not only the catastrophic effect the Russian invasion had on EU-Russian gas trade since 2022, which is analysed in section 3, but also to underline a) the cost and the difficulty of EU importers to substitute Russian gas, and b) the continued resilience of Russian gas exports, most of which are contracted on a long-term basis with strict 'take or pay' clauses that oblige the importing company to pay for up to 80% of the contracted gas volumes, even if it does not actually consume or import it.

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<sup>2</sup> International Energy Agency (IEA), *Energy Fact Sheet: Why does Russian Oil and Gas Matter?*, 21/03/2022, available at <https://www.iea.org/articles/energy-fact-sheet-why-does-russian-oil-and-gas-matter>, accessed 25/02/2023.

<sup>3</sup> Rem Korteweg, *Energy as a Tool of Foreign Policy of Authoritarian States, in Particular Russia*, European Parliament, (Brussels: 2018), p.13.

Europeans cannot safely say that they have rid themselves from Russian gas imports unless and until they secure long-term supply contracts from alternative suppliers, such as the USA, Qatar, Norway, Algeria, and Azerbaijan. Short-term LNG supplies may not be available when needed again, especially if market conditions in non-European LNG markets make consumers in Asia more attractive from an exporter's point of view.

As analysed in section 3, the massive and massively expensive substitution of Russian gas from the above-mentioned sources has been achieved since February 2022, not only at a very high cost but also on a short-term basis, with the sole exception of a 9 bcma (billion cubic meters per annum) long-term contract signed in May 2022 between Italy's ENI and Algeria's Sonatrach, that is essentially an expansion of a pre-existing commercial agreement which dates back to 1983.<sup>4</sup>

In this context, as is detailed in sections 4-5, the RoC has an opportunity to be part of the EU's strategic long-term pivot away from Russian gas. This opportunity though will be lost if a series of significant obstacles and delays are not overcome, that would allow Cyprus to export gas to the EU by 2027. This paper will then conclude in section 6, by proposing significant policy changes to the current strategy, which could expedite the monetisation of Cypriot gas exports in time to help the EU to eliminate Russian gas imports by the end of this decade.

## **2. Unbalanced Interdependency: The Russian Gas Export Strategy and the EU until February 2022**

During the last 20 years, Russia has consistently ranked as the world's largest exporter of natural gas.<sup>5</sup> *In the case of the EU, although Russian gas accounted consistently between 40%-50% of the Union's net gas imports between 2001-2021, the significance of the EU market for the Kremlin has been steadily declining during that same period.* In 2007, almost 15 years before the Russian-Ukrainian War of 2022, the EU was importing around 40% of its gas imports from Russia, that, at the time, represented approximately 24% of its final demand.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> (n.a.), Eni, Sonatrach sign deal to boost Algeria gas exports to Italy, *Reuters*, 25 May 2022, available at <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/eni-sonatrach-sign-deal-boost-algeria-gas-exports-italy-2022-05-26/>, accessed 10/10/2023.

<sup>5</sup> *BP, BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2022*, (BP: 2022), p.34.

<sup>6</sup> European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Document Accompanying Document to the Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Concerning Measures to Safeguard Security of Gas Supply and Repealing Directive 2004/67/EC*, (Brussels: 16/07/2029), p.63, avail-

At the same time Russia was exporting 82% of its global gas exports to the EU, close to 155 bcma, while an additional 12% was also directed to other European destinations, including primarily Turkey, Ukraine, Belarus, Serbia and Switzerland. Russia's complete dependence on EU and European markets had remained effectively unchanged since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.<sup>7</sup>

By 2021, despite the Russian-Ukrainian gas crisis that completely halted Russian gas exports via Ukraine for almost three weeks in January 2009, and despite the Russian annexation of the Crimea in 2014, Russian exports in terms of absolute volumes remained surprisingly stable at 147 bcma, although they had expanded significantly in terms both of net imports and of final demand as a result of the collapse of domestic EU gas production and the failure of Europe's import diversification strategy.

At the same time the beginning of Russia's LNG exports in 2010<sup>8</sup> and its pipeline exports to China in 2020 had significantly diversified its export dependency on the EU markets and drastically curtailed its transit dependency on the Ukraine, which the Kremlin achieved through the active assistance of Germany (Nord Stream) and Turkey (Turkstream), that both considered Russian gas to be of no significant political risk other than the risk of transit via Ukraine. Berlin eliminated the Ukrainian transit risk by building, in 2011 and 2013 respectively, the first two lines of the Nord Stream pipeline system.<sup>9</sup> Ankara removed the possibility of losing access to its Russian gas imports through the construction of the two Turkstream lines in 2020 (Erdag, 2021, Mikulska, 2017, Franza, 2015).<sup>10</sup>

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able at [https://www.cep.eu/Analysen\\_KOM/KOM\\_2009\\_363\\_Sicherheit\\_der\\_Erdgasversorgung/SEC\\_2009-978.p/df](https://www.cep.eu/Analysen_KOM/KOM_2009_363_Sicherheit_der_Erdgasversorgung/SEC_2009-978.p/df), (accessed 22/04/2023).

<sup>7</sup> BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2009, (BP: 2009), p.30.

<sup>8</sup> BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2011, (BP: 2011), p.28.

<sup>9</sup> Lucas Edwards, 'Why Germany Has Learned the Wrong Lessons From History', *Foreign Policy*, available at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/12/27/germany-russia-ukraine-war-scholz-zeitenwende-history-geopolitics/>, 27/12/2022, (accessed 22/09/2023). Olga Bielkova, 'Nord Stream 2 will Test New German Government's European Solidarity', *Atlantic Council*, 30/11/2021. Andreas Heinrich, Herbert Pleines, 'Towards a Common European Energy Policy? Energy Security Debates in Poland and Germany; The Case of the Nord Stream Pipeline', in Ulrike Liebert, Anne Jenichen (eds.), *Europeanisation and Renationalisation*, (Verlag Barbara Budrich: 2019), pp.169-182.

<sup>10</sup> Anna Mikulska, (2017): 'The Changing Geopolitics of Natural Gas in the Black Sea Region', *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 11 July 2017, available at <http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/05/changing-geopolitics-natural-gas-black-sea-region/> (accessed 23/09/2023). Luca Franza, *From South Stream to Turk-Stream*, The Netherlands Institute for International Relations, Clingendael International Energy Program, 2015, available at [https://www.clingendaelenergy.com/inc/upload/files/CIEP\\_paper\\_2015-05\\_web\\_1.pdf](https://www.clingendaelenergy.com/inc/upload/files/CIEP_paper_2015-05_web_1.pdf), (accessed 21/09/2023), Erdag Ramazan, TurkStream as Russia's Last Step in Diversification, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 2021), 205-226.



In 2021, Russia exported a total of 241.3 bcma, accounting for 19.76% of global natural gas exports, the third best performance in its history. Of these 241,3 bcma, 146.7 bcma, or 60.8%, headed to the EU, with the remaining 39.2% were directed to Turkey (11.51%), China (5.45%), Japan (3.68%), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries (11.32%), and the rest of the world (7.24%). Of the abovementioned 146.7 bcma, which were absorbed by EU markets, 132 bcma were supplied to the EU via pipelines and 15.4 bcma via LNG.<sup>11</sup>

In 2021 Russian exports covered around 50% of EU imports, amounting to 40% of its final demand.<sup>12</sup> Russia's market export diversification went hand in hand with the limitation of its transit dependency on Ukraine, which Russia could not have achieved without the active support of both Germany and Turkey. Between 1992-2011 close to 100% of Russia's global gas exports was consumed within Europe, with around 80% of these exports transited through Ukraine. The sole exception was the commissioning, in 2003, of the 16 bcma capacity Blue Stream gas pipeline that directly connected Russia and Turkey across the seabed of the Black Sea. The operation of the Blue Stream pipeline, though, did not affect EU gas volumes since it was entirely dedicated to covering the needs of Turkey's domestic market.<sup>13</sup> The core of Russia's gas strategy after the annexation of Crimea, in 2014, can be summarised by (a) the acceleration of its diversification strategy in terms of accessing non-European markets -primarily in Asia- through the expansion of its LNG capacity and through the construction of pipelines to China such as the Power of Siberia line<sup>14</sup> and (b) eliminate its transit dependency on Ukraine in order to de-risk its access to its existing EU markets, primarily via Germany and secondarily via Turkey.<sup>15</sup>

Eliminating the Ukrainian transit risk for Russia would have been made possible only after the commissioning of the second Nord Stream pipeline system<sup>16</sup> that would have carried an additional 55 bcma to the EU via Germany, which was completed in

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<sup>11</sup> BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2022, (BP: 2022), pp.36-37.

<sup>12</sup> European Commission, *REPowerEU: Joint European Action for more affordable, secure and sustainable energy*, (Brussels: 08/03/2022), p.1.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.gazprom.com/projects/blue-stream/>, (accessed 23/5/2023)

<sup>14</sup> James Henderson, Tatiana Mitrova, *The Political and Commercial Dynamics of Russia's Gas Export Strategy*, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, (OIES: 2015).

<sup>15</sup> Tatiana Mitrova, Vyacheslav Kulagin, Anna Galkina, 'The transformation of Russia's Gas Export Policy in Europe', *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers - Energy* 168 (2015), pp. 30-40.

<sup>16</sup> Morena Skalamera, Andreas Goldthau, *Russia: Playing Hardball or Bidding Farewell to Europe? Debunking the Myths of Eurasia's New Geopolitics of Gas*, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, (Harvard University: 2016).

September 2021 but never operated.<sup>17</sup> Despite the non-commissioning of the Nord Stream 2 system, by the time Russian tanks rolled into Ukraine, in February 2022, Russia had nearly completely bypassed Ukraine on its way to EU markets, while completely securing its Turkish-bound exports from the potential cutoff of the Ukrainian route.

In 2011 the first pipeline of the Nord Stream 1 system of pipelines removed from Kiev's control 27,5 bcm, the near totality of Germany's Russian imports. By 2013 Ukraine's German bypass had doubled to 55 bcm. In 2020 the Turkstream pipeline system,<sup>18</sup> added 31 bcm to the export routes bypassing Ukraine. As a result of these bypass pipelines, Russian gas exports to the EU that still used the Ukrainian transit system were reduced to around 26.7% at the end of 2021, compared to more than 80% in 2011. The construction of these bypass pipelines, as well as the opening to China via the commissioning of the Power of Siberia 1 pipeline in 2021, which will transport up to 48 bcm to China by the end of 2026,<sup>19</sup> were state-run and state-financed strategic undertakings that aspired to consolidate not only Russia's geopolitical clout vis-à-vis Ukraine and the EU, but to also secure the longevity of the crucial economic 'dividends' the Russian government collected through the international competitiveness of its hydrocarbons industry.

According to data from the Russian Ministry of Finance, the primarily state-owned Russian oil and gas industry generated -between 2011-2020- around 43% of the country's budgetary revenues, with oil and oil products exports accounting for 80%-85% of the income the Russian state collected from the taxation of its oil and gas industry<sup>20</sup> In 2021, thanks to high oil and gas prices, Russian state revenues expanded by 51,3% compared to the previous year, estimated at \$120 billion. The total value of these exports was estimated at close to 1/4 of a trillion USD, with oil and oil products representing 77% of these volumes and natural gas the remaining 23%, valued at \$55 billion in 2021 prices.

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<sup>17</sup> Daniel Cochis, Nord Stream 2 is Complete - What Now? *Heritage Foundation*, 10/01/2022, available at <https://www.heritage.org/europe/report/nord-stream-2-complete-what-now>, (accessed 1/3/2023).

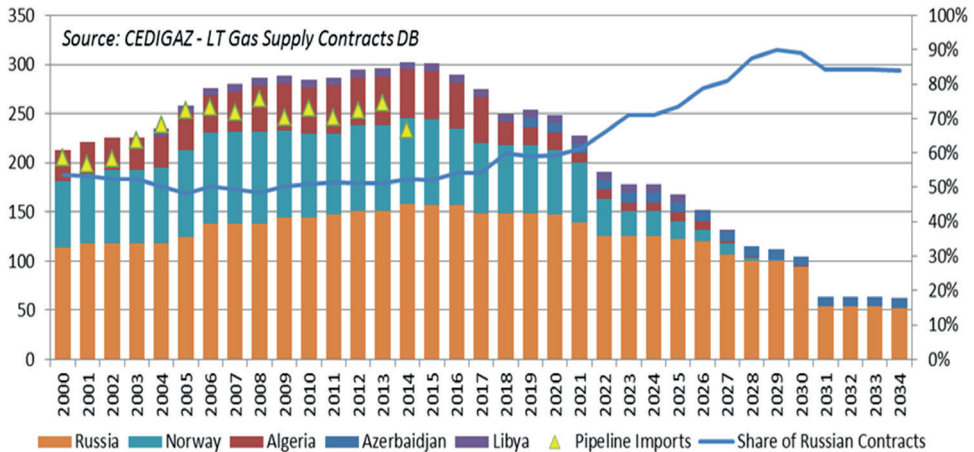
<sup>18</sup> Theodoros Tsakiris, 'The Energy Parameter of the Russian-Ukrainian-EU Impasse: Dependencies, Sanctions and the rise of Turkish Stream', *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol.15, No.2, (September 2015), 203-219.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/exclusive-russia-china-agree-30-year-gas-deal-using-new-pipeline-source-2022-02-04/>, (accessed 23/5/2023).

<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation, available at [https://minfin.gov.ru/ru/statistics/fedbud/execute/?id\\_65=80041-ezhegodnaya\\_informatsiya\\_ob\\_ishpolnenii\\_federalnogo\\_byudzhetadanny-e\\_s\\_1\\_yanvarya\\_2006\\_g](https://minfin.gov.ru/ru/statistics/fedbud/execute/?id_65=80041-ezhegodnaya_informatsiya_ob_ishpolnenii_federalnogo_byudzhetadanny-e_s_1_yanvarya_2006_g) (πρόσβαση 01/03/2023).

In 2021 the European Commission estimated Russian exports to EU-27 Member States (MS) at 155 BCM, including both pipeline (140 BCM) and LNG (15 bcm), of which around 120 BCM were linked to Take or Pay clauses estimated as high as 75%-80% of the contracted volume. This means that, even if an importer chose to not honour a theoretical 10 bcm contract which has an 80% Take-or-Pay clause, he would still have to pay for 8 bcm even if he consumed 1 bcm that particular year. These TPA clauses provide Russia with a long-term financial leverage over European importers that could extend to 2034, according to the following graph from the databank of Cedigaz, Europe’s oldest gas companies association.

Graph 1: LTC in EU Gas Supply)<sup>21</sup>



Even if EU gas consumers diversify away from Russian physical supplies, the financial burden of the LTC contracts will remain, possibly even for years after the actual physical deliveries cease, unless of course some sort of a compromise is reached regarding the unfreezing of Russian state assets held by G7 governments, that are valued at approximately \$300 billion. The contracted volumes of Gazprom’s Long-Term Contracts are estimated by 2022 to be around 100 bcma, or 2/3 of Russia’s pre-2022 exports, and are expected to drop to below 50 bcma between 2031-2035.

As is indicated above, the bulk of Russian gas exports were not circumstantial and were not traded on a short-term monthly basis. Although, as will be analysed in the next section, the EU did find extremely costly alternatives to the loss of Russian gas

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.cedigaz.org/wp-content/uploads/Evolution-of-EU28-LT-import-contracts.png>, (accessed 24/5/2023)

during 2022, these volumes were short-term LNG imports that will not be necessarily available whenever they are needed again, since they are not 'booked' on a long-term basis that is linked to a relatively predictable and stable pricing mechanism.

The pricing stability and predictability of these LTC (Long Term Contracts) that usually benefit the importer, are counter-balanced by a TPA (Take of Pay) Clause that benefits the exporter. If the EU fails to replace existing Russian LTC will alternative LTC supplies, in either LNG or pipeline form, European gas prices throughout the rest of the decade will become more volatile and more costly, while supplies will become more unpredictable, potentially destabilising supply security.<sup>22</sup> As Gergely Molnar, a senior analyst at the International Energy Agency (IEA) notes: 'Through the past two decades, long-term contracts, together with domestic production, met some 80-90 percent of EU gas demand. Non-observance of Russian-piped gas contracts steeply increased the European Union's reliance on spot procurements, rising from just 20 percent in 2021 to over 50 percent in 2023. The share of spot volumes is expected to increase to more than 70 percent by 2030. This will increase Europe's exposure to more volatile spot markets over the medium term... A higher share of long-term contracts could provide greater price and supply stability'.<sup>23</sup> As is argued in parts 4 and 5 of this paper, Cypriot gas can become part of the EU's future long-term gas supply portfolio, provided it successfully monetises the Aphrodite field by 2027.

### **3. Structural Change: The Impact of the Russian-Ukrainian War on the Russian-EU Gas Trade**

According to the EU's RepowerEU Strategy document, in 2021 the European Commission estimated Russian exports to the EU at approximately 155 bcm, of which 15 bcm were exported in the form of LNG.<sup>24</sup> The main reason behind the drastic reduction of Russian gas exports to the EU throughout 2022 was caused neither by an extensive Russian embargo on its own clients nor by a successful long-term substitution of EU imports by alternative suppliers -although this was achieved at extremely high costs through the redirection of primarily Asia-bound US LNG volumes.

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<sup>22</sup> Zlata Sergeeva, *The Ban on Long-Term Natural Gas Contracts for the European Union: A Double-Edged Sword?* King Abdullah Petroleum Studies and Research Center, March 2023, DOI: 10.30573/KS--2022-DP15

<sup>23</sup> Gergely Molnar, 'A Structural Transformation', *World Energy*, Issue 57 (July 2023), 18-23.

<sup>24</sup> European Commission, *REPowerEU: Joint European Action for More Affordable, Secure and Sustainable Energy*, (EC: 08/03/2022), p.1.

The main reason for the loss of the bulk of Russian gas exports, was the sabotage which incapacitated the Nord Stream pipeline, which is attributed to a Ukrainian paramilitary group.<sup>25</sup> The sabotage was initially attributed to Russia, but responsibility for the worst attack on a European critical infrastructure since the end of WWII is currently being assigned, by most European intelligence and investigation agencies, to an obscure Ukrainian paramilitary group without proof of any formal ties to Kiev.

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Since its invasion of Ukraine, Russia had deliberately cut its exports in violation of its own Long-Term Contracts (LTC), to only three member states, Poland, Bulgaria, and Finland, respectively in April and May 2022, claiming that these three countries did not comply with Russian Presidential Decree 172 that demanded payment for the delivery of gas supplies in roubles. With the exception of Finland, where Russia's reaction was motivated by Helsinki's petition to join NATO, in both the cases of Poland and Bulgaria Gazprom's LTC were set to expire at the end of 2022 and both governments had publicly made clear that it was not their intention to renew them *before* the Russian embargo has taken effect, on 27 April 2022.

The combined loss of Russian exports in these three cases corresponded to around 10% of Russia's 2021 pipe gas and LNG exports to the European Union.<sup>27</sup> The fundamental change in the balance of Russian-European natural gas trade resulted from Russia's decision to limit -for ostensibly technical reasons-, during July 2022, and eventually completely shut down as of 1 September 2022, the flow of gas via its main export pipeline to Germany and Central Europe. Nord Stream 1, that has a nameplate throughput capacity of 55 bcm/y (but can be extended up to 65 bcm/y), constituted the main artery securing Germany's gas imports from Gazprom.

In 2021 Russian gas exports amounted to around 1/3 of Germany's annual gas consumption of 142 bcm, according to data from the German foreign trade statistics

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<sup>25</sup> Phillip Oltermann, Lorenzo Tondo, 'Officials Believe Pro-Ukraine Group May Have Sabotaged Nord Stream', *The Guardian*, 08/03/2023, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/07/officials-believe-pro-ukraine-group-sabotage-nord-stream-pipelines>

<sup>26</sup> Adam Entous, Julian E. Barnes, Adam Goldman, 'Intelligence Suggests Pro-Ukrainian Group Sabotaged Pipelines, U.S. Officials Say', *The New York Times*, 07/03/2023, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/us/politics/nord-stream-pipeline-sabotage-ukraine.html>.

<sup>27</sup> Gazprom interrupted supplies to Bulgaria and Poland on 27 April 2022. Zosia Wanat, 'Poland and Bulgaria Start Life with No Russian Gas.', *Politico*, 27/04/2022, available at <https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-bulgaria-life-no-russia-gas/>, (accessed 30/05/2023).

office BAFA, equaling approximately 52% of all German gas imports.<sup>28</sup> Russia had been reducing gas supplies through Nord Stream 1 for a number of months. In June 2022, it cut deliveries through the pipeline by 75% -from 170m cubic metres of gas a day to roughly around 60% of its technical capacity. In July 2022, Russia shut it down for ten days, citing the need for maintenance. When it reopened, the flow was halved to around 80% of its normal capacity.

In late August 2022, it shut down Nord Stream 1 entirely, blaming problems with equipment, in particular delays in the service of the pipeline's compressor stations. The pipeline has not been open since then. Despite the fact that typically Gazprom shut down the Nord Stream 1 pipeline system for reasons of operational security after a purported oil leak was discovered in one of the serviced compressors,<sup>29</sup> the non-interruption of supply in Turkstream, which went through a similar process of maintenance in July 2022, indicates, but does not legally corroborate, a political motivation behind the Kremlin's decision to effectively stop all exports to its largest and most lucrative gas export market anywhere in the world up to that point.

From a legal point of view, the Russian ToP (Take or Pay) clauses remain relatively strong with regards to Gazprom's German contracts that could be reactivated after the leaks in NS1 are repaired and if these repairs are technically possible. From a political point of view, though, keeping Nord Stream shut effectively shields Gazprom's German clients from any ToP claims on behalf of the Russian gas company. This facilitated German diversification away from Gazprom, but that diversification for Europe's largest gas consumer, and for the EU as a whole, was neither easy nor cheap.

More importantly that diversification was temporary in nature, in the sense that it was made possible as a result of extraordinarily low Chinese demand and extraordinarily high EU gas prices that motivated the largest redirection of gas exports ever recorded. Between 2021-2022, EU lost access to around 80 bcm of Russian gas, with Russian exports accounting for merely 20% of EU gas demand in 2022, compared to 40% in 2021. Collective EU gas demand reduction measures reduced overall demand

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<sup>28</sup> Vera Eckert, Kate Abnett, 'How Dependent is Germany on Russian Gas?', *Reuters*, 08/03/2022, available at <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/how-dependent-is-germany-russian-gas-2022-03-08/> (accessed 30/5/23).

<sup>29</sup> Jan Cienski, 'Putin Shuts off EU's Nord Stream Gas Supply. Gazprom Says Equipment Has to be Taken Offline until it is Repaired', *Politico*, 02/09/2022, available at <https://www.politico.eu/article/gazprom-announces-nord-stream-stoppage/>, (accessed 30/05/2022).

from 380 to 370 bcm, and the remaining 20 bcm came primarily from Norway and, to a secondary degree, Algeria.<sup>30</sup>

US LNG exports to Europe expanded, according to the Energy Information Administration of the US Department of Energy, by 141% year-on-year in 2022, making the US the EU's third second largest exporter of natural gas after Norway and Russia. More than 65% of global US LNG exports were directed to the Europe OCED or the equivalent of 72bcm if one includes US exports to the UK and Turkey.<sup>31</sup> Neither Qatar nor Australia diverted any of their gas exports from Asia to Europe during 2022. According to Eurostat, in 2021 LNG exports to the EU recorded the highest volume, reaching more than 22 bcma, at an estimated cost of €12 billion, and during that same year EU markets absorbed 23% of total US LNG exports.<sup>32</sup> Data compiled by the International Monetary Fund indicate that, from March to December 2022, EU/European market destinations, primarily Germany and the UK, absorbed more than 2/3 of global US LNG exports as indicated by the following graph.

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<sup>30</sup> Lapo Pistelli, 'The Trade-Offs of the Energy Trilemma', *World Energy*, Issue 57 (July 2023), 12-17, 14-15.

<sup>31</sup> US Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, 'Europe was the Main Destination for US LNG Exports in 2022', 22/03/2023, available at <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=55920#>, (accessed 23/05/2023). Energy Institute, *Statistical Review of World Energy 2023*, (Energy Institute: London 28/06/2023).

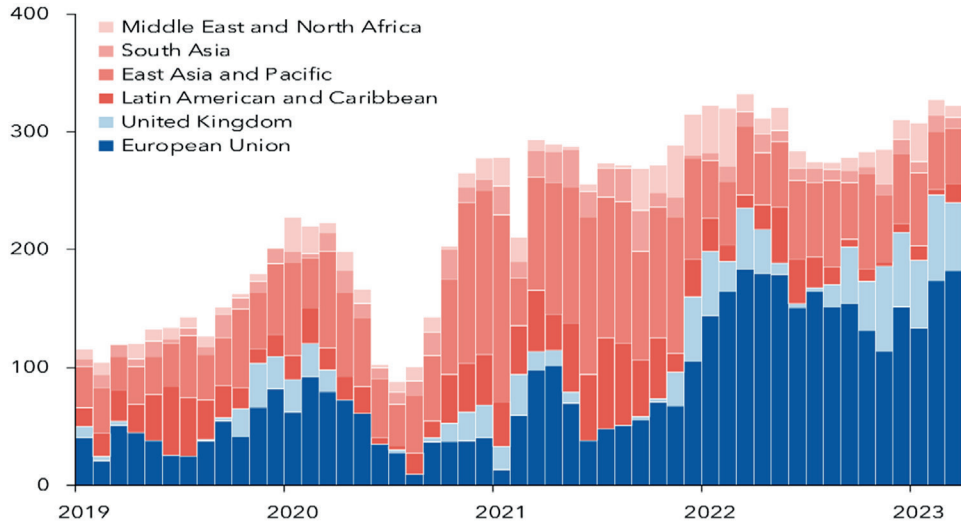
<sup>32</sup> European Commission, *EU-US LNG Trade*, (Brussels: February 2022), available at [https://energy.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-02/EU-US\\_LNG%20trade\\_2022.pdf](https://energy.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-02/EU-US_LNG%20trade_2022.pdf).

Graph 2: US Global LNG Exports by Final Destination <sup>33</sup>

### Substitution amid war

Europe consumed most of US natural gas exports last year.

#### US seaborne LNG exports by destination (million cubic meters per day)



Sources: Kpler; U.S. Energy Information Administration; and IMF staff calculations.  
Note: Last data point is March 2023. Recent data are provisional.



By the end of 2022, the value of EU-bound US LNG exports is estimated to have surpassed \$40 billion, nearly four times the value of 2021. Most of these US exports were the result of short-term redirection of preexisting U.S. Long-Term Contracts that were primarily bound for Asian markets and found their way to the EU as a result of unprecedentedly low Chinese demand and unprecedentedly high EU gas prices that reached an all-time peak of approximately €340/MWh on 26 August 2022, a price tantamount to approximately \$580/barrel.<sup>34</sup> It is indicative of the market panic conditions in the EU gas market that the main index of EU gas prices, the Dutch-

<sup>33</sup> Rachel Brasier, Andrea Pescatori, Martin Stuermer, 'How Natural Gas Market Integration Can Help Increase Energy Security', *International Monetary Fund*, (Washington DC: 23/05/2023) available at <https://www.imf.org/en/Blogs/Articles/2023/05/23/how-natural-gas-market-integration-can-help-increase-energy-security> (accessed 29/09/2023).

<sup>34</sup> David Sheppard, 'European Gas Traders Dare to Dream Prices Have Peaked', *Financial Times*, 16/09/2022.



based TTF,<sup>35</sup> traded on average throughout 2022 at a premium of \$6/mbtu (million british thermal Unit), an unprecedented increase compared to 2021, when the average Asian benchmark gas price index, the JKM (Japan Korea Marker), traded at 18,6\$/Mbtu or \$2,5/mbtu higher than the TTF<sup>36</sup>. If China had not been under severe economic restrictions as a result of the draconian anti-COVID measures introduced by its government throughout 2022, these US volumes would not have been available,<sup>37</sup> and even if some of these volumes had become available, they would have been available at even more exorbitantly high prices.<sup>38</sup> Chinese LNG imports in 2022 fell by 20%, a reduction of 22 bcm<sup>39</sup> that accounted for half of total EU LNG imports during that same year. As Molnar notes, ‘the unprecedented 20% drop in Chinese LNG imports was a key factor in enabling more LNG shipments to reach the European markets’.<sup>40</sup>

Given the fact that the share of Chinese LTC will amount to around 25% of the entire future LNG market by 2030 (from just 12% in 2021), next time the Europeans need spot LNG supplies in order to reduce their remaining Russian imports, these supplies may simply not be available. The fact that almost 50% of all EU gas supply contracts, compared to 20% in 2021, were spot market transactions valid -in most cases- for no longer than 30 days, does not augur well for Europe’s price stability and supply security, a recent study by the European Central Bank concluded.<sup>41</sup>

The gap created by the disappearance of more than 80 bcma of Russian gas from EU markets in 2022, in combination with the RepowerEU objective to eliminate the remaining 40-50bcm of Russian gas still flowing to the EU in 2023, result in an urgent need to replace Russian exports through -inter alia- new Long-Term Contracts, in order to decrease pricing volatility and supply unpredictability. As we will examine in chapter 4, the Republic of Cyprus has the reserve basis to partially cover that

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<sup>35</sup> Molnar, (no24) p.22..

<sup>36</sup> BP (no 11, p.33).

<sup>37</sup> Gabriel Di Bella, Mark Flanagan, Karim Foda, Svitlana Maslova, Alex Pienkowski, Martin Stuermer and Frederik Toscani, *Natural Gas in Europe: The Potential Impact of Disruptions to Supply*, IMF Working Paper. 22/145, (July 2022), p.16.

<sup>38</sup> Sofia Nicolai, ‘The Limits of Using US LNG to Save the EU’, *European Union Institute*, 01/10/2022, available at <https://fsr.eui.eu/the-limits-of-us-lng-to-save-the-eu-this-winter-not-enough-infrast-uctures-and-a-tricky-global-lng-price/> (accessed 28/05/20223)

<sup>39</sup> BP (no 11, p. 34)

<sup>40</sup> Molnar (no 23, p. 22).

<sup>41</sup> Jakob Feveile Adolfsen, Marie-Sophie Lappe and Ana-Simona Manu, “Global risks to the EU natural gas market”, *ECB Economic Bulletin*, January 2023, [https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/economic-bulletin/focus/2023/html/ecb.Ebbox202301\\_01~6395aa7fc0.en.html](https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/economic-bulletin/focus/2023/html/ecb.Ebbox202301_01~6395aa7fc0.en.html), (accessed 22/05/2023)

EU need, provided it overcomes a series of obstacles that have been compounded by almost a decade of delays in the monetisation of its natural gas assets, many of which face the real danger of becoming stranded. Better placed suppliers within the East Med region, such as Israel and particularly Egypt, who already exports significant LNG volumes (11,2 bcma in 2022 out of a combined liquefaction capacity of 17 bcma), to Europe,<sup>42</sup> in combination with the additional expansion in US and Qatari LNG supplies by 2027, are most likely to eclipse any potential market space for future Cypriot gas exports to the EU if these exports arrive two or three years after 2027. According to the US Energy Information Administration, by the end of 2024, U.S. LNG nominal liquefaction capacity will increase to 14.1 Billion cubic feet per day (Bcf/d) and peak capacity to 17.0 Bcf/d across the nine U.S. LNG export facilities, with three new export terminals being commissioned by December 2024.<sup>43</sup> This corresponds to an increase of 33% in terms of nominal capacity, which corresponds to approximately 33 bcma of additional exports that could be locked into LTC, compared to a total US LNG exports of 104,7 bcm in 2022 (Energy Institute, 2023, 39). Additional expansion will further increase the total US liquefaction capacity to 158,4 Million Tonnes per Annum (MTPA) by December 2027, or 221 bcm, almost 116 bcm more than 2022 (Borges, 2023).<sup>44</sup>

The USA is not alone in this rush for global LNG liquefaction expansion. Qatar, which has almost twice as much confirmed natural gas reserves than the USA and was the world's leading LNG exporter in 2022 with total exports of 114 bcm, also has very ambitious plans. By the end of 2027, Doha plans to expand Qatar's LNG production by about 64% to 126 mtpa from about 77 mtpa currently, through the North Field East and the North Field South expansions. This will add around 68bcm to the global markets.<sup>45</sup> By 2027 Qatar and USA alone will add around 184 bcma of LNG exports above and beyond their current capacities. Even if there is no other LNG liquefaction expansion anywhere else in the world, which is impossible, US and

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<sup>42</sup> Pierpaolo Raimondi, "Mare Nostrum", *World Energy*, Issue 57, (July 2023), 56-61

<sup>43</sup> US Energy Information Administration, U.S. LNG exports will increase next year as two export terminals come online, 13/07/2023, <https://www.eia.gov/outlooks/steo/report/BTL/2023/07-LNG/article.php>, (accessed 5/10/23)

<sup>44</sup> Molly Borges, "US to lead global ILNG liquefaction capacity additions through 2027", *GasWorld*, 15/08/2023, <https://www.gasworld.com/story/us-to-lead-global-lng-liquefaction-capacity-additions-through-2027/>, (accessed 6/10/23).

<sup>45</sup> Faiza Rizvi, "Inside Qatar's multi-billion LNG expansion", *Oil & Gas Middle East*, 03/07/2023, (accessed 04/10/2023), <https://www.oilandgasmiddleeast.com/news/inside-qatars-multi-billion-lng-expansion>

Qatari volumes are more than enough to meet the RepowerEU objective, even if only half of these volumes are eventually destined for EU markets in the form of LTC commitments. Can Cypriot gas compete with this expected expansion if it does not arrive at EU markets by 2027? If the current deadlock continues, the answer is simply no.

#### **4. Evaluating the Reserves of the Cyprus EEZ from the Aphrodite to the Zeus Discoveries (2011-2022)**

The attempts of the Republic of Cyprus to explore and exploit its hydrocarbon potential goes back to the first exploratory drilling (A-1) on the Aphrodite prospect, which was completed in December 2011 and resulted in an estimate of 7-10 TCF (Trillion Cubic Feet) of *in situ* reserves. The success of the initial drilling followed three years of unprecedented discoveries for Noble, Delek, and Avner in the Israeli Exclusive Economic Zone, that included Tamar and Leviathan, respectively, in January 2009 and December 2010. The initial enthusiasm of 2011 was somewhat dampened by the results of Aphrodite's first appraisal drilling, that indicated the existence of a smaller potential reserve estimated between 5 and 8 TCF. Despite the lower reserve estimate, the field's operator, Noble Energy, declared Aphrodite a commercially exploitable reserve in 2014 and announced a reserve estimate of 4,4 TCF.<sup>46</sup>

Between 2013 and until 2019, a series of political and geopolitical developments, including a string, between 2014-2015, of three unsuccessful exploration wells by ENI in Block 9 and by Total in Block 11, threatened to terminate the Cypriot hydrocarbons exploration program. In December 2014, the hopes of a major discovery on the Onasagoras prospect in Block 9 were dashed when the ENI/Kogas exploration came up with a dry hole, in late January 2015 Total announced that it had not found enough evidence to support the cost of drilling an exploratory well in Block 10, where Exxon would discover Glaukos four years later. Moreover, ENI's second drilling on Block 9, the Amathousa well, also ended in failure in March 2015, leading to the effective withdrawal of ENI from the Cypriot EEZ until February 2018.<sup>47</sup>

ENI's withdrawal stopped all exploratory activities in the Cypriot EEZ and coincided with the election of Mr. Akinci in the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community and the restart of the intercommunal talks, in April 2015, but there was never a direct causal link established between the two developments, although no timetable

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<sup>46</sup> Sharon Wrobel, "Israel's NewMed and partners to connect the Aphrodite gas field off Cyprus to Egypt?" *The Times of Israel*, (Jerusalem 31/05/2023).

<sup>47</sup> Theodoros Tsakiris, "Cyprus's natural gas strategy: Geopolitical and economic preconditions" 2017, 28 (1), *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 29-57

for the return of ENI was announced for Block 9, which has yet to be drilled even after eight years. When ENI did attempt to drill on Block 3, in February 2018, the Italian major oil company and Nicosia were entirely unprepared for the entirely predictable Turkish reaction that led to the cancellation of the so-called ‘Jellyfish’ well and the essential freezing of all exploration activities in the northern part of the demarcated Cyprus EEZ to this day.<sup>48</sup> Although the 2018 incident hindered further upstream activities in the northern blocks of the demarcated Cypriot EEZ, it did not paralyse exploration activities further south, where the second major Cypriot gas field, Glaukos, was eventually discovered in March 2019.

Had it not been for the discovery of Zohr, in August 2015, Cyprus’ offshore exploration efforts might have ended in abject failure regardless of what Turkey was able or prepared to do to stop it. By the admission of former Cypriot Energy Minister George Lakkotrypis,<sup>49</sup> it was Zohr’s discovery that re-galvanised the interest of the International Oil Companies (IOC) in the Cypriot EEZ. Total remained in Block 11 and drilled another unsuccessful exploratory well in the Onisiforos target, in September 2017. The results were disappointing in that the 11,2 billion cubic meters (bcm) discovery could not be autonomously developed, but they confirmed the existence of hydrocarbon reserves to the north of the Zohr discovery. In April 2017, during its third licensing round, the RoC tendered Block 8 to ENI, Block 6 to ENI/Total and Block 10 to a consortium made up from Exxon and Qatar Petroleum where Exxon is the operator controlling 60% of the consortium’s shares.

Despite Turkey’s claims that the northern parts of Blocks 6 and 7 ‘belong’ to its continental shelf and its warnings to the license holders that it would stop their drillings by force (a threat it eventually carried out against ENI in August 2018), ENI and Total drilled on the southern part of Block 6 in January 2018. Their drilling led to the discovery of the Calypso prospect, which is believed to be extending to Block 7. There has been no official announcements regarding the size of Calypso, but it is believed to be -if confined to Block 6- a non-commercially exploitable reserve.

In December 2018, exploration rights over Block 7 were awarded to the Total/ENI consortium, opening the way for a new drilling campaign originally scheduled for 2020, that could have ascertained the size and potential extractability of the Ca-

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<sup>48</sup> Marika Karagianni & Andreas Stergiou, *Does Energy Cause Ethnic War? East Mediterranean and Caspian Sea Natural Gas and Regional Conflicts*, (Cambridge:Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 2019,

<sup>49</sup> Michalis Kambas, “Cyprus gas search spurred on by Egypt find, says Cypriot minister”, Reuters, 12/05/2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cyprus-energy-minister-idUSKBN1881XC> , (accessed 02/06/2023)

lypsos field, had it not been postponed due to the delays imposed on all economic activities by the COVID-19 pandemic. As of late 2023, no drilling in Block 7 has taken place or is scheduled to take place, a considerably negative development.

In November 2018, Exxon commenced drilling operations on its first of three targets in Block 10. Its first well, in Delphini, completed in January 2019, was dry, but the second target (Glaukos) resulted in the RoC's second major discovery at a water depth of 2km (2.063m). Glaukos' initial reserves estimate is between 5-8 TCF (or 142-227 billion cubic meters) of *in situ* reserves. The Glaukos discovery is quite significant, not only because it proves the hypothesis that Zhor-type fields exist inside the Cypriot EEZ, thereby providing impetus for further exploration, particularly in Blocks 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, but also because it can more than double the net export capacity of the RoC, provided the appraisal well confirms even the lowest range estimate of circa 5 TCF.<sup>50</sup>

Although the results of the appraisal well Exxon completed in Glaukos, back in February 2022, have not been announced, thereby feeding speculation that the reserve may even be smaller than 5 TCF,<sup>51</sup> the discovery of Glaukos did incentivise additional exploration that resulted in new discoveries which expanded the RoC's potential reserves basis. In August 2022, ENI/Total announced the discovery of a small 2,5 TCF prospective field in Block 6 called Cronos-1 (Saturn), which was followed, in December of that same year, by another discovery in the Zeus-1 location again in Block 6, that is estimated to contain 2-3 TCF.

These discoveries confirmed existence of a system of small deposits around the seamount of Eratosthenes, which are similar in geological origin to Zor, but fall far short of the enormous size (circa 30 TCF *in situ*) of the Egyptian deposit. These western blocks' discoveries may contain anywhere between 9,5-10,5 TCF, or smaller if Glaukos is confirmed as a 5 TCF reserves.<sup>52</sup> If the Aphrodite field is indeed confirmed as a 4,4 TCF and Glaukos at 5 TCF, then the combined reserves of the Cypriot EEZ may rise to around 13.9-14,9 TCF, or 393-422 billion cubic meters, located in Block 6, 10 and 12 as indicated by the map below.

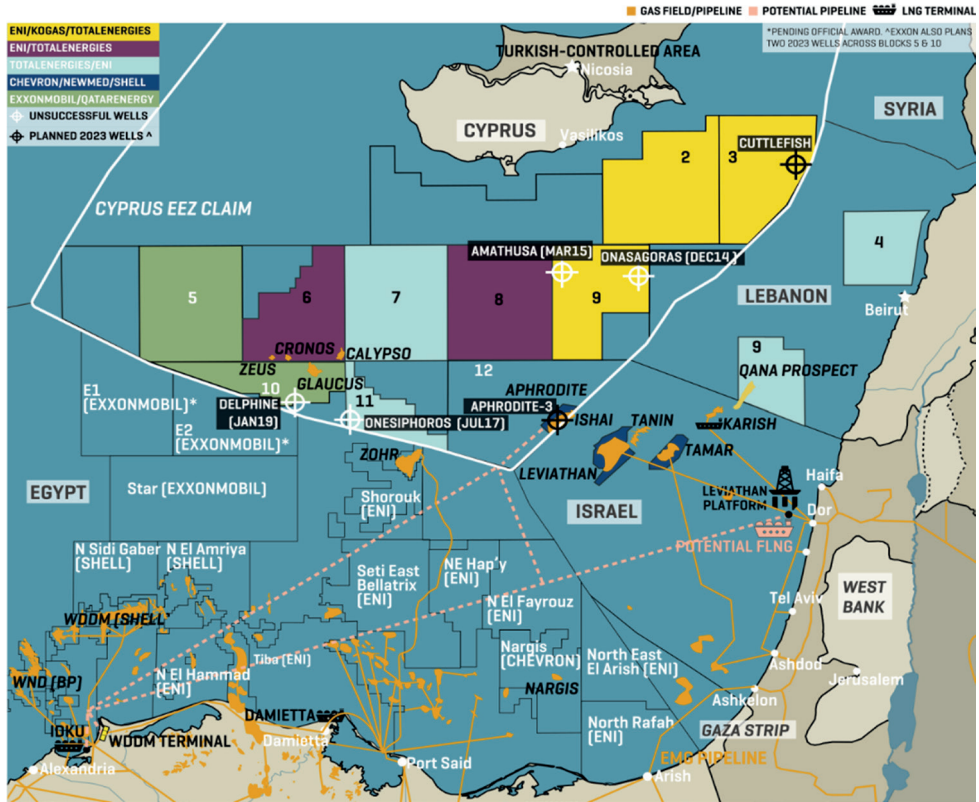
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<sup>50</sup> Simon Henderson, "Cyprus Gas Discovery Could Be an East Mediterranean Game-Changer", *Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy*, 01/03/2019, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/cyprus-gas-discovery-could-be-east-mediterranean-game-changer> (accessed 3/06/2023)

<sup>51</sup> Constantinos Tsindas, "High quality natural gas in Glaukos-2 but doubts over quantity", *Cyprus Mail*, (Nicosia 21 March 2022) <https://cyprus-mail.com/2022/03/21/evaluation-drilling-completed-at-glaukos-2-high-quality-natural-gas-found/>, (accessed 03/06/2023)

<sup>52</sup> Theodoros Tsakiris, "What does the "Zeus" discovery signify for the dynamics of energy in Southeastern Mediterranean", *Kathimerini*, (Athens, 23 December 2022).

Map 1: Active Exploration Licenses and Discoveries in the Cypriot EEZ<sup>53</sup>



## 5. Monetisation Deadlock: Persistent Development Uncertainties are ‘Impeding’ Gas Exports

The abovementioned 393-422 billion cubic meters could theoretically cover almost the entire gas demand of the European Union for more than a year, which in 2022 averaged 343 bcm, but it, too, will remain untapped at the bottom of the sea unless the new government of the RoC sworn into office in March 2023 resolves a series of inherited uncertainties. These uncertainties are compounded by the fact that the different discoveries, none of which is still fully ascertained, are scattered across three offshore blocks (Blocks 12, 10, and 6), that are too far apart to be jointly monetised.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Stevenson, “Cyprus Gas Ambitions: From Dreams To Reality In 2023?”, *Middle East Economic Survey*, (Nicosia 27 January 2023), (accessed 03/06/2023) <https://www.mees.com/2023/1/27/oil-gas/cyprus-gas-ambitions-from-dreams-to-reality-in-2023/f0154a20-9e43-11ed-b50a-fbcb54be70bc>

An additional factor of complexity is that the four (Aphrodite, Glaukos, Zeus and Cronos) principal discoveries -since the results of the Calypso drilling have never been announced- are managed by three different consortia, two of which would have to work together to develop the discoveries by taking advantage of their close geographical proximity.

This is the case for ExxonMobil & Qatar Petroleum (QP) regarding Glaukos and the Total/ENI consortium as far as the smaller Block 6 discoveries are concerned. A joint monetisation of these western EEZ discoveries is possible, with an obvious monetisation option being an export by pipeline to Egypt, but it might take years before further appraisal drilling takes place in the existing fields or before Exxon/QP and Total/ENI drill in the heretofore unexplored offshore blocks 5 and 7 that are adjacent to Blocks 6 and 10 where the aforementioned discoveries were made. Block 7 was tendered to ENI/Total in September 2019, while Exxon/QP acquired their exploration license of Block 5 in December 2021. The Western Blocks discoveries are at best three years before the approval of a Field Development Plan, but it makes sense to jointly produce and monetise them, either by building a pipeline to Egypt or pool them together to establish a reserves basis sufficient enough to justify a floating LNG facility.

*In either case, since no FID will be taken for any of these fields within 2023 and no FID will be taken unless and until all four relevant IOCs (Exxon, Qatar Petroleum, Total and ENI), agree to a common monetisation plan, production is highly unlikely to begin by the end of 2027. This essentially means that it is only through the monetisation of the Aphrodite field that the RoC can contribute to the achievement of the EU's RepowerEU strategy.* Unfortunately for the RoC, its oldest and most extensively appraised discovery for which Nicosia already approved an FDP in November 2019, is still nowhere near the beginning of its production. The current Cypriot export strategy is centered on the exportation of Aphrodite's gas to Egypt via an underwater pipeline. Yet the path of Aphrodite to Egypt is not paved with roses, but rather with thorns. Despite the fact it's been almost four years since the FDP's approval, progress on the field's development remains frozen and continues to be plagued by several uncertainties that may further delay its monetisation or even render the field stranded for the following five reasons:

(i) A final *proven* reserve estimate for Aphrodite is still not available. Although the second appraisal well was spudded in May 2023, with the results expected by late July 2023, it is important to note that the final appreciation of Aphrodite's 1P reserves will also determine its eventual exportation route. If the A-3 drill results in

a dry hole, then Aphrodite will not be developed via an independent export pipeline. It will either become a minor supplement to the development and exportation of Leviathan's second phase of production regardless of where the Leviathan Phase 2 gas eventually ends, or if it is not co-developed with Leviathan Phase 2, it would need to be pooled with other Israeli discoveries in order to become monetisable, such as the Karish North and Olympos fields developed by Energean in the Israeli EEZ.

(ii) Although both the Egyptian-Cypriot IGA of 2018 and Aphrodite's Field Development Plan approved in November 2019, recognise that Aphrodite's sole export destination is the Egyptian market, there has been no tangible progress on the signing of a gas and sales purchasing agreement (GSPA) between the developers of Aphrodite and any Egyptian importers or the companies controlling liquefaction capacity in Egypt's LNG facilities located in Idku and Damietta, despite the fact that Shell, which controls the largest liquefaction capacity in Idku, is also, since November 2015, the owner of a 35% stake in the Aphrodite field.

Without a GSPA it is impossible for the developers of Aphrodite to take the Final Investment Decision (FID) they are supposed to take, according to the terms of their exploitation license by November 2023 at the latest. If the 2023 deadline is missed due to the culpability of the license holder, then the government of Cyprus can theoretically even cancel the license and take over control of the development of the Aphrodite field. Given the complexity of Aphrodite's compartmentalised reservoirs, the government and the license holder jointly estimated that, from the date of the FID, one would still need at least 36-42 months for the first gas production, which may effectively move the expected beginning of monetisation to 2027 or even later.

In June 2020 Noble notified Nicosia that it was forced to 'readjust', in other words to delay, the timetable of operations in Cyprus as a result of the financial impact of the pandemic on its investment spending program. In less than a month after Noble's notification to Nicosia, Chevron announced an agreement with Noble to buy the Texas-based oil/gas producer in a \$13 billion takeover that was completed in October 2020.<sup>54</sup> The arrival of Chevron in the Eastern Mediterranean may eventually prove beneficial for the RoC, in the sense that Chevron has far larger financial capabilities than Noble and could easily pool Aphrodite with Leviathan Phase 2 together, but in the short-term it causes further delays in the development of the field, as Chevron

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<sup>54</sup> Chevron, "chevron announces agreement to acquire noble energy", 20/07/2020, <https://www.chevron.com/newsroom/2020/q2/chevron-acquires-noble-energy>, (accessed 12/06/2023)



went through a protracted process of internal review regarding the monetisation of the various offshore assets it acquired from Noble in Cyprus and Israel.<sup>55</sup>

Nicosia cannot afford any more delays following the results of its A-3 well. If an FID is not taken by the license holders within 2023, then it may be left without any option other than taking back the field with due compensation to the existing license holders and start the planning of its development from scratch. The replacement of Chevron, though, is likely to be such a lengthy process, that it will result in Nicosia missing EU's 2027 deadline. Although the third well was completed in July 2023, there are still, as of early November 2023, no official results of the appraisal well.

(iii) Another complicating factor is the lack of any tangible progress regarding the maturity of the offshore pipeline connecting the Aphrodite field with the Egyptian market, which has been announced as the agreed-upon monetisation option between the RoC and the Chevron-led consortium. The fact that there is no clarity in who will be the Egyptian buyer, a domestic consumer or an external LNG importer, has created severe uncertainty over the net profit either Nicosia or the Aphrodite developers could expect, thereby further and seriously complicating any FID on the field's development, which-according to the approved FDP- should begin production within 2026.<sup>56</sup> Since domestic prices in the Egyptian market could be four to five times lower than international LNG prices, the margin of profit loss/gain is quite considerable. The paradox of Aphrodite's monetisation lies in the fact that the complexity and the delays on its development persist, despite the fact that the sellers of Aphrodite's gas (Chevron, Shell, Delek) and its buyers (Shell, Egas)<sup>57</sup> in Egypt, almost identify with the potential pipeline developers (Chevron, Shell, Delek, Egas).

(iv) An additional factor of uncertainty that compounds the field's stagnation is the lack of an agreement with Israel over the potential joint monetisation of the Aphrodite field, which geologically partially extends into the Israeli EEZ and is called Yishai. This, in turn, requires the prior signing of a Common Unitisation Agreement

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<sup>55</sup> Joshua Krasna, "Chevron's Purchase of Noble Energy: Accelerating the Eastern Mediterranean's Gas Revolution?", *Moshe Dayan Center*, 07/09/2020, (accessed 12/06/2023, <https://dayan.org/content/chevrons-purchase-noble-energy-accelerating-eastern-mediterraneans-gas-revolution>).

<sup>56</sup> Offshore Energy, "Cyprus OKs Aphrodite development plan. Grants exploitation license", *Offshore Energy*, 7/11/2019, (accessed 07/06/2023), <https://www.offshore-energy.biz/cyprus-oks-aphrodite-development-plan-grants-exploitation-license/>

<sup>57</sup> El Beheira Natural Gas Liquefaction Company (EBNGL), a joint venture between Shell (35.5%), Petronas (35.5%), EGAS (12%), EGPC (12%), and Engie (now a subsidiary of Total, 5%), owns the first train of the Egyptian LNG. Whereas, the ownership of the second train is held by the Idku Natural Gas Liquefaction Company (INGL), which comprises Shell (38%), Petronas (38%), EGAS (12%), and EGPC (12%).

with Tel Aviv, that is long overdue, with negotiations ongoing since 2012. Although there appears to be a significant level of confusion over the share of the Aphrodite field claimed by the Yishai developers (Israel Opportunity Company, Eden Energy and Nammax), most estimates put the share of the volume under dispute to less than 10% of the confirmed *in situ* reserve.<sup>58</sup>

The size of the disputed reserve volume may not justify the level of the delay created as a result of the disagreement on how to resolve the dispute that blocked all progress on the issue between 2012-2021. The Cypriot government may have underestimated the resolve of the Israeli side to support the claims of the Ishai consortium, given the Israeli-Lebanese contention over a disputed maritime zone of 854km<sup>2</sup> between their respective EEZ, that remained unresolved until a compromise was reached as a result of American diplomatic arbitration, in October 2022.

In December 2019, Ehud Adiri, the Director General of the Israeli Energy Ministry, sent a stern warning to the Cypriot government, noting that ‘the State of Israel has not relinquished its share of the Aphrodite-Yishai natural gas reservoir and has no intention of doing so’, while emphasising that ‘the development and exploitation of the Aphrodite-Yishai field by the licensees of both states must not commence prior to reaching an agreement between the governments of Israel and Cyprus’.<sup>59</sup> Adiri was clearly signaling that, if Israel appeared to be making concessions to Cyprus over the division of future profits from a cross-border gas discovery, this would have set a dangerous precedent for Israel if another cross-border field was discovered along its disputed maritime EEZ with Lebanon or the Palestinian Authority in Gaza.

Despite a bilateral agreement reached in March 2021 by the two energy ministries on a dispute resolution mechanism that has currently put the responsibility for resolving the impasse at the hands of the two governments (and not an independent arbitrator), and in spite of a positive momentum created in October 2022<sup>60</sup> as a result of the successful US arbitration of the Israeli - Lebanese maritime dispute, the issue remains unresolved. Reaching a compromise on Yishai is a precondition for the Aph-

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<sup>58</sup> Financial Mirror, “Cyprus, Israel agree on formula to end Aphrodite dispute”, Financial Mirror, (Nicosia 9 March 2021), (accessed 12/06/2023), <https://www.financialmirror.com/2021/03/09/cyprus-israel-agree-on-formula-over-aphrodite-dispute/>

<sup>59</sup> Steven Elliot, “Cyprus gas field project still on despite Israeli claim: minister”, *S&P Global Platts*, 10/12/2019, <https://www.spglobal.com/platts/en/market-insights/latest-news/natural-gas/121019-cyprus-gas-field-project-still-on-despite-israeli-claim-minister>, (accessed 12/06/2023)

<sup>60</sup> Danny Zaken, “Israel, Cyprus to resolve disagreement over maritime gas field”, *Al-Monitor*, 04/10/2022, (accessed 12/06/2023), <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/09/israel-cyprus-resolve-disagreement-over-maritime-gas-field>

rodite developers' Final Investment Decision (FID). As of early November 2023, no such compromise agreement has been reached.

## 6. Breaking the Monetization Deadlock

Although Cyprus is well endowed from a resource/reserve perspective to make a major contribution to the EU's efforts to rid itself of Russian gas imports by 2027, it is not likely to be able to achieve that goal unless and until it successfully copes with the four abovementioned challenges within 2023 in order for the Aphrodite developers to take their Final Investment Decision by November 2023, as originally scheduled in the FDP Nicosia approved in November 2019. Given the fact that it needs at least three and a half years for Aphrodite to start producing, the first Cypriot gas exports from its most mature eastern field should materialize within the 3Q or 4Q of 2026, if an FID is taken within 2024.

The most important precondition, of course, for such a prospect to materialise is for Cyprus and the Aphrodite developers to secure a Long-Term GSPA (Gas Sales Purchasing Agreement) for the probably 7 bcma the field can produce *ad maxima*. Although some of that gas may end up going to the domestic Egyptian market, it is very important for Egypt to provide to both Cypriot and Israeli shippers direct access to its LNG export facilities. Otherwise, these exporters will essentially be selling not to European LNG markets but to the Egyptian markets, thereby freeing up Egyptian gas for liquefaction and exportation.

This is not a commercially sustainable strategy on the part of Israeli and Cypriot gas producers given the very high margins of profit international LNG markets would provide compared to the Egyptian domestic market. That market is essentially regulated by the Egyptian government, that imposes minimum price levels by decree.<sup>61</sup> Egypt currently enjoys an LNG export monopoly in the Eastern Mediterranean and it has used that monopoly to generate significant profits, with the value of Egyptian LNG exports expanding from \$0,456 billion in 2020 to \$3,96 billion in 2021<sup>62</sup> and over \$8,4 billion in 2022.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> (n.a.) "Prime Minister Issues Decree to Reset Natural Gas Selling Price", *Egypt Oil & Gas*, 11/10/2022, (accessed 14/06/2023), <https://egyptoil-gas.com/news/prime-minister-issues-decree-to-reset-natural-gas-selling-price/>

<sup>62</sup> (n.a.), "Egypt's Jan-April natural gas, LNG export revenues reach \$3.892 bln", *Reuters*, 31/05/2022, (accessed 14/06/2023), <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/egypts-jan-april-natural-gas-lng-export-revenues-reach-3892-bln-data-2022-05-31/>

<sup>63</sup> Mubasher, "Egypt's natural gas exports reach \$8.4bln in 2022", *Zawya*, 28/12/2022, <https://www.zawya.com/en/economy/north-africa/egypts-natural-gas-exports-reach-84bln-in-2022-srqb396i>, (ac-

This monopoly cannot continue unless Egypt provides open and direct access to these terminals for gas that is not exclusively produced in Egypt. Otherwise, both Israel and Cyprus would be forced to develop their own LNG export alternatives in order to diversify their marketing options. Such an alternative that would diversify exports for both Cyprus and Israel, has been proposed by Energean in 2022 and calls for the laying of a 215km pipeline linking the company's FPSO (Floating Production and Separation Offshore) unit located in the Israeli EEZ with a Floating LNG station permanently moored offshore the Vasilikos area in Cyprus.

The \$350 million pipeline will have a transportation capacity of around 4 bcma and could transport gas from Energean's yet untapped reserves, such as Karish North, Olympos and Athena (by 2024-2025), but could also export gas from Leviathan Phase 2 (by 2025/26) and/or Aphrodite (by 2026). Such an option would give *-ad minimum-* a negotiating leverage for Israeli and Cypriot exporters vis-à-vis Cairo and *-ad maximum-* a genuine bankable option securing export diversification to both Tel Aviv and Nicosia.<sup>64</sup>

Meeting the 2027 deadline for the start date of Aphrodite's exports, is imperative, not only because Cypriot gas may be able to replace Russian gas, particularly in south-east EU markets (i.e., the largest Long-Term gas contract Gazprom has in Greece expires in 2026). It is also imperative because taking an FID for Aphrodite within this year will signal to the developers of Cyprus' western gas discoveries, the determination of Nicosia to truly 'energize' its heretofore dormant hydrocarbon potential. This determination, if proven, will allow Nicosia to push forward for the joint monetisation of its western fields in ways that could lead to producing gas by 2028/2029.

## 7. Conclusion

The effects of the Russian-Ukrainian War have been catastrophic for the EU-Russian gas trade. Within less than a year after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the edifice of the Russian-EU energy trade has all but collapsed. The EU has imposed a total ban on Russian crude oil, oil product, and coal exports, as a combination of embargoes, boycotts and infrastructure sabotage has drastically curtailed Russian gas exports to the EU, despite the absence of formal EU sanctions against Russian gas trade. More importantly, the EU has decided, as declared in its RepowerEU strategy, to eradi-

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cessed 14/06/23)

<sup>64</sup> Iain Esau, Cyprus pipeline and LNG facility back on agenda after Israeli gas discoveries, *Upstream*, 13/04/2023, (accessed 14/06/2023), <https://www.upstreamonline.com/field-development/cyprus-pipeline-and-lng-facility-back-on-agenda-after-israeli-gas-discoveries/2-1-1435459>

cate Russian gas exports from its energy mix by 2027. The expansion of Norwegian pipeline gas and US LNG exports to the EU throughout 2022 were part of the EU's answer, but the EU has yet to secure long-term gas contracts that could effectively replace the approximately 155 billion cubic meters (bcm) that Gazprom and other Russian gas companies exported in 2021.<sup>65</sup>

In order to further diversify its gas import sources, the EU has signed a series of MoU with what EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen has called 'trustworthy suppliers',<sup>66</sup> including, in June 2022, a MoU with Egypt and Israel that has highlighted the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean as a partial long-term alternative to Russian gas. During that same year, Exxon confirmed a 2019 discovery in the Cypriot EEZ, the Glaukos field, while ENI and Total made two important discoveries in Cyprus Block 6, the Zeus and Cronos fields, thereby further expanding the Republic of Cyprus' (RoC) export potential, to approximately 14-15 TCF.

Unfortunately Cyprus' chronic failure to monetise these reserves, in combination with the comparative 'maturity' of Egyptian exports that are reaching EU markets since 2020 and the expected rise in US and Qatari exports by 2027, are seriously questioning the ability of the RoC to contribute to the replacement of Russian gas exports to Europe. If Cyprus does not succeed in taking an FID for the Aphrodite field promptly, it seriously jeopardises its chances of exporting any gas to Europe within this decade, as readier LNG suppliers will be in a position to cover the EU's need to effectively substitute Europe's Russian gas imports on a long-term basis.

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<sup>65</sup> BP (no11), 28

<sup>66</sup> Elena Sanchez Nicolas, "EU signs gas deal with Egypt's rights abusing leadership", *EU Observer*, (Brussels: 15 June 2022), <https://euobserver.com/green-economy/155231>, (accessed 24/5/2023)

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# Eleftheria Square: The Legacies and Dichotomies Woven into Nicosia's Urban Fabric

ALEX IOANNOU<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*The redesign of Eleftheria Square was imagined to be the spearhead of a new era in Nicosia's urban identity. However, the capital of Cyprus is still struggling with a complex decision-making process and a weak planning system. Rapid urban change, coupled with urban sprawl, are raising questions about the future of Nicosia, and other Cypriot cities. The aim of this paper is to position the redesign of Eleftheria Square within Nicosia's urban historical context. The paper explores the Ottoman and British approaches to the city's development, exposing how their legacies manifest in current ideologies and values about urban space. The redesign of Eleftheria Square is presented as an example of a third 'glocalised' approach, exacerbating the existing dichotomy between the Ottoman and British approaches. The article concludes by questioning Eleftheria Square's legacy and advocating for a wider discussion about what constitutes, influences and drives urban change in Nicosia.*

**Keywords:** urban design, identity, Cyprus development, British imperialism, Ottoman Cyprus

## Town Planning in Cyprus: An Outcome of Imperial Legacies

Every power that conquered Nicosia continued their mission by embedding their own beliefs within local minds –this included urban design practices which led to altering the city's structure. Post-independence governments and nationalist agendas have also partaken in the 'almost obsessive efforts to inscribe the national Self on the landscape and erase the Other' within the capital of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> This paper explores how the contemporary urban design approach taken by the Municipality of Nicosia, and by extension the government of the Republic of Cyprus, has its foundations in Ottoman and British imperial understandings of urban spaces.

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Figure 1: Architectural features and details found in Nicosia's streets, 1949

During the Ottoman period (1570–1878) Nicosia remained contained within the Venetian walls, but was to be refashioned into an Ottoman capital -‘a reimagining of Istanbul on Cyprus’.<sup>3</sup> Architecturally, the Ottomans recreated what was known to them, converting churches to mosques and adapting many of the grand Venetian buildings, still standing after the conquest, into public buildings and private elite housing (Figure 1). The capital was ‘stamped’ with koranic plaques above private and public doorways, which acted as reminders to the capital’s dwellers of the new social norms and customs expected.<sup>4</sup> The Ottomans used,

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<sup>3</sup> Colin Breen, ‘The Early Ottomanization of Urban Cyprus’ (2019) *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, Vol 53 (1), 21–37.

<sup>4</sup> Breen (2019) states that within Nicosia the Ottomans recreated ‘components perceived to be essential for a regional capital, directly mirroring the morphological characteristics of Istanbul.’ It should be noted that Ceylan İrem Gençer and Işıl Çokuğraş (2016) explain that the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century saw approaches to urban planning in Istanbul being influenced by European thinking.

deliberate architectural production and modification... to represent the new political and social norms of the... regime and its mode of governance. This constructed visual language was used extensively across both the island's urban and rural landscapes to overtly demonstrate the shift in power that had taken place.<sup>5</sup>

This 'constructed visual language' complemented the gradual assimilation taking place all over Cyprus, allowing Ottoman culture to embed itself into decision-making processes and influence longterm thinking about matters, such as urban development. Stefano Bianca describes a traditional Muslim society and its approach to urban planning decisions, once found across the Ottoman Empire, including Cyprus.<sup>6</sup>

In traditional Muslim societies, the shared values, the social consensus and the interdependence between the members of the community were strong enough to hold together the mosaic of individual decisions in a natural and flexible way. The inbuilt social constraints allowed for a certain amount of 'laissez-faire', while still producing an organic whole out of the sum of individual acts of building. There was no formal scheme which would pre-define forthcoming developments in terms of rigid and comprehensive structures... 'Planning' was thus limited to a simple act of consultation, in order to prevent possible individual infringements on the rights of neighbours and on the interest of the community. Due to the strength of customs and self-evident tacit agreements, there was no need for the explicit building codes, which are now governing the life in modern cities.<sup>7</sup>

This attitude to urban decision-making is reflected in the government structure of the Republic of Cyprus today. The following extract, from Richard Sharpley, outlines the current system of government and its approach to urban development.

Local political structures do not facilitate central control on the island. At the national level, formal structures for the implementation of policy do not exist; rather, there is a reliance on informal contact and agreement between political and industry leaders which, arguably, allows for political deals which circumvent official policy whilst also permitting conflicts of interest. At the same time,

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<sup>5</sup> Breen, C. (no 3)

<sup>6</sup> Michael Given and Marios Hadjianastas (2010) write that Cyprus was 'distinctive for its *timar*-holders staying in place rather than being rotated round different provinces, and so putting down roots in what became their own landscape...' becoming involved in local disputes and ways of increasing the 'local standing, wealth and belonging'.

<sup>7</sup> Stefano Bianca, *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2000.

a complex, multi-layered democratic system delegates a significant degree of authority to the local level. As a result, decisions regarding planning applications, infrastructural investment and development and other tourism-related activities are made by local politicians who, for electoral or other reasons, may not always make decisions in the wider regional or national interest.<sup>8</sup>

This is substantiated by Ermis Klokkaris, who states that the culture surrounding building and development in Cyprus ‘operates through acquaintances to safeguard personal interests and not the public good...’<sup>9</sup> When read alongside Stefano Bianca’s work, current attitudes towards urban development in the Republic can be likened to those during the Ottoman era. From the two extracts, three key resemblances can be ascertained, 1) informal building agreements, 2) authority of decision-making being held at a local level and 3) a national strategy which is weak or lacking.<sup>10</sup> These resemblances offer a historical precedent to current decision-making processes and can be seen as the remaining legacy of the Ottoman era.



Figure 2: Panoramic view of Nicosia, 1900

The British occupation of Cyprus (1878–1960) brought about a significant change in Nicosia’s urban structure (Figure 2). The building of Metaxas Square (now Elef-

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Sharpley, ‘Tourism, Modernisation and Development on the Island of Cyprus: Challenges and Policy Responses’ (2003) *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol.11 (2-3)

<sup>9</sup> Ermis Klokkaris, ‘Urban Planning and the Concept of the Compact City: The Cypriot Reality’, in Nikolas Patsavos, Ioannis Pissourios (eds), *The Cypriot City Paradigm: Urbanity Issues in Design and Planning*, Athens: Domes, Cyprus Architects Association, 2018, 76-95.

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that due to Cyprus being a great distance from important strategic concerns, the Ottoman Empire’s exercise of tight regulations on land was weak. Michael Given and Marios Hadjianastas (2010) offer this as a reason to why land and the administration villages on the island became hereditary to Cypriot *timar* holders.

heria Square), reoriented the capital, providing space to expand beyond the Venetian walls.<sup>11</sup> The British Empire was known for its structure and strictness regarding urban development, the existence of the 'Grand Model' is a testament to this.<sup>12</sup> The concept of a 'Grand Model' developed and evolved during the practice of British colonial rule into a strong and easily employable model which sought to create 'a sanitary/commercial/administrative space that was uniform, predictable, and manageable'.<sup>13</sup>

Strong axial and functional master planning relied on the premeditated arrangement of spaces and zones, as well as simplicity and a predetermined vision for future development. Such an approach brought about a substantial shift in the attitudes towards urban living 'where local conditions and the mentality of the population [were] completely different'.<sup>14</sup> At the time, development was led as described under Ottoman rule, and carried out by the immediate and individual requirements of the people who used a space either without a predefined plan or without consulting a map or a clear drawn up plan.

Horatio Kitchener's map of Nicosia (Figure 3) and subsequent land surveys of the whole island (published in 1885), signified the 'authority of the base map...' and its integral role to the British as a tool to 'improve' Cyprus.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, the surveys allowed the British to more effectively collect taxes.<sup>16</sup> Planning in the mid-19th century

...was essentially seen as a technical activity, exercised by government. Its reformist ambitions were captured in abstract maps, also termed master, blueprint or layout plans. These showed a detailed view of the built form of a city (an ideal end-state), which would be attained once the regulatory mechanisms introduced into government had ensured that the population and its activities had been distributed in the proper way. While planning was seen as a technical

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<sup>11</sup> The first cutting occurred in 1879 at the end of Victoria Street, at Paphos Gate. More importantly the British wanted to separate themselves from the unsanitary conditions present within the walls. Sir Garnet Wolseley in fact stated that he found Nicosia to be 'one great cess-pit into which the filth of centuries has been poured' in his 1878 journal.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*, Routledge, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> John Archer, 'Paras, Palaces, Pathogens: Frameworks for the Growth of Calcutta, 1800-1850' (2000) *City & Society*, Vol.19 (1).

<sup>14</sup> Christodoulos Demetriou, 'Nicosia Urban Area', in Geneviève Dubois-Taine (ed.), *European Cities: Insights on Outskirts – From Helsinki to Nicosia*, Vol. 4, Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Housing, PUCA, Paris, 237–66. See also, Diana Makrides, 'Nicosia Under British Rule 1878-1960' in Demetrios Michaelides (ed), *Historic Nicosia*, Rimal Publications, 2012, 329.

<sup>15</sup> Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World*, 12, New York; London: Tauris, 2008. 178.

<sup>16</sup> Makrides, D. (no 14) 331.

activity, its reformist origins helped to portray it as a normative task, driven by particular values...<sup>17</sup>

From the outset, Nicosia was to be moulded into a British model colonial space.<sup>18</sup> Spending money and time, the British set up many fundamental necessities on the island, including roads, communication links and sanitation. Values and ideologies about ‘public good’ and notions of ‘modernizing and civilizing’ formed the context within which colonial authorities decided and implemented changes to the urban environment.<sup>19</sup> Apart from material changes, the British enacted laws and policies which set about defining and instilling a Western ideology of urban development on the island. This ideology and approach remains a legacy of British rule in Cyprus and in many other ex-colonial republics.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 3: Map of Nicosia by Lord Kitchener, 1881

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<sup>17</sup> Vanessa Watson, “The Planned City Sweeps the Poor Away...”: Urban Planning and 21st Century Urbanisation’ (2019) *Progress in Planning*, Vol.72 (3) 151–193.

<sup>18</sup> According to Diana Makrides (2012) ‘Lord Salisbury, hoped that by providing in Cyprus the prototype for an efficient British-administered Ottoman territory, he would extract approval from the sultan for the British administration of Ottoman territories in “Western Asia” and thus secure a land-route to India’.

<sup>19</sup> UN-HABITAT, *Global Report on Human Settlements 2009: Planning Sustainable Cities*, London, Earthscan, 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Anthony D. King, “Exporting ‘Planning’: The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Experience’ (1997) *Urbanism Past & Present* No.5, 12-22



In the 1940s urban development was regulated by the Streets and Buildings Regulation, until the colonial government created the Department of Town Planning and Housing, led by W. Windyer Morris. In 1959 a Planning Report, known as the Morris Report, was published, which 'consisted of a series of spatial indicators and descriptions, which related to problems and conflicts, and resulted in policies and legislation aimed at the remedying of uncontrolled practice'.<sup>21</sup> After independence, the British planning law specialist Vaughan Neil was enlisted to help draw up a new Town and Country Planning Act for the island. The Act took several years to develop and faced many objections 'from development companies... and from landowners who feared that the Law would set limits to the chaotic development'.<sup>22</sup> The Act was approved in 1972, but formally enacted 18 years later, in 1990.<sup>23</sup> When enacted, there were minor revisions or updates to the town planning legislations, meaning that the Act is a remnant of British colonial law, having little to no modifications to suit the modern Republic.<sup>24</sup>

A dichotomy exists within Nicosia's urban fabric. The capital's urban decision-making process and planning laws find their routes in divergent approaches to urban development. The current urban decision-making process is greatly influenced by an Ottoman legacy of development, shaped by locally-led informal building agreements that are unconcerned with a national strategy.<sup>25</sup> The existing laws and regulations regarding urban development, upheld by municipalities and the government, maintain a legacy of British planning principles. The presence and influence of these two legacy approaches has resulted in the capital lacking a shared understanding, across all levels of society, of what sustainable and equitable urban development means. Developing a shared understanding has been hindered by the fact that, before 2004, 'planning focused more on making land use plans and planning zones with

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<sup>21</sup> Byron Ioannou, 'Post-Colonial Urban Development and Planning in Cyprus: Shifting Visions and Realities of Early Suburbia' (2016) *Urban Planning*, Vol.1 (4) 79-88.

<sup>22</sup> Konstantinos F. Ioannides 'A Brief Review of the Evolution of Planning in Cyprus from the End of World War II to the Present', in Nikolas Patsavos, Ioannis Pissourios (eds), *The Cypriot City Paradigm: Urbanity Issues in Design and Planning*, Athens: Domes, Cyprus Architects Association, 2018, 50-73.

<sup>23</sup> Department of Town Planning and Housing of Cyprus, 'History', available at [http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/tph/tph.nsf/page13\\_gr/page13\\_gr?OpenDocument](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/tph/tph.nsf/page13_gr/page13_gr?OpenDocument), (last accessed 1 June 2021).

<sup>24</sup> Demetriou, Ch. (no 14)

<sup>25</sup> It is recognised that market forces also play a large role in urban development. For various reasons, planning decisions made at a local level usually align with market interests. See Allmendinger (2009).

no transparency or accountability’ limiting public participation in decision-making processes.<sup>26</sup>

The first consolidated regional plan, the Nicosia Master Plan, was developed under the auspices of the United Nations. The Plan included the Greater Nicosia Area on the Greek Cypriot side and the Turkish Cypriot municipal area. The bicomunal plan was completed in 1984 and supported ‘a compact development model’ while rejecting a dispersed development model.<sup>27</sup> However, these were ignored, as the five Municipalities followed their own policy, leading to a dispersed model of development, exactly what the Plan had advised against. This divergence from the Plan can be explained by the fact that there ‘...is a tendency towards accommodation and rationalisation of urban sprawl... under a debatable “localism” argument of offering opportunities for strengthening the local identity of suburban Municipalities...’<sup>28</sup>

The inability to control urban sprawl and implement a regional plan for the island can be better understood when the ‘forces underpinning’ current attitudes to urban development are sited within their historical context.<sup>29</sup> This paper illustrates how desires to implement top-down urban masterplanning (British legacy) have long existed alongside Cypriot society’s decision-making processes which are grounded in social pressures and overprotected property rights (Ottoman legacy).<sup>30</sup> With no attempt to reconcile this dichotomy, future development on the island could find itself repeating mistakes that don’t benefit Cypriot society as a whole.

### **The Significance of Eleftheria Square**

When the Venetian walls of Nicosia were constructed, in 1567, the only access points were through three gates, Porta San Domenico, Porta Giuliana and Porta del Proveditore; which are now called Paphos Gate, Famagusta Gate and Kyrenia Gate, respectively (Figure 4). Following just over 300 years of Ottoman rule, when there was no expansion beyond the walls, the British set out to change this and ‘modernise’ Nicosia.<sup>31</sup> There were however,

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<sup>26</sup> Ioannou, B. (no 21)

<sup>27</sup> Ioannides, K.F. (no 22)

<sup>28</sup> Glafkos Costantinides, ‘Reasons for and Consequences of Urban Sprawl’, in Nikolas Patsavos, Ioannis Pissourios (eds), *The Cypriot City Paradigm: Urbanity Issues in Design and Planning*, Athens: Domes, Cyprus Architects Association, 2018) 118-147.

<sup>29</sup> Costantinides, G. (no 28) A significant reason given for the lack of implementation of a regional plan is the ongoing division of the island.

<sup>30</sup> Demetriou, Ch. (no 14)

<sup>31</sup> Britain made an agreement to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire for administration over the island.

...nooks and crannies both in the mind and in the city that, as if caught in a time wrap, resisted change and provided a thread of continuity from the 19th century Orient to the 20th-century West.<sup>32</sup>

A new wooden bridge was constructed shortly after 1879, spanning the moat linking Makrydromos (now Ledra Street) to the Secretariat, expanding the city limits beyond the walls. This decision provided the British with more space to build grand properties and to separate themselves from the unhygienic conditions within the city walls.



Figure 4: The 'Channel Squadron Gate' 1878 (now Famagusta Gate)

The construction of the new bridge, named Metaxas Square, altered life and movement within the walls.<sup>33</sup> The three gates became secondary entry points as the Square gained popularity, while the two straight roads that crossed the city from South to North (Ledra and Onasagorou Streets), which had been solely residential, soon be-

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<sup>32</sup> Makrides, D. (no 14)

<sup>33</sup> Metaxas was the dictator of Greece at the time who refused Mussolini's military advances. Diana Makrides (2012) writes that the municipal council renamed Serai Square to Ataturk Square to counterbalance the action.

came the main commercial arteries of the city. Until the creation of the bridge, the commercial centre had ‘consisted of a network of narrow lanes... [that] developed along a unifying axis that crossed the town from East to West, from the Famagusta to the Paphos Gate’.<sup>34</sup>

Historically the area around Faneromeni church, located within the Venetian walls, was the central gathering point for the city. However, as shifts and realignments occurred, Metaxas Square became more than a bridge, as it ‘increasingly came to be perceived as the town centre’.<sup>35</sup> The Square developed to be the main unification point between the ‘modern’ Nicosia, outside the walls, and the ‘historical’ one, within them. Metaxas Square became a meeting point for friends, a landmark for travellers, and a central point for political protests. In 1974 the Mayor of Nicosia held a public vote resulting in Metaxas Square being renamed Eleftheria Square (Freedom Square).

This choice of keeping ‘square’ in the name is a testament to the site’s role in people’s lives and as a place of community interaction. Marc Augé gives four characteristics of a square, being that it is: 1) historical; 2) imbued with human identity; 3) relational; and 4) charged with symbolic meaning.<sup>36</sup> Since its construction, until its demolition in 2012 to facilitate the new Zaha Hadid redesign, Eleftheria Square was primarily a bridge, but had adopted characteristics of a square.<sup>37</sup> As Michel de Certeau writes, squares take on a ‘second, poetic geography on top of the geography of the literal’, becoming more than a faceless, nondescript piece of the urban fabric.<sup>38</sup> Eleftheria Square was the backdrop for protests against British occupation, a space to hold large gatherings, such as regarding the coup against the government, assemblies concerning the 1974 invasion, music concerts, New Year’s Eve events, celebrations for joining the European Union and simple everyday meetings of citizens. The Square was imbued with ‘local meanings and stories... different from those intended by the

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<sup>34</sup> Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, ‘Nicosia Under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878’ in Demetrios Michaelides (ed), *Historic Nicosia* (Rimal Publications, 2012) 300.

<sup>35</sup> Makrides, D. (no 14) 337. Makrides also writes that Emile Deschamps described the tree-planted avenue beyond the wooden bridge as the Champs Elysees of Nicosia.

<sup>36</sup> Marc Augé, *Introduction à une Anthropologie de la Surmodernité*, Paris: Seuil, 1992.

<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, according to Nadia Charalambous and Christos Hadjichristos in their essay ‘A Square of a Bridge?’, one of the points of contention by those opposing the new plans saw Eleftheria Square primarily as a bridge and thought the redesign would force it ‘to behave more like a square’.

<sup>38</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1984.

higher authorities.’<sup>39</sup> Eleftheria Square was, in function a bridge, built to be a space of movement but through time it has become a place of pause.<sup>40</sup>

### **A Piecemeal Approach: Contextualising the Redesign of Eleftheria Square**

In 2005 the Nicosia Municipality and the European Union launched an international architectural competition for the redesign of Eleftheria Square. The project was co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the Republic of Cyprus and the Nicosia Municipality. Its mission was to ‘adjust the functionality and upgrade the aesthetic image of the square in such way in order to serve primarily pedestrians, as a place for relaxation, social gatherings and public venues, as well as the promotion of the Medieval Walls’.<sup>41</sup>

The winner of the architectural competition was Zaha Hadid Architects. The practice informed the public on its website that their approach to the design of Eleftheria Square ‘constitutes an “architectural intervention” – the creation of an urban plaza which forms the spearhead of a much broader and ambitious urban planning gesture. One that aspires to organize and synthesize the entire urban wall, surrounding moat and modern city fringes beyond within a unified whole’.<sup>42</sup> A bold intervention was always intended as the final outcome, with a knock-on effect of giving a designed element to the city centre (Figure 5).

The plans for Eleftheria Square were criticised as ones that could have been implemented anywhere in the world, and not tailored to the specific needs of Nicosia. In an interview with the Cypriot online newspaper *Parathyro*, Hans Stimmann expressed a concern that the winning architectural practice ‘produces sculptured buildings’, adding that ‘architects, like Zaha Hadid... are not in touch with the city they are building in’.<sup>43</sup> Stimmann’s observation was amplified when Zaha Hadid was asked about her decision not to visit Eleftheria Square before embarking on her design. She stated that ‘there was no fixed rule on this and that it depended on the project.

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<sup>39</sup> Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Walking in the Hora: “Place” and “Non-Place” in Divided Nicosia’ (1998) *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 8 (2)

<sup>40</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Nicosia Municipality, *Architectural Competition for the Redesign of Eleftheria Square and the Surrounding Area (Terms of the Architectural Competition)*, Nicosia Municipality, 2005.

<sup>42</sup> Zaha Hadid Architects, ‘Eleftheria Square’, available at <https://www.zaha-hadid.com/masterplans/eleftheria-square/> (last accessed 1 June 2021) (No longer accessible).

<sup>43</sup> Meropi Moises, ‘This is not Bilbao, this is Berlin!’ *Parathyro* (24 November 2013) 4.



Figure 5: Areal view of Eleftheria Square, 2021

- “sometimes it’s better when I don’t see it first, and when I start the project quite abstract. If I go, I might change my mind and start again”, she quipped’.<sup>44</sup>

According to the revised 2005 Nicosia Local Plan, Hadid’s design was to be integral to a planned new and exciting future for Nicosia; one fit for the European stage. The Local Plan states the desire for a ‘substantive connection of the redesign area with the planned redesign of the old GSP stadium area, and the axis extending to the Presidential Palace, with the ultimate goal of strengthening the connection between the Town within the Walls and the newer Urban Centre’.<sup>45</sup> (Figure 6) However, the plans were criticised by archaeologists and academics who warned that ‘the capital is in danger of irreparable mutilation’.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Stefanos Evripidou, ‘Hadid Defends Controversial Eleftheria Square Plans’ *Cyprus Mail*, 29 November 2008.

<sup>45</sup> Nicosia Municipality (no 41)

<sup>46</sup> Stefanos Evripidou, ‘Archaeologists Petition Mayor to Block Old City projects’, *Cyprus Mail*, 30 December 2008.

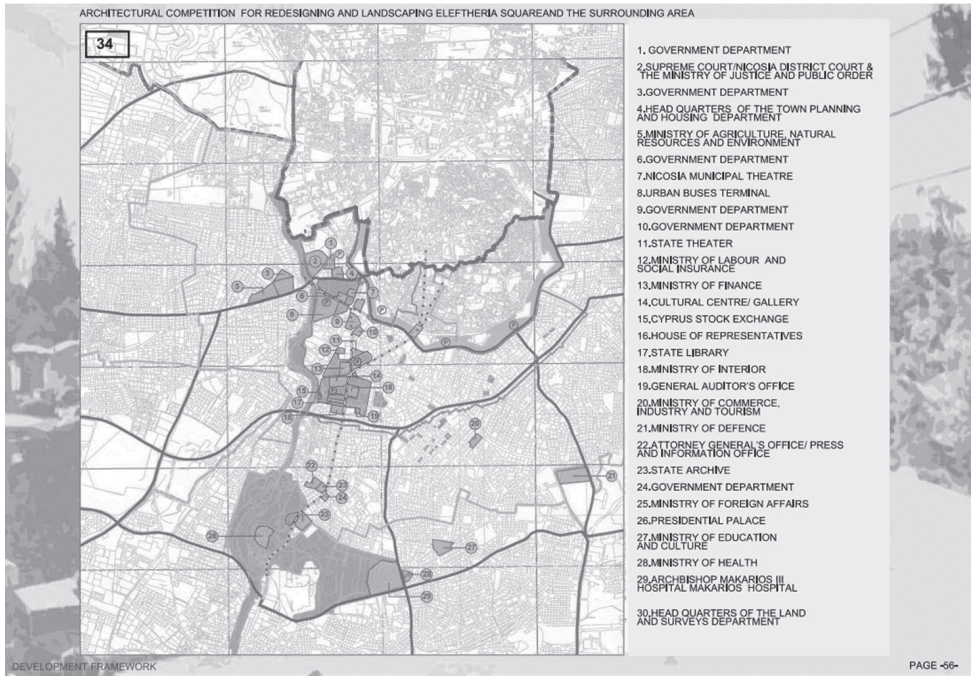


Figure 6: The 2005 revised Nicosia Local Plan.

Map showing the creation of a strong linear connection through the city, linking various green spaces and municipality buildings.

In light of a more globalised and integrated Europe, 'cities are being reshaped and urban landscapes are rapidly transformed to address economic globalization, to handle intercity competition and to meet the requirements of postmodernity'.<sup>47</sup> This intercity competition is prevalent on the island, as Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol and Paphos all seek to draw European, national and private investment. The 2005 revised Local Plan infused Nicosia's heritage with contemporary design, rendering it a commodity that can be manipulated and moulded for specific purposes. The redesign of Eleftheria Square and the ambitions of the Local Plan reveal a third approach to urban development on the island; one that promotes a contemporary 'glocalised' approach.

<sup>47</sup> Aspa Gospodini, 'Portraying, Classifying and Understanding the Emerging Landscapes in the Post-Industrial City' (2006), *Cities*, Vol.23 (5), 31.

The Local Plan set the city on a certain course, with future projects in the capital following its logic. Brian Graham gets to the heart of what is occurring in Nicosia, when he states that,

heritage is as much about forgetting as remembering the past... heritage is the contemporary use of the past, and if its meanings are defined in the present, then we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies.<sup>48</sup>

The redesigned Eleftheria Square, the ongoing redesign of the old GSP Stadium and the construction of the new Archaeological Museum of Cyprus, reveal the adoption of a larger trend that focuses on economic drivers and creates expendable spaces. The linear Local Plan, which joins together key public buildings and spaces, exemplifies what Gospodini calls the ‘high-culture epicentre’.<sup>49</sup> In the case of Nicosia, the outcome would be a disjointed capital where money is focussed on creating a ‘glocalised’ city; one which reinterprets built heritage based on present (or already redundant) demands and neglects the many other layers of the city and possibly even future needs.

The old GSP Stadium, another built heritage site, located along the Plan’s line of development, is facing a ‘radical transformation’ according to real estate developer and construction company Cyfield Group.<sup>50</sup> This transformation, however, includes a ‘spacious two-level underground parking for 570 cars’, which is one of the project’s main selling points.<sup>51</sup> Coupled with Eleftheria Square, which also boasts a new underground parking area, the urban fabric is being considered in a piecemeal way. These isolated sites may be able to provide a small and immediate solution to the capital’s car numbers, but are they contributing to a longterm and sustainable city?<sup>52</sup>

Following this trend, the redesign of Archbishop Makarios III Avenue in Nicosia, a few hundred metres away from Eletheria Square, remains another isolated project. The Regeneration of the Makarios - Stasikratous - Evagorou Commercial Triangle, a priority of the Municipality, aimed to make the commercial centre ‘competitive,

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<sup>48</sup> Brian Graham, ‘Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?’ (2012) *Urban Studies*, Vol.39, (5–6), 1003.

<sup>49</sup> Aspa Gospodini, ‘Portraying, Classifying and Understanding the Emerging Landscapes in the Post-Industrial City’ (2006), *Cities*, Vol.23 (5).

<sup>50</sup> Cyfield Group, ‘Reconstruction of Old GSP’ available at <https://www.cyfieldgroup.com/contracting/environmental/reconstruction-of-old-gsp/> (last accessed 9 February 2023).

<sup>51</sup> Cyfield Group (no 50)

<sup>52</sup> Jonathan Shkurko, ‘Cyprus Third in EU for Car Ownership’, *Cyprus Mail*, 22 September 2021.





Figure 7: A pocket park off Archbishop Makarios III Avenue, including seating, shade and water feature, 2023.

attractive and friendly to people and the environment.<sup>53</sup> The project has reduced through traffic, promoted shared space and created small pocket parks, making the Avenue accessible and pedestrian-friendly (Figure 7). However, the steady decline of the commercial area and the public's reliance on private transport led to shop owners protesting against the project, seeing it as a further detractor to customers.<sup>54</sup> Due to the Municipality's piecemeal approach, the project, and the commercial area, is suffering due to other decisions across the city. However, the project is a positive step towards local placemaking and strengthening, what Jan Gehl terms 'the human dimension' within Nicosia.<sup>55</sup>

The redesign of Eleftheria Square was imagined to be the 'spearhead' of a new era in Nicosia's urban identity.<sup>56</sup> In hindsight, Hans Stimmann might have been correct

<sup>53</sup> Nicosia Municipality, 'Ανάπλαση του Εμπορικού Τριγώνου Μακαρίου - Στασικράτους – Ευαγόρου' available at <https://www.nicosia.org.cy/el-GR/municipality/projects/completed/12074/>, (last accessed 2 November 2023).

<sup>54</sup> Gavriella, 'Makariou Shop Owners Protest Demanding a Return to Two-Way Traffic', *Philenews*, 3 December 2022.

<sup>55</sup> Jan Gehl, *Cities for People*, Washington: Island Press, 2010, 3.

<sup>56</sup> The project took many years to complete and faced a number of setbacks, due to finds uncovered by the Antiquities Department and disputes between the contractor, the municipality and Hadid's London-based architectural office.

to raise concerns about the Zaha Hadid Architects' approach and treatment of such a significant site. And maybe the warnings of 'irreparable mutilation', in light of the 2005 revised Nicosia Local Plan, ring truer today. Iraklis Achnotis warns that projects in historic urban centres aiming at exclusively cultural tourism and investment can be 'responsible for an adulteration of the history of the city [and] for the division of the local community'.<sup>57</sup> The development of the Local Plan, the selection process of an architectural firm and the redesign of Eleftheria Square, could have been moments in which the 'systematic forces' that underlie Nicosia's urban development were truly questioned.<sup>58</sup> Instead, the Municipality's ambitions introduced a third 'glocalised' approach to urban development, which is complicating the city's identity and approach to development.<sup>59</sup>

## Conclusion

A dichotomy exists within Nicosia's urban fabric. The capital's urban decision-making process and planning laws find their routes in divergent approaches to urban development. This paper argues that the 'seemingly organic operations' embedded in Cypriot society's attitudes to urban development can be identified and traced back to historic approaches taken during the Ottoman and the British rule.<sup>60</sup> The current urban decision-making process is greatly influenced by an Ottoman legacy of development, shaped by locally-led and informal building agreements that are unconcerned with a national strategy.<sup>61</sup> The existing laws and regulations regarding urban development, upheld by the government and municipalities, maintain a legacy of British planning principles. The legacies of these two approaches continue to influence the perceptions and expectations of Nicosia's development. Recognising these underlying ideologies, exploring how they have, and how they continue to influence attitudes, as well as values, is a step towards understanding the realities of current urban development.

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<sup>57</sup> Iraklis Achnotis 'Compact Urban Development and Cypriot Urban Space: The Example of the Historic City Centres', in Nikolas Patsavos, Ioannis Pissourios (eds), *The Cypriot City Paradigm: Urbanity Issues in Design and Planning*, Athens: Domes, Cyprus Architects Association, 2018, 244-271.

<sup>58</sup> Eduardo E. Lozano, *Community Design and the Culture of Cities: the Crossroad and the Wall*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

<sup>59</sup> Ruth McManus, 'Identity Crisis? Heritage Construction, Tourism and Place Marketing in Ireland', in Mark McCarthy (ed), *Ireland's Heritages*, London: Routledge, 2015, 235-250.

<sup>60</sup> Ann Bermingham, 'System, Order and Abstraction: The Politics of English Landscape Drawing around 1795' in William J. T. Mitchell (ed) *Landscape and Power*<sup>2nd ed</sup>, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002, 77-101.

<sup>61</sup> Demetriou, Ch. (no 14)



Figure 8: Screenshot from the 2022 film ‘Cyprus: Nicosia Inaugurates Eleftheria Square after EU-Funded Facelift’

This paper also argues that the redesign of Eleftheria Square has introduced a third ‘glocalised’ approach to urban development on the island. This has exacerbated the existing dichotomy between the Ottoman and British legacy approaches. The lack of an island wide plan, coupled with a weak planning system, allows municipalities (and powerful individuals/organisations) to develop and implement urban change according to their own agenda. Cyprus has a market-driven economy, an active private sector, overprotected property rights and a growing intercity competition. This has, and could lead to significant sites, such as Eleftheria Square, being reinterpreted based on a singular agenda that includes short-sighted responses to present-day needs.

Christos Passas, Design Director at Zaha Hadid Architects during the redesign of Eleftheria Square, explains that ‘the basic idea around the project lies in the fact that Nicosia has the potential and should begin to function as any other contemporary metropolis.’<sup>62</sup> The idea that the redesigning of Eleftheria Square would allow Nicosia to ‘begin to function’ and be like any other ‘contemporary metropolis’ ignores the

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<sup>62</sup> European Commission in Cyprus, ‘Cyprus: Nicosia Inaugurates Eleftheria Square after EU-Funded Facelift’, 3 January 2022, available at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4mFstxyFXE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4mFstxyFXE) (last accessed 27 October 2023).

complex historical dimension to Nicosia's urban development. With rapid ongoing urban changes across the island, it is apparent that there are deep societal and systematic challenges facing the achievement of a sustainable and equitable approach to urban development. However, Filippou Oraopoulos contends that Cypriot architecture of the city, with its historical, colonial and present-day associations is a...

...prototype anthropological field for a neo-Poetic study of desecrations of the contradictions and conflicts of the contemporary neo-liberal architecture of the city...<sup>63</sup>

This paper encourages discussions about the historical dimension of urban development, following Oraopoulos' call to understand the *poetics* of the Cypriot city.<sup>64</sup> Such discussions, about what constitutes, influences and drives urban change in Nicosia, can help increase understandings, challenge existing power dynamics and question beliefs about our urban spaces. Additionally, increasing education about urban development and engaging people in the planning process can help expand the public's expectations and imaginings of their city.

When understood within a historical narrative and alongside the contemporary realities of Nicosia's urban development, the redesign of Eleftheria Square raises the question: should it be seen as a monument to Nicosia's identity crisis? If so, can it be used as a catalyst to reflect on what constitutes a sustainable and equitable Cypriot city?

Senses of belonging are allied to attachment and love, but the country must first become known and apprehended.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Filippou Oraopoulos 'The Cypriot Architecture of the City as Contemporary Paradigm', in Nikolas Patsavos, Ioannis Pissourios (eds), *The Cypriot City Paradigm: Urbanity Issues in Design and Planning*, Athens: Domes, Cyprus Architects Association, 2018, 329-343.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> Peter Read, *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

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Figure 2: 'Panoramic view of Nicosia, 1900' Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation

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Figure 6: 'The 2005 revised Nicosia Local Plan. Map showing the creation of a strong linear connection through the city, linking various green spaces and municipality buildings.' Nicosia Municipality, *Architectural Competition for the Redesign of Eleftheria Square and the Surrounding Area (Terms of the Architectural Competition*, Nicosia Municipality, 2005.

Figure 7: 'A pocket park off Archbishop Makarios III Avenue, including seating, shade and water feature, 2023' By author.

Figure 8: 'Screenshot from the 2022 film 'Cyprus: Nicosia Inaugurates Eleftheria Square after EU-Funded Facelift' European Commission in Cyprus, 'Cyprus: Nicosia Inaugurates Eleftheria Square after EU-Funded Facelift', 3 January 2022, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4mFstxyFXE> (last accessed 27 October 2023).



# Turkey's Policy on the Cyprus Question: Strategic Goals and Negotiating Positions towards a Solution of the Cyprus Problem

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## Abstract

*The Cyprus question is an important and crucial issue for Turkey's national interests and foreign policy, connected with state security, but also with its wider hegemonic claims in the region. The efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem have been ongoing for decades, leading Turkey to design political and negotiating positions, integrated into a strategic plan, which, in case of a final solution, will secure its national interests in Cyprus. The analysis of Turkey's positions in the negotiations for resolving the Cyprus problem, as well as the identification of shaping factors and causal links, aim to determine the degree of connection with Turkey's wider strategic aspirations, not only in Cyprus, but also in the Eastern Mediterranean. Determining the strength of this connection between Turkey's political and negotiating positions and its wider strategic pursuits leads to conclusions regarding a possible resolution of the Cyprus problem.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus question, Turkey, Turkey's strategy, Cyprus, negotiations on the Cyprus problem

## Introduction

The last two decades have seen Turkey deploy an intensifying revisionist strategy in its region and continue to pursue a 'neo-Ottoman' foreign policy using interventionism as the main dogma in the relationship with its neighboring states.<sup>2</sup> Turkey's aspirations about Cyprus form part of this strategic approach. The Cyprus question occupies a prominent place in Turkey's foreign policy agenda in the Eastern Mediterranean region. It continues to be a strategic issue of critical importance for Turkey's national interests, as it is closely linked with the security priorities and the hegemonic

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<sup>2</sup> Clemens Hoffmann, 'Neo-Ottomanism, Eurasianism or Securing the Region? A Longer View on Turkey's Interventionism' (2019) 19(3) *Conflict, Security and Development* 301; Ali Emre Sucu et al., 'Transformation of Middle Powers with the Decline of World Hegemony: The Case of Turkey' (2021) 45(4) *Strategic Analysis* 307.

aspirations of the Turkish state.<sup>3</sup> Its critical nature for Turkey lies in the fact that the Turkish strategy identifies the Cyprus question with both its hegemonic claims in the region, and the wider geostrategic developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East: inter alia, the Greek-Turkish dispute; the crisis in Syria and Turkey's presence on Syrian territory; the Kurdish-Turkish conflict; the immigration issue; Turkey's relations with the Muslim world; the tightening of its relations with Russia, especially in the light of the Ukrainian war; Turkey's relation with Iran; and, the control of energy sources and energy transport pipelines.<sup>4</sup> Although Turkey's foreign policy faces a number of important and critical issues to manage, related to securing its geostrategic interests, like those noted above, the Cyprus question remains an important issue for Turkey. It represents, in combination with the other issues, a link in an interconnected chain of fulfilling its hegemonic ambitions.

At the same time, the procedures for resolving the Cyprus problem have been going on for decades –despite the long pauses in the negotiation process. Turkey plays an important role in these procedures and also significantly shapes their content. A solution to the Cyprus problem, that could emerge in the near or in the distant future, has geostrategic consequences for the Turkish national interests. It will also affect the international position –political and strategic- and the image of Turkey, mainly vis-à-vis the member states of NATO and the European Union (EU), but also the other states in the region.

Considering the gravity of the Cyprus problem for Turkey's security and strategy, and the occasionally intensifying negotiations for a solution, this article seeks to determine the causes behind Turkey's positions, and to evaluate Turkey's strategic planning with regard to its ambitions on the island. Since it is generally accepted that the Cyprus problem is dealt by Turkey in geostrategic terms and based on its national interests,<sup>5</sup> the main purpose of this analysis is to highlight the connection between Turkey's political and negotiating positions and its broader strategic aspira-

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<sup>3</sup> Philip Robins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003) 369; Ozan Örmeci, Kisacik Sina, 'Cutting the Gordian Knot: Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Cyprus During AK Party Era (2002-2020)' (2020) 1 *Studia I Analizy Nauk O Polityce* 21, 22.

<sup>4</sup> For a collection and an analysis of the contemporary issues in Turkey's foreign policy in relation with the hegemonic aspirations of the Turkish state, see Soner Cagaptay, *Erdogan's Empire: Turkey and the Politics of the Middle East* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2019); Katerina Dalacoura, 'Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Power Projection and Post-Ideological Politics' (2021) 97(4) *International Affairs* 1125.

<sup>5</sup> Semin Suvarierol, 'The Cyprus Obstacle on Turkey's Road to Membership in the European Union' (2003) 4 *Turkish Studies* 55, 56-57; Tolga Demiryol, 'Between Security and Prosperity: Turkey and the

tions. Through the process of identifying the main causes that shape Turkey's behaviour, the analysis offers an evaluation of the objectives of the Turkish strategy on the Cyprus question, as well as the plans for its implementation.

With regards to the methodology, the present work has the following perspective: Initially, the central research objective and its characteristics are defined and outlined, first, to determine the causes behind Turkey's positions on the Cyprus question and second, to evaluate Turkey's strategic planning with regards to its ambitions on the island, in the time frame of the last two decades, and in the geographical space of the island of Cyprus, and more broadly, the Eastern Mediterranean. Subsequently, the data collected through the research process are analysed and explained, within the aforementioned space and time frames, in order to fulfill the research objectives. The empirical data used for this research derive from the collection and examination of databases and studies of the recent past, and of current developments regarding Turkey's political positioning and strategic pursuits. For the collection and analysis of the data, the research method of observing primary and secondary sources, as well as previous research, is used. It includes information and data from sources as listed below. Finally, based on the analysed data, the research results and final conclusions are presented with reference to the research objectives.

For analysing the case study, the theoretical background relates to the analysis of a state's foreign policy. Namely, the identification and explanation of the causes that determine and shape it; the clarification and explanation of the complexity of the factors that affect this policy; and the complexity of issues that its implementation aims to resolve, in relation and interaction with other states in the international system.<sup>6</sup> More specifically, the theoretical background focuses on the analytical framework of the combination between the state level analysis and the systemic macro-level analysis, within which the foreign policy analysis, alongside the state's internal capabilities, accepts and integrates systemic factors that affect it and partially determine its results.<sup>7</sup> In this regard, the chosen theoretical framework helps in analysing and

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Prospect of Energy Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean' (2019) 20(3) *Turkish Studies* 442, 444-445.

<sup>6</sup> Graham T. Allison, Philip Zelikow, *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (2nd edn., first published 1971, New York: Pearson Education, 1999); Chris Alden, Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (2nd edn., first published 2011, London and New York: Routledge 2017); Valerie M. Hudson, Benjamin S. Day, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019).

<sup>7</sup> Walter Carlsnaes, 'Actors, Structures, and Foreign Policy Analysis' in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Timothy Dunne (eds) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases* (3rd edn., first published 2008, Oxford:

understanding the Turkish foreign policy on a specific field that concerns the Cyprus question, taking into account the capabilities of the Turkish state (political, military, economic, diplomatic) in combination with the macroscopic factors that affect it, such as the geostrategic developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, the acquisition of a comparative geostrategic advantage on the island, and the actions of the other states involved in this issue.

Based on the above introductory remarks framing this research –namely, the description of the object to be researched, the intended objectives of the research, the methodological clarifications, and the theoretical framework– henceforth, the article has the following structure: First, it highlights and justifies the seriousness of the Cyprus question for Turkey’s national interests, laying the foundations for understanding the Turkish strategy on this issue. Second, it examines the geostrategic environment in which the Turkish strategy is deployed, focusing on the geostrategic aspects of the Cyprus question. The third part consists of the presentation and analysis of the negotiation practices implemented by Turkey via the Turkish Cypriot (T/C) community, in light of their connection with Turkey’s strategic objectives. The ultimate purpose of this analysis is to examine the strength of the connection between Turkey’s negotiating positions and its strategic pursuits in the Cyprus conflict. The final part highlights the strategic difficulties for Turkey, as well as the dilemmas for the Turkish state resulting from the absence of a solution to the Cyprus problem. This analysis helps to illustrate future trends in the Turkish strategy on the Cyprus question.

### **Strategic Features of the Cyprus Question and the Turkish Strategy**

Turkey’s foreign policy in the last two decades, under the rule of Justice and Development Party (AKP), systematically works towards the rearrangement and strengthening of its power, in all sectors. Ultimately, Turkey’s goals are, to obtain an autonomy of actions and to emerge as a hegemonic power in the region; its involvement in issues in its wider region as a problem-solving state; to promote Davutoğlu’s zero problems with neighbours policy; and, the renegotiation of its relations with the West and its participation in the NATO, under conditions that serve Turkey’s interests.<sup>8</sup>

The Cyprus question, as well as the process of its management, could be included in the wider frame of Turkey’s foreign policy. The Cyprus question significantly concerns Turkey’s foreign policy and is linked to its geostrategic aspirations. The

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Oxford University Press 2016) 113; Hudson, Day (no 6) 169-188.

<sup>8</sup> Lars Haugom, ‘Turkish Foreign Policy under Erdogan: A Change in International Orientation?’ (2019) 38(3) *Comparative Strategy* 206.

Cyprus question remains in its essence a geostrategic issue, while the geostrategic value of the island of Cyprus is very important for Turkey's national interests, having even regional ramifications.<sup>9</sup> After all, as early as the 1950s, the Kemalist Nihat Erim, advisor to the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, had pointed out the geostrategic importance of Cyprus for Turkey.<sup>10</sup> In contemporary terms, the geostrategic importance of Cyprus for the Turkish national strategy is most clearly defined by the former Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu who notes: 'Even if there was not a Muslim Turk there [in Cyprus], Turkey had to maintain a Cypriot issue [...] Turkey is obliged from a strategic point of view to be interested in Cyprus beyond the human factor'.<sup>11</sup>

Given the geostrategic importance that the Cyprus question has for Turkey, the analysis in this section highlights and evaluates the strategic factors and the aspirations of the Turkish side on this issue. This process will help to understand the political positions expressed by Turkey in the negotiations, which are in accordance with its wider strategic planning, as this research will demonstrate.

Turkey's strategic plans for Cyprus relate to its bigger objective, which is the complete control of the island. While Cyprus has always been important for Turkey for several reasons<sup>12</sup>, Turkey's control of Cyprus ensures the security of the Turkish state and makes it an important state actor in the Eastern Mediterranean, and, by extension, also in the Middle East.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, by controlling Cyprus, Turkey would gain a comparative advantage against Greece, ensure control over sea lanes, have the possibility to claim benefits from the exploitation of hydrocarbons in the Cypriot Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), and, at the same time, become a strong player on

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<sup>9</sup> Fatih Mehmet Sayin, 'Solution of the Cyprus Problem and Turkish Position' (2008) 24 *Journal of Qafqaz University* 53; Altuğ Günel, 'What Does Turkey Want from Cyprus?' in Michális S. Michael, Yücel Vural (eds), *Cyprus and the Roadmap for Peace: A Critical Interrogation of the Conflict* (Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2018) 47; Örmeci, Kisacik (no 3).

<sup>10</sup> Nihat Erim, 'Reminiscences on Cyprus - Nihat Erim' (1974) 4(2-3) *Foreign Policy: A Quarterly Journal of the Foreign Policy Institute in Ankara* 7.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, *The Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position (Το Στρατηγικό Βάθος: Η Διεθνής Θέση της Τουρκίας)* (Athens: Piotita, 2010) 279 (in Greek).

<sup>12</sup> Hüseyin Işıksal, 'The Four Stages of Turkish Position in Cyprus: The Elements of Continuity and Change' in Hüseyin Işıksal, Ozan Örmeci (eds), *Turkish Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015) 297, 297-298.

<sup>13</sup> Evaghoras L. Evaghorou, 'Energy Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean Region and Geostrategic Implications on the Cyprus Issue' (2020) 13(1) *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* 109, 113.

energy issues.<sup>14</sup> The causes behind the control of Cyprus by Turkey also determine the Turkish aggression against the Republic of Cyprus (RoC), which takes various forms. The main expressions of Turkish aggression against the RoC are the deployment of Turkish officials for the integration of the occupied territories into Turkey; the systematic violations of the Cypriot EEZ; the deterioration of the character of the occupied territories by the systematic and ongoing settlement and a campaign of intense Islamisation;<sup>15</sup> the frequent violation of the ceasefire line regime by expansion into the buffer zone; the settlement of Varosha; the direction of immigration flows from third countries to the island; and, the non-recognition of the RoC. Additionally, and in relation to Greece, which Turkey considers as a regional competitor especially in the case of Cyprus, the deepest reasons for Turkey's strategic interest in the island are: (a) the geographical position of Cyprus, which is extremely important for Turkey due to state security reasons;<sup>16</sup> (b) the potential of blocking Turkey's access to the open sea if Cyprus passes under complete Greek control;<sup>17</sup> and (c) Turkey's fear of the fact that Greek supremacy on the island, due to the majority population of Greek Cypriots (G/C), strengthens the aspirations of the Greek side for full Hellenisation of the island.<sup>18</sup> Based on the Turkish perspective for the importance of Cyprus, it is evident that Turkey will hardly give up its achievements on the island, as these are directly intertwined with its national aspirations. According to the Turkish perspective, a possible solution of the Cyprus problem should cover its geostrategic priorities mentioned above, and provide safeguards for its strategic concerns.

The strategic balance of power, which was formed in the last decades and remains unchanged until today, shows that Turkey has a military advantage in Cyprus.<sup>19</sup> The

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<sup>14</sup> James Leigh, Predrag Vukovic, 'A Geopolitics of Cyprus' (December 2011) 15(4) *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs)* 59; Emre İşeri, Ahmet Çağrı Bartan, 'Turkey's Geostrategic Vision and Energy Concerns in the Eastern Mediterranean Security Architecture: A View from Ankara' in Zenonas Tziarras (ed.), *The New Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean: Trilateral Partnerships and Regional Security* (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2019) 111.

<sup>15</sup> Dilek Latif, 'Beyond Secular? AKP's Religious Policies and Societal Polarization in North Cyprus' (2021) 22(5) *Turkish Studies* 801.

<sup>16</sup> Günel (no 9).

<sup>17</sup> Işıl Kazan, 'Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, Seen from Turkey' in Thomas Diez (ed.), *The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict Postmodern Union* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002) 54.

<sup>18</sup> Mustafa Aydın, *Turkish Foreign Policy: Framework and Analysis* (Ankara: Center for Strategic Studies, 2004) 67.

<sup>19</sup> Michalis Kontos, George Bitsis, 'Power Games in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus: The Trouble with Turkey's Coercive Diplomacy' (2018) 30(1) *Cyprus Review* 51, 52.



presence of approximately 40,000 Turkish soldiers and excessive, compared to that of the G/C, military equipment, with particular emphasis on air and naval advantages, as well as the fact that Cyprus is geographically closer to Turkey, favour the initiative for military movements by the Turkish side. Also, the possibility of a new Turkish military operation on the island cannot be ruled out, as Turkey's political objective for the international recognition of the partition of Cyprus through the recognition of the pseudo-state (or so-called state) in the northern part of the island has not yet been achieved, nor has a solution been reached that would solidify its gains from the 1974 invasion of Cyprus. A new military initiative by Turkey in Cyprus, if operationally successful, will ensure full control of the island. On the other hand, the possibility of military actions by Turkey is difficult to materialise due to the high political cost for Turkey, despite the Turkish perception that the politics of weapons is fruitful in this strategy, especially in Cyprus.<sup>20</sup> The obvious difficulties relate to the fact that a new military operation would provoke a military reaction by Greece, as an ally of the RoC, but also the political reaction of other states in the region, as well as the great powers, including the United Kingdom, which is also a guarantor power of the RoC. At the same time, it should be noted that such an action would have adverse effects on the image of Turkey vis-à-vis other states in the region and EU member states, since the RoC is a member state of the EU. It would also affect developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, with adjustments in the correlation of power causing the reaction of others states in the region.

Additionally, and regarding the strategic facts and their effects on the negotiations for a resolution, it should be noted that the illegal declaration, on 15 November 1983, of the independence of the so-called 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' ('TRNC') is recognised only by Turkey and is accompanied by a permanent Turkish pursuit of international recognition of the illegal under international law, unrecognised entity of the 'TRNC' as an independent state. At the same time, Turkey carries the burden of maintaining the occupied territories, providing the necessary financial assistance to the T/C community.<sup>21</sup> As Ankara maintains strong economic, political, social and

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<sup>20</sup> Evaghoras L. Evaghorou, 'An Offensive Realism Approach: Turkey as a Regional Power' in Akis Kalaitzidis (ed.), *Global Politics in the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century* (Athens: ATINER, 2009) 227, 239.

<sup>21</sup> Przemysław Osiewicz, 'Turkey and Its Position on the Cyprus Question Since 1974' (2013) 7 *Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej* 117, 120; Hasan Özertem, *Back to 'the Tradition': Turkey's Changing Position from a Federal to a Two-State Solution to the Cyprus Conflict*, Notes de l'Ifri (Paris: The French Institute of International Relations - Ifri, July 2021) 11-13.

cultural ties with the T/C, providing them with all kinds of assistance, it also maintains full hegemonic control over the occupied territories in Northern Cyprus.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, all actions by Turkey to strengthen its connection with the occupied territories aim at consolidating the occupation and maximising Turkey's influence and control over Cyprus. Part of these efforts is the continuous settlement of the occupied areas, changing the composition of the population, as well as the Islamisation of the occupied areas with an intense religionisation of the population and their social life, which in fact worries the T/C community itself.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, in juxtaposition with Turkey's strategic advantage on the island, the strategic limitations which undermine Turkey's strategic aspirations in the region and partially also on the Cyprus question, must be highlighted. Its maximalist revisionist aspirations in the region, consequently also at the expense of Cyprus, imply an arrogance (given that they are not consistent with Turkey's real power) which harms, in the end, Turkey itself. The collapse of Davutoğlu's doctrine of 'zero problems' with neighbouring countries, the rupture with other Muslim states in its region and the tensions in its relations with European states due to the Ukrainian war, confirm to a specific degree Turkey's inability to fulfill its hegemonic aspirations. Further weaknesses would include the fact that relations with the NATO and the USA have been disturbed –due to Turkey's role in Syria, the relations it has developed with Russia amidst the Ukrainian war and Turkey's stand regarding Sweden and Finland's admission to the NATO– as well as Turkey's negative attitude towards the EU on immigration, in its accession negotiations, and its reactions to the accession of other European states into the NATO. In addition, important domestic problems, such as the divisive polarisation of the internal political scene with the even greater centralisation of power by President Erdogan, the Kurdish-Turkish conflict, the weaknesses and the uncertain future of the Turkish economy, as well as the lack of respect for human rights, negatively affect Turkey's external power.

On the other hand, the comparative advantages that Turkey has on the island, vis-à-vis the RoC and Greece, significantly bolster its efforts to achieve its strategic goals, despite the strategic difficulties Turkey faces in broader foreign policy issues. These

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<sup>22</sup> George Kyris, 'Turkey, Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Political Parties: The Ephemeral Catalyst of EU?' (2011) 10 *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 97; George Kyris, 'Sovereignty and Engagement without Recognition: Explaining the Failure of Conflict Resolution in Cyprus' (2018) 17(4) *Ethnopolitics* 426; Ali Dayıoğlu, Nur Köprülü, 'Turkey's New Identity Revisited and its Islamist Reflections in North Cyprus', (2019) 19(4) *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 605.

<sup>23</sup> Latif (no 15) 811.

advantages mainly relate to Turkey's superior military, economic, strategic and diplomatic power, compared to those of the RoC; its role in the Eastern Mediterranean as a pivotal powerful state; its partial rapprochement with the USA and the diversification of its stance in the NATO, striving for exchanges on other issues; its role in the Ukrainian war, which has expanded to portray Turkey as an important player and mediator; and, finally, the efforts to rebuild its relations with Israel and Egypt, which have direct effects on the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean, including on energy issues.

### **Political Implications: Turkey's Position on the Cyprus Question**

As demonstrated above, the real causes for Turkey's aspirations in Cyprus have purely geostrategic characteristics. The following section attempts to highlight and interpret the Turkish political and negotiating positions in the process of resolving the Cyprus problem, as well as their connection with Turkey's geostrategic objectives in Cyprus. As will be pointed out below, although there are occasionally changes in Turkey's positions in some main aspects of the negotiations, these do not deviate from its strategic objective, which is the strategic and political control of the island on the basis of maintaining a comparative power advantage to its favor.

Turkey's contemporary interest in Cyprus begins as early as the 1950s, when Turkish politics sought to get involved in the Cyprus case by linking it to the Turkish mobilisations against the Greeks of Istanbul, in September 1955.<sup>24</sup> Turkey claims that the roots of the Cyprus problem can be traced back to 1963, when the cooperation between the G/C and the T/C, which had been agreed upon in 1960 with the establishment of the RoC, was undermined by the G/C, who attempted to fully control the state and who, since then, according to the Turkish side, maintain that they are the only representatives of the RoC.<sup>25</sup> With this position, Turkey tries to justify its interventions in the internal affairs of Cyprus. Under the pretext of restoring the constitutional order and protecting the T/C, it sought to strategically control the island. Also, based on this position, it does not recognize the RoC, since, as it claims, it is now represented only by the G/C.

On the same basis, Turkey argues that its 'military intervention' in 1974 brought peace to the island, resulting in no further armed conflict henceforth. For the Turkish side, its soldiers in Cyprus are the 'peace force' which brought stability to the island

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<sup>24</sup> Behlül Özkan, 'Making Cyprus a National Cause in Turkey's Foreign Policy, 1948–1965' (2015) 15(4) *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 541; Örmeci, Kisacik (no 3).

<sup>25</sup> Özertem (no 21).

after 1974 and continues to be the guarantor of T/C safety.<sup>26</sup> Turkey's argument that no other conflict was observed after the Turkish invasion, resulting in 'peace being maintained',<sup>27</sup> rather confirms the view that Turkey is attempting to legitimise the existing *status quo* on the island, and extend its control on Cyprus, with the consent of the G/C. Since decades, in fact, Turkey has considered that the Cyprus question has been resolved with the 'peace operation' of 1974, as it defines its invasion. However, contrary to Turkey's position, the Cyprus question continues to be a problem, with Turkey itself accepting its very existence by participating in the negotiations for its solution.

Turkey, ignoring the issue of its own military presence in Cyprus, maintains that the problem concerns the two communities, which, on the basis of political equality, will negotiate in order to find a mutually agreed framework of coexistence on the island. The aim of this position is to disengage itself from the commitments of international law and the internationalisation of the issue as one of invasion and illegal occupation of an internationally recognised state. As a result of the Turkish position that the Cyprus question is a problem of coexistence of two different communities, Turkey in 1983 made an illegal, according to international law and the UN resolutions, declaration of independence of the so-called "TRNC", which has since only been recognised by Turkey.<sup>28</sup> The declaration of the pseudo-state was a tactical move aimed at securing the wider Turkish strategy for complete control of Cyprus, but it has also served as an instrumental vehicle both for the control of the T/C community and for its claims against the RoC.

With reference to the negotiation procedures for a resolution on the Cyprus problem, whenever those are conducted, Turkey's argument is based on the fact that, as a guarantor power and 'motherland' of the T/C,<sup>29</sup> it actively supports the talks held

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<sup>26</sup> Özertem (no 21) 9.

<sup>27</sup> Tozun Bahcheli, 'Cyprus in the Post-Cold War Era: Moving Toward a Settlement' in Tozun Bahcheli, Theodore A. Coulombis, Patricia Carley (eds), *Greek-Turkish Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy: Cyprus, the Aegean, and Regional Stability* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997) 20, 25.

<sup>28</sup> Osiewicz (no 21) 120; Ilias Kouskouvelis, Kalliopi Chainoglou, 'Against the Law: Turkey's Annexation Efforts in Occupied Cyprus' in Ruth Bonneville-Kok, Jure Vidmar (eds), *Hague Yearbook of International Law / Annuaire de La Haye de Droit International*, Vol. 29 (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2016) 55, 56.

<sup>29</sup> For the special relations between Turkey and the T/C community see Unut Bozkurt, 'Turkey: From the "Motherland" to the "IMF of Northern Cyprus"?' (2014) 26(1) *Cyprus Review* 83; Nikos Moudouros, *State of Exception in the Mediterranean: Turkish and Turkish Cypriot Community* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021).

under the auspices of UN for a final solution to the problem. For Turkey, this solution will mainly aim at establishing a new bicomunal, bizonal federation, based on the political equality between G/C and T/C, with a federal government and two constituent states of equal status; that is, of the same formal power, without one to prevail or impose upon the other.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, Turkey maintains that if this could not be achieved, it would prefer the solution of two separate states on the island.<sup>31</sup> Based on this argument, Turkey contends that a resolution on the Cyprus problem should seriously address the need of the T/C community for political equality with the G/C community. Turkey also points out the special relationship that Turkey has with Cyprus, as a guarantor power for the security of the T/C on the island, and still believes, for its part, that the guarantor status should be one of the main insurances to maintain peace and stability on the island.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Turkey, under the pretext of protecting the T/C, tries to play a catalytic role in the form of the solution to the Cyprus problem and, through this, aims to perpetuate its presence in Cyprus.

Moreover, in order to understand Turkey's strategy and its long-term horizon, in spite of the many differentiations in its positions in the negotiation process, it is crucial to analyse the strategic and political specifics during the accession process of the RoC to the EU (1999-2004). At the time, the Cyprus question had been high in the Euro-Turkish agenda, given the integration of the RoC in the EU at the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century.<sup>33</sup> At that time, the Turkish positions regarding the solution of the Cyprus problem were extremely intransigent, given that the RoC, by joining the EU, was to gain strategic benefits against Turkey, forcing Ankara to react. Until 2002, Turkish governments had no intention of changing their position on the Cyprus question, not even when they were offered in return the intensification and acceleration of Turkey's negotiation process for accession to the EU. The reason behind this shift in attitude was the beginning of accession talks between the EU and the RoC, meaning that the EU was in negotiation only with the G/C side, thus fueling

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<sup>30</sup> Mustafa Turkes, 'Cycles of Transformation of the Cyprus Question' in Nursin Atesoglu Gurney (ed.), *Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007) 159, 159-162.

<sup>31</sup> Contrary to Turkey's earlier leading position, which had pointed towards a reunification of Cyprus, officials of the Turkish government now defend a two-state solution or a loose confederation; the proposal for a loose confederation referring to a confederal state that would bring sovereign states of G/C and T/C under the same umbrella, in a decentralised system. See in Özertem (no 21) 4.

<sup>32</sup> Özertem (no 21) 8.

<sup>33</sup> William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774* (3rd edn., first published 2000, London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

Turkey's fears that the T/C would be marginalised. Besides, if the RoC would become a member state of the EU, it would be able to block Turkey's possible accession process. Many Turkish politicians expressed their opposition to the accession process of Cyprus. They warned of the consequences on the Cyprus question resulting from a possible accession of the RoC to the EU, stressing the fact that Turkey would have no intention of changing its position on the Cyprus question as long as EU policy would limit the chances of a resolution.<sup>34</sup> In late 2002, Turkey's positions in the negotiation process for finding a solution to the Cyprus problem changed. The new Turkish government, under Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, clearly favoured the reunification of Cyprus based on the Annan Plan that had been under negotiation during that period.<sup>35</sup> The initial Turkish reaction to the G/C attempt to realise the political goal of EU accession –to adopt a highly uncompromising position on the Cyprus question– but also its later position in support of the Annan Plan for a solution to the problem, revealed its real intentions. Not a sincere desire to seek a mutually beneficial solution to the Cyprus question, but rather a desire to not allow its opponents to obtain any strategic advantage, either with or without a solution of the problem. Turkey's political positions have merely a rhetorical character regarding the solution of the Cyprus problem, while strategic balances play a dominant role for Turkey.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, and in relation to its attitude towards the EU nowadays, Turkey maintains that it should adapt to the new regime that will be created by the settlement of the Cyprus question and accept the primary law that will result from its resolution. This will continue to be necessary for the security of the new order that will be established in Cyprus after the resolution. These positions reveal Turkey's strategic objective to prevent the European *acquis* from being applied to Cyprus, which would potentially limit Turkish influence on the island. Consequently, it is observed that Turkey systematically avoids the application of the European *acquis*, while simultaneously seeking to create primary law for the case of Cyprus, aiming to create problems in the future with the RoC membership in the EU.

In conclusion, it is noted that Turkey's political positions on the Cyprus question circumvent the principles of international law for the independence and sovereignty of states and more specifically the RoC. On the other hand, Turkey's positions in the

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<sup>34</sup> Suvarierol (no 5); Melike Baştürk, 'The Issue of Cyprus in the EU Accession of Turkey', (2011) 2011(4) *Claremont-UC Undergraduate Research Conference on the European Union* 15.

<sup>35</sup> Kyris, 'Turkey ...' (no 22) 98.

<sup>36</sup> Kivanç Ulusoy, 'The Cyprus Conflict: Turkey's Strategic Dilemma' (2016) 18(4) *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 393.

negotiations are determined by the permanent Turkish national interests in Cyprus, and, as demonstrated in the next section, they serve its strategic goals on the island. The Turkish attitude is the result of a favourable to Turkey distribution of power, and the identification of Turkish national interests with those of the great powers. In this context, we observe a demonstration of tolerance on the part of the international community towards Turkey's aggressive actions against the RoC. Since the Turkish invasion of 1974 the issue of substantive sanctions against Turkey due to its aggressive attitude, but also for the violation of the principles of international law, has never been seriously considered.

### **Turkey's Positions and Aspirations in the Negotiation for Finding a Solution**

Talks between the G/C and T/C for finding a solution to the Cyprus problem under the auspices of the UN are held at regular intervals, with long periods of interruption whenever the talks collapse.<sup>37</sup> Through the negotiation process, in which the interested parties participate, it is expected that a solution will emerge, which will be the legal basis for the establishment of a new state as a continuation of the RoC, since it will be signed and accepted by all involved parties. The following section examines how Turkey's positions on critical aspects of the Cyprus problem are related to Turkey's strategic goals.

The *status quo*, as it has been formed, largely determines the character of the negotiations, but also the political positions of the two parties in Cyprus. The Turkish side has the advantage in strategic terms as a result of the 1974 Turkish invasion; namely, the seizure and continued occupation of 36.4% of the territory of the RoC, but also the demographic changes that have occurred since the persecution of the native G/C population and the continued settlement of the occupied areas with Turks from Turkey. Thus, in the negotiations, Turkey, either by itself or through the T/C, argues that the 'realities' –as it calls the change in conditions that have occurred– must be taken into account when it comes to the proposal for the new status of Cyprus. With this position, Turkey seeks to legitimise the 'deeds' of the occupation and at the same time to overturn the composition of the population on the island, mainly through settlement. After all, given Turkey's advantage in the military balance of power against G/C on the island, the imposition of Turkey's views in a possible resolution plan becomes even more intense.

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<sup>37</sup> Kyris, 'Sovereignty ...' (no 22) 432-435.

Nominally, the G/C and T/C participate in the negotiations, while the latter draw their power from the presence of the Turkish army and the Turkish state which stands behind them.<sup>38</sup> At the negotiation process Turkey is the one finally determining the T/C positions. Indicatively, despite any differences between the leaderships of the T/C community and Turkey in the process of solving the Cyprus problem, ultimately the T/C positions are manipulated by Turkey's foreign policy decisions, which demonstrates the strong control that the latter exercises over the T/C community, but also the inability of the T/C to play any role in solving the problem.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, in the dialogue between the G/C and T/C communities, Turkey seeks to become the final judge of the arrangement sought by the T/C, while, at the same time, it has managed to strengthen its position that the Cyprus question is not a matter of invasion and occupation, but one of differences between two communities, which are conducting negotiations for the arrangement of the dispute.

A matter of primary importance for Turkey is the status of the new state that will emerge from the solution. Turkey, as became apparent from the latest negotiation efforts (Annan Plan and Crans-Montana negotiations), is defending the position of full equality between the two communities. The Turkish side claims that the new state that will be agreed upon by the G/C and the T/C will not be a continuation of the RoC, which was established based on the Zurich-London Agreements of 1960, but rather a new and completely different state with political equality between the two communities, which will be the two constitutional parts. With reference to this position, Turkish politicians mention that a new country will emerge from the agreed solution on the Cyprus problem, a federal one, which will not be the RoC,<sup>40</sup> thus making clear Ankara's position on the Cyprus question regarding the character of the new state. Turkey's claim against the creation of a new state as a continuation of the RoC seeks to legitimise the achievements of its strategic pursuits and render the new state a satellite controlled by Turkey, since the former will be politically unstable.

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<sup>38</sup> Erol Kaymak, 'The Development of Turkish Cypriot Politics' in James Ker-Lindsay, Hubert Faustmann (eds), *The Government and Politics of Cyprus* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009) 231.

<sup>39</sup> For instance, (a) Turkey was able to bypass the will of Rauf Denktash, the hard-liner leader of the T/C, and pushed forward in 2002 with the Annan Plan, which did not advocate for a two-state solution, as Denktash's side claimed; (b) there were divergences of opinion between T/C leader Mustafa Akinci, regarding Turkey's move to reopen part of Varosha in late 2019, but eventually Ankara's policy proceeded with the opening of the closed city Varosha; (c) the push by Turkey, in the 2020 elections, to elect Tatar as T/C leader, rather than Akinci, with the former advocating for a harder stance on the Cyprus question.

<sup>40</sup> Örmeci, Kisacik (no 3).



Regarding the political regime of the new state, Turkey is promoting a new state of affairs, compared to that of the Zurich-London Agreements, which will be based on a regime with elements of a loose federal system or a confederation in which the RoC will be completely set aside.<sup>41</sup> This is inferred from repeated statements by Turkish officials, in which it is made clear that Turkey seeks a high degree of independence for the constituent states.<sup>42</sup> Turkey supports a bizonal, bicomunal federation solution, in which the resulting new state will consist of a new partnership of two constituent states between G/C and T/C, equal to each other. This new state system will emerge, as Turkey maintains, from the 'co-founding peoples' of the island, which, in 1960, had agreed on a bicomunal cooperative, exercising the rights of self-determination, and had ceded sovereignty to the official central government of Cyprus. Turkey maintains that, as a guarantor power and the mother country of the T/C, it will not allow any solution, or the creation of any new state for the G/C to impose themselves on the T/C, but rather, a solution that would ensure the equality of the two sides.<sup>43</sup> In light of these statements, it is observed that Turkey –seeking full equality between the two communities, in a mismatch with the population mix on the island– attempts to impose a regime of a confederation of two equal states, with some federal elements, which will favor the Turkish interests and which, only for diplomatic reasons, it calls a 'bizonal, bicomunal federation'.

Also, regarding the political regime that would emerge after the solution of the Cyprus problem, it is pointed out that Turkey occasionally expresses support to a solution with two separate states, in contrast to the position of establishing a new state with a loose confederation. Following the 1974 Turkish invasion in Cyprus, the Kemalist establishment advocated Taksim (partition) as the solution for the Cyprus problem, through the creation of separate states. Nonetheless, this position was slowly altered towards a solution for a bizonal, bicomunal federation in the aftermath of

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<sup>41</sup> Andreas Theophanous, 'A Proposal for a Normal State: The Cyprus Problem after the Five Party Informal Conference' (2021) 33(2) *Cyprus Review* 83, 95.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, the statements by the former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoğlu on the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Türkiye, *Foreign Minister Davutoğlu in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus* (December 2013), available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-davutoglu-in-turkish-republic-of-northern-cyprus.en.mfa> (last accessed 2 March 2023).

<sup>43</sup> For Turkey's specific positions see in the document submitted on 18 May 2015 by Turkey in the context of the work of the Turkey-EU Association Council at Association between the European Union Community and Turkey, The Association Council, *Cover Note Subject: 53rd meeting of the EU-Turkey Association Council (Brussels, 18 May 2015)*, UE-TR 4806/15 (Brussels 28 May 2015) 30-36.

the Helsinki European Council meeting in December 1999<sup>44</sup>, at a time when Turkey still aspired to joining the EU. Additionally, AKP's policy on Cyprus, when it came to power in 2002, was in agreement with a solution on the basis of a bizonal, bicommunal federation.<sup>45</sup> It was under the AKP that two major attempts took place to solve the Cyprus problem on a political basis that did not involve a two-state solution (the Annan Plan and the Crans-Montana negotiations). Nonetheless, this position was altered in the years following the debacle at Crans-Montana, as evidenced by Turkey's position in the Geneva meeting of 2021, when the Turkish government reverted to a two-state solution.<sup>46</sup> These differences are the result of negotiating manoeuvres by the Turkish diplomacy in the context of the wider developments concerning Turkey's foreign policy. Those, however, converge in the permanent goal of obtaining the maximum possible benefits from the solution of the Cyprus problem, which consists of the greatest, to the extent possible, control of the state that will result from any solution. With Turkey's current position in support of a two-state solution, the Turkish side aims at eventually moving towards a confederal solution.<sup>47</sup> In the case of either two separate states or a bizonal, bicommunal federation, Turkey's geostrategic pursuit in an eventual solution to the Cyprus problem is to maintain its comparative advantage, in terms of power and its control over the island while simultaneously preventing control of the island exclusively by the G/C side.

Another important issue for Turkey is the issue of guarantees for the new state. As Turkey pursues a quadripartite negotiation, which would bypass the RoC, in addition to the other goals of its pursuit, it also aims to perpetuate the system of guarantees of 1960. The retention of Turkish troops, under the role of guarantor of the new state, as sought by the Turkish negotiating side, reveals Turkey's intentions in relation to this matter.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, it should be noted that Turkey is now discussing different variations of the guarantees system, a fact that could be interpreted as an intention to abandon its longstanding position for permanent guarantees and a willingness to diversify on this subject; not meaning in any way that Turkey would abandon its plans for control of Cyprus even by military means. The Turkish side considers that a tran-

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<sup>44</sup> Kivanc Ulusoy, 'The Europeanization of Turkey and its Impact on the Cyprus Problem' (2008) 10(3) *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 309.

<sup>45</sup> Özertem (no 21).

<sup>46</sup> Özertem (no 21).

<sup>47</sup> Andreas Theophanous, 'The Cyprus Problem, the EU and the UN' (2023) 23 *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development* 72, 72.

<sup>48</sup> Özertem (no 21) 7-8.

sitional period can be agreed on, in order to maintain the status of guarantees for the new state and the retention of armed forces on the island for a certain period of time. At the same time though, Turkey maintains its permanent position for guarantees in the T/C constituent state.

The territorial and, by extension, the issue of properties constitutes a crucial red line for Turkey in the negotiations, as it seeks to achieve the least possible territorial readjustments in a future solution. Consequently, the Turkey's policy objective remains the return of as little territory as possible to the RoC. According to Turkey, the return of the G/C constituent state should not affect a large number of the T/Cs who own and exploit G/C property in the occupied territories, whose demographic and property profile Turkey has altered over the years.<sup>49</sup> It should also be noted that Turkey insists that the settlement agreement ensure that the T/C will maintain the majority of population and assets in their constituent state, so as not to alter the population composition of the T/C-administered constituent state. With its position on the territorial issue, Turkey seeks to fully 'Turkify' the northern half of Cyprus, which will be fully controlled by Ankara, and at the same time ensure a strategic advantage in determining developments -through the T/C- also in the remaining half of the island. At the same time, and in support of this pursuit, Turkey's policies in the northern occupied area, are increasingly leading towards the complete Turkification of the north part.

In conclusion, it is observed that Turkey, through a solution of the Cyprus problem, seeks to transform the emerging new state into a satellite in its sphere of influence. Turkey uses a rhetoric that seeks to promote its image as a part that contributes with good will to a solution of the problem, while on the other hand, its strategic plans for complete control of the island are apparent behind its political positions. Turkey's positions in the negotiation process, as demonstrated above, fully express the Turkish interests and strategic aspirations. In fact, in the current period when Turkey's claims against Greece are more and more pressing, its positions on the Cyprus question express a broad strategic plan aimed at dominating the Eastern Mediterranean, at the expense of both Cyprus and Greece. This is because Turkey includes Greek-Turkish issues and Cyprus in its wider hegemonic claims, while at the same time it is not negligible for the Turkish strategy that Greece is the main ally of Cyprus, in a political and military context, and constitutes the main shield of protection of the RoC. In addition, it is noted that, although Turkey's positions through the negotiation process for

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<sup>49</sup> Perry Anderson, 'The Divisions of Cyprus' (24 April 2008) 30(8) *London Review of Books* 7.

a solution to the Cyprus problem have not been static -fluctuations in the negotiating positions on several subjects have been observed, such as the displacements between one confederate state and full separation with two existing states– they reflect at all times a stable, macroscopic, geostrategic pursuit by the Turkish state. This pursuit concerns securing, as much as possible, the control of the Cypriot state and its entire territory after any solution would have been achieved.

### **Non-Solution and Consequences: Strategic Dilemmas for Turkey**

In every negotiation process that begins to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, there is a serious possibility the process will end in a deadlock. After all, for decades no negotiation process has successfully concluded, even when a final solution plan had been on the table, as was the case in April 2004 with the Annan plan,<sup>50</sup> or when the negotiations truly reached an advanced stage, as was the case in Crans-Montana in 2017. In light of this eventuality of not finding a solution to the Cyprus problem, it is sought to determine the consequences of a non-solution for Turkey and speculate on its future strategic moves. Regardless of a final arrangement or not on the Cyprus question, Turkey will find itself in front of several strategic dilemmas, such as the following: First, determine its reaction to the EU's attitude due to the non-resolution of the Cyprus problem and how, henceforth, it will manage the Euro-Turkish relations in general.<sup>51</sup> Second, consider how to position itself politically regarding the issue of hydrocarbon extraction from the Cypriot EEZ and whether it will continue to challenge and violate international law regarding the rights of the RoC. Third, consider its position towards the USA, and the Western alliance in general, regarding the non-resolution of the Cyprus question and the perpetuation of a problem that destabilises the Eastern Mediterranean. In case intercommunal talks on the island, if and when they restart, do not lead to a comprehensive settlement of the problem in the immediate future, Turkey may be led to redefine its strategy regarding Cyprus, seeking a permanent unilateral solution, which, from a Turkish perspective, would include the absorption of the occupied areas by the Turkish state.

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<sup>50</sup> Anderson (no 49).

<sup>51</sup> Tarik Oğuzlu, 'Turkey and the Cyprus Dispute: Pitfalls and Opportunities' (2010) 1 *Ankara Bar Review* 73. For example, see the question of how Turkey will handle the EU's demands to open its airports and sea ports to airplanes and ships of the RoC in Çiğdem Nas, 'Turkey and the European Union: A Stumbling Accession Process under New Conditions' in Özden Zeynep Oktav (ed.), *Turkey in the 21st Century: Quest for a New Foreign Policy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011) 159.

Observing Turkey's strategy in the past and its overall behavior in relation to the Cyprus issue, and in case a solution is not found in the near future, it can be assumed that Turkey will intensify its pressure towards the RoC for a solution that will increasingly satisfy the Turkish strategic interests, placing the responsibility for the no-solution on the G/C side. Moreover, Turkey will also become more aggressive against the RoC, particularly regarding the maritime zones and energy issues, around which it has constantly created tensions and has spread fear against the RoC, including but not limited to the systematic violation of the Cypriot EEZ.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, if the hegemonic interests of the great powers in the Eastern Mediterranean, which Turkey serves to a wide extent, are to be considered, then the balance regarding the benefits of the settlement of the Cyprus problem will lean in Turkey's favour. After all, the Cyprus question could be placed in a broader context of exchanges between Turkey and the US with the EU, in light of both the Russia-Ukraine war and the Western states' need for support in the NATO.

Regarding collaboration with other states and organisations maintained by the RoC, which operate at the expense of Turkish interests, Turkey will react towards the limitation or even the altogether dwindling of the benefits provided to the RoC. In relation to the RoC's alliance with Greece, Turkey is and will continue to be aggressive against both states, possibly causing a 'hot incident' that will lead to a *fait accompli* in favor of the Turkish interests or moving forward in arrangements through negotiations, which will serve those interests. Given the problems Greece faces from Turkey's continuous aggressiveness and provocations –such as the need for refugee management, the questioning of its sovereign rights in the sea, the undermining of its hydrocarbon extraction capabilities—<sup>53</sup> the Greek reaction to the Turkish claims on settlement of the Cyprus problem could be quite weak. Or, Greece could pursue to disconnect the Cyprus question from the Greek-Turkish dispute. Additionally, and regarding the Cyprus-Israel-Greece cooperation mainly on energy issues, Turkey will seek to optimise its relations with Israel, with which it can cooperate for the exploitation of energy sources,<sup>54</sup> seeking to make it clear that the cooperation of Israel with Turkey could offer more benefits to the Israeli state compared to its cooperation with Cyprus and Greece.

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<sup>52</sup> Andreas Stergiou, Christos Kollias. 'The Political Economy of Turkish Foreign Policy' (2022) 24(1) *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 42, 54.

<sup>53</sup> For example, see the Turkish violations of the Greek territorial waters and the illegal, under International Law, Turkish-Libyan Memorandum in Stergiou, Kollias (no 52) 52.

<sup>54</sup> Demiryol (no 5), 455-456.

Turkey, taking advantage of the favourable attitude of the USA due to its interests in the region, will continue to claim and demand more benefits, both on the Cyprus question and more widely, in order to serve its own interests in the region. In fact, given the importance and criticality for Turkey, as well as for the USA and the EU, of a number of issues in the region –such as dealing with Russia and the management of the war in Ukraine; the definitive management of the Syrian crisis; and, the rewarming of Israeli-Turkish relations– Turkey is expected to seek greater compensation for the satisfaction of American and European demands. The Cyprus question could also be included in these exchanges.

Turkey's relationship with the EU is also of critical importance, especially with regards to Turkey's process of accession to EU.<sup>55</sup> The Cyprus issue is directly connected to Turkey's European integration process.<sup>56</sup> Also, as a separate issue, it is affected by the European dilemmas that do not exist in Turkey's foreign policy planning. If no solution is found to the Cyprus problem, dilemmas arise for Turkey regarding how its relationship with the EU will be shaped. In particular, Turkey should clarify its position regarding the EU's demands, as they are expressed in the Ankara Protocol of 2005,<sup>57</sup> which Ankara continues to not apply in relation to the RoC. Dilemmas due to the non-solution will also arise on energy issues, since the more the RoC benefits from their exploitation, the more Turkey's negative reactions will escalate. Continued Turkish challenges against the RoC must be taken for granted, especially for as long as Turkey's specific attitude does not have any negative consequences on Turkish interests or does not affect its relationship with European states to a significant degree. It should also be pointed out that the provocative and aggressive attitude of the Turkish strategy against the RoC and Greece is also closely linked to the degree of the deterrent reaction of its opponents.

It should be noted that Turkey realises that a solution to the Cyprus problem will have a positive impact on the image of the Turkish state towards other states and especially towards the European ones.<sup>58</sup> The positive impact for Turkey would be a product of the Turkish constructive, in one way or another, contribution in finding

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<sup>55</sup> Baştürk (no 34); Zerrin Torun, 'From Convergence to Divergence: The Compatibility of Turkish and EU Foreign Policy' in Wulf Reiners, Ebru Turhan (eds), *EU-Turkey Relations: Theories, Institutions, and Policies* (Cham: Springer International Publishing 2021) 323.

<sup>56</sup> Mirela Bogdani, *Turkey and the Dilemma of EU Accession* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011) 26-47.

<sup>57</sup> Stefan Talmon, 'The European Union – Turkey Controversy over Cyprus or a Tale of Two Treaty Declarations' (2006) 5(3) *Chinese Journal of International Law* 579.

<sup>58</sup> Suvarierol (no 5).

a solution. This can be particularly noted in the reports of the Turkish officials who mention that the resolution of the Cyprus question will be a positive message to the international community, as well as a positive development for the region, with many advantages in terms of cooperation and the removal of the difficulties that Turkey faces in its relations with the EU. However, the rhetoric of Turkish officials regarding their desire to resolve the Cyprus problem is diametrically opposed, as presented above, to their political positions on the negotiation process and their real pursuit of a solution that will exclusively satisfy Turkey's hegemonic aspirations.

Finally, it should be noted that Turkey relates the Cyprus problem and its solution with its broader strategic goals in the region and the strategic balance of power with its other neighboring states. These mainly concern Turkey's offensiveness and revisionism against Greece; the pursuit of hegemony in the Muslim world in its immediate region; the pursuit for deepening its cooperation with Israel after the restoration of the cold relations of the recent past, while at the same time dealing with a possible cooperation axis between Greece-Cyprus-Israel and in the future also Egypt. Consequently, and given that Turkey's strategic planning on the Cyprus question is directly affected by its broader strategic needs in its region, a non-solution, to the extent that it affects the above goals and Turkey's relations with the aforementioned states, will lead Turkey to more drastic decisions in dealing with the Cyprus question, in order to protect its interests in the region.

## **Conclusions**

Presenting Turkey's strategy in relation to the Cyprus question and analysing accordingly its political and negotiating positions, we could reach the following conclusions. First, there is a strong degree of correlation between Turkey's negotiating positions in the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem, and its strategic needs and national interests. A consequence of this finding is that Turkey's negotiating positions and actions to solve the Cyprus problem have as a starting point a long-term and permanent strategic planning regarding Cyprus, which the Turkish foreign policy follows precisely. This relates to the maintenance of permanent control over the island, since Turkish officials have always judged that the control of Cyprus largely ensures the security of the Turkish state, but also favours Turkey's hegemonic claims in the region. Thus, we observe the consistency and continuity in Turkey's intended goals regarding the Cyprus question, even though the negotiation tactics and political positions it adopts for its solution may have changed over time. On this basis, it is concluded that this situation benefits Turkey's interests, as the more time passes, the more the changes

that have occurred in the balance of power on the island, mainly with the invasion of 1974, are consolidated.

Considering the correlation between the Cyprus problem and the Euro-Turkish relations<sup>59</sup> and, to the extent that the developments regarding a solution affect Turkey's institutional relations with the EU, Turkey seeks to disconnect the two issues. In conclusion, however, it is noted that Turkey prioritises the achievement of its hegemonic aspirations in the region, which are also related to the strategic control of Cyprus, and not the progress in its European pathway, which in any case is adjusted on the basis of Turkey's aspirations rather than any real ambition for a substantial European process.

Turkey will continue to maintain maximalist positions on the Cyprus question until its strategic goals are fulfilled, as a result of the weakness of its opponent, the identification of its interests with the great powers, but also the indifference of the international community and the EU regarding a solution to the Cyprus problem. After all, as has already been pointed out, Turkey's pursuits on the Cyprus question directly relate to the weaknesses of its direct opponents in it. On the contrary, a change in Turkey's stance on the Cyprus question might occur as a result of, firstly, the possible strengthening of its direct rivals (RoC and Greece). Secondly, if Turkey's position is weakened by changes in its wider region. And, thirdly, a possible failure in fulfilling its maximalist hegemonic goals. A consequence of the above is that Turkey will continue to benefit from the privileged relationship it has with the USA and the UK on the Cyprus question for as long as Turkey serves Western interests.

Finally, according to Turkey's strategic planning, a weighted solution in favour of Turkish interests would increase its strategic superiority in the region and provide it with an important and primary role in regional geostrategic issues. However, and against the Turkish perspective regarding a final solution to the Cyprus problem and its intended goals, it is pointed out that an equal solution that would create a stable and secure Cypriot state would offer stability and security to the region, with a consequent positive impact on Turkey's national interests. The positive impact would improve the image of the Turkish state as a factor of stability in the region and a state that supports peace processes.

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<sup>59</sup> Oğuzlu (no 51).



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# **Rethinking National Liberation and Socialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Can the Cypriot Left Write its Own History?**

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## **Abstract**

*This is an article on the history and historiography of Cypriot communism. It is inspired by two recent volumes on Cypriot communism: the first is about the 1931 October uprising, the Communist Party of Cyprus and the Third International based on the official documents of the Communist International (by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos), and the second by a volume that deals with the history of Cypriot communism until the formal disbanding of the Communist party in 1944 (by Alecou and Sakellaropoulos). The paper aims to contextualise and discuss how Cypriot communists themselves engage with their own history: Cypriot Communists saw their mission as historical, i.e., the resolution of the national question was seen as integral to their strategy of achieving a socialist transformation of the world. It critically examines the difficulties of the Cypriot Left to write and appraise its own early history of Cypriot Communism, despite repeated attempts and having commissioned historians to write an official history. Communism in Cyprus emerged in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution during the late period of British colonial rule in Cyprus and was active in the 1931 uprising. The hegemonic nationalist historiography has vilified the Left and its role in the national liberation struggle, because the Communists in the 1920s and 1930s opposed union with Greece (Enosis): they saw this as a reactionary slogan that diverted attention from the urgent resolution of the class/social question and would play in the hands of colonisers dividing the toilers along ethnic/national lines in their 'divide-and-rule' games. This paper critically reviews historical debates over anticolonialism and liberation struggles in Cyprus. In nationalist historiography, the 'social question' is subordinated to the 'national question', if not totally obscured. The Left in the 1920s and 1930s however, perceived the 'national question' as an aspect of the social-political question in the struggle for socialism: the principle of self-determination of Cypriots was to be realised as part of regional struggle with the goal of a Balkan Socialist Federation. By the 1940s, the Cypriot Communist line changed: as the prospects of revolution receded, the anticoloni-*

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*al struggle would resolve the national question by uniting with Greece. What followed is well-known: Cyprus and its people are de facto divided. Whilst there is fascinating scholarship demonstrating the processes of the different versions of a highly contested ideological struggle about the goals, strategy, tactics and means in national liberation, the nationalist historiography has imposed a straitjacket that prevents such insights from properly making inroads in public history, school textbooks, and official historiography. This has generated a national(ist) ideological frame that has made historical debates which question the dominant narrative almost impossible within public history. Nonetheless, the terrain has now opened widely, as younger scholars in academia and in social media are questioning such assumptions and reifications pertaining to anti-colonial struggles for liberation. The current dissensus and polarisation has generated new spaces and has endowed new vigour in debates on the history of the Left in the country. Such debates however are not necessarily about the past; they are primarily about the present reading the past to illuminate the future.*

**Keywords:** Cypriot communism, anticolonial struggle, nationalism, historiography, Co-mintern, national liberation.

### **Introduction: Moscow's Archives, Contested History, and the Presence of the Past**

It has been a century since the first Communists emerged, in the late period of British colonial rule in Cyprus, and there is a new interest in the history and legacy of Communism on the island. Since the 1960s, AKEL, the continuation of the Communist Party of Cyprus (CPC), has on three occasions declared its intention to publish text containing its own, *official history*. On two occasions texts were finalised and approved by the leadership. These texts were circulated within and around the party informally, but they were never published. The question of history of the Left has returned with a vigour, never as strong as it is today.

As this paper was being finalised, the leader of AKEL, Stefanos Stefanou, spoke at an event organised by AKEL honouring Adam Adamantos, mayor of Famagusta in the 1940s. Adamantos was one of the most charismatic leading figures of AKEL, who was expelled from the party some 71 years ago. During the event,<sup>2</sup> the AKEL

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<sup>2</sup> Speech by AKEL Central Committee Secretary General Stefanos Stefanou at the event in honour of Adam Adamantos, 15 September 2023, Cultural Centre of Deryneia, available at <https://akel.org.cy/ek-dilosi-pros-timi-adam-adamantos/?fbclid=IwAR1ReQwtZnwGxvd8j8gvcKvx2N0sbgr8KD7BRBxQ5e-Buc17HSs7BjGS8QOo>



leader spoke respectfully of Adamantos and attempted to open new channels of communication and dialogue on history, with the aim of making knowledge of mistakes, injustices and shortcomings a compass for the future. He noted that the party must collectively evaluate the Party's policies at that time, assessing things in their historical context, within the conditions of the time. Without becoming introverted, the party must 'draw useful conclusions for our politics today.' He emphasised: 'The challenges of today go beyond the traumas of the past. That is also the mission of history. To function like a car mirror from which you look backwards to drive safely forwards. [Also we must] be fair and objective with the people who played a leading role in various events, such as Adam Adamantos, Ploutis Servas, etc.' In 1952, Adamantos, who disagreed with the new party line which supported immediate *Enosis* (union with Greece) considering that the line was foolish and dangerous, emphatically stated: 'I am not prepared to sacrifice anything, even my smallest finger, for *Enosis*.'<sup>3</sup> He has not been fully rehabilitated by the party; however, many consider that he has been vindicated and AKEL now acknowledges this.

Today, more than 70 years later, history is a lively issue. Yet, the debate over the history of the Cypriot Left is not new. A decade ago, during a conference, the Dean of the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the University of Cyprus<sup>4</sup> spoke about the notable gap in the study of the history of Cypriot Communism. He argued that the Left (i.e., AKEL) is incapable *by itself* to write *its* [own] history.<sup>5</sup> At the conference, eyebrows were raised, but there was no direct or immediate response by the participants. Nonetheless, the late President Demetris Christofias, the second longest serving leader of the party,<sup>6</sup> went on to admit that there is a major gap, as the study

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<sup>3</sup> Loukas Kakoullis, *Αδάμ Αδάμαντος, ο Κορυφαίος της Αριστεράς και της Κύπρου*, (Adam Admantos, The Leading Figure of the Left and Cyprus), *Χρονικό - Πολίτης*, 10 April 2010, available at <http://www.polignosi.com/pictures/20210927/1632725599-09591.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Associate Professor George Kazamias.

<sup>5</sup> *Συνέδριο για την Κυπριακή Αριστερά στην Πρώτη Περίοδο της Βρετανικής Αποικιοκρατίας* (Conference on The Cypriot Left in the First Period of British Colonialism), co-organised by the Prometheus Research Institute and the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Cyprus, April 2012. This led to the book, by Giorgos Georgis and Yiannos Katsourides, *Η Κυπριακή Αριστερά στην Πρώτη Περίοδο της Βρετανικής Αποικιοκρατίας: Γένεση, Συγκρότηση, Εξέλιξη*, (*The Cypriot Left in the First Period of British Colonialism: Emergence, Constitution, Evolution*, edited by Taxideftis, Athens 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Demetris Christofias (29 August 1946 – 21 June 2019) served as the sixth President of Cyprus from 2008 to 2013. He was the fourth General Secretary of the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) from 1988 to 2009 and the ninth President of the House of Representatives from 2001 to 2008. The longest serving leader was Ezekias Papaioannou (October 8, 1908 – April 10, 1988) who, as third General Secretary of AKEL, held the position for 39 years until his death (1949-1988).

of issues concerning the Cypriot Left has not been given the attention it deserves. He emphasised that the Cypriot Left, since its emergence in the early 1920s, has played a leading role in Cypriot political events, in the anticolonial struggles for freedom, democracy and political rights, in the struggles of workers for social justice, in the struggles for progress, prosperity and cultural advancement of the people. The party has not managed to write its own history ‘perhaps due to various political expediencies, or even ideological rigidities that stood in the way of historical scientific research’.<sup>7</sup> The problem however may be more complex, as will be discussed.

The professor’s challenge to AKEL was an ironic reversal of Eric Hobsbawm’s key thesis that it is *impossible for nationalists* to write the history of nations *scientifically*. Hobsbawm cited Ernest Renan, who had noted, a century earlier, that the development of historical studies threatens the whole project of nation-building, as getting your history wrong was part of being a nation.<sup>8</sup> Here, a Greek historian, by insisting on the impossibility of the Cypriot Left to write its history, touched upon a sensitive nerve of the Cypriot Left: History is the central terrain in the struggle of ideas, an integral part of an ideological contestation about *who makes history*. On his part, Demetris Christofias, the only leader of AKEL to be elected President of the Republic, something that had been unimaginable before,<sup>9</sup> admitted that there is indeed a gap and took upon himself -at least in part- the responsibility by stating: ‘I say this self-critically because I was leading the party’s Central Committee for 20 years.’<sup>10</sup>

The party under Christofias had hardly been indifferent about its history. On the contrary, soon after he assumed the leadership in 1988, the party embarked on self-criticism and renounced the party’s support for *Enosis* during the period 1964-1967, in December 1990, condemning this turn as ‘a mistake and a violation of the Party Programme and the decision of the 10th Congress, which spoke of the comple-

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Χριστόφιας: Συνεχής και Πολύπλευρη η Παρουσία της Αριστεράς’, *Kathimerini*, 24 April 2012, available at <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/politiki/86978/?ctype=ar>

<sup>8</sup> Ernest Renan, *What is a Nation?* (*Qu’est-ce qu’une Nation?*), published in 1882, available at [http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What\\_is\\_a\\_Nation.pdf](http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> The young Andreas Mavroyiannis, at the time a sociology scholar embarking on his PhD dissertation in 1984, saw no possibility of AKEL ever assuming power. This is the same Mavroyiannis, the diplomat who with the support of AKEL would be runner up in the presidential election of 2023. See Andreas Mavroyiannis, A. (1984) *The Cypriot Communist Party (A.K.E.L.), Study of Comparative Sociology [Le Parti Communiste Chypriote (A.K.E.L.), Etude de Sociologie Comparative]*, doctoral thesis in sociology (political sociology), Université Paris X-Nanterre, U.E.R. des sciences sociales.

<sup>10</sup> ‘President Calls for Scientific Study on the History of the Left in Cyprus’, 25 April 2012, *Famagusta News*, available at [https://famagusta.news/news/blog-post\\_1893-2/](https://famagusta.news/news/blog-post_1893-2/)

tion of independence'.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, during the 1990s, which was difficult times for the Left internationally, including AKEL, the party entrusted the writing of the official history of the party to the historian Rolandos Katsiaounis. The untimely death of Katsiaounis prevented him from completing the work and this was perceived as a great loss for the Left. Nevertheless, the works that Katsiaounis left behind remain to date the most serious effort at an *autonomous scientific* history,<sup>12</sup> as Hobsbawm conceived it, beyond and outside of the hegemonic ideology of nationalism.<sup>13</sup> It took many years, but since then, new generations of historians, political and social scientists, have come forward to discuss the history of the Cypriot Left anew. This process has begun to bear fruit and is not limited to those working under the official tutelage of the party. It expands further and has produced scholarship generating a valuable *critical history* of the Left in Cyprus, as discussed further down.

### **Volume I: Cypriot Communism, the Uprising of 1931 and the Comintern**

The 201-page volume by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos is a welcome contribution and has been the subject of public debates in the press and social media.<sup>14</sup> The volume consists of a 77-page introduction by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos and a 110-page selection of Soviet archival documents, translated from Russian to Greek for the first time.<sup>15</sup> The volume contains excerpts, published for the first time, from the original depositions in the Communist International (Comintern), also known as the Third International, of the Communist leaders Charalambos Vatiliotis, known as 'Vatis', and Kostas Skeleas (Christodoulides), as well as official documents commenting on the party's position during the uprising. The author of one of the Comintern

<sup>11</sup> AKEL, '88 Years KKK-AKEL' ('88 Χρόνια ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ'), 1 February 2014, available at <https://akel.org.cy/88-%CF%87%CF%81%CF%8C%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CE%BA%CE%BA%CE%BA-%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%B5%CE%BB/>

<sup>12</sup> Beyond his published works, Katsiaounis gave many lectures on the history of the Left in Cyprus and had drafted numerous internal lectures and speeches on the subject.

<sup>13</sup> See Andrekos Varnava, 'An Appraisal of the Works of Rolandos Katsiaounis: Society, Labour and Anti-Colonialism in Cyprus, 1850s-1950s', in Thekla Kyritsi and Nikos Christofis (eds), *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity, and Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 243-57.

<sup>14</sup> See newspaper *Phileleftheros*, 28/11/2021. Also see Nicos Trimikliniotis, Spyros Sakellaropoulos - Manolis Choumerianos - *The 1931 Uprising, the Attitude of the Communist Party of Cyprus and the Third International. through the Official Documents of the Communist International*, (Η Εξέγερση του 1931, η Στάση του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Κύπρου και η Γ' Διεθνής. μέσα από τα Επίσημα Έγγραφα της Κομμουνιστικής Διεθνούς) Topos, Athens 2021 (Book Review), *Θέσεις*, vol. 159, May/June 2022.

<sup>15</sup> For other works on Cypriot communism by Spyros Sakellaropoulos, see <http://www.spyrossakellaropoulos.com/booksDetails.php?bid=54>

documents, harshly critical of the then CPC leadership, is Ploutis Servas (Plutarchos Savvidis), under the pseudonym ‘Georgios Nisiotis’ (which means ‘Islander’), later leader of the KKK and AKEL.<sup>16</sup> Another text is signed by ‘Panov’, Stylian Triantafylov (Stylianios Triantafyllou). Panov, a PonticGreek who, as Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos assert, was an important official of the Comintern, would later perish in the Stalinist purges.<sup>17</sup> Between Servas and Panov, Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos believe that there was an ‘osmosis’. This is an understatement of an apparent coordination in preparing common positions, if not conspiring, in what was undoubtedly a rigged ‘trial’ against both Vatis and Skeleas. By reading their depositions in the ‘procedure’, one can immediately sense that they were something between the Kafkaesque ‘Trial’ and a ‘chronicle of a (political) death foretold’, after Gabriel García Márquez’s novella. The two Communist protagonists would never again lay foot on Cyprus, with their political and physical demise predetermined.

The volume begins with a long introduction that comments on the documents unveiled. It expands on an earlier English version about the deposition of Vatis,<sup>18</sup> and builds on the interpretation of the 830-page volume, a kind of a *longue durée history* of ‘the Cypriot social formation’ by Sakellaropoulos.<sup>19</sup> Chapter 1 (pp. 11-18) is an introduction to the documents, the main sources for the volume, as well as the previously available reports and testimonies. Chapter 2 (pp. 19-26) provides a brief biography of the four protagonists in the ‘trial’ of Vatis and Skeleas by Comintern in 1932, when in Moscow. Chapter 3 (pp. 27-88) provides a particularly interesting, in-depth, and wide-ranging analysis of the documents in the light of the various other available sources. There is also a critical review (p. 88), which locates the Vatis and Skeleas texts.

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<sup>16</sup> Leader of the KKK and AKEL (1935-1945). Expelled from the party in 1952. See. Spyros Sakellaropoulos and Alexis Alecou, ‘The Paradoxical Coexistence of Two Communist Parties in One: The Case of the KKK and AKEL (1941-1944)’, *Θέσεις*, vol. 147, April-June 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos, based on Papadatos, Panov appears to have had such influence in Comintern that he had played a role in the selection of Zachariadis as General Secretary of the KKE. However, he disappeared afterwards in the Stalinist purges, N. Papadatos, *Άκρωξ Αλόρητο, Οι Σχέσεις ΕΣΣΔ-ΚΚΕ, 1944-1952, (Top Secret, The USSR-KKE Relations, 1944-1952)*, ΚΨΜ, Athens 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Manolis Choumerianos, Spyros Sakellaropoulos, ‘The Communist Party of Cyprus, the Comintern and the Uprising of 1931: Thoughts on the “Apologia” of Charalambos Vatiliotis (Vatis)’, *Twentieth Century Communism*, Volume 2019 Number 16, ISSN 1758-6437.

<sup>19</sup> See S. Sakellaropoulos (2017) *Ο Κυπριακός Κοινωνικός Σχηματισμός [1911-2004] από τη Συγκρότηση στη Διχοτόμηση*, (The Cypriot Social Formation [1911-2004] from Constitution to Partition), Topos, 2017, pp. 151-217.

In their introduction, Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos use the word ‘apologia’ (the English text uses the word ‘apologia’)<sup>20</sup> which exudes an a priori sense of having to account, to provide an ‘apology’ for their action on the part of a political procedure that renders them ‘defendants’. Yet Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos themselves fall short of linking their depositions to the texts of similar show trials. In fact, they argue that the big show trials started much later, in 1936. This contextualisation is necessary in setting the climate in Cyprus under British colonial administration, as well as the debates on Communism of that time. This work contributes to knowledge drawing on evidence that Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos have gathered and interpreted, which I will comment upon.

Chapter 4 contains a fascinating section, ‘The Documents’ (pp. 89-198). This is the core of archival material documenting Cypriot Communism in the 1920s and 1930s, and their treatment by the Comintern (until 1932). The reader will encounter the authentic revolutionary zeal by the Cypriot Communist pioneers, as well as their well-argued class analysis in interpreting political, ideological and economic events. One cannot but admire the sophistication of the class-based political analysis and the richness of their thinking in attempting to make the necessary connections as a tool and compass to understand concrete situations in context. This debunks the myths cultivated by later leaders, who alleged that the pioneers of the Cypriot Communist movement were ‘wrong’ on the national question due to the supposed ‘low ideological or political education’ of cadres at the time. Of course, there are some problematic approaches, tactical and theoretical errors, but this has nothing to do with their allegedly ‘low’ educational or ideological level, a charge levied at them by later leaderships. On the contrary, their level of argumentation regarding their ideological and political training would make later leaders envious.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> In an earlier English version, the authors refer to this as ‘apologia’, Manolis Choumerianos, Spyros Sakellaropoulos, ‘The Communist Party of Cyprus, the Comintern and the Uprising of 1931: Thoughts on the “Apologia” of Charalambos Vatiliotis (Vatis)’, *Twentieth Century Communism*, Volume 2019 Number 16, ISSN 1758-6437.

<sup>21</sup> Some theoretical blind spots and weaknesses in the way class analysis is used in politics and ideology applied in the specific context of colonial Cyprus can be located, in what we have later called ‘reductionism’ and elements of ‘economism’. However, this is not relevant to the debates we discuss in this article. What is crucial here is the admirable way Vatis and Skeleas, and to a lesser extent Servas, interpret the 1931 uprising by reading politics utilising class analysis as a key tool for interpreting history. In the current climate where ‘anti-reductionism’, ‘anti-economistic’ and ‘deconstructive’ readings of the ideology of the Left remain in vogue, the theoretical and empirical reconnection of class, social and economic factors would be a welcome development in analyses, but that is the theme of another essay.

As for the protagonists (Vatis, Skeleas, Servas), we get a flavour of the brutal mercilessness of the Stalinist context. This explains, at least in part, the unfair accusations hurled at each other in their depositions: it is a typical ‘prisoner’s dilemma’ predicament. Also apparent is the sinister role of Ploutis Servas, who was later ‘re-warded’ for his ‘services’ with the party leadership. He is offering no impartial or innocent commentary, nor are his unfair criticisms against the leadership of the Cypriot Communists without an ulterior motive. After all, these are the times of Stalin’s ascent to power in the USSR -by 1929 Stalin had consolidated his control of the party. The events that the documents refer to occurred in 1932. Of course, the climax of the purges occurred with the show trials of 1936-39. . However, we are already well within the Stalinist period, with purges and persecutions having already begun.<sup>22</sup> In any case, it would be erroneous to blame every change of policy or decision on Stalin and Stalinism. With Lenin’s death there was a noticeable ‘leftist’ turn in the Comintern, and then a ‘rightist’ turn. Often practices and policy changes are characterised by harsh and rough decision-making by taking ‘artificial shortcuts to resolve political or organisational problems’, instead of patiently and exhaustively going through a dialectical-democratic method of deciding.<sup>23</sup> This prepared the ground for Stalinism, including the use of ‘threats, intimidation, suspensions, and expulsions, to impose blind political obedience and subservience’.<sup>24</sup> It is thus essential to properly historicise events in the harsh times, in the context they unfolded.

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<sup>22</sup> The Fifteenth Party Congress in December 1927 defeated and expelled the Left opposition and by 1929 Trotsky was expelled from the USSR. Vladimir Volkov and Clara Weiss (2018) ‘Historic Discovery of Left Opposition Manuscripts from the Early 1930s’, World Socialist Web site 27 August 2018, <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2018/08/27/left-a27.html> and Isaac Deutscher (2003) *The Prophet Unarmed. Trotsky 1921-1929*, Verso, London and Isaac Deutscher (2003) *The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky, 1929-1940*, Verso, London.

<sup>23</sup> John Peterson termed this as ‘Zinovievism’ after Grigory Yevseyevich Zinoviev (1883 – 1936), a Soviet revolutionary and Bolshevik politician and a close associate of Vladimir Lenin. John Peterson (2019) “Zinoviev and the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern”, *In Defence of Marxism*, 20 December 2019, available at <https://www.marxist.com/zinoviev-and-the-stalinist-degeneration-of-the-comintern.htm>. During the 1920s, Zinoviev was one of the most influential figures in the Soviet leadership and the chairman of the Communist International. However, the tumultuous relationship between Stalin and Zinoviev would continue throughout the 1920s and Zinoviev would be expelled from the party three times (in 1927, 1932 and 1934). Zinoviev’s ideological disagreements and troubled relationship with Stalin led him to form a partnership with Leon Trotsky and Lev Kamenev. In 1936 he was arrested for plotting to overthrow Stalin as a chief defendant in the Trial of the Sixteen. All defendants of the trial were found guilty and subsequently sentenced to death.

<sup>24</sup> John Peterson (2019) “Zinoviev and the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern”, *In Defence of Marxism*.

Two Turkish Cypriots are referred to in this volume. Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos identified them as Communists whom Vatis met on 10 August 1931, Asim Aziz Buli and Ahmet Hulusi. Sadly, the latter became one of the informants and witnesses (amongst others, including numerous Greek Cypriots) in the trials against Communists, such as the trial of the poet Tefkros Anthias, who was a leading Communist at the time.<sup>25</sup> There were numerous informants at the time, mostly Greek Cypriots who, under pressure or bribe, testified during the trials. There are scarce sources about the exact number of Turkish Cypriot Communists, although Hulusi, at the trial of Vatis in Cyprus (before his exile to the UK), probably exaggerating, claimed to have recruited 200 Turkish Cypriots as members (p. 101). The subsequent book on the history of Cypriot communism by Alecou and Sakellaropoulos (discussed further down),<sup>26</sup> refers to some testimonies of old communists who mention two bricklayers and three-four barbers, while others refer to a dozen or so persons. They also mention the names of those who took leading roles: The communist newspaper *Neos Anthropos* (21.5. 27) reports that, at the May Day celebration, among the speakers was the shoemaker Ali Ferudji (again probably misspelled by the British), who spoke in Turkish for the Turkish Cypriots present. Also, in their appendix containing the persons the British considered to belong to the CPC, Hussein Dzahit (probably misspelled by the British) is referred to as number 169.<sup>27</sup> This is an interesting issue that requires further research. In this sense, it will be useful if this volume is translated into both Turkish and English.

There are some issues of interpretation by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos of the volume (Chapter 3) which warrant commentary.

First, Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos aptly note that ‘national liberation’ from colonialism contains crucial class and social dimensions. However, they overstate what can be considered ‘revolutionary’ or ‘progressive elements’ within the *Enosis* campaign in Cyprus,<sup>28</sup> which was driven by conservative and reactionary forces.

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<sup>25</sup> ‘Η Δίκη του Προλετάριου Ποητού Τεύκρου Ανθία’ (The Trial of the Proletarian Poet Tefkros Anthias), *Paphos* newspaper, 7 April 1933.

<sup>26</sup> A. Alecou and Sakellaropoulos, S. (2023) *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ (1923-1944), Η χαράνγῃ του Κυπριακού Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος* [HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (1923-1944), The rise of the Cypriot Communist Party]. Athens: Topos, p. 61.

<sup>27</sup> Alecou and Sakellaropoulos, S. (2023) *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ (1923-1944)*, p. 61.

<sup>28</sup> This is from the point of view of the Left or Communists in the anticolonial liberation struggle, see Young, R. J. C. (2001) *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Without explicitly stating it, they uncritically assume the slogan of ‘Enosis’ as the historically ‘natural’ resolution of the national question in Cyprus. They appear sympathetic to the irredentism, more or less perceiving Cyprus *like any other of the Greek islands* united with Greece in the process after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. However, they fail to recognise how the Cretan experience served as major historical trauma, with Turkish Cypriot leaders insisting that ‘Cyprus must not become Crete’.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, they seem to underestimate the *specificities* of Cypriot society, the historical factors, and the importance of the presence of a significant Turkish Cypriot section of the population.<sup>30</sup> At some point, they seem to sympathise with those expelled from the party who wanted to compromise with the nationalists or underestimated the potential of bicomunal relations both in fighting colonialism and imperialism and in the prospect of building socialism.<sup>31</sup> However, such a reading places the history of the CPC within the *hegemonic* nationalist narrative, falling into the logic of precisely what Eric Hobsbawm aptly criticises.

In essence, their analysis seems to be of a teleological character and is underpinned by various theoretical assumptions concerning the ‘evolution of history.’ This epistemological logic is encountered even in critical studies of nationalism, where the birth of nations or nationalism is traced to particular ‘causes’, as if ‘the nation’ springs out automatically from such factors. Such approaches either ignore or underemphasise that social arrangements are invariably governed by degrees of *indeterminacy*, meaning that the direction of history is not predetermined, but is constructed precisely through a plethora of practices that coalesce contextually (and often ambiguously), thus producing particular sociopolitical configurations.<sup>32</sup> In the colonial context, the communist strategy for national liberation as part of the political struggle

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<sup>29</sup> Rebecca Bryant and Mete Hatay (2015) *Turkish Perceptions of Cyprus 1948 to the Present*, PCC Report 1/2015, <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/zypern/13468.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> See Panayiotou, Andreas, Moudouros, Nicos, Misiaouli, Anna (eds) (2022) *ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ Ιστορικά Κείμενα και Αναλύσεις για την Εξέλιξη των Θέσεων για Κυπροκεντρισμό, Κυπριακή Συνείδηση, Κυπριακή Ταυτότητα και τον Κυπριωτισμό [ANTHOLOGY Historical Texts and Analyses on the Evolution of the Positions on Cyprocentrism, Cypriot Consciousness, Cypriot Identity and Cypriotism]*, New Cyprus Association. Nicosia: En Typois.

<sup>31</sup> They were expelled for being ‘liquidationists’. Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos discuss this on p. 71. For the exchange between Vatis, Skeleas, Servas and Panov see pp. 98, 130, 131. For the general debates in the communist movement on ‘Liquidationism’, see V. I. Lenin, (1966) *Against Liquidationism*. Moscow: Progress Publishers SSR.

<sup>32</sup> For instance, Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* vis-à-vis communication media, Gellner and industrialism, or *Nation-state and Violence* by Anthony Giddens and the expansion of state administration, etc. For a poignant critique on the subject see chapter 3, ‘Decentering the Nation’, by Michelangelo



for class liberation with the goal of socialist revolution, was a matter of fierce debate amongst communists from the 1920s.<sup>33</sup>

Second, methodologically we ought to be careful when interpreting written documents as evidence *out of context*. Archival documents are *archived*, as such they are *selected, processed and stored* documents, which may well contain valuable data, but they are *by definition fragmentary parts* that tell us something about ‘reality’. In this sense, they cannot be understood outside their context, i.e., they must be interpreted *within the whole, not fragmentally*. In the instance under examination, the archive texts must be interpreted as part of the specific process at the specific moment, among other texts (possibly yet unpublished), but also of the violence of a ‘hearing’, *not* in the context of a free discussion. Although the final words of Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos rightly note that the incidents are genuine ‘children of their time’, they seem to underestimate the circumstances under which the depositions of Vatis and Skeleas were extracted and written. After the 1931 October uprising both leaders were arrested and exiled to the UK, from where they managed to escape to take refuge in the USSR –they did so apparently voluntarily. However, we must construe the very nature of the proceedings at the Comintern ‘hearing’ and the circumstances and conditions under which they wrote their ‘apologies’ and answered oral questions as to what had happened in 1931: These must be read in their context of a very difficult moment for both in the Cypriot and the world Communist movement.

Certainly, Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos underline the wider polarisation and fierce confrontations between comrades during those difficult times. However, the most accurate description is provided by Costas Grecos who refers to this process as a ‘trial’.<sup>34</sup> There is a rather bleak story in its broader context -the revolutionary hopes of Cypriot leftists were drowned by the Stalinist counter-revolution in the USSR:

‘In November 1932, Vatis and Skeleas were exiled by the British authorities to London. From there they made their way to Moscow, where they were tried by the Balkan Bureau of the –by then completely Stalinised– Communist International. Heading the inquiry was Bela Kun, the one-time comrade of György Lukács, and leader of the failed Hungarian revolution of 1919. The two were

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Anastasiou (2022) *Nationalism and Hegemony: The Consolidation of the Nation in Social and Political Life*, Routledge, London.

<sup>33</sup> See Young, Robert J.C. 2001. *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>34</sup> Costas Grecos, *Η Εξέγερση του Οκτώβρη και το ΚΚΚ*, (The October Uprising and the CCP), Nicosia, 1994, p. 28.

found guilty of having attempted to implement the Bolshevik tactic of the United Front. In “the third and final period of Capitalism” only the immediate raising of the slogan of “socialist revolution” would do. Vatis was sent to the famished areas of the Soviet Union where he died of typhus in December 1933. Skeleas was executed while WWII was raging, in 1942. Christodoulos Cristodoulides –the editor of *Rizospastis* in the early 1930s and brother of Costas Skeleas– was also called to Moscow. He was executed in the 1940s. So was Iordanis Iordanides. Bela Kun, the inquisitioner, would himself be executed in 1938 for “leading a counter-revolutionary terrorist organisation”. And here we are, nearly a century later, unearthing still our revolutionary traditions.<sup>35</sup>

I interviewed Kyriacos Tsioupras, a veteran Communist journalist, who in the 1960s had been entrusted to deliver to the headquarters of AKEL in Nicosia documents and belongings of the communist leader Vatis.<sup>36</sup> He had met Vatis’s wife some 30 years after the Communist leader had perished in Siberia and had been given the bundle to transfer. The veteran noted how tragic circumstances and intolerance leading to brutality at the time resulted in the demise of the likes of Vatis and Skeleas amongst so many others in the Communist movement. He saw this as part of a historical tragedy of the defeats in the struggles of the 20th century; he wished that the Left could learn from those.

The volume by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos contains valuable documentation on the history of Cypriot Communism that must be contextualised and read together with other sources and studies, which will be discussed further down.

## **Volume II: History of Cypriot Communism (1923-1944)**

This volume by Alexis Alecou and Spyros Sakellaropoulos entitled, *History of the CCP (1923-1944); The Dawn of the Communist Party*<sup>37</sup> is a 232-page volume that includes nine chapters, an epilogue, an appendix of tables with a list of CPC cadres, members and sympathizers according to a colonial police entry. It covers a longer period; whilst it builds on the first volume, it aims to give a broader perspective until the time of the dissolution of the CPC into AKEL in 1944.

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<sup>35</sup> Daphnos Economou (2019) ‘The First Career of the Communist Party of Cyprus’, uploaded on May 31, 2019, paper presented at the Historical Materialism Conference (Athens, May 2019), [https://www.academia.edu/90682243/The\\_First\\_Career\\_of\\_the\\_Communist\\_Party\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://www.academia.edu/90682243/The_First_Career_of_the_Communist_Party_of_Cyprus)

<sup>36</sup> The interviews with Kyriacos Tsioupras took place in London between April and May 2022. He was a journalist in Moscow during the 1960s for the Communist newspaper *Haravgi*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ιστορία του ΚΚΚ (1923-1944). Η χραναγή του κομμουνιστικού κόμματος*. Athens: Topos.

The volume starts with a short introduction and is followed by the first short chapter that examines the historical, social, and economic developments from the cession of Cyprus to the British (1878) to the early years of the interwar period.

The second chapter deals with the emergence of the first communist cells (1919-1923) and the main positions of the party. This is a very short chapter, only four pages long, as the sources the authors have found are very limited.

The third chapter deals with 1924-1926, the emergence of the party, the CPC's positions on the national question, and interventions on social fronts. The fourth chapter deals with the period 1926-1930, a period of party institutionalisation, and how it matured and grew as an organisation.

The fifth chapter deals with the period starting from Vatis' assumption of leadership (December 1930) to the October events in 1931. It deals with the CCP's relations with the Turkish Cypriots, and the CCP's confrontation with the *Enosis* movement, before taking a close look at the October events of 1931.

The sixth chapter deals with the aftermath of the October uprising (Oktovriana) and the Vatis-Skeleas-Servas conflict within the Third International -drawing on the previous work by Sakellaropoulos and Choumerianos, discussed above.

The seventh chapter deals with the period after October, until Servas took over the leadership, an era of political authoritarianism, when Communists were persecuted and banned by the British rulers.

Chapter Eight deals with the period that Ploutis Servas became general secretary until the eve of AKEL's creation (1935-1941). During this period the party is banned and is forced to work underground after the 1931 October events, but the fact that it seriously takes up trade union action is a huge boost to communism. The (illegal) party grows in influence and is paradoxically 'saved' from the kind of the contemporary dogmatic disputes which had plagued other communist parties in Europe at the time. This is the time that the underground party decided to establish a legal party structure that would eventually take the form of AKEL. This is also the period when there is a shift towards self-determination, self-government, and eventually *Enosis*. By World War II, the party shifts its position on the national question as its slogan now is for a united anti-fascist front.

Chapter Nine examines the creation of AKEL until its disbanding and its merging into AKEL. The conclusions are followed by biographical notes of leading members of the CPC.

This book is an attempt at a comprehensive narrative based on sources collected and synthesised, at least in Greek, with a thorough reference to the literature and other data available. The emphasis is on the dilemmas of Communists, the individuals involved, and their actions. It would be fruitful if the authors took more into account a broader review of the historiographical debates so that the Cypriot context could be integrated into a regional and global context of analysis.

The authors rightly note that the anticolonial struggle contains critical class-social dimensions. They do not revisit this issue, except for a reference to the concept of class struggle in the Vatis-Skeleas-Servas confrontation, in Moscow in 1932. Also, they do not explain how they comprehend the manifestations of the class struggle, nor do they link them, at each historical stage, to debates within the party.

The authors rightly consider unfair the criticism of the CPC in the Vatis-Skeleas (political) trial in Moscow, in 1932, while the Comintern was changing positions in that extremely volatile period. The authors avoid characterisations of the pioneers of Cypriot communism. However, apart from the documents, which in any case must always be interpreted in their specific context, the testimonies they cite are based either on individuals who were youths or students in the early period, and/or those who later became leaders of the party. Also, in substance, the basic position of Alecou/Sakellaropoulos does not differ substantially from the pro-enosis line of the subsequent leaders, who rejected the CPC anti-*Enosis* independence line: in the 1920s and early 1930s Cypriot communists *prioritised class over nation* as the basis for the creation of the anti-imperialist front. They saw the resolution of the national question in the colonial context as the realisation of the right to self-determination as set out by Lenin (1972) as part and parcel of a revolutionary strategy to realise socialism. The way forward was the creation of a Soviet Socialist Balkan federation. While they rightly attribute the main responsibility to the twists and turns of the Comintern, the authors remain quite negative on the CPC's stand against *Enosis*, which they consider to be wrong because, they argue, it deterred it from reaching the Greek Cypriot masses.

The authors however fail to address the cruciality of political cost for the Cypriot Left (and in turn for the Cypriot society as a whole) of the change of line in the early 1940s, when the leadership adopts the *Enosis* line: This change undermined the very basis for *class as the foundation for an anticolonial cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots*. Today, in hindsight, the critique of the pioneering communists towards *Enosis* has been historically vindicated, as they correctly predicted what was

to follow. However, the solid arguments they put forward at the time, under those circumstances, demonstrate they had mastered dialectics for they correctly analysed the facts on the ground at the time. There may have been tactical errors, perhaps adopting milder rhetoric, that would have made their arguments more receptive and less objectionable by the conservatives. However, examining their position today, one can see that it made sense. The position of the CPC on the national question in Cyprus would be resolved once the Cypriot people rid themselves from British colonial yoke when workers and peasants realise the goal of a revolution to build an independent socialist state within a Balkan socialist federation. Well before the party was officially accepted by the Comintern, the CPC saw the prospects of revolution in Cyprus tied to the prospects of an international workers' revolution. It was not a position imposed from outside i.e. the Comintern or some other communist centre. The way forward, as they saw it at the time, was based on what they saw as the necessity of a Greek and Turkish workers' united front against the British colonialists. The view that the CPC was simply towing the line of the shifts and turns of the Comintern is simply untrue. Evidence shows that the Greek and British communists did regularly reach out to the Comintern, for advice, guidance, knowhow and support; many took up such views but this was never an issue of mere 'obedience'. Communication was not easy, and, in any case, they formulated their line on the basis of the realities, the contestations, the balance of forces in furthering the struggle in Cyprus in the resolution of the national and colonial question from the 1920s till the 1940s.

In any case, even later when the communists changed their line, abandoning the independence within a Balkan Socialist Federation, they were still wavering between 'self-determination', 'self-government', and Enosis, which reflected the fluidity of the geopolitical and social landscape in Cyprus and their domestic political dilemmas stemming from the realities of political forces in Cyprus. The right-wing and conservative nationalists (around the church for the Greek Cypriots and around the pro-British elite for the Turkish Cypriots) never believed that the communists had really changed their position.

The authors rightly link the developments of the 1924-1944 period with the subsequent development of AKEL. The CPC is dissolved but continues to exist 'by other means' as it takes over the leadership of AKEL: By 1947 AKEL adopts, in the party's programme, scientific socialism as its guiding theory and democratic centralism as its organisational principle. Interestingly, the process of 'Bolshevisation', which other CPs had gone through 20 years earlier, was only completed, with its own peculiari-

ties, in 1952. The ‘Stalinisation’ processes are there but they are adapted to take the rather ‘milder’ forms in the fluid Cypriot context. Not that the leadership would spare anyone who was deemed to be opposed to the line in the party; by 1952, opposition voices were expelled or silenced. Soon however, after the death of Stalin, ‘de-Stalinisation’ would again take a slower and milder form in Cyprus. In this sense, the CPC was only *formally* dissolved, to survive politically, ideologically, and organisationally, in another form.

### Some Critical Remarks about the Volume

While historically this book is interesting and important for the internal Cypriot context, it would be extremely fruitful if the authors had a broader review of the historical and historiographical debates, to locate the Cypriot situation within a regional and global framework of analysis of communism in the first half of the 20th century.<sup>38</sup>

Second, the authors rightly note that national liberation from colonialism contains critical class-social dimensions. They aptly consider that the Moscow interrogators subjected Vatis and Skeleas to unfair questioning and criticisms about the CPC position and role during the (political) Vatis-Skeleas trial in Moscow in 1932. The Comintern itself was twisting and turning, constantly changing positions during this volatile period, demonstrating the difficulty in correctly reading the political situation and what was to be done. The CPC was forced to make difficult decisions during such a volatile local context, thereby changing its positions and slogans. The authors avoid taking a clear position, relying instead on commentaries of others, or attempting to deduce conclusions from their sources without much commentary of their own. However, there are problematic issues of interpretation of the historical context: their conclusion remains within the logic that the early communists’ position against *Enosis* was a major obstacle for the growth of the party, which also assumes that their change to a pro-*Enosis* line was somehow ‘natural’ or ‘inevitable’. However, this position cannot stand in the face of evidence: with hindsight, we all know what happened when *Enosis* prevailed, which is precisely what the early communists of the 1920s and early 1930s had predicted. The consequences were apparent to them, and they rightly warned about the danger of how the imperialists would drive a wedge that

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<sup>38</sup> See Young, Robert J.C., *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); Bryan D. ‘How Can We Write Better Histories of Communism?’ *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 83, 2019 (pp. 199–232. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26741327>. Accessed 6 Sep. 2022); Anne Garland Mahler and Paolo Capuzzo (eds.) *The Comintern and the Global South* (London: Routledge, 2023).

would divide the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot masses along national lines.<sup>39</sup> The arguments they put forward at the time, in those circumstances, demonstrate that they were dealing correctly and dialectically with the facts of the time. There may have been tactical errors and another rhetoric would have been preferable, but their position was essentially correct. After all, even when the line was changed, the position of party remained ambivalent as it reflected the fluidity of the geopolitical and social space of the country: the shifts are between self-determination-self-government, even though there were moments of full identification with *Enosis*.

A closer scrutiny of the time is revealing. There was a collapse of the old order after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia, while the Asia Minor catastrophe (for the Greeks, but not for the victorious Turks) had demonstrated the catastrophic results of the 'Megali Idea' ('Great Idea'): *Enosis* was the Greek Cypriot aspect of the 'Megali Idea' projected, which had been fully discredited. Greek imperialistic irredentism seeking to annex territories in Asia Minor had violently collapsed, leading to violence, deaths and millions of refugees, and an exchange of populations. At the time, Cypriot Communists rightly critiqued such old irredentism. It argued that it was the same bourgeois class who exploits the workers and peasants (the pawnbrokers and loan sharks) who was promising *Enosis*, essentially attempting to divert attention away from the urgent need for radical social transformation. In the meantime, British colonial taxation was causing mass poverty and landlessness.

The communist strategy of the united anti-imperialist front seemed sound, but the question is in *what terms, with whom and for which goal* (immediate and longer-term). During the high point of what was considered to be a revolutionary era, the line of *independence within the framework of a Balkan Soviet Socialist Federation* seemed highly plausible and appealing, as it allowed both Greeks and Turks workers and radicals to cooperate. Also, this could appeal, to some extent, to the radicalised sections of nationalists who were prepared to break with the British. This is a period of cataclysmic world-changing events -revolutionary prospects also exist in post-Ottoman Turkey, where there was a strong element of Jacobinism within the ideological

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<sup>39</sup> Vatiotiis, under the pseudonym Nikos Kleomenis, insisted to the end that "the slogan for union is counter-revolutionary, utopian and is a weapon in the hands of British imperialism to divide the Cypriot workers". Vatiotiis, C. «Εθνικισμός ή Κομμουνισμός» (1931) ["Nationalism or Communism?"; Η Kallis (ed.) *Ιστορία του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Κύπρου*, (History of the Communist Party of Cyprus (unpublished), published in *Περιπέτειες Ιδεών*, τ. 9, *Πολίτης* 28.1.2007, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/21757896/peripeties-09>

and political project of *Kemalism*.<sup>40</sup> There were, however objective difficulties in attracting Turkish Cypriots. Many of them were radicalised but found it difficult to join the party; yet some did. The fact that there were not many Turkish Cypriot members is not, as the authors allege, because Turkish Cypriots were mostly ‘uneducated’ or confined to agricultural production. In fact, many were educated and, for historical reasons, part of the British administration. *Kemalism*, during the first phase of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, was fluid and open and attracted progressives, who were also friendly to the Greeks.<sup>41</sup> Besides, in 1930 the pact of friendship between Venizelos and Kemal was signed. At the time Venizelos was opposed to Enosis, particularly if this took the form of a violent process against Britain.<sup>42</sup> There is significant scholarship on the Turkish Cypriots that demonstrates how many democratic-minded and Leftist Turkish Cypriots were active and were organised politically and socially, disputing simplistic nationalistic assumptions about their alleged ‘backwardness’ or ‘deficient modernisation’.<sup>43</sup>

When this revolutionary zeal and the prospect for such socialist federation in the Balkans and the USSR (Comintern was later disbanded) faded, the world out-

<sup>40</sup> Eren Duzgun in his book, *Capitalism, Jacobinism and International Relations: Revisiting Turkish Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022) examines the path of Jacobinism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. He argues that until the 1950s, the Ottoman/Turkish experiment with modernity was not marked by capitalism, but by a historically specific Jacobinism. The assertion of this Jacobin legacy then leads to a new interpretation of the subsequent transition to capitalism and its authoritarian consolidation in modern Turkey.

<sup>41</sup> See Georghallides, G. S. (1985) *Cyprus and the governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: the cause of the 1931 crisis*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

<sup>42</sup> See Katsis, A. (2021) *Η πολιτική της Ένωσης (1923-1974) – Από τη Λοζάνη στον Ατίλα (The politics of the Union (1923-1974) - From Lausanne to Attila)*, Limassol: Herodotos.

<sup>43</sup> See Kızılyürek N. (2002) “Modernity, Nationalism and the Perspectives of a Cypriot Union”, *CEMOTI, Cahiers d’Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien* Année 2002, Vol. 34, 211-230 <https://doi.org/10.4000/cemoti.751>; Kızılyürek, N. (2012) “Turkish-Cypriot Left: A Historical Overview”, Trimikliniotis, N., Bozkurt, U. (eds) *Beyond a Divided Cyprus. Palgrave Macmillan*, New York; Kızılyürek, N. (2009) *Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, Η Τουρκία και το κυπριακό (Turkish-Cypriots, Turkey and the Cyprus problem)*, Athens: Papazisis; Anagnostopoulou, S. (2004) *Τουρκικός εκσυγχρονισμός: Ισλάμ και Τουρκοκύπριοι στη δαιδαλώδη διαδρομή του κεμαλισμού (Turkish modernization: Islam and Turkish Cypriots in the labyrinthine path of Kemalism)*, Athens: Vivliorama; Ktoris, S. (2013) “AKEL and the Turkish-Cypriots”, *Cyprus Review*, Vol. 25, Fall 2013, 15-38; Nicos Moudouros (2021) *State of Exception in the Mediterranean: Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot Community*, London: Palgrave MacMillan; Djavid An, A. and Christofi, N. (2021) “Η Τουρκοκυπριακή Αριστερά και τα προβλήματα συνεργασίας με την Ελληνοκυπριακή Αριστερά” (“The Turkish Cypriot Left and the problems of cooperation with the Greek Cypriot Left”), Christofi, Christofi, A. (ed.) *Μεταξύ Έθνους και Τάξης: Αριστερές και Κυπριακό 1920 – 1974 (Between Nation and Order: Leftism and the Cyprus Problem 1920-1974)*, Thessaloniki: Psifides.



look changed. However, the Communists' turn towards a more positive orientation towards *Enosis* would become a zero-sum game: Choosing to align with the Greek Cypriot nationalists over the Turkish Cypriots inevitably meant that Turkish Cypriots could not join the united front en masse and they would be pushed toward their own separatist nationalism. But the choice of *Enosis* was neither predetermined, nor natural, nor inevitable. In fact, Venizelos in 1931 was opposed to *Enosis*. It is crucial to note that geopolitically, the Turkish-Greek relations were completely transformed from what they had been in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Third, a notable gap is the absence of discussion to the assassination of Antonios Triantaphyllides, a leading lawyer appointed as one of the five commissioners of the Colony's Advisory Council, returning from Larnaca to his home in Nicosia on 12 January, 1934.<sup>44</sup> Rumours were rife that he was 'punished' by his former peers, as he had previously been an influential member of the EREK, for his collaboration with the British after the October uprising –he had crossed over to the enemy British 'camp', enjoying a massive salary in a high administrative position, his enemies insisted. However, he argued that the only way forward was negotiation to gradually achieve autonomy. In any case, the Communists were blamed for the murder and, 12 months later, Stavros Christodoulou, considered to be a member of the Communist Party, was accused of the assassination. He was acquitted in a high-profile case.

This probable political assassination remains a taboo subject for both Cypriot society and historians, and a cold case that no one seemed interested in solving let alone investigating publicly, until Cypriot historian Andrekos Varnava opened it up with an extremely interesting monograph he published. In this context the communists, who for the nationalist historiography were supposedly 'defeated', were serious enough of a threat for the British colonialists to conspire to make such a plot. The charges could not be substantiated and were thrown out of court.

### **Scarce Sources and Expediency in a Fluid and Contradictory World: Rethinking the History of the Cypriot Left**

A century after the emergence of Cypriot communism, the official Greek Cypriot narrative clings to the myths about 'the ancient desire' and 'natural inclination' to unite with 'the motherland'. With hindsight, it is apparent that the Communists who opposed this project, arguing that *Enosis* is an ideological project that would divide the

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<sup>44</sup> Andrekos Varnava (2021), *Assassination in Colonial Cyprus in 1934 and the Origins of EOKA: Reading the Archives against the Grain*, Anthem Press, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1g13k0v>

working class and divert attention from the necessity of a united anticolonial and anti-imperialist front of Greeks and Turks, are today fully vindicated. Yet official Greek Cypriot history treats and vilifies them as traitors. Much of the ‘official’ history tends to undervalue, if not ignore altogether, the anticolonial struggles of the Left and often denigrates the Left. There are also some who claim to be on the Left but are inclined to nationalism, especially amongst the intelligentsia.<sup>45</sup> Hence, the use of labels ranging from ‘leftism’, ‘sectarianism’ and ‘immaturity’ to slanders and insults alleging ‘betrayal’ of the liberation struggle, which is uncritically equated *exclusively* with Enosis (union with Greece). However, liberation from British colonialism was a long struggle for self-determination, which took different forms and claims: from independence, including a Republic within a Socialist Balkan Federation (as the Communist strove for in the tumultuous interwar years), to forms of self-government as well as incorporation within another state, i.e., *Enosis*. In response to *Enosis* the Turkish Cypriot nationalists pursued ‘Taksim’ i.e., partition. The exact *shape* of the form of the state that would emerge after the liberation from British colonialism was to be decided by the multi-ethnically composed Cypriot people when exercising their right to self-determination. However, the international and local context was such that imposed major constraints on such choices; nothing is decided in vacuum. The attempt to ‘monopolise’ or claim some form of exclusivity of the liberation struggle is a misconstruction of history. The claim that the anticolonial liberation struggle is equated to the Enosis project of the Greek-Cypriot is a false depiction of the past *imposed* by the postcolonial regime that emerged in Cyprus made up by former EOKA fighters under president, archbishop Makarios. The bi-communal cohabitation in the consociational governmental regime was short lived: by the end of 1963 intercommunal strife wrecked the processes intercommunal cooperation and burned the institutional bridges, a pillar of which was the Left and workers’ movement. History became a major ideological domain for the nationalist ideology and the Greek-Cypriot official narrative left no room for any alternative to the official line that anticolonial liberation meant ‘struggle for Enosis’. Historical, political and social scientists have long

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<sup>45</sup> For an analysis of this see Trimikliniotis, N. (2022) ‘Επίμετρο – Ο Ανταποικιακός Αγώνας, το Εθνικό Ζήτημα και η Αριστερά στις Αρχές του 20ού Αιώνα’ (Epilogue – The Anti-colonial Struggle, the National Question and the Left in the Early 20th Century), Christofis, N. (ed.) (2022) *Μεταξύ Έθνους και Τάξης: Αριστερές και Κυπριακό, 1920-1974 (Between Nation and Class: The Left and The Cyprus Problem, 1920-1974)*, Psifides, Thessaloniki, and Trimikliniotis, N. (2005) ‘Το Εθνικό Ζήτημα, η Αριστερά και το Κυπριακό: Αντι-ιμπεριαλισμός ή Αντι-εθνικισμός;’ *Θέσεις* vol. 92, July- September 2005.

challenged this.<sup>46</sup> The hegemony of nationalism is maintained via different methods and this process can take different shapes and forms, as a kind of ‘joker of politics’.<sup>47</sup>

The Communists of the 1920s managed to correctly predict that the *Enosis* campaign would divide the two communities and allow the local elites and the colonialists to divide and (continue to) rule. Hence the importance of the volumes on Cypriot Communism.

To appreciate these two volumes, one must locate and contextualise them within the few other sources and studies available on Cypriot Communism of the 1920s and 1930s. This paper will not embark on a general review of the bibliography on Cypriot communism. There are certainly interesting works on the emergence and operation of Cypriot communism, some are hostile to Cypriot Communism,<sup>48</sup> others adopt an approach that avoids taking a position, rather they analyse by locating the Cypriot communist party within the context of the political and social actors.<sup>49</sup> The aim of

<sup>46</sup> Attalides, M. (ed.) (1977). *Cyprus Reviewed*, Nicosia: Jus Cypri; Attalides, M. (1979). *Cyprus, Nationalism and International Politics*. Edinburgh: Q Press; Kitromilides, P. (1977). ‘From Coexistence to Confrontation: The Dynamics of Eth-nic Conflict in Cyprus’. In Attalides, M. (ed.), *Cyprus Reviewed*. Nicosia: Jus Cypri, 35-70. Kitromilides, P. (1979). ‘The Dialectic of Intolerance’. In Worsley, P. and Kitromilides, P. (eds), *Small States in the Modern World: Conditions for Their Survival*, revised edition. Nicosia: New Cyprus Association and Cyprus Geographical Association, Cyprus. Kitromilides, P. (1982). ‘To Ιδεολογικό Πλαίσιο της Πολιτικής Ζωής στην Κύπρο’ [The Ideological Framework of Political Life in Cyprus]. In Tenekidis, G. and Kranidiotis, Y. (eds), *Κύπρος – Ιστορία, Προβλήματα και Αγώνες του Λαού της* [Cyprus – History, Problems and Struggles of its People]. Athens: Estia. Kitromilides, P. (1998-99). ‘Κυπριακές Πολιτικές Στάσεις και Επίλυση του Κυπριακού’ [Cypriot Political Positions and the Solution to the Cyprus Problem]. *Σύγχρονα Θέματα*, Vol. 68-69-70, 108-110. Kızılyürek, N. (1990). ‘The Turkish Cypriot Upper Class and Question of Identity’. In Mehmet Ali, A. (ed.), *Turkish Cypriot Identity in Literature*. Fatal Press, 20-32. Kızılyürek, N. (1999). *Κύπρος: Το Αδιέξοδο των Εθνικισμών* [Cyprus: The Stalemate of Nationalisms]. Athens: Mavri Lista; Kızılyürek, N. (2009). *Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, η Τουρκία και το Κυπριακό* [The Turkish Cypriots, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem]. Athens: Papazisis; Trimikliniotis, N. and Bozkurt, U. (eds), *Beyond A Divided Cyprus: A State and Society in Transformation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

<sup>47</sup> Michaelangelo Anastasiou (2022) *Nationalism and Hegemony: The Consolidation of the Nation in Social and Political Life*, Routledge, London.

<sup>48</sup> For instance, Adams, T. W (1971) *AKEL: The Communist Party of Cyprus*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press; Papageorgiou, S. (1984/2004) *ΑΚΕΛ το άλλο Κ.Κ.Ε. [AKEL, The other Communist Party of Greece]*, Nicosia: Epifaniou; Kamilaris, G. (2016) *Η Αριστερά στη Σύγχρονη Κυπριακή Ιστορία* (The Left in Contemporary Cypriot History), Nicosia: Author’s own publication.

<sup>49</sup> Georghallides, G. S. (1979) *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926 with a survey of the foundations of British rule*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre and Georghallides, G. S. (1985) *Cyprus and the governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: the cause of the 1931 crisis*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

the paper is to confine its analysis to the question of how communists and those who align themselves with the Left in Cyprus view the history of Cypriot communism.<sup>50</sup>

Among the sources available, of importance is a four-page letter by the Greek veteran Communist and journalist Orpheus Economides to the Central Committee of AKEL, written some 35 years after the events (9/8/1976), as well as two relevant unpublished AKEL texts. First, the unpublished *Essay on the History of the KKK-AKEL*,<sup>51</sup> approved by the Central Committee of AKEL, originally written by Minos Perdios in 1968.<sup>52</sup> The second source is another unpublished text, *History of the KKK-AKEL, From the Early 20th Century to 1981*, intended as the official history of the party.<sup>53</sup> This was drafted by party historians and approved by the party leadership, but was never published; intra-party rivalry during the perestroika, but especially the split that followed in 1990, apparently prevented the attempt to find a consensus on the party's history. The two 'histories' however have circulated informally, but they are not readily available.<sup>54</sup>

There is a remarkable study by Yannis Lefkis (Yannis Papangelou, 1899-1991), *Rizes* (Roots).<sup>55</sup> He was a Limassol-based Communist intellectual and a founding member of the Communist party in the 1920s. While written some 50 years later, with the problems that such an endeavour entails, this text is an important source.

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<sup>50</sup> This paper does not imply that a Marxist/class analysis is neither the main, nor the sole framework of interpretation of a historical political-ideological phenomenon in its own terms. Valuable contributions from different perspectives are welcome and contribute to the debates.

<sup>51</sup> Perdios, M. (1968) *Δοκίμιο για την Ιστορία του ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ (Essay on the History of the ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ)*, unpublished paper, approved by the CC of AKEL.

<sup>52</sup> Perdios contemporary and initially close associate of Ploutis Servas, but who later became one of his main critics in Limassol. He played a key role in deposing Servas from the position of Secretary General in 1945.

<sup>53</sup> ΑΚΕΛ, *Ιστορία του ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ: Από τις Αρχές του 20ού Αιώνα μέχρι το 1981*, [AKEL, *History of the ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ: From the Beginnings of the 20th Century until 1981*], (unpublished), CC AKEL, Nicosia, 1985.

<sup>54</sup> See Trimikliniotis, N. (2022) 'Επίμετρο – Ο Ανταποικιακός Αγώνας, το Εθνικό Ζήτημα και η Αριστερά στις Αρχές του 20ού Αιώνα» (Epilogue - The Anti-colonial Struggle, the National Question and the Left in the Early 20th Century"), Christofis, N. (ed.) (2022) *Μεταξύ Έθνους και Τάξης: Αριστερές και Κυπριακό, 1920-1974 (Between Nation and Class: The Left and The Cyprus Problem, 1920-1974)*, Psifides, Thessaloniki. For a more elaborate analysis, see Trimikliniotis, N. (2022) 'Ξαναδιαβάζοντας το Κυπριακό Ζήτημα στο Τρίγωνο Κύπρου-Ελλάδας-Τουρκίας: Ο Ανταποικιακός Αγώνας, το Εθνικό Ζήτημα και η Αριστερά από τον 20ό στον 21ο Αιώνα' (Rereading the Cyprus Issue in the Cyprus-Greece-Turkey Triangle: The Anti-Colonial Struggle, the National Question and the Left from the 20th to the 21st Century), *Θέσεις*, vol. 160, July- September 2022, 117-153.

<sup>55</sup> Papangelou, Y. (1984/1991), *Ρίζες* (Roots), Limassol.

Various memoirs have also been published, which, while valuable, are rather selective due to memory deficiencies, and, intentionally or not, the later attitudes of the authors determine what they remember and what they forget. Important is the volume, initially published as articles in *Phileleftheros*, by the former General Secretary Fifis Ioannou (1945-49), a journalist at the time, many years later, in the early 1970s.<sup>56</sup>

Also of importance is the small study by the historian Kostas Grekos, *The October Uprising and the KKK*. This is one of the few texts by a professional historian who had also worked for the Cypriot trade union movement and the Left.<sup>57</sup>

New studies have appeared on nationalism and Communism that contribute to our understanding of Cypriot Communism.<sup>58</sup> Focusing on the early period, Yiannos Katsourides published a book in English.<sup>59</sup> The study is certainly useful and contains aspects of history unknown to many besides those who have access to material of the history of the party and the movement. However, its major weakness is that it reproduces the characterisations of the pioneer Communists in the *Essay on the History of KKK-AKEL* by Perdios. Katsourides quotes and cites Communist leaders of the 1950s who had been ardent proponents of the party's shift towards *Enosis* in the 1950s and who had every reason to undervalue and denigrate the pioneers of Communism. These are the leaders who deposed Servas. Katsourides seems to follow Perdios' line, often uncritically. It is thus not surprising that Communist pioneers are depicted suffering from 'Leftist sectarianism' and 'anti-Marxism'. Katsourides reproduces without comment more or less the arguments levelled by Perdios about 'immaturity', 'deviationism' and 'low educational and ideological standards'.<sup>60</sup> How-

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<sup>56</sup> Ioannou, F. (2005) *Έτσι Άρχισε το Κυπριακό*, Philistor, Athens.

<sup>57</sup> Grekos, Kostas, *Η Εξέγερση του Οκτώβρη και το ΚΚΚ*, (The October Uprising and the CCP), Nicosia. It is beyond the scope of this paper to refer to various publications on the October uprising by nationalists; they generally ignore or undervalue the role of Cypriot communists.

<sup>58</sup> Some old sources include the following: Colonial Government of Cyprus, *Communism in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1955) prepared by the Cyprus Intelligence Committee. T. W. Adams, AKEL: The Communist Party of Cyprus (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1971); George C. Fidas, 'The Evolution of Cypriot Communism', *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 6:1/2 (Spring/Summer 1973); Heinz A. Richter, 'Die Kommunistische Partei Zyperns 1926 -1944', *THETIS* 3 (1996), pp. 207-216; Yiorghos Leventis, 'The Politics of the Cypriot Left in the Inter-War Period', *Synthesis: Review of Modern Greek Studies*, 2:1 (1997), pp.1-15; Heinz A. Richter (2003) 'The Cypriot Communist party and the Comintern', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 15 No. 1 (2003), 99-119, <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/article/view/396/351>

<sup>59</sup> Katsourides, Y. *The History of the Communist Party in Cyprus: Colonialism, Class and the Cypriot Left*, I. B. Tauris, London, 2014.

<sup>60</sup> Katsourides, Y. *The History of the Communist Party in Cyprus*, pp. 106-108.

ever, a closer examination is required to explain the perpetual harsh criticisms and condemnation of the Communist pioneers by later Communist leaders and authors. One must locate the position of the CPC on the national question, in the context of the shifts and turns of the line the Comintern and other communist parties on the national and colonial question from the 1920s till the 1940s.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the book by Katsourides largely reproduces the attempt approach that depicts the pioneers of Cypriot communism as heroic but rather misguided, ‘immature’ and ‘sectarian’ on the national question. This was the line taken by AKEL after 1974. The criticism levied against communist pioneers can be explained by the *new* leaderships in the effort to legitimise their change of policy, particularly the shift of the party line towards *Enosis*, in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1952, the party considered that the original CPC anti-*Enosis* line (i.e., the slogan for an independent socialist republic in Soviet Socialist Balkan Federation) was ‘sectarian’ and a ‘Trotskyist Leftist deviation’. At the time, the party expelled those who failed to unequivocally express support for ‘*Enosis* and only *Enosis*’,<sup>62</sup> adopted in the 1949 congress.<sup>63</sup> Those who questioned the new

<sup>61</sup> See Young, Robert J.C. 2001. *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell and Anne Garland Mahler and Paolo Capuzzo (eds) *The Comintern and the Global South. Global Designs/Local Encounters*. Routledge, 2023.

<sup>62</sup> This was slogan that apparently Nicos Zachariades had told the delegation of Cypriot communists to adopt during the meeting on the 8th of November 1948, which sought the advice of the Greek Communist Party. The delegation made of the General Secretary, Fifis Ioannou and the leader of the Trade union, PEO, Andreas Ziartides. AKEL changes its line, but this was no automatic process or without disagreements. As a result of this contact, Fifis Ioannou, who returned to Cyprus about 10 days before Ziartides, convened the C.C. which adopted the position of Zachariades and the slogan “*Enosis* and only *Enosis*”. Fifis Ioannou was deposed and replaced by Ezekias Papaioannou. From the 17 members of the C.C. the proposal was opposed by five members, Adam Adamantos, Vasos Vasileiou, Kostas Partasidis, Miltiadis Christodoulou and Ploutis Servas. See Michalis Michael “Η συνάντηση ηγετών του ΑΚΕΛ με το Ν. Ζαχαριάδη μετά τη Διασκεπτική” (“The meeting of AKEL leaders with N. Zacharias after the Conference”), *Dialogos*, May 7, 2022, available <https://dialogos.com.cy/i-synantisi-igetou-toy-akel-me-to-n-zachariadi-meta-ti-diaskeptiki-2/>. Also, see Peonides, P., A. Ziartides, (2005) *Χωρίς Φόβο και Πάθος (Without Fear or Passion)*, Nicosia and Ioannou, F. (2005) *Έτσι Αρχισε το Κυπριακό (This is how the Cyprus problem began)*, Athens: Philistor.

<sup>63</sup> This is expressed in the decision to expel Ploutis Servas and others in 1952. which accused Servas of being “uninterested in equipping the party with a Marxist-Stalinist national policy, it adopted the sectarian line of Soviet Cyprus within the framework of the Soviet Balkan Federation, which is a Trotskyist leftist deviation. He later modified it to the line of autonomy (Constitution within the framework of the British Empire) and when the party as a result of its contact with the masses and in the conditions of the anti-fascist struggle, found the right line of national restoration, Servas discovered the famous theory of the automatic, struggle-free realization of the Union at the end of the war.” See, Demetris Papademetris, “27.8.1952: Το δεύτερο μέρος της απόφασης της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του ΑΚΕΛ για την αποβολή των Πλουτή Σέρβα, Χριστοφή Οικονομίδη (Νούση) και Γώγου Κακογιάννη. S-964”, *Ηλεκτρονική Ιστορία της*

position, showed sympathy for the previous position AKEL had held, for a gradualist road to self-determination via autonomy, and refused to fully and publicly support the new line, were expelled as ‘opportunists’ and ‘sectarians’.

After the 1974 catastrophe, AKEL, in 1976, under the same leadership, for the first time published the pictures of the Communist pioneers and praised them for their ‘heroism’ and their ‘foresight’.<sup>64</sup> The party recognised that, ‘during the 50 years of the party’s many-sided work, there have been errors and marks of weakness’, but considers these to be ‘quite natural, as the conditions were difficult and complicated’. The party communique hastens to add that it never concealed its weaknesses, rather ‘earmarked and corrected them’, citing as examples that ‘in 1945 it fought against factionalism and in 1949 against opportunism and sectarianism’.<sup>65</sup> Without naming them, the communique’s apparent references are the expulsions of Servas, Fifis Ioannou, Adamantos, etc., who were later *partially* and *de facto rehabilitated*.<sup>66</sup> The apparent process is long but incomplete, inchoate, and rather silent, only semi-rehabilitating. It is obvious that times were changing, and a historical sociology of Cypriot Communism is now warranted.<sup>67</sup>

The difficulties of AKEL to publish *the* history, or at least *a* history of Cypriot Communism, can be read as a complex story that can be understood only by appreciating the party’s structures and history, its internal power dynamics and contestations, its habitus and modus operandi. The complex relation of CPC to the Comintern and

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Κύπρου, [http://papademetris.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1522%3As-964&catid=147%3A1950-1952-14&Itemid=117](http://papademetris.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1522%3As-964&catid=147%3A1950-1952-14&Itemid=117)

<sup>64</sup> CC of AKEL, 1983, *AKEL, The Party of the Working People*, AKEL, Nicosia. This is a shorter version, 148-page long, of the 400-page long Greek publication *ΑΚΕΛ, Το Κόμμα του Εργαζομένου Λαού* (AKEL, Nicosia, 1978), celebrating the 50-year anniversary in 1976, published in 1978.

<sup>65</sup> CC of AKEL, 1983, *AKEL, The Party of the Working People*, p. 16

<sup>66</sup> The pictures of Servas and Ioannou never appear in the above party publication. Later on, under Christofias, Fifis Ioannou is partly rehabilitated, as Christofias wrote the preface to the book by Fifis Ioannou, Ioannou, F. (2005) *Έτσι Άρχισε το Κυπριακό (This is How the Cyprus Problem Started)*. Athens: *Philistor*. Subsequent leaders of AKEL, Andros Kyprianou (2009-2021) and Stefanos Stefanou (2021-), have continued the processes of partial rehabilitation for Ploutis Servas and Adam Adamantos by being speakers at meeting AKEL had organised to honour these political figures.

<sup>67</sup> Trimikliniotis, N. ‘The National Question, Partition and Geopolitics in the 21st Century: The Cyprus Problem, the Social Question and the Politics of Reconciliation’, *Global Discourse*, vol. 18, issues 2/3, 2018, 303-320, doi.org/10.1080/23269995.2018.1461440. Also see, Trimikliniotis, Nicos. (2022) ‘Ξαναδιαβάζοντας το Κυπριακό Ζήτημα στο Τρίγωνο Κύπρου-Ελλάδας-Τουρκίας: Ο Αντιποικιακός Αγώνας, το Εθνικό Ζήτημα και η Αριστερά από τον 20ό στον 21ο αιώνα’ (Rereading the Cyprus Issue in the Cyprus-Greece-Turkey Triangle: The Anti-Colonial Struggle, the National Question and the Left from the 20th to the 21st Century), *Θέσεις*, vol. 160, July- September 2022, 117-153.

the contradictions and changes of the international communist movement line is an additional factor complicating matters. As for the internal factors, the banning of the CPC in 1931, forcing it underground, gave communists an opportunity to engage in trade union activity as an excellent political outlet that largely ‘sheltered’ the party from possible divisions on ‘dogmatic’ issues that plagued other parties. The downside of this, however, was that it forced serious theoretical debates underground, generating traditions that prefer a kind of pragmatic ‘practical’ approach, by focusing on handling the ‘practicalities’ of everydayness, rather than grappling with the Marxian ‘theoretical practice’. Hence, there is little theoretical debate on the strategy for socialist transition in Cyprus, which would be part and parcel of the anticolonial struggle as guide for political action. Also, let’s not forget that the pioneers were no longer in the leadership to defend their old positions. This pragmatism is entrenched in the party modus operandi, which allowed for flexibility for the leadership to change its position and the party’s central slogans would shift and change without much debate based on theoretical grounds or reference to previous positions.

The dominant view amongst Cypriot Communists is that the road to socialism passes through different ‘stages’ of the struggle; the first stage of which is a national liberation against colonialism. The task here is establishing an anti-imperialist front that would lead the anticolonial struggle.<sup>68</sup> With the establishment of AKEL in 1941, the illegal CPC became as secret internal organisation as the driving force, until it was dissolved within the broader party, with the communists assuming the leading role. AKEL adopted ‘scientific socialism’ as its leading theory/ideology, and democratic centralism as its organisational mode to be fully ‘Bolshevised’ in a transition between 1945 to 1952. This is a 20-year delay process when compared with other communist parties, which coincided with the shift of the party line from self-governance to *Enosis*. The new leadership rejected the position of the pioneers of communism on the national question and the debate on the subject was frozen on the national question. AKEL was simply the historical continuation of the CPC within AKEL and that was it.

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<sup>68</sup> There were some who took a different line then, however these were minority views, mainly inspired by Trotskyist critiques. Even today there are those who criticise AKEL for ‘stagism’, a Stalinist remnant, suggesting that the Left in Cyprus can only reemerge if it steps out of the confines of the “national question. See L. Fischer, D. Economou (2015) “Cyprus at the Crossroads”, *Jacobin* 26.5.2015, <https://jacobin.com/2015/05/cyprus-communists-syriza-greece> and L. Fischer (2017) “Reuniting Cyprus?”, *Jacobin*, 27.1.2017, <https://jacobin.com/2017/01/cyprus-reunification-negotiations-akel-kke-greece-turkey>. Some defend the stagist approach, see Katsourides, Y. (2014) “The National Question in Cyprus and the Cypriot Communist Left in the Era of British Colonialism (1922–59)”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 16:4, 474-501, DOI: 10.1080/19448953.2014.940765



In this context, since the 1950s, openly debating the history of the party was hardly a priority. It was a mass party from the 1940s with the aim of appealing to broader masses and with the adoption of Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology, and it faced a fierce anti-communist propaganda by the Right and the church. The engagement in everyday affairs and institutional politics made theoretical and ideological debates, including the party's history, an *internal* matter for the cadres' education and for the higher echelons of the leadership in international relations with other communist parties and internal ideological education.<sup>69</sup> It was not a core part of the decision-making process for learning, adapting and sharpening of theoretical/ideological or scientific production of knowledge for strategic purposes. This led to a general refraining from engaging in theoretical debates and the production of theoretical texts. The *habitus* of the party cadres was one of prioritising and focusing on immediate practical tasks of everyday politics, which was translated into a reluctance to critically evaluate past positions that may cause current or future rifts and divisions over what is perceived as a bygone era. The result is the long absence of a genuine debate about the strategy not only of the past, but also about the future.

Everything changes, however. Scholarship since the 1990s has debunked the nationalist attempts to monopolise the liberation struggles, as new generations of scholars have produced excellent studies based on a variety of methodology and archival material that has transformed the research agenda on Cypriot historiography. This has opened space for such debates, coming from different disciplines such as sociology,<sup>70</sup> anthropology, social psychology and history.<sup>71</sup> Sadly, these insights have had a marginal effect on the asphyxiated public sphere dominated by irredentism, and nationalism has left little space for a proper historical enquiry in what is called 'public

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<sup>69</sup> There have always been commemorations and has numerous internal lectures and seminars on history of the communism, but there is no systematic 'official' history as such.

<sup>70</sup> Trimikliniotis, N. (2019) '100 Years of Sociology in Colonial and Post-Colonial Cyprus: Mapping Public Sociology and Critical Thought of a Small Divided Island-Country', *Cyprus Review*, Volume 31: 1, Fall 2018, 133-191.

<sup>71</sup> Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"'. *History and Memory*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2008, pp. 128-48. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2022. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (eds)(2012) *Cyprus and the politics of Memory. History, Community and Conflict*, I. B. Tauris 2012; Psaltis, C. & Lytras, E.& Costache, S. (2011). *History Educators in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Community of Cyprus: Perceptions, Beliefs and Practices*. UNDP-ACT. ISBN: 978-9963-703-05-0; Çiftçi, D. (2018) 'Remembering the Past: The Collective Memory and Historiographies of Cyprus', *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 7(3), 152-162.

history'.<sup>72</sup> Some serious critiques did emerge only after 1974, but EOKA's irredentism in the form of the Enosis ideology was never officially challenged; in fact it continued to be celebrated, and was 'saved' by distinguishing EOKA (1955-59) from EOKA B (1971-1974). In any case, by the 1990s, there was gradual rehabilitation of the old right and nationalism. As memory faded, the *Enosis* and irredentism is celebrated by the Right, whilst there is an emergence of a new vigorous nationalistic far right, including neo-Nazi groups, which connect to elements of the 'old right'. It is not merely the continuation of an ossified political or intellectual polarisation, which artificially benefits from the polarisations, despite the fact that many such political cleavages and polarisations have played some role in establishing 'taboos' and 'totems'. We are dealing with various forms of contestations in a society polarised and fragmented ideologically and politically: old cleavages are being renewed and revamped in the new context where the political game and the terrain become more regional and global. A central element of the polarisation and discord in the struggle of ideas is about *history* and the future of a geopolitically divided country. This, essentially, is a manifestation of a rather ambivalent everyday life, of a fluid, at times violent, but 'lived' Cypriot independence that is contradictory and contested in a postcolonial divided 'border society'<sup>73</sup> where the notion 'border' and 'boundary' is a key characteristic of the society, reflected in country's division and its troubled past.<sup>74</sup>

There is still a major gap in the study of the Left, particularly in the first half of the 20th century. As Bryan Palmer points out, scholars of the Left ought 'to combine a more rigorous intellectual engagement with the writing in the field and imaginative

<sup>72</sup> Kelley, Robert. 'Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects'. *The Public Historian*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1978, pp. 16–28. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3377666>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2022; Jones, Arnita A. 'Public History Now and Then'. *The Public Historian*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1999, pp. 21–28. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3378956>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2022; Kean, H., Ashton, P. (2009). 'Introduction: People and their Pasts and Public History Today'. In Ashton, P., Kean, H. (eds) *People and their Pasts*, Palgrave Macmillan, London. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234468\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234468_1)

<sup>73</sup> The term belongs to Andreas Panayiotou, A. Moudouros, N., Misiaouli, A. (eds) (2022) *ANTHOLOGY Historical Texts and Analyses on the Evolution of the Positions on Cyprocentrism, Cypriot Consciousness, Cypriot Identity and Cypriotism*; Panayiotou, A. (2012). 'Border Dialectics: Cypriot Social and Historical Movements in a World Systemic Context', Trimikliniotis, N., Bozkurt, U. (eds) *Beyond a Divided Cyprus*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137100801\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137100801_4) and Panayiotou, A., 'Συνοριακές Εμπειρίες: Ερμηνεύοντας τον Πατριωτισμό της Κυπριακής Αριστεράς' [Border Experiences: Interpreting the Patriotism of the Cypriot Left], Trimikliniotis, N. (ed.) *Το Πορτοκαλί της Κύπρου [The Orange Colour of Cyprus]*, Nisos, Athens 2005.

<sup>74</sup> However, it must be noted that 'peaceful' coexistence as political cooperation (with contradictions / disagreements) within a commonly run independent state lasted only three years, between 1960-63, but this is beyond the scope of this essay.

and disciplined research into a history where there remains much to explore'. Inevitably there will be disagreements:

'Let our differences be aired on the basis of accurate representations of interpretive positions. If this means reading more carefully and fully, backing away from pigeonholing assessments of arguments and analytic stands that we find uncongenial, so be it. We need to be both more demanding of ourselves and humbler before the challenges posed in writing the history of Communism.'<sup>75</sup>

The publication of the two volumes on Cypriot Communism has extended an interesting debate, as the interest in the study of Communist and socialist and other radical alternatives seems to be gaining a new impetus in Cyprus. This is likely to continue further with other studies, including AKEL's own scheduled volume, by various authors to mark its centenary anniversary. This is not confined to Cyprus. Internationally, important new studies have sought to examine the relation between the Comintern and the Global South,<sup>76</sup> beyond archival studies, and these works pave the way for new readings, shedding new light and understandings on the relationship between the revolutionary movements and the relations between the various parties and movements, and Moscow. As Paolo Capuzzo and Anne Garland Mahler (2023, 7) point out,

'approaching this history from a more decentralized perspective can challenge the prevailing narrative on the Comintern, which has often treated affiliated organizations as though they faithfully followed directives from Moscow. Instead, communists in the Global South frequently ignored Moscow's directives or implemented them in more radical ways than instructed. The history of the Comintern has been characterized as "an unresolved debate between what can be termed history 'from above' and 'from below'"'.<sup>77</sup>

We are referring here to 'a dynamic as a constant negotiation' and mediated on the ground in the dialectic of the struggles, in the specific circumstances of each colonial context. Such encounters took place within the colonial relations and colonials

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<sup>75</sup> Palmer, Bryan D. 'How Can We Write Better Histories of Communism?' *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 83, 2019, pp. 199–232. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26741327>. Accessed 6 Sep. 2022.

<sup>76</sup> Anne Garland Mahler and Paolo Capuzzo (eds) *The Comintern and the Global South. Global Designs/Local Encounters*. Routledge, 2023.

<sup>77</sup> Anne Garland Mahler and Paolo Capuzzo, 'Introduction: The Comintern and the Global South — Global Designs/Local Encounters', Paolo Capuzzo and Anne Garland Mahler (eds) *The Comintern and the Global South. Global Designs/Local Encounters*. Routledge, 2023, p.7.

themselves influenced each other. In the context of Cyprus, there are only scattered references to such encounters and relations.<sup>78</sup>

Today it is essential to rethink the past in a way that contextualises and *connects* Cypriot communism to the international context. This was more than apparent in the interviews the present author conducted with the 90-year-old veteran intellectual,<sup>79</sup> who had been entrusted to deliver to AKEL the documents and belongings of Vatis: the encounter of a young Cypriot Communist with other colonials fighting against colonialism, was a source of inspiration, knowledge and comradeship that gave them a sense of purpose, courage and worldliness. The veteran spoke with nostalgia of his encounters with fellow leftists from British Guiana in London, the colonial metropolis. He underscored that it was only at that moment that he appreciated how crucial it was in the anticolonial struggle of a small country in the British Empire to be part of something much broader, a piece in the puzzle of the global struggles for liberation. On his first day at the London School of Economics in 1953, he spoke with keenness and a spark in his eye as if the encounter, some 70 years earlier, had happened just the previous day, of how he ran into a meeting at Holborn Hall. The speaker was the deposed prime minister of the British Guiana (under British dominion), Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progressive Party. Churchill had ordered the British army to overthrow the elected government and suspended the constitution on the grounds that the country would turn Communist.<sup>80</sup>

Cypriot Communism, and more broadly the Cypriot Left of today, is a product of its history and times. It was a 20th century political response of the colonial workers' movement in Cyprus within the global context of liberation struggles following

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<sup>78</sup> There is little on the subject in the works by those who have studied this period Leventis, Y (1997) 'The Politics of the Cypriot Left in the Inter-War Period', *Synthesis: Review of Modern Greek Studies*, 2:1 (1997), pp.1-15; Katsiaounis, R., *Η Διασκεπτική, 1946-1948, με Ανασκόπηση της Περιόδου 1878-1945*, Nicosia, Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών, Cyprus Scientific Research, 2000; Katsiaounis, R., 'Cyprus 1931-1959: The Politics of the Anti-colonial Movement', *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, XXXIII, Cyprus Scientific Research, Nicosia, 2007, pp 441-469; Richter, H. A. (2003) 'The Cypriot Communist Party and the Comintern', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 15 No. 1 (2003), 99-119; Katsourides, Y. (2014) *The History of the Communist Party in Cyprus: Colonialism, Class and the Cypriot Left*, I. B. Tauris, London.

<sup>79</sup> The interviews with the veteran intellectual took place in London in April and May 2022. Numerous other interviews have also been conducted and others are scheduled in the ongoing study.

<sup>80</sup> He spoke, on 22 October 1953, and was covered by the press at the time. See John Prados and Arturo Jimenez-Bacardi, 'CIA Covert Operations: The Overthrow of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana', *The National Security Archive*, 6 April 2020, <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/intelligence/2020-04-06/cia-covert-operations-overthrow-cheddi-jagan-british-guiana-1964>

the October revolution that found resonance in its local context. Understanding the encounters of representatives of this movement with other socialist, Communist and anticolonial movements of the world is crucial if we are to understand history.

Let's hope to see further publications on the history of the Left, communism, socialism, and nationalism in Cyprus<sup>81</sup> as related, compared and contrasted to various regional and global processes. Rather than reading the Cypriot Left as an 'exception', it is high time to properly historicise and connect the local as manifested in the Cypriot social formation to broader, regional and international transformations. In this sense, the history of Cypriot Communism can escape the narrow and peripheral confines of the history of the Left in a small colonial country: rather it can be viewed as part of the broader story of decolonisation, liberation, and emancipation. Moreover, this is not *only* about the past, but *equally about the present and the future*. As the Cypriot veteran in 1953, then a young Communist student, told me: 'At that time I realised that I was at the right place and at the right time: little Cyprus was part of something much bigger than I ever imagined and I was there to witness and feel it!'

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<sup>81</sup> Another important volume published is edited by Nicos Christofis (ed) (2022) *Μεταξύ Έθνους και Τάξης: Αριστερές και Κυπριακό, 1920-1974 (Between Nation and Class: The Left and The Cyprus Problem, 1920-1974)*, Psifides, Thessaloniki.

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# Identity Issues in the Cypriot Theatre at the Beginning of the 21st Century

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## Abstract

*This paper discusses the ways in which artists experience the issue of national/cultural identity and its connection with language/the Greek Cypriot dialect mainly, during the second decade of the 21st century in Cyprus. Concepts such as hybridity and cultural identity are discussed. In the 21st century, hybridity and diversity have been largely established in culture, in the arts. Cultural difference becomes a necessary and, above all, desirable phenomenon, whose function is to break myths (national, ideological, etc.). The search for cultural identity seems to preoccupy mostly the new generation of directors, since the beginning of the second decade of our century. Many artists express their engagement with the national/cultural identity issue in two ways: either through the theme of the performances or through the use of the Greek Cypriot dialect as the language of the performance. Some productions are indicated as examples.*

**Keywords:** identity issues, Cypriot theatre, Cypriot dialect, globalisation

In the 21st century, the era of globalisation and the ongoing migration movements, the global community experiences a deep crisis (sociopolitical, financial, and cultural). As a result, the globalised theatrical scene would be impossible not to be influenced by this crisis and therefore has had to adapt to this challenge. This phenomenon also influences the Cypriot theatrical scene. In the context of the global crisis, identity is a key issue that concerns the artists. This paper discusses the ways in which artists experience the issue of national/cultural identity and its connection with language/the Greek Cypriot dialect mainly, during the second decade of the 21st century in Cyprus, in this remote corner of the southeastern Mediterranean, and how they turn it into theatre. The dialect's ability to make such connections alone makes it a powerful tool for postcolonial writing, especially in the theatre, with which the playwright can create familiarity with the local audience. The scholars of the postcolonial theory expressed the need to review culture and art through a global society, a society which is structured on differences (class, racial, religious, etc.). By re-examining

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some ideologies and prejudices, the postcolonial theory aims to highlight another, different image of the world and modern reality. Postcolonial theory holds that decolonised people develop a postcolonial identity which is based on cultural interactions between different identities (cultural, national, and ethnic, as well as gender and class-based) which are assigned varying degrees of social power by the colonial society.

Identity as a term is broad, includes many parametres and has been understood in different ways within the social sciences. Papastergiadis points out that the construction of identity is based on the negotiation of diversity, in a process of continuous change. This diversity and constant changes form a field of different forces, which interact and create a hybrid.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the concept of hybridity arises, on the one hand, from the need to explain how cultural identity is formed in combination with age, social class, gender, origin, nation, religion, and other groups to which one may belong.<sup>3</sup> For this reason cultural identity itself is a hybrid.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, this hybridity is subject to movement and variation throughout people's lives through their contact with other cultural identities in their daily lives, their travels or changing their place(s) of residence.

In the 21st century, hybridity and diversity have been largely established in culture, in the arts. Multiculturalism now concerns every country and society due to the phenomenon of globalisation. Thus, cultural difference (a term introduced by Bhabha<sup>5</sup>) becomes a necessary and above all desirable phenomenon, whose function is to break myths (national, ideological, etc.). Cultural difference is the only ambivalent result of colonialism that is articulated in a plural form. This difference no longer constitutes the existence of an abstract concept but, among other things, constitutes a space that offers a kind of freedom to subaltern subjects, according to E. San Juan.<sup>6</sup>

A brief presentation of the sociopolitical context of Cyprus in which the artists operate is considered useful. In 1878, Cyprus passed from the Ottoman to the British

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<sup>2</sup> Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalisation, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> David Block, *Multilingual Identities in a Global City: London Stories* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006); David Block, *Second Language Identities* (London, Continuum, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1994; Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies; Theory and Practice* (London, Sage Publications, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Homi K Bhabha, 'Culture's In-Between', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 55.

<sup>6</sup> Epifanio San Juan Jr., 'The Limits of Postcolonial Criticism: The Discourse of Edward Said', *Solidarity*, November/December 1998, available at <http://www.solidarityus.org/site/node/1781> [accessed 4 July 2023].

Dominion, which lasted until 1959, when the British Empire was forced to grant Cyprus its independence (1960), after the liberation struggle of the E.O.K.A. against the British, from 1955 to 1959. The struggle was nationally-oriented and did not present liberal or socialist elements of criticism of the existing society, which will contribute to the formation of the bipolar cultural identity of the Cypriots, which we will talk about later. This is followed by the bi-communal riots of 1963-1964 between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, which formed a key rift between the two communities. In 1974, two events took place that determined the history of the island: Greek junta, with the E.O.K.A. B' as collaborators in Cyprus, staged a coup on 15 July against the legitimate government of the country, which provided an opportunity for Turkey to invade Cyprus, on 20 July, under the pretext of protecting the Turkish Cypriots. The invasion resulted in the division of the island, with 37% of the territory illegally held by Turkey to this day, and the displacement of approximately 180,000 people. With the passage into the new millennium, the political situation of Cyprus is still the same after many failed attempts to solve the political problem. In 2004 Cyprus joined the European Union, in 2012-2013 the financial crisis broke out due to the exposure of Cypriot banks to Greek bonds and the country fell into an unfavourable economic position. Due to the political instability in the southeastern Mediterranean region, large migration flows have been directed to the island. The multicultural character, which Cyprus has always had, has been strengthened even more, resulting in the creation of a new social reality.

The search for cultural identity seems to preoccupy mostly the new generation of directors, since the beginning of the second decade of our century. Many artists express their engagement with the national/cultural identity issue in two ways: either through the theme of the performances or through the use of the Greek Cypriot dialect as the language of the performance. Some productions are indicated as examples. In 2010, One/Off theatre group presented the performance *Forget-me-not*, directed by Maria Kyriakou. The script, a product of collaborative work, was based on excerpts from poems, but also on narratives by the group members, who were discussing and improvising on different thematic cores based on the national/cultural identity issue. The performance dealt with the issue of memory and constituted a search for the identity of the Cypriots (Cypriot-Greek-European).<sup>7</sup> It has been an identity search

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with Maria Kyriakou 30 November 2016.

of the ‘I Don’t Forget’ generation, ‘us who grew up right after the invasion and this carried a lot of guilt about talking openly and freely about the trauma.’<sup>8</sup>

The performance alternated its linguistic code between the modern Greek and the Greek Cypriot dialect.<sup>9</sup> The phenomenon of code-switching, according to Meeuwis and Blommaert,<sup>10</sup> should be approached from the point of view of a code, allowing a better understanding of the creeping mechanisms that make switching itself a separate system. According to this view, code-switching (Modern Greek and Cypriot dialect) is not treated as the result of mixing, but as a code in itself. In other words, the switching itself seems to serve specific functions.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, we could say that the alternation of the language code in Maria Kyriakou’s performance constitutes an ideological approach to the issue of identity. The interest observed in the issue of national/cultural identity in recent years, has been attributed by Tziovas to the general shift from ‘being’ to ‘becoming’, from monolithic certainties to fictional inventions, from singularity to diversity, and from the ontological to the imaginary. Identity is now defined as a process of identification and not as a path of discovery or awakening. Emphasis on the diaspora has promoted the hybridity of identity.<sup>12</sup>

*Happymess* (2016) was a devised theatre performance by Paravan Proactions, directed by Melita Couta and Harris Kafkarides. The dramaturgy team started working without a script, giving emphasis on the historical research, which was conducted through interviews, personal experiences, research in archives, in libraries, and documentary videos. The theme of the performance connected to the Cypriots’ identity, their history, and personal experiences; topics which the directors/creators managed to relate even to global facts concerning the Space. The performance deals with the

<sup>8</sup> Antonis Georgiou, ‘Out of Necessity: Για μια γενιά έτοιμη να δηλώσει ότι είμαστε Κυπριοί’ [Out of Necessity: For a Generation ready to proclaim We Are Cypriot], *Dialogos*, available at <https://dialogos.com.cy/664023-2/> [accessed 4 July 2023].

<sup>9</sup> See Yannis Leontaris, “‘Forget-me-not’”. A Performance that did not Meet its Audience’. In A. H. Constantinou, K. Diamantakou, L. Galazis (eds.), *The Theatre in Modern and Contemporary Cyprus* (Athens: Herodotus-Theatrical Museum of Cyprus, 2020), 433–446.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Meeuwis, Jan Blommaert, ‘A Monolectal View of Code-Switching: Layered Code-Switching among Zairians in Belgium’, in P. Auer (ed.), *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), 76–98.

<sup>11</sup> Georgios Georgiou, ‘Οι σύγχρονοι επικοινωνιακοί ρόλοι της Κυπριακής Διαλέκτου’ [The Modern Communicative Roles of the Cypriot Dialect], Phileleftheros, available at <https://www.philenews.com/politismos/article/104214/i-sigchroni-epikinoniaki-rolis-kipriakis-dialektou-2/> [accessed 4 July 2023].

<sup>12</sup> Dimitris Tziovas, ‘Η ανάδυση των ταυτότητων’ [The Emergence of Identities], To Vima, available at <https://www.tovima.gr/2011/11/06/opinions/i-anadysi-twn-taytotitwn/> [accessed 4 July 2023].



forgotten and unknown to many story of the moonstone<sup>13</sup> and connects two breakthrough moments of the world and the Cypriot history. The date 20 July 1969 is a milestone in the history of mankind. For the first time man set foot on the Moon and brought back to earth stones from the Mare Serenitatis. On 20 July 2016, in Cyprus, Alexis (character in performance) returns after 25 years, asking for answers about the importance of his own stone. Traveling in the past, reality is confused with memory. The two stories unfold simultaneously, as we follow, at the same time, the world events of the period 1969-1974 and the personal history of Alexis.

In 2021, Fresh Target Theatre Ensemble presented the devised theatre performance *Out of Necessity*, directed by Maria Kyriakou and Maria Varnakkidou, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. According to Kyriakou,

‘the performance attempts the search of identity, having as its starting point the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus and The Doctrine of Necessity, which came into force in 1964 with the departure of the Turkish Cypriots from government positions [...] and with the title *Out of Necessity* we give a double meaning to the subject of the performance. Firstly, this “window out of necessity” that has already become part of our identity, and secondly, our desire to get out of this Necessity’.<sup>14</sup>

The performance deals with issues such as what the constitution is and how it defines our identity. How well do we know our history and how do we perceive ourselves as citizens of a state? The performance is an attempt to understand and question the data and an attempt to rewrite the dominant narratives by the new generation. According to Bhabha, difference, ambiguity and the hybrid state are powerful tools for combating dominant discourses and structures. Hybridities are observed where national narratives and self-identifications intersect.<sup>15</sup> The text of the performance, written in the Greek Cypriot dialect, is the product of collective work and emerged

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<sup>13</sup> Moonstones are the pieces of stone that were transported to earth after two American missions to the moon in 1969. A stone was divided into very small pieces which were donated by US President Nixon to all the states of the world. Two moonstones were destined for Cyprus but for various reasons did not reach their destination. One, in fact, is ignored.

<sup>14</sup> Georgiou, ‘Out of Necessity’.

<sup>15</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, ‘DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation’, in H. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London, Routledge, 1990), 315.

from archival material, journalistic articles, personal narratives and experiences by the group members, as well as from theoretical and literary texts.

The use of the dialect in the Cypriot theatre until the end of the 20th and in the beginning of the 21st century was considered exclusively the playwright's choice. With the advent of the new millennium, just before the second decade of the 21st century, a trend to make a conscious choice and to use the Greek Cypriot dialect as the main language of the performance is observed, mostly among the new generation of directors. That is, performances are created where the director chooses to, a) present a play of modern Cypriot writers written entirely in the Greek Cypriot dialect, b) translate plays from classical and contemporary dramaturgy entirely or partly into the Greek Cypriot dialect, and c) devise a performance in which the dialect is used in the entire performance or in select parts of it.

The dialect frees the actors themselves, since they are asked to speak in their mother tongue, making the whole process familiar and more experiential. From the audience's point of view, the dialect, in most cases, creates the necessary intimacy between the narrative and it, so that what they see/hear directly concerns them. That is, the dialect operates as a connecting tool. It should be noted that the place of dialect in the theatre is a much-discussed issue globally. According to Doyle, the dialect is a tool of connection.<sup>16</sup> The use of dialect in the theatre, in addition to the other dimensions it takes, is directly connected to national and cultural identity and constitutes a political statement from the point of view of directors. It is an ideological approach to the issue of national/cultural identity. The linguist Giorgos Georgiou points out that the Cypriot dialect is used in many cases as a strategy that is inextricably linked to communication conditions. The choice of words expresses an ideological position, ideological in the sense of a way of understanding the world.<sup>17</sup> Let us remember Bakhtin, who states that 'every word betrays the ideology of the speaker' and 'every utterance is an ideology',<sup>18</sup> as well as Friedrich, who argues that '[...] ideology is a system, or at least an amalgam of ideas, strategies, tactics, and practical symbols for promoting,

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<sup>16</sup> Maria-Elena Doyle, 'A Gesture to Indicate a Presence: Translation, Dialect and Field Day Theatre Company's Quest for an Irish Identity', in S. Simon, P. St-Pierre (eds), *Changing the Terms, Translating in the Postcolonial Era* (Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 2000), 170.

<sup>17</sup> Georgiou, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, [1937-1938], in M. Holquist (ed.), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, trans. C. Emerson, M. Holquist, Austin, 429, University of Texas Press, 1981.

maintaining, or changing a cultural order; in other words, they are political ideas in act'.<sup>19</sup>

The way of approaching the dialect in the theatre by the Cypriot directors has brought to the surface the language issue that exists in Cyprus, which is related to the simultaneous use of Greek Cypriot dialect and modern Greek.<sup>20</sup> According to Attalides,

‘the ideology of the Liberation Struggle of EOKA 1955-1959, as it was formulated, had a purely national orientation and did not present any liberal or socialist elements of criticism of the existing society or a vision of the post-liberation society. His ideals were the ideals of the nation and not the ideas of freedom as formulated by the exponents of the Enlightenment, which emphasize the value of the individual and political liberalism, or socialist ideas, which emphasize the value of social equality. It is precisely this form of ideology that will disorient Cypriot society and lead to the creation of a bipolar cultural identity of the place in relation to Greece, an element that preoccupies Cypriot society to this day. Therefore, in the period after Independence, the society of the island feels the need to define itself culturally’.<sup>21</sup>

According to Papadakis, ‘Greek Cypriots move between two poles regarding their cultural identity’.<sup>22</sup> The use of the dialect allows the oscillation of the cultural consciousness of the artists to be seen, but at the same time the need to conciliate the two different ‘poles’ of identity.<sup>23</sup> Papadima and Kourdis argue that the use of the Greek Cypriot dialect can be characterised ‘as a resistance to the normative pressure of standard Greek, since it strengthens ethnic identity, even through the distorting lens of ideology’.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Paul Friedrich, ‘Language, Ideology and Political Economy’, (1989) *American Anthropologist*, 91(2), 301.

<sup>20</sup> Aspasia Papadima, Evangelos Kourdis, ‘Subtitling Mass Culture Texts in Cypriot Dialect’ in *Select-ed Papers of the 11th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, (Rhodes, September 2013), 1298; Georgiou (no 11)

<sup>21</sup> Michalis Attalidis, ‘Factors that Shaped Cypriot Society after Independence’, in Nicosia Municipality (ed.), *Cypriot Life and Society, Shortly Before Independence and up to 1984* (Nicosia, Nicosia Municipality Publishing, 1993), 224.

<sup>22</sup> Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process’, (1998) *American Ethnologist*, 25(2), 153.

<sup>23</sup> Doyle (no 16)

<sup>24</sup> Papadima, Kourdis (no 20)

The first translation of a foreign play into the Greek Cypriot dialect was the *Diary of a Madman* by Nikolai Gogol (2007) (Lexi theatre production), directed by Spyros Charalambous. The following year (2008), Paris Erotokritou translated into the dialect and presented Harold Pinter's *The Lover*, placing the play in the Cypriot reality. These performances were the beginning for translating foreign dramaturgy to the Greek Cypriot dialect, as well as for its use beyond the context we knew until then (ethnography, dramatic plays, comedies, theatrical revue, comedy sketch).

In the following years, the Cypriot dialect was used in a variety of performances as the main language. Directors and productions are mentioned indicatively; Maria Kyriakou is one of the directors who uses the dialect a lot in her performances, such as *Shopping Mall/(First Impressions + Small Confessions)*, which was presented as part of the No Body Festival (2009) and also in the performances *Forget-me-not* (2010), *Ε(ν)ομολογία* (2011), *W.C.* (2013), *Αναγέλαστα: Λογιών Λογιών Γεναίτζες* (2018). Kyriakou often connects the use of dialect in her performances with the genre of devised theatre, since dialect is the language used during the process of creating the performance. The speech has a direct and familiar character, therefore any attempt to transfer it to standard Greek changes the dynamics, as well as its reception by the audience. Also, she considers that many times the use of the dialect is imposed by the theme of the performances, which is directly connected to the Cypriot reality.<sup>25</sup>

Euripides Dikaios is the most typical of the cases of directors who uses the Greek Cypriot dialect in their performances. He studies dialect as a tool in writing, directing, acting. He believes that no matter how familiar the Cypriot audience is with the standard Greek language, there will always be a key part missing from identification and communicative convergence. Dikaios translated into the Greek Cypriot dialect and directed the foreign theatrical texts: Philip Ridley's *Vincent River (X-Byron)* (2012), Harold Pinter's *The Lover (Erastis)* (2014), Kenneth Lonergan's *This is our Youth (...Our generation!)* (2015), José Triana's *Night of the Assassins* (2017). Additionally, he directed two plays by the Cypriot playwright Antonis Georgiou, written in the dialect: *La Belote* (2014) and *Ο Θεός Γιάννης* (2019), as well as three plays where the dialect is used in combination with Modern Greek or other languages (French, English, Spanish and the Turkish Cypriot dialect): *Ο Καραγκιόζης εκτός* (2011), Giorgos Neofytos' *Μπαμ!* (2015), and a play of his own, *Νυχταλούδα* (2016).

Among the cases of the new generation of directors who use the dialect as a performance language is Evita Ioannou, who translated into the Cypriot dialect and di-

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<sup>25</sup> Kyriakou (no 7)

rected two foreign plays; Philip Ridley's *Dark Vanilla Jungle* monologue (2017), as well as Tennessee Williams' *The Two-Character Play* (*Κραυγή*) (2018). Also, Giorgos Kyriakou directed the performance of Dennis Kelly's *Our Teacher's a Troll* (2018), translated and adapted by himself and Niovi Charalambous.

There were also some attempts by the Theatro Skala in two foreign plays in 2019: Debbie Issit's *The Woman Who Cooked Her Man*, directed by Nikos Nikolaidis and translated into Greek Cypriot by Christos Grigoriadis, and *Fools* by Neil Simon, translated by Michalis Tterlikkas, and directed by Andreas Melekis.

Enact theatre group appears in Cypriot theatre with devised theatre performances in the Greek Cypriot dialect. As members of the group, Elena Kallinikou and Marina Makris, say, refusing to identify with foreign traditions, they are looking for a new language of communication that expresses them and is connected to their particular Cypriot temperament. Through the Greek Cypriot dialect, they focus on the local reality and the creation of a modern Cypriot play that responds and converses with contemporary global dramaturgy, so as to enable its presence in festivals and stages abroad.<sup>26</sup> We observe that the Enact theatre group uses dialect as a means of resistance to the flattening tendencies of globalisation. Walter Puchner points out: 'whole languages, dialects and idioms are lost globally every year. The rescue of this cultural material is an act of resistance to irrational globalisation'.<sup>27</sup>

As the members of the Enact theatre group state, they feel the need to study the function of the use of dialect in the contemporary theatrical scene:

'A dialect that is identified with Cypriot sketch and satire, was a challenge for us in how it can be applied in a modern dramaturgy. In addition, the humor that often results from the use of the Cypriot dialect was an element that we also wanted to keep. Finally, the element of self-recognition, i.e., the ability to identify with the characters on stage, through the Cypriot dialect multiplies'.<sup>28</sup>

An interesting case is also Niki Marangou's *Women's Narratives*, directed by Emiliios Charalambides (2016). It consists of 18 authentic stories of Cypriot women, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, who narrate their experiences in the Greek Cypriot dialect, traversing the historical and ethnographic past of Cyprus, from the

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Marina Makris, Elena Kallinikou, and Dimitris Chimonas, 30 April 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Walter Puchner, 'Idiomatic Theatre in Greece', Announcement at the *1st Panhellenic Conference Customary Happenings and Performance: Folk Culture and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Postmodernity Age*, March, 2018, 16-17.

<sup>28</sup> Makris, Kallinikou, Chimonas (no 26)

beginning of the 20th century until the opening of the barricades in 2003, in the living room of a mansion in the old neighborhood of the Ayioi Omoloyites in Nicosia, where the performance took place in natural daylight (afternoon performance).

The name of Kostas Silvestros, who directed the play *The Little Prince* (2019), could be added to the list. It is an adaptation of the novel by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry based on the translation of the book into the Greek Cypriot dialect by Iakovos Hatzipieri, and a theatrical adaptation by Andreas Nicolaidis. Silvestros says in an interview: '[...] directing a play in the Cypriot dialect requires special handling. We are not familiar with reading Cypriot dialect. The transfer of the written word to the spoken word was a special process, but also extremely enjoyable, since we discovered and tasted the beauty of our dialect and, by extension, of our country'.<sup>29</sup> Silvestros also directed Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dialect production of Antilogos Theatre. In the performance a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot actor were acting, each speaking in their own language. The performance was staged at the House of Cooperation in the buffer zone, between the two barricades of Ledra Palace in Nicosia. Silvestros says in an interview 'I believe that such great texts can be supported in the dialect. We have to stop being afraid', arguing at the same time that this does not mean that he has stopped being fascinated by the Greek language and its value. However, he emphasises at the same time that the use of both dialects (Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dialect) is very important and signals something new.<sup>30</sup> Kostas Silvestros won the directing award and the actors of the performance Giorgos Kyriakou and Izel Seylani the best male role award at the Maltepe International Theatre Festival in Istanbul.

It's important to note that not only foreign plays, but also plays of the Greek dramaturgy have been translated to the dialect. Two comedies by Papathanasiou-Reppas *Skirt Shirt* and *In-laws from Tirana* are indicated as examples.

Taking into account both the reviews written about the performances, and the discussion provoked on social media on the occasion of their uploading, we conclude that the use of the dialect in the theatre causes various reactions in terms of the reception of the performances both among the audience and the critics, as well as the artists themselves. 'On the one hand there are the defenders of the dialect, who support its use in the theatre for the aforementioned reasons, and on the other hand

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<sup>29</sup> Interview of Kostas Silvestros to *Phileleftheros*, 21 May 2019, available at <https://www.philenews.com/politismos/prosopa/article/702762>, [accessed 4 July 2023].

<sup>30</sup> Interview of Kostas Silvestros, 20/04/2021, available at <https://www.fractalart.gr/perimenontas-ton-gkonto-leykasia/>, [accessed 4 July 2023].

those who consider that the only language of the performance should be common modern Greek'.<sup>31</sup> The critic Moleski, referring to the tendency to increasingly use the dialect as the language of the performance, talks about a 'new wave' for 'an increased local dependency' of the Cypriot theatre and a recognition of the need of the Cypriot society to use the theatre as a means of collective self-knowledge.<sup>32</sup> Christodoulou in his article, where he attempts a summary of the theatrical production of 2016, points out that 'it was a year of self-awareness for Cypriot theatre. A year in which we watched, perhaps, more performances with a Cypriot character than any other time'. He concludes that 'without a doubt, the Cypriot theatre has passed into an era where free stages are the protagonists on the one hand, with the public's need for adaptation to the Cypriot reality now being imperative, and on the other hand the young Cypriot directors are leaving their own mark'.<sup>33</sup>

Before we close the discussion, we have to raise a concern regarding the fate of these performances outside the borders; if such performances, which have the dialect as the main linguistic means of communication, can be performed in Greece and manage to communicate with the rest of the Greek-speaking audience that does not speak the dialect, or if they are isolated in the narrow borders of Cyprus. Moundraki, in her announcement on the subject of modern Cypriot dramaturgy, at the Theatre in Cyprus in the 21st Century conference, raised, among other issues, the issue of dialect. 'Another issue is language. Cypriot is a rather difficult dialect. The works written in Cypriot are inaccessible to the Greeks as they require a rewriting, however the imposition of the pan-Hellenic primary school on Cypriot writers is a form of violence against their free artistic expression'.<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that most of the performances that attempted to address a Greek-speaking audience outside of Cyprus preserved the dialect, while in one case a transfer to standard Greek is observed.<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion, we would say that, possibly, a longer time distance will be required from the appearance of the phenomenon of the Cypriot directors' engagement with

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<sup>31</sup> Maria Hamali, 'Αναγέλαστα: Λογιών-λογιών Γεναίτζες', *Politis*, available at <https://parathyro.politis.com.cy/167299/article> [accessed 4 July 2023]; Maria Hamali, 'Dark Vanilla Jungle', *Politis*, available at <https://parathyro.politis.com.cy/162112/article> [accessed 4 July 2023].

<sup>32</sup> Nona Moleski, 'The New...Wave', *Phileleftheros*, 10/7/2016.

<sup>33</sup> Michalis Christodoulou, *Time Out*, 28/12/16.

<sup>34</sup> Eirini Moundraki, 'The Unknown Known. Attempts to Her Approach of Cypriot Dramaturgy' at the conference *Theatre in Cyprus at 21st Century* (Athens: Home of Cyprus, 2015).

<sup>35</sup> The quote about the reception of the performances in the Greek Cypriot dialect comes from my book *Directing in Cyprus during the First Twenty Years of the 21st Century. Dramatic, Post-Dramatic Theatre and Issues of Identity*, (Athens, OTAN Publications, 2022).

the issue of cultural identity, either by having it as the subject of the performance, or by using the dialect as the language of the performance, in order to be able to draw more secure conclusions about the reasons for its appearance. In any case, however, what, perhaps, we could claim based on the present data, is that the 21st century of globalisation creates in the theatre the need to reinforce, search for, erase the old data or rewrite it, thus giving it the opportunity to prove the multiplicity of its character. Language is one of the basic tools of the theatre, a fact that is enhanced by the use of a dialect.<sup>36</sup> The search for identity by Cypriot directors from the beginning of the 21st century onwards could be an act of resistance in the context of globalisation, a means by which artists face the realities of the world. I close with Patsalides' observation that 'the more neoliberal globalisation increases the pace, the more the sense of place as a point of resistance to the era's flattening tendencies will be strengthened'.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See Savvas Patsalidis, 'Contemporary Theatre in a New Europe', in A. Altouva, K. Diamantakou (eds.), *Fifth Panhellenic Theatrical Conference 'Theatre and Democracy'*, vol.b, (Athens: NKUA Department of Theatrical Studies, 2018), 340, 344; Puchner (no 27)

<sup>37</sup> Patsalidis (2018).



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**POLICY  
PAPER**



# The Cyprus Problem, The EU and the UN: An Overall Assessment and the Way Forward

ANDREAS THEOPHANOUS<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The objective of this Paper is to assess the current phase of the Cyprus problem almost 50 years after the Turkish invasion on 20 July, 1974, and to submit a brief comprehensive proposal for its resolution utilising an evolutionary process. This Paper utilises, amongst others, Reports and ideas on the issue that I have submitted over time.<sup>2</sup> This discussion takes place in the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, on 24 February, 2022.

The last informal five-party conference under the auspices of the Secretary General (SG) of the UN, on 27-29 April, 2021, ended without any tangible result. Despite not issuing a joint press release, the SG of the UN Antonio Guterres noted both the Turkish Cypriot position for a two-state solution and the Greek Cypriot position for a bizonal bicomunal federation with political equality, as described in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council of the UN. The SG of the UN announced at the time that he was going to embark on a new initiative for another five-party conference. This never took place as the gap between the two sides grew even more.

The newly elected President Nicos Christodoulides has stated that he will seek an upgraded role of the EU in the process and the efforts for solving the Cyprus problem. Most Cypriots do not have high expectations in relation to this. In any case though, the current position of the Greek Cypriot side for a bizonal bicomunal federation with political equality had been the flagship of the Turkish Cypriot side for years. It was an array of Turkish maximalist claims which eventually prevented such an outcome. With its current position in favour of a two-state solution, the Turkish side aims at eventually moving towards a confederal solution. With such a settlement, Cy-

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<sup>2</sup> These include Andreas Theophanous, 'Revisiting the Cyprus Question and the Way Forward', *Turkish Policy Quarterly – Protracted Conflicts in Turkey's Neighborhood: Between Cold Peace and Hot War*, Volume 15, Number 4, Winter/March 2017. See also Andreas Theophanous, 'A Proposal for a Normal State: The Cyprus Problem after the Five Party Informal Conference', Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs, No. 10/2021, revised January, Nicosia 2022.

prus as a whole will become a puppet state of Turkey. This will be the likely outcome of any attempt by the SG of the UN 'to square the circle'.

It is important for the Greek Cypriot side to explore a new approach, as the policy pursued for so many years has failed.<sup>3</sup> The Republic of Cyprus should submit guidelines for a *sui generis* federal model which will give due attention both to the communities and to the rights of individual citizens. Any settlement should be the outcome of amending the Constitution of 1960 rather than enacting a new one. The amendment can be shaped with institutional arrangements promoting cooperation on governance, including the Presidency, security considerations, the Supreme Court, the territorial and the property issues. Above all, it is essential to ensure that the Republic of Cyprus should function as a normal state after the settlement, as the SG of the UN himself has acknowledged in 2017. Furthermore, President Christodoulides in his capacity as Head of State (and not as the Greek Cypriot community leader) has the legitimacy to request from the two (out of the three) Guarantor Powers, namely the United Kingdom and Greece, as well as from the EU, to contribute decisively to the reestablishment of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. The proposed approach necessitates an evolutionary process including Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). In this respect, I reiterate and/or update comprehensive ideas which I have submitted in the past as well.

The further enrichment of these ideas may constitute a legitimate and substantial step to overcome the current deadlock. While the pursued policy so far has been questioned from various political forces, there had never been a submission of an alternative comprehensive approach up until now. Such an approach is imperative as there is not much difference between a decentralised bizonal bicomunal federation with two constituent states and a confederal solution.

As already noted, this Paper is finalised 15 months after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. During this period there have been tectonic changes in the international system.<sup>4</sup> Not surprisingly Cypriots compared the stance of the West toward Russia in

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<sup>3</sup> Andreas Theophanous, 'The Intercommunal Negotiations After 1974 and Future Prospects', *The Cyprus Review*, Issue 1, Volume 31, Spring 2019, pp. 281-309.

<sup>4</sup> See Special Issue of electronic bimonthly newsletter *In Depth*, 'The Day after the War in Ukraine and the Future of Europe', Volume 19 Issue 3, June 2022 [http://cceia.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/IN\\_DEPTH\\_2022\\_19-3.pdf](http://cceia.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/IN_DEPTH_2022_19-3.pdf) and Special Issue of electronic bimonthly newsletter *In Depth*, 'Perspectives on the Escalating Conflict between Russia and the West and its Implications', Volume 19 Issue 6, December 2022 [http://cceia.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/IN\\_DEPTH\\_2022\\_19-6.pdf](http://cceia.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/IN_DEPTH_2022_19-6.pdf)

relation to its invasion of Ukraine and toward Turkey for its ongoing occupation of the northern part of Cyprus as well as other violations of international law.

### **Historical Background and Context**

Cyprus gained a fettered independence in 1960, with Greece, Turkey and Britain being the three guarantor powers. From the early days it appeared that the path of the Republic would be uneasy and turbulent. It is essential to underline that Greek Cypriots were not satisfied with the overall arrangements. Not only the objective of the liberation struggle against Britain –Enosis (unification with Greece)– was not achieved, but also the imposed constitution gave excessive privileges to the Turkish Cypriots.<sup>5</sup>

In 1963-64 there was intercommunal violence and the threat of a Turkish invasion loomed large. At the beginning of the crisis in December 1963, the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the government. Furthermore, many Turkish Cypriots relocated themselves into enclaves for security purposes, as they claimed. Greek Cypriots, however, saw this move as a preconceived step to create conditions for the partition of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus continued to function under the Doctrine of Necessity which was legitimised by Resolution 186 of the Security Council of the UN in March 1964.<sup>6</sup>

Intercommunal strife continued and, in early August 1964, Turkish planes bombed parts of Cyprus on several occasions. Greece started deploying a military contingent in Cyprus following the spring of 1964, with the objective of defending the island from a Turkish invasion. In 1965 the Report of Galo Plaza, the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General U Thant, was released.<sup>7</sup> It basically argued that in Cyprus there was no basis for federalisation as the Turkish side was requesting and asked for steps toward an integrated society and a unitary state. At the same time, though, it did not support the Greek Cypriot objective for Enosis.

On April 21, 1967, a military regime came to power in Greece. In the fall of the same year, a new crisis broke out over Cyprus. A Turkish invasion was eventually averted, following American mediation, as Greece agreed to withdraw its military contingent from Cyprus. President Makarios insisted on maintaining the Cypriot National Guard and was successful in securing it. (Ironically, the Greek Junta used the

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<sup>5</sup> For interesting reading see Stanley Kyriakides, *Constitutionalism and Crisis Government*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1968, and Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London and New York, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Security Council Resolution 186, S/RES/186(1964), March 4, 1964.

<sup>7</sup> See Galo Plaza, United Nations Security Council, *Report of the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus to the Secretary-General, Note by the Secretary-General*, S/6253, 26 March 1965.

National Guard which was led by mainland Greek officers to overthrow him on 15 July, 1974.) The Cypriot President also declared that a solution would be sought on the basis of a unitary state. Thus, officially, the objective of Enosis was put aside.

In 1968 intercommunal negotiations began for the solution of the Cyprus dispute on the basis of a unitary state. Despite a difficult domestic and foreign environment, it seemed possible to achieve a settlement. Cyprus entered into an Association Agreement with the then European Community in 1973.<sup>8</sup> It is also worth noting that during the period 1960-1973 Cyprus had a 7% annual rate of real economic growth.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, this promising path and record was interrupted by the coup of the American-led Greek Junta against President Makarios, on 15 July, 1974. Turkey invaded Cyprus five days later, on 20 July, 1974, claiming that its objective was 'to re-establish the constitutional order and to protect the Turkish Cypriot Community'. On July 23-24, both the Greek Junta and the putschist regime in Nicosia collapsed. But Turkey did not cease hostilities. It continued violating the ceasefire which was agreed on 22 July, and following the collapse of the negotiations in Geneva (the Greek Cypriots did not accept the ultimatum of Ankara which amounted to terms of surrender), it launched a new attack on Cyprus on 14-16 August by land, air and sea, and captured 37% of the territory of this island state. The international community did not react; it only made statements and issued resolutions for the respect of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. It also called for the resumption of negotiations between the two communities for the solution of the Cyprus problem. In one way or another, Turkey, the country which invaded and conquered 37% of the territory of Cyprus, was treated as a third party to the conflict.<sup>10</sup>

The socioeconomic and political repercussions were devastating. In addition to the casualties and the missing persons, Cyprus also suffered ethnic cleansing which was the outcome of the Turkish military advance and the brutalities that took place. It also lost the international airport of Nicosia and the port of Famagusta. Furthermore, as most of the economic activity was concentrated in the occupied territory, the country found itself in an extremely difficult situation. Almost 40% of the Greek Cypriot

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<sup>8</sup> Republic of Cyprus, *The Association Agreement Between the Republic of Cyprus and the European Economic Community*, Press and Information Office, Nicosia, 1982.

<sup>9</sup> See Demetris Christodoulou, *Inside the Cyprus Miracle: Labours of an Embattled Mini-Economy*, Modern Greek Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1992, and Andreas Theophanous, 'Economic Growth and Development in Cyprus 1960-1984', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 7, 1991, pp. 105-132.

<sup>10</sup> See Christopher Hitchens, *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, Verso Press, London/New York, 1997.



population became refugees in their own country. In addition, thousands of Greek Cypriots sought opportunities in other countries, as the economy was also dislocated.

The Cypriot leadership had to deal with very harsh realities. Under these extremely difficult circumstances the country managed to survive and the Republic of Cyprus continued to exist. The Greek Cypriots achieved what was subsequently described by others as 'an economic miracle'.<sup>11</sup> This included the fast economic recovery, which proved to be critical for the continuity of the Republic of Cyprus under very difficult circumstances. It is important to mention that, by the beginning of the 1980s, Cyprus had begun to experience an inflow of population. This, basically, consisted of Greek Cypriots who had left the country after 1974 and even before.

In 1975 Cyprus renewed the Association Agreement with the EC. Although the Cypriot government had higher expectations at the time, this agreement did not lack its own political significance.

Cyprus' impressive economic record allowed the country to continue functioning and to also have positive expectations. At the same time, however, the Cyprus problem remained the major national issue which dominated the political agenda. It is also essential to understand that there was bitterness toward Greece, Britain, the US, and the West in general, for their responsibilities for the Cypriot tragedy in 1974.

Within this climate, Greece tried to convince the Greek Cypriot leadership that closer relations with the EC, and eventually membership, could facilitate a solution of the Cyprus question. Furthermore, such a policy option, according to Athens, would benefit Cyprus in many other respects.

Gradually a paradigm shift began to take place in Cyprus. Yes, there was bitterness toward the West and also the feeling of having been let down in 1974 by Greece as well, but the most pragmatic perspective was to be forward-looking. Greece was now a democratic nation and it could not be held responsible for the actions of the American-led Greek Junta. Moreover, the EC was gradually becoming a serious player in international relations and, furthermore, it could not be accountable for the actions and omissions of the US and the UK in 1974. In the new era it was also essential for Cyprus to come closer to nations that shared a similar value system.

Given the new political climate and strongly encouraged by Greece, Cyprus pursued a Customs Union Agreement with the EC in accordance with the provisions of the existing Association Agreement between the two sides. Several European nations had reservations regarding the prospect of signing such an agreement with Cyprus,

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<sup>11</sup> The Economist, 'Cyprus: Miracle in Half an Island', Vol. 264, no. 6991, 1977, pp. 50-51.

considering the political situation on the island and the implications for Turkey. Greece, however, made it clear that, without the Customs Union with Cyprus, it would veto the accession of Spain and Portugal to the EC. The Customs Union Agreement between Cyprus and the EC was ratified in October 1987; this became applicable as of 1 January, 1988. This agreement had great political significance: if in the absence of a solution to the Cyprus problem the EC had reached a Customs Union Agreement with the Republic of Cyprus, accession without a solution would also be possible.

From an economic perspective it is doubtful whether Cyprus gained. Following the implementation of this agreement the relative importance of the primary and secondary sectors of the economy continued to decline. Simultaneously, the tertiary sector continued to grow.

### **The Accession Process of Cyprus**

On 4 July, 1990, the Republic of Cyprus submitted an application for membership to the EU. President Vassiliou made this decision despite the fact that the left-wing party AKEL, which was backing him, was opposed to this move. AKEL changed its stance officially in 1995. Furthermore, the UK, one of the three guarantor powers of the Republic of Cyprus, had strong reservations. The UK advised President Vassiliou to focus on the negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus issue and to seek accession after the resolution of the problem.

Turkey also opposed this move by the Republic of Cyprus. Greece was a staunch supporter of the application of Cyprus to become a member of the EU. Moreover, the vast majority of Greek Cypriots were in favour of the application for membership to the EU. Indeed, President Vassiliou was well aware of that; it was one of the reasons for his decision, although initially he was hesitant. Above all, though, he was eventually convinced that this was the appropriate policy step to take.

Greek Cypriots at the time had a rather idealistic view of the EU and also developed great expectations. They believed that it was a Union in which the rule of law prevailed and a democratic value system reigned supreme. Furthermore, they also believed that solidarity among member states was a value adhered to both in theory and in practice. This implied that once Cyprus had become a member state of the EU, the Union would not tolerate the occupation of the northern part of the island by Turkey as, after all, this would be European territory.

In addition, Greek Cypriots also believed that the standing of Cyprus in the regional and international arena would be enhanced. There was also a prevailing perception that the value system of the EU, as well as its institutions, would benefit Cyprus.

In June 1993 the European Commission issued its 'Opinion on Cyprus Application'.<sup>12</sup> This island state was considered eligible for membership as it had a democratic system of government and a vibrant economy. Any shortcomings could be addressed accordingly in due time. Nevertheless, the anomaly with the division of Cyprus was a major issue which, according to the European Commission, should be addressed before accession to the EU. Cypriot policymakers knew that the Cyprus problem was unresolved due to the stance of Turkey. Nevertheless, they expressed their satisfaction with the Opinion of the European Commission and vowed to work and act in the best possible way to move on with the accession process.

There was a growing belief in the US, as well as in various circles of the EU, that the Cyprus problem and the Greco-Turkish issues could be addressed constructively within the framework of the Union. The policy perspective was to offer Turkey the vision of becoming a member of the EU; this, it was thought, could open the way to resolve both the Cyprus problem and all issues between Greece and Turkey.

In March 1995, a major step forward was made. The EU offered Turkey a Custom Union Agreement which was not vetoed by Greece; Cyprus was to start accession negotiations with the EU 18 months after the end of the then Intergovernmental Conference; and Greece received a new financial Protocol.<sup>13</sup> This was another major step for Cyprus. Ankara also considered that this was an important development which could address multiple objectives.

Accession negotiations between Cyprus and the EU begun in March 1998. At the time President Clerides invited the Turkish Cypriot leadership to join the Cyprus negotiations team. This offer though was rejected.

In December 1999 a major decision regarding Cyprus was made at the Helsinki European Council. The EU considered the accession of a reunified Cyprus to the EU desirable, but in the absence of a solution this would not be an obstacle to membership. At the same time Turkey was offered candidacy for membership.<sup>14</sup>

The accession negotiations between EU and Cyprus were taking place simultaneously with renewed efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem. The Cypriot negotiating team knew that the Cyprus problem could create complications; consequently, one chapter after another was closed without the best possible elaboration of the issues

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<sup>12</sup> Commission of The European Communities, 'Commission Opinion on the Application by the Republic of Cyprus for Membership', COM(93)313 final, Brussels, 30 June 1993.

<sup>13</sup> European Council, SN 1661/95.

<sup>14</sup> See Helsinki European Council, 'Presidency Conclusions', 10 and 11, December 1999, I. Preparing for Enlargement, paragraphs 4, 9 (a) (b) and 12.

under consideration. In other words, under different circumstances Cyprus could have secured a better agreement on various issues.

The negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus problem were not progressing well. It was evident that there was a serious gap in the positions of the two sides. When the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan finalised his Plan for a settlement shortly before accession, the Greek Cypriots found it grossly biased. Indeed, in the referendum that took place on 24 April, 2004, a few days before accession, 75,8% of the Greek Cypriots voted 'No' while 65,6% of the Turkish Cypriots (and the settlers) voted 'Yes'.<sup>15</sup>

There is no doubt that the US, the UK and other countries wanted to facilitate Turkey's European path. The occupation of the northern part of Cyprus by Turkey was an obstacle to this. In a cynical act of political expediency, they directed their pressure towards the weaker side. The Annan Plan satisfied all Turkish objectives. In the event of a simultaneous 'Yes', the European path of Turkey would be enhanced, while at the same time it would have satisfied its objectives in Cyprus. In the case of rejection that should come from the Greek Cypriot side; as it did. In such a case Turkey would not be held responsible for the continuing stalemate in Cyprus and could proceed with its European ambitions.

## **The Positions of the UN and the EU**

### ***The Role of the UN***

Over time, Cyprus has held great expectations from the UN. And while the stance of the UN had been positive for the Republic of Cyprus before 1974, there have been drastic changes after the invasion and the new state of affairs. Despite the primacy of the occupation over other dimensions of the Cyprus problem, the Security Council adopted a neutral position and supported the bicomunal negotiations for seeking a solution. This procedure has been sustained irrespective of the fact that the Turkish Cypriot leadership is not in a position to take any major decision(s) without the approval of Ankara.

While there are justified disappointments from the stance of the UN after 1974, it is important to understand that the functioning of this Organisation is influenced by the political realities and the balance of power. In addition, in the various conflicts where the UN acts as an intermediary, it does not usually take a position on the sub-

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<sup>15</sup> See Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999-2004*, Hart Publishing, Oxford and Portland, Oregon, 2005, and Andreas Theophanous, *The Cyprus Question and the EU: The Challenge and the Promise*, Intercollege Press, Nicosia, 2004.

stance of the conflict. Consequently, any illusions about the role of the UN should be put aside. Indicatively, it is also noted that the ex-Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel and Professor Emeritus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Shlomo Avineri stated, in 2004, in relation to the Annan Plan, that it reflects a position which amounts to ‘the UN’s and the EU’s favourite occupation’.<sup>16</sup>

During the informal five-party conference, on 27-29 April 2021, the Turkish Cypriot leader Ersin Tatar, with the support of Ankara, submitted a proposal for a two-state solution. This proposal is outside the mandate of the Security Council of the UN. The reaction of the Greek Cypriot side to this was rather modest; perhaps this was the outcome of fear for the termination of the mandate by the SG of the UN for the continuation of the efforts to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. Such an act would constitute a blackmail of the Greek Cypriot side, which, given the realities on the ground, is militarily disadvantaged. We should also be reminded that the systematic concessions made by the Greek Cypriot side after 1974 were, to a great extent, the outcome of the military imbalance on the island and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In any case, it is clarified that the SG can only make suggestions. The change or the end of the mandate to the SG takes place only with a decision of the Security Council of the UN. Until such a decision is made, or any other course is adopted by the Security Council, the SG is bound to follow the resolutions which describe his mandate.

It is also noted that the tolerance of the SG of the UN toward the actions of Turkey in the occupied part of Cyprus tends to undermine the credibility of the Organisation itself. Even the terminology used is unfortunate, to say the least. For example, the terms ‘North’ and ‘South’ should be avoided by the UN. While, according to the Constitution of 1960, the two communities are in equal standing, the Republic of Cyprus and the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (‘TRNC’), are not equal. It is essential to convey the message that in Cyprus there is a legitimate state member of the UN and of the EU and an occupation entity, the ‘TRNC’, which has been created and recognised by Turkey. Consequently, there cannot be negotiations on the basis of two states.

### ***The EU***

When the Republic of Cyprus applied to become a member of the European Union (EU), in 1990, there were high expectations. Among others, there was a widespread conviction that the value system of the Union and its institutional framework, in con-

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<sup>16</sup> See Shlomo Avineri, ‘A Deeply Flawed Peace Plan for Cyprus’, *Jerusalem Post*, February 29, 2004.

junction with the European ambitions of Turkey, could contribute to a just resolution of the Cyprus problem. However, these expectations were not fulfilled.

The moral high ground of the Republic of Cyprus was eroded with the rejection of the Annan Plan in 2004, while the occupying force, Turkey, claimed that it had done its own fair share toward the solution of the problem.<sup>17</sup> The reality, though, was different. While the Annan Plan satisfied most of the Turkish demands, most Greek Cypriots felt that its implementation would have dissolved the legitimate state, and that their position would have deteriorated. In addition, the EU did not exhibit the appropriate solidarity toward the Republic of Cyprus, while, at the same time, its tolerance for Turkey remains almost unlimited. This is because the various dimensions of the Euro-Turkish relations, as well as the entangled political and economic interests weigh much more than the principle of solidarity and other values of the EU.

The reaction of the EU, in view of Turkey's systematic violations of the Cypriot Exclusive Zone (EEZ), the continuing colonisation and the hybrid warfare against the Republic of Cyprus, has been very limited. This persists even following the new *fait accompli* in the fenced city of Varosha and the involvement of Erdoğan in the elections for the new leader of the occupation regime, in October 2020. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the efforts of the Cypriot government for sanctions against Turkey have not had any results so far.

In the informal five-party conference on 27-29 April, the representation of the EU was downgraded due to Turkey's insistence. And while, in the discussions for the future of Cyprus, two out of the three major guarantor powers which are not members of the EU, namely Britain and Turkey, were present, the Union, of which the Republic of Cyprus is a member, was in essence a mere spectator. Consequently, it seems that a dismal precedent has been created for the Greek Cypriot side. The President at the time Nicos Anastasiades should have been more demanding on this issue. But, above all, the EU itself should not have accepted its downgrading.

It is interesting to compare the stance of the EU toward the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing Turkish occupation of the northern part of Cyprus. Although by definition each case has its own characteristics, there are also some common issues. In both cases there have been violations of international law. In the case of the Russian invasion the response of the EU has been firm and punitive. In the case,

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<sup>17</sup> The Report of the International Crisis Group in 2006 is indicative. See 'Reflections on The Cyprus Stalemate: What Next', Europe Report no.171, 8 March 2006. (Report prepared by the International Crisis Group).

though, of Cyprus, Turkey has been tolerated and accommodated. This is because Russia is considered a foe, while Turkey is perceived as a strategic partner.

## **Guidelines for the Solution of the Cyprus Problem**

### *The Republic of Cyprus as a Normal State After the Solution*

During the discussions for the Annan Plan, those who were against it were asked about their proposition, given their stance. In addition to the analysis of various models that could be adopted in Cyprus, I had, since 2002, submitted the position that it was essential to have a normal state. It was therefore with satisfaction that I heard after many years, in 2017, the use of this term by the then President of the Republic, Nicos Anastasiades, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece at the time, Nicos Kotzias, as well as by the SG of the UN, Antonio Guterres.

In this regard, it is essential to have in mind some guidelines as follows:

- The Evolution of the Republic of Cyprus:

The continuity of the Republic of Cyprus should be ensured within the framework of the resolution of the Cyprus problem. It is inconceivable for a member state of the UN and the EU to cease to exist by its own choice, to equate itself with the ‘TRNC’, a Turkish protectorate, and after an indirect/instant mutual recognition a new common state to be created.

Until recently, the basis of negotiations, which is codified in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council of the UN, if successful, would lead to the creation of a dysfunctional political system based on ethnonationalist pillars. Such an outcome would worsen the *status quo*.

Consequently, the starting point should be the Constitution of 1960 which will be amended. After all, when Turkey invaded, in 1974, it declared that its major objective was the reestablishment of the constitutional order. We should be reminded that, today, the Republic of Cyprus functions on the basis of the Doctrine of Necessity, which was legitimised in March 1964 with the Resolution 186 of the Security Council of the UN.<sup>18</sup>

- Guarantees, Foreign Troops, and the Cypriot Army:

The current guarantees system should be put aside or at least be revised, given that it was one of the sources of the problem. The Security Council of the UN

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<sup>18</sup> United Nations, S/RES/186, The Cyprus Question, 1964, [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY\\_640304\\_SCR186.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY_640304_SCR186.pdf)

could have a special role in the guarantees system.<sup>19</sup> It is, in any case, paradoxical for any country member-state of the EU, to have guarantor powers, two of which are not even members of the Union. By the same token, there must be no foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus.

While there should be a withdrawal of all foreign troops for which there is no provision in any Treaty, it would be useful to have an enhanced, strengthened multinational force under the auspices of the UN for a provisional period.

It is also noted that in this *sui generis* federal state, there should be a Cypriot Army on the numerical base of 3:1.

- Presidency and Governance:

After the referendum of 2004, I submitted the proposal for a common ticket for the President and Vice President who should not be from the same community. This suggestion, which emanates from an integrationalist federal philosophy, is democratic, and, in addition, encourages the creation of common objectives.

The provisions for double majorities in the decision-making process should be revisited. Double majorities and even strong ones (i.e. 66,7%) should always apply in the cases of constitutional amendments. For certain serious issues, there should be provisions for enhanced (and not absolute, i.e. 40%) double majorities, while on other issues there should only be a simple majority of those voting (irrespective of their ethnic origin).

Taking into consideration the mixed composition of various bodies, as well as the equal representation in the Upper House, we can presume there will always be an effective Turkish Cypriot participation in the decision-making process.

- Supreme Court:

The Supreme Court should consist of four Greek Cypriot and four Turkish Cypriot judges and one judge from the other three smaller communities (Maronites, Armenian and Latins) of Cyprus. It is noted that in the plan that had been finalised before the coup in 1974 there was a provisional agreement for six Greek Cypriot and three Turkish Cypriot judges. In the Annan Plan the relevant provision provided for three Greek Cypriot, three Turkish Cypriot, and three foreign judges.

- Bicommunality:

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<sup>19</sup> I understand that after the invasion of Ukraine by Russia the implementation of such a suggestion may be difficult. Nevertheless, the point is to ensure the drastic alteration of the system of guarantees in Cyprus.



The philosophy of bicommunality should be considered as an integral but not exclusive element of the solution framework. The same number of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Senators in the Upper House secures the political equality of the two communities. Nevertheless, it is not possible to address all issues with the perspective of bicommunality. That is why, and among others, in the issue of the Presidency a specific idea which emanates from an integrationalist federal philosophy (see point 3) is advanced.

- The Importance of the Economy and of a Modern State:

The content of the solution of the Cyprus problem should be enriched with the rules of a smooth operation of the economy, of the society and the institutions of a contemporary state. At the same time, it is essential to take into consideration the European *acquis* and, in general, the overall developments in the EU. Among others, the creation of a unified economy is vital. The market economy should be considered as a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the convergence of the standard of living between the two communities.

- Settlers:

Colonialism is by definition a war crime, while at the same time it entails political dimensions. The ultimate objective of Turkey is the gradual demographic transformation, not only of the occupied territories but of Cyprus as a whole. Consequently, the issue is serious. It is within this framework that the relevant humanitarian issues which arise should be assessed. The relevant agreement between Christofias and Talat for maintaining the demographic base 4:1 and its implementation is of vital importance.

- The Territorial and Property Issue:

The importance of the territorial issue will be altered if instead of two constituent states there are six regions. If the Turkish Cypriot community insists on one indivisible region under its own administration, it should be accepted. In such a case, this should be a region or, at most, a component state but certainly not a constituent state.

The property issue can be addressed within the framework of the tentative agreements made so far, as well as within the market forces. It is noted that a compensation fund endowed from foreign sources as well, will be supportive of the efforts of resolving this thorny issue. Nevertheless, a considerable amount is not expected to be secured.

The Turkish Cypriot region, which will be around 28,7% of the territory, will have the broader possible autonomy. In the territory under the Greek Cypriot administration, it is possible to have five regions. This arrangement will not affect the composition of the Upper House, which will be 50-50.

- Cooperation:

It is of vital importance to encourage the creation of an environment of cooperation between the two communities and the promotion of a framework of common objectives. Without such an environment, any attempt at state-building will be futile. The above chapters may be explored and expanded even more. In addition to the evolutionary approach, the positive stance of Turkey, or at least its tolerance, is also significant.

Undoubtedly, it is extremely difficult to expect that these ideas will be accepted by Turkey. On the other hand, though, implementing the negotiating framework used until recently will lead to a dysfunctional state and to the deterioration of the situation. Consequently, the proposed philosophy must by all means be promoted, as it maintains the prospect of an eventual settlement. Toward this direction, hard work, multilateral cooperation, a pragmatic foreign policy, an effective state, and a comprehensive narrative are required. And while the Republic of Cyprus will continue to work for a settlement of the Cyprus problem, at the same time it must continually enhance its defense capabilities in order to face Turkish expansionism.

## **The Evolutionary Process**

### *The Evolutionary Approach and the CBMs*

It is essential to understand that it is impossible to have a federal solution and enter a new state of affairs in 24 hours. Even in the best-case scenario, in which there would be no distrust, no suspicion, and no heavy historical past, an evolutionary path and approach would still be required. It is also underlined that the narratives of the two sides are quite opposite. The fulfillment of several prerequisites is necessary for the building of a viable federal polity; these include a minimum framework of common objectives. Currently, such a framework and a common vision for the future do not exist.

Despite a very difficult situation, the submission of suggestions for the following major CBMs, as well as the parallel simultaneous discussion of the guidelines for a settlement, may prove useful and create a new momentum.

- Co-exploitation of the energy sources between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, with the simultaneous *de facto* delimitation of the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey.<sup>20</sup> Such a development will also help the Greco-Turkish dialogue. The parallel delimitation of the EEZ between Greece, Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus, could also be proposed by the Greek Cypriot side. A common recourse to the International Court of Justice at The Hague will facilitate such a development.
- Acknowledging the occupied territories as Region under Turkish Cypriot administration with the implementation of the *acquis communautaire* (i.e., suspension of Protocol 10). It is significant that the EU should undertake its responsibilities in the process of harmonisation of the occupied territories of the Republic of Cyprus with the *acquis communautaire*. Such an action will most likely upgrade the relations of the Turkish Cypriots with the Republic of Cyprus, and especially with the EU.
- Return of the legitimate residents and their beneficiaries to the fenced city of Varosha under Greek Cypriot administration.
- Gradual return of territories under Greek Cypriot administration. With the beginning of normalisation, the occupied village of Achna should be immediately returned under Greek Cypriot administration, and the utilisation of the entire Buffer Zone should immediately commence without obstacles.
- The functioning of the airport of Tymbou and of the port of Famagusta (in the occupied part of Cyprus) under the auspices of the UN and the EU. The implementation of such measures will take place in a way that the legal status of the Republic of Cyprus will not be negatively affected.
- Implementation of the Ankara Protocol by Turkey. Such an action entails the implementation of the Custom Union Agreement of Turkey with all member states of the EU, including the Republic of Cyprus.
- Part of the normalisation of the situation would be the further encouragement of trade between the two sides; the necessary legal and health standards will be taken into consideration for this purpose.
- Immediate ending of the colonisation of the occupied territories and of the hybrid warfare against the Republic of Cyprus on behalf of Turkey. These issues concern not only the Greek Cypriots, but also the Turkish Cypriots and the EU.

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<sup>20</sup> The delimitation of the Exclusive Economic Zone between Israel and Lebanon with the strong support and encouragement of the US could serve as a precedent.

- Discussion of issues of common interest such as the extension of cooperation as well as addressing the concerns of the two sides within the framework of a *sui generis* federal model. It is essential that the Constitution of 1960, that is based on consociational democracy, is amended in a way that will include elements of an integrationalist federal model.
- Turkey should assume its responsibilities. We should be reminded that when Turkey invaded Cyprus, on 20 July, 1974, it claimed that its objective was the reestablishment of the constitutional order and the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community. Consequently, it has to contribute toward this direction by gradually normalising its relations with the Republic of Cyprus; the first steps will include the beginning of the withdrawal of the occupation troops.
- In the next elections for the European Parliament, the EU should offer two extra seats to Cyprus that will be taken by Turkish Cypriot residents of the Region under Turkish Cypriot administration. These two Turkish Cypriots MEPs would like those 6 elected in the government controlled areas come from the Republic of Cyprus.
- Any solution should be the outcome of a voluntary agreement between the two sides in Cyprus. For such a development it is essential that Turkey respects the right of the Republic of Cyprus to exist. An evolutionary approach will offer the required time for the gradual strengthening of the relations between the two communities and the forging of the concept of an integrationalist federal model. In case that this is not feasible, other ways should be sought to promote peace and security within the framework of the participation of the entire territory of Cyprus, given that this has been ensured by the accession in 2004, including Protocol 10. This cannot take place on the basis of two independent states. It is possible, though, for one region to exist under Turkish Cypriot administration, which will have the greatest degree of autonomy.

In case such measures are implemented, great benefits will accrue for all the parties involved; in addition, there will also be a drastic reduction of tension in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is understandable that, for the implementation of such measures, the consent of Turkey is indispensable. Even in the most likely case of rejection of these suggestions by the Turkish side, the Republic of Cyprus will have enhanced its moral high ground and will have submitted a road map for the creation of favourable conditions that will facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. Although this

may not be possible currently, the prospect for positive developments in the future will nevertheless be maintained.

### Concluding Remarks

At the theoretical level, a question that is raised is whether the 1960 London-Zurich Constitution could have been functional. It is stressed that with such a Constitution, tolerance, mutual understanding, maturity, and mutual respect, are required. These characteristics did not exist in 1960 when the Republic of Cyprus was founded and do not exist today at the required level. Consequently, under the current circumstances, it is not possible to secure a viable and functional settlement on the basis of a bizonal bicomunal federation as discussed so far. I note that, taking all relevant factors into consideration, the legitimacy deficit that existed with the birth of the Republic of Cyprus will appear again on the day after a settlement if in essence this is considered as an outcome of imposition.

In addition, while federation is discussed all these years, there has not been an adequate understanding of the federal systems, or the different approaches to them. It has not been comprehended that there are federal polities/systems which are not based only on ethnonationalist pillars and the model of consociational democracy.<sup>21</sup> The fact that there are other forms of federation and especially those that fall under the integrationalist federal philosophy, has been ignored.<sup>22</sup> Such a system is that of the USA, where the Constitution secures the rights of citizens irrespective of ethnic origin and religious beliefs, and, does so without relying on ethnocommunal pillars. It is noted that in 1960 in the USA, John Kennedy was elected not because it was the turn of a Catholic to become President, but as an outcome of the triumph of politics. The same, and in a more intense way, took place with the election of Barack Obama, an Afroamerican politician, in 2008 and 2012, to the Presidency of the USA. This is a response to the request of the Turkish Cypriot side for rotation Presidency.

If we judge by their results, the endless cycles of bicomunal negotiations that have taken place since 1974 until today for the solution of the Cyprus problem, have obviously failed.<sup>23</sup> While the negotiating framework from 1974 up until today moved

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<sup>21</sup> See Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977; 'Consociation and Federation: Conceptual and Empirical Links', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 12:3 Sept. 1979, pp. 499-515.

<sup>22</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, 'The Many Uses of Federalism', 55 *Drake Law Review*, 2007, pp. 953-966

<sup>23</sup> [http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/faculty\\_scholarship/1855](http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/faculty_scholarship/1855)

<sup>23</sup> Andreas Theophanous, 'The Intercommunal Negotiations After 1974 and Future Prospects', *The Cyprus Review*, Issue 1, Volume 31, op. cit.

toward the positions of the Turkish side, Turkish maximalism has prevented a solution. Despite the passing of time, the Greek Cypriot side should try to promote a new negotiating framework based on a federal approach in a way that would acquire legitimisation in Cyprus and simultaneously support externally. With Ersin Tatar as the leader of the occupation regime and the submission of the position for a two-state solution, the Greek side should take initiatives for a new approach.

At the current juncture, it is important that the Greek Cypriot side submits new ideas. Among others, it is possible to stress that in Cyprus there is a legitimate state and an illegal occupation entity. In addition, any federal arrangement must take into consideration four decisive factors:

- the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus;
- the events of 1974;
- the accession of the Republic of Cyprus in the EU and subsequently in the Eurozone;
- the relevant resolutions of the Security Council of the UN.

Taking into consideration the suspicion and the absence of common objectives between the two communities, we must adopt an evolutionary path and process. The discussion must include the reassessment of the kind of federal system within the framework of a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Understandably, though, no development can take place without the consent of Turkey.

It would be a pleasant surprise if Turkey changed its policy and accepted a functional compromise. In this regard, the evolutionary process and the CBMs would facilitate finding a *sui generis* federal solution of the Cyprus problem. In such a polity, the region under Turkish Cypriot administration would have the greatest possible autonomy. At the same time, there would be effective participation in the institutions of the federal state. The gradual building of a minimum framework of common objectives would also be feasible.

However, the expected scenario is the insistence of Turkey on a settlement in which the Republic of Cyprus would be pushed aside and the new three-headed entity that will be created would, in essence, be a Turkish protectorate. Obviously, the Republic of Cyprus would not dissolve itself; under these difficult circumstances, it must continue to function under the Doctrine of Necessity. The Official State has the legitimacy to take all necessary decisions for its survival, including additional constitutional amendments as well as the strengthening of its defense capabilities.

Finally, the projection of a narrative is indispensable. If Turkey insists on its expansionist policy, it is appropriate to project the point that Ankara denies minority rights for the millions of Kurds of Turkey, while in Cyprus it demands a two-state solution. This is a great contradiction.<sup>24</sup>

Combined with the militarisation and the islamisation of the occupied part of Cyprus, the Turkish demands remove the possibility of an understanding and a final settlement. It is also essential to note that, since April 2021, the Turkish side has escalated the rhetoric for a two-state solution. Most likely, however, the Turkish objective remains a confederal settlement through which Ankara would exercise strategic control over Cyprus as a whole. It is worth noting that the Turkish Cypriot leader Ersin Tatar stated, on 10 September, 2021, that Cyprus should be returned to Turkey.<sup>25</sup>

The President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan tried to promote the narrative of a two-state solution in Cyprus while addressing the UN General Assembly on 22 September, 2021. This was repeated in September 2022. It may be appropriate to raise the question whether what Erdoğan recommends as a solution of the Cyprus problem could also apply to the Kurdish issue in Turkey.

In either case, the Republic of Cyprus must have a comprehensive policy. In addition to adopting a holistic approach and submitting specific proposals for the Cyprus problem, the continuous enhancement of the state entity is very significant. The maximum objective is the reestablishment of the territorial integrity and the end of the Turkish occupation. The minimum objective is the protection and security of the free part of Cyprus. Simultaneously, it is imperative that the Republic of Cyprus enhances its defense capabilities. Furthermore, the widening and deepening of networks of cooperation with other powers is indispensable. In addition, Cyprus should ask Greece and Britain to coordinate their efforts as Guarantor Powers and work toward the reestablishment of its unity and territorial integrity.

Undoubtedly, the accession of the Republic of Cyprus in the EU, on 1 May, 2004, and the adoption of the euro on 1 January, 2008, have been great achievements. Nev-

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<sup>24</sup> We should also recall that a few months after the invasion, on 1 October, 1974, President Makarios declared at the UN Assembly that 'the Turkish policy in Cyprus reminds us of the practices of Nazi Germany in relation to the German-speaking people of Sudetenland and the capture of Czechoslovakia before the beginning of the second World War'. See Miltiades Christodoulou, *The Course of an Era: Greece, the Cypriot Leadership and the Cyprus Problem* (in Greek), Ioannis Floros, Athens 1987, p. 708.

<sup>25</sup> On top of that, the Vice President of Turkey Fuat Oktay stated, on 16 October, that, given that the Ottoman Empire occupied Cyprus in 1571, Turkey has legitimate claims on Cyprus as a whole. Oktay also stated that 'Cyprus has been ours since 1571'. It is not the first time that he has made such statements.

ertheless, the expectations of Cypriots were not fulfilled. On the contrary there were several disappointments.<sup>26</sup> Be that as it may it is important that Cyprus should do its best as a member of the Union to advance its own objectives, as well as to make a notable contribution to the European project.

While the EU has reacted strongly toward Russia for its invasion in Ukraine, it has been very tolerant to Turkey's actions in Cyprus. Despite the rhetoric the Union has not taken any measures which would create a cost to Turkey for its actions. To the present day, Turkey does not recognise the Republic of Cyprus and has not yet implemented the Ankara Protocol in a way so as to include this island state as well. Furthermore, it has systematically been violating the Cypriot EEZ and has also been waging a hybrid warfare against this island state. This situation undermines peace, stability and cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Although the EU stance on the Cyprus problem has not lived up to the expectations of Cypriots and to its own value system, it is also important to underline that this island state should have worked in a better way to make its case. It is essential for Cyprus to have a narrative and a comprehensive vision for the future. Although it may be extremely difficult, or even impossible, for the EU to promote a policy of sanctions against Turkey, it is possible to advance a policy which will ease tensions on the island and pave the way for some major steps forward.

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<sup>26</sup> Cypriots also feel that the EU did not exhibit solidarity during the economic crisis which culminated in 2013. Yes, Cyprus should blame itself for the structural problems it has had to address; at the same time, though, there were international dimensions to the crisis. Furthermore, the architecture of the Eurozone was problematic to say the least, while the logic of the measures taken to rescue Cyprus remains questionable.



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**BOOK  
REVIEWS**



## **Ireland and the End of the British Empire. The Republic and its Role in the Cyprus Emergency**

**Helen O’ Shea**  
**Bloomsbury**  
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## **Η Ιρλανδία και το Τέλος της Βρετανικής Αυτοκρατορίας. Η Ιρλανδική Ανάμειξη στον Αγώνα της ΕΟΚΑ**

**Michalis Stavri, Andreas Kokkinoftas,**  
**Efrosyni Panayiotou, Lambros Kaoullas**  
**Aigaion**  
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**ISBN: 9789-925-565-39-9**

This monograph was first published in 2014. A Greek translation was published in 2023. The Greek edition of the book is of the highest standard, and includes a wealth of additional footnotes by the editors. The author deserves praise for this well-documented volume. The first chapter analyses, in a detailed manner, the relationship between Ireland and Cyprus under the British Rule during 1878-1954, whereas the remaining chapters focus on the crucial period 1955-1959. The author has carefully studied and assesses a number of diverse sources, the Irish press, the IRA, the official foreign policy of Ireland, the role of Irish military and high-ranked administrative personnel in Cyprus, as well as the Irish Catholic press, including the Church of Ireland. This enables a comprehensive narrative which definitely settles existing questions, but simultaneously paves the way for new questions and more research on the subject.

The originality of the book is that it transfers the narrative from the relationship between the EOKA and IRA fighters, through individual narrations, to the search of an overall assessment of the relations between Cyprus and Ireland during the period within the wider setting of British-Ireland relations. The focus on the significant Irish presence in the British administration of Cyprus and the role that those Irish high-

ranked officials had in the history of the island is especially significant. The author correctly refers to the reaction of noted Cypriot poet Costas Montis who, when informed that the Irish Daniel Kinsella had been killed in the Liopetri battle, wrote: 'It was a great surprise for us the news that you were killed Daniel, that we killed you. We did not know that you were battling against us, we could not have imagined that you were battling against us.' The natural reaction of Greek Cypriots was to consider the Irish as their allies in the fight against Britain, considering Ireland's history. Whereas, however, it is true that Ireland in general viewed the EOKA struggle with sympathy and support, the reality, as the author carefully narrates, is more multidimensional and complex.

Whereas there was no Irish influence in the EOKA struggle, there were close relations between IRA and EOKA. Indeed, this was the closest case of cooperation between the IRA and members of a foreign anticolonial movement. The peculiar choice of the British to imprison members of the two organisations in British prisons led to the exchange of experiences and interaction amongst them. For Greek Cypriots, IRA fighters were comrades in arms. However, at the same time, as the author shows, the British colonial administration comprised of leading Irish, whom the Greek Cypriots faced as British. The author reminds that Chief Justice Sir Eric Hallinan, who presided the trial of the ship 'St Georgios' in 1955, as well as several trials of leading EOKA fighters such as Michalakis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou, was Irish. James Trainor and Charles Vesey Boyle, judges of the special Assize Court established in Nicosia in November of 1955, were also Irish. Attorney-General James Henry, who had the overall supervision of criminal prosecutions against the EOKA fighters, and who had substituted Criton Tornaritis when the latter was sent to London in order to carry out special duties, was also Irish. Even Hallinan's successor, Sir Paget John Bourke, was Irish. When the publisher of the Cypriot newspaper *Times of Cyprus* Charles Foley, who descended from Ireland, was prosecuted because of a newspaper article allegedly violating the emergency regulations, the defendant (Foley), the prosecutor (Henry) and the judge (Hallinan) were all Irish, despite the fact that the trial was taking place in Cyprus under British rule.

The author discusses the internal state of Irish officials through an analysis of primary sources. Clearly senior officials are not expected to act against their Government and this was also evident in the position of even Greek Cypriot officials and judges during the period. However, the fact remains: when EOKA issued proclamations against Hallinan, Henry and the others, it targeted distinguished Irish high-

ranked officials, whom it considered as British. British and Irish officials therefore coincided in the exercise of British administration in Cyprus, despite Irish sympathy towards EOKA. The author briefly mentions that Barra O' Briain, the first President of the Cypriot Supreme Court following the 1960 Independence, was also Irish. The author's published research does not, of course, extend beyond the period of the British rule; however, I see fit to add a comment that might reinforce some of her arguments regarding the internal state of Irish leading officials. The 1961 *Kouppis* case referred to the conviction of former EOKA fighters for unlawfully carrying arms. The Supreme Court imposed on appeal six months imprisonment. The majority judgment was delivered by the two Greek Cypriot Judges (George Vasiliades and Julius Josephides) and the Turkish Cypriot Judge (Mehmet Zekia). The Irish President of the Court Barra O' Briain observed characteristically in his dissenting judgment that, whereas the accused indeed carried the arms unlawfully while they were EOKA fighters, it was a fact that the Republic of Cyprus, its flag and the Court itself, owed their very existence to EOKA.

**Achilles C. Emilianides**

# Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity and Politics

Nikos Christofis and Thekla Kyritsi (eds.)

Cham Palgrave Macmillan

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Debating and interrogating the development of nationalisms in a historically conflict-ridden place like Cyprus is a daunting task. The present situation on the island and the hegemonic dominance of certain interpretations of national identity on the island makes fruitful dialogue difficult. Furthermore, the public and scholarly focus on key turning points in the modern history of the island, like the 1960 Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Cyprus, the 1963-64 intercommunal strife and the 1974 invasion, among others, have overshadowed the social and historical processes which have contributed to the very culmination of these turning points. Nonetheless, historians and social scientists working on the evolution of nationalisms in Cyprus have offered important contributions that challenge the hegemonic narratives on both sides of the Green Line.<sup>1</sup>

The edited volume by Nikos Christofis and Thekla Kyritsi is a welcome and much-needed addition to this line of scholarship. The book successfully offers an overview of the current state of the art. Moreover, some contributions break new

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<sup>1</sup> There is a long list here but some of the most important contributions include Costas M. Constantinou, "Aporias of identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the 'Cyprus Problem'," *Cooperation and Conflict* 42, no. 3 (2007), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836707079931>, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010836707079931>; Niyazi Kızılyürek, "Modernity, Nationalism and Secularization: The Turkish Cypriot Case," in *Religious Communities and Modern Statehood: The Ottoman and post-Ottoman World at the Age of Nationalism and Colonialism*, ed. N. Michael Michalis, Verdeil Chantal, and Anastasiadis Tassos (De Gruyter, 2020); Caesar V. Mavratsas, "National Identity and Consciousness in Everyday Life: Towards a Sociology of Knowledge of Greek-Cypriot Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 5, no. 1 (1999), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1354-5078.1999.00091.x>, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1354-5078.1999.00091.x>; Caesar V. Mavratsas, "The ideological contest between Greek-Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism 1974–1995: Politics, social memory and identity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997/10/01 1997), <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1997.9993986>, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1997.9993986>; Yiannis Papadakis, "Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process," *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 2 (1998), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1998.25.2.149>, <https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1525/ae.1998.25.2.149>.



ground and offer pathways for further research. At the same time, for reasons explained in the following paragraphs, the book does not fully live up to its own claim of presenting ‘a range of perspectives on the broader canvas of the Cypriot Experience’.<sup>2</sup>

The book is split into four parts; i) ‘Early Agents of Nationalism’, ii) ‘Moments of a Mass Movement’, iii) ‘National Identity and the Development of Prejudice’ and iv) ‘The Local and the Global’. In the following paragraphs, I will briefly summarise these four parts. I zero in on the most important contributions in each of these sections. Finally, this review ends by offering some points of critique.

The book’s first part focuses on the first decades of the island’s post-Ottoman period, which began in 1878. The key characteristics explored in this part relate to the encounter of Cyprus with British colonialism and, in turn, with the modern state, exemplified by the introduction of the Legislative. This sets the context in which the contributions track the nascence of nationalism on the island, focusing on the impact of men educated in the Greek university system, the gradual transition of the Church into an agent of nationalism, the utilisation of the Legislative Council as a platform for the promotion of the interests of both communities on the island and, finally, the role of Greek Cypriot women as agents of Greek nationalism. The last contribution by Thekla Kyritsi (ch. 4) is a novel and welcome one, since the role of women in developing and disseminating nationalist ideas in Cyprus has been overlooked by scholars so far. Kyritsi’s chapter is a much-needed attempt to fill this gap in which many more questions about the role of women and gender ought to be asked in connection to the rise of nationalism in Cyprus. Kyritsi’s work in this chapter is a step in the right direction.

In the second part of the book, the focus shifts towards the interwar years, where the idea of nationalism trickled down from the elites to the masses, culminating into the *Enosis* movement among Greek Cypriots. The chapters in this part track the gradual conflation of de-colonialism to Greek nationalism on the Greek Cypriot side, the role of Grivas’ ‘Organisation X’ in Cyprus, the failure of two reunification attempts by the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots at different historical periods. The work of Alexios Alecou (ch. 7) on the presence of ‘Organisation X’ on the island offers an original contribution on a matter that has not received enough scholarly attention so far and draws another link between the divisions and politics of the Greek civil war and their

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<sup>2</sup> Nikos Christofis and Thekla Kyritsi, “Introduction,” in *Cypriot Nationalism(s) in Context*, ed. Thekla Kyritsi and Nikos Christofis (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 12.

repercussions on Greek Cypriot politics at the time.<sup>3</sup> Despite its merits, the chapter by Alecou spends most of the article on developments in Greece, which are certainly key to his argument, and only devotes a few pages on the organisation's actions on the island (pp. 145-150). Instead, it would be more useful to the reader if Alecou delved further into 'X's actions in Cyprus and their impact, and less time on setting the scene.

The third part of this volume that zeroes in on the development of identities in the aftermath of the 1974 invasion and the island's *de facto* partition is arguably the strongest out of the four. The chapter by Sossie Kasbarian (ch.9) is the only chapter in the book that does not grapple with notions of either Greek or Turkish nationalism on the island. Kasbarian here overviews the development of the Armenian identity on the island, how its relations with the Armenian diaspora impacted the Republic of Armenia, and the flows of Armenian migrants who arrived on the island at different times. Furthermore, the chapter by Çıraklı (ch. 10) offers an interesting analysis of how migration in the so-called 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) has been portrayed by different segments of the Turkish Cypriot Press. In particular, the chapter highlights the way in which Turkish Cypriot identity among the left-leaning members of Turkish Cypriot society views the Turkish settlers as a threat to their existence, describing the latter as backward and uncivilised. Finally, Alekos Varnava's (ch.12) contribution on the writings and work of the late Rolandos Katsiaounis offers one of the first appraisals of the work of one of Cyprus' most prominent historians.

The fourth part is arguably the most innovative one in both theoretical and empirical terms. In specific, the contributions here take a comparative approach to the historical experience of Cypriot nationalism. The chapters compare Cyprus' experience and that of Malta, Latin America and the Greek and Turkish Left. The chapter by Palieraki (ch.15) stands out because it has managed not only to compare the Cypriot case with Latin America, but also to unearth the linkages between the Cypriot decolonial movement and EDEK with Latin American actors and the Greek socialist left of Andreas Papandreou and PASOK under the rubric of Third World Nationalism. These linkages have not been scrutinised in an academic manner before, even though they are widely known to the public.

However, the volume comes with a number of key shortcomings.<sup>4</sup> The first is the

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<sup>3</sup> This chapter builds on Alecou's own work in Alexios Alecou, *Communism and nationalism in post-war Cyprus, 1945 -1955 : politics and ideologies under British rule* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Some of these shortcomings have also been pointed out in this review "Book Review: Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity and Politics edited by Thekla Kyritsi and Nikos Christofis," LSE

poor proofreading at times within the text.<sup>5</sup> The second deals with the failure of the book to meet its own threshold of writing an interdisciplinary work on Cypriot nationalisms that moves beyond the Greek-Turkish divide (pp. 5, 12). The book offers a number of historical contributions to Cypriot nationalisms. Hence, the criterion of interdisciplinarity is not met. The exception is the chapter by Ioannou and Kassianos (ch.11), which deals with studies on child psychology among Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot children. Moving on, except for Kasbarian's chapter on the experience of the Armenian minority, all the other chapters deal with other Greek or Turkish experiences of nationalism. Therefore, the experiences of the island's two other minorities -Maronites and Latins- are left unaccounted for. The role and historical experience of Cyprus' minorities is an area of research that needs further scholarly attention, as well as that of the interaction of these three minorities with the two dominant ethnic groups in the period following 1878.

In conclusion, despite its shortcomings, the work of Christofis, Kyritsi and the other contributors is essential, and it can serve as an ideal starting point for anyone interested in studying Cypriot nationalisms. As has been outlined above, some of the contributions are innovative and open ground for further research, while the less innovative ones offer solid historical narratives of critical developments in the rise and development of nationalism in Cyprus. Finally, the book will also be a helpful tool to anyone who wishes to understand contemporary political dynamics on both sides of the Green Line, the historical origins of the Cyprus Problem, or even to contemplate Cyprus' future.

**Alexandros Zachariades**

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Review of Books, 2020, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lserewofbooks/2020/02/27/book-review-cypriot-nationalisms-in-context-history-identity-and-politics-edited-by-thekla-kyritsi-and-nikos-christofis/>.

<sup>5</sup> For examples read the review in the previous website.

# **The Evolution of the Political, Social and Economic Life of Cyprus, 1191-1950**

**Spyros Sakellaropoulos**  
**Palgrave Macmillan**  
**London, 2022 (pp. 336)**  
**ISBN: 9783030918415**

Spyros Sakellaropoulos, in his book *The Evolution of the Political, Social and Economic Life of Cyprus, 1191-1950*, has managed to offer a very well documented examination of the evolution of the political, social and economic life of Cyprus, from its conquest by Richard the Lionheart to the 1950 referendum on Enosis. As the author notes, there is a key element that characterises -and interprets- the interest in controlling the island: its particularly advantageous geographical position. Indeed, between Europe, Africa and Asia, Cyprus has always been an important centre for military and economic activities in the wider region. The conquests of Cyprus, as well as the constant interest that existed (and perhaps still exists) for the island, indicate its wider economic and geostrategic importance.

Although very important studies have been published on the Cyprus issue and Cyprus history in general, there was a lack of one that would attempt to approach its long-term evolution, using as key analytical tools its internal social contrasts in reference to the strategic position of Cyprus and the interest of many powerful powers in its annexation. Under this scope, from the conquest of the island by the Franks and onwards, a long historical period begins, during which the previous developments decisively influence the following ones. Spyros Sakellaropoulos offers this holistic approach and his book is a bird's view image of the main developments of this long period, effectively connecting them with the past and the future. For example, we would not be able to understand the strong role of the Orthodox Church under British rule without understanding its special position during the Ottoman rule.

This book explains how the economic, political and ideological transformations of the Cypriot society were caused by a combination of internal contradictions and external inflictions. In this context, some developments are clearer, such as why the Franks took over and then the Venetians, the particularity of the Ottoman administration, the role of the Church, the social inequalities of the first decades of the 20th

century, the role of the Turkish Cypriot elite especially until the end of the 40s, and many more.

As the author mentions in his conclusion, there are two very basic parameters that should be part of any attempt to make sense of the political, economic and social development of Cyprus over the centuries into something comprehensible. The first has to do with the island's geographical position and the interests of the great powers in each epoch. The second relates to the existence, from 1571 onward, of two communities which throughout the period of emergent modernism would begin to transform their religious specificities into a national identity, placing its seal on later intercommunal differences and making a decisive contribution to the dramatic developments of the 20th century's final decades.

Indeed, one of the book's strengths is its in-depth analysis of the complex relationship between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Sakellaropoulos carefully traces the historical roots of these communities, their interactions, and how external forces contributed to the development of their distinct identities. This discussion is particularly relevant today, given the ongoing conflict in Cyprus and the unresolved division between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot populations.

The book also sheds light on the economic history of Cyprus, emphasising the island's role as a trade hub and its economic ties to various empires. Sakellaropoulos explores the impact of economic activities, such as agriculture, mining, and trade, on the island's development. This economic perspective provides valuable insights into the factors that have shaped Cyprus' economic landscape over the centuries.

Furthermore, the author delves into the evolution of political institutions, examining the administration of Cyprus under different rulers. He highlights the challenges and tensions that arose as different powers sought to exert control over the island, offering a nuanced understanding of the political dynamics that have shaped Cyprus' history.

Spyros Sakellaropoulos' book is a testament to his rigorous research and scholarship. He draws on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including archival materials, historical accounts, and scholarly works. This extensive research allows him to provide a comprehensive and well-documented narrative of Cyprus' history. The author maintains a balanced perspective throughout the book, avoiding bias or favoritism towards any particular group or period. This objectivity is crucial in a historical work dealing with a region that has seen its fair share of conflicts and controversies. Given the ongoing disputes and political complexities surrounding Cyprus,

Sakellaropoulos' book offers valuable historical context and insights. It helps readers understand the deep-seated issues that continue to affect the island's political, social, and economic landscape.

While the book's length and level of detail may be daunting for some readers, its wealth of information and insights make it a worthwhile investment for those seeking a comprehensive understanding of Cyprus' historical journey. By exploring the intricate interplay of political, social, and economic forces over the centuries, Sakellaropoulos offers readers a profound perspective on the complexities and challenges that have shaped this island.

In an era when understanding the historical roots of conflicts and identities is of paramount importance, *The Evolution of the Political, Social, and Economic Life of Cyprus, 1191-1950* serves as a vital resource and a testament to the enduring relevance of history in our ever-changing world. Spyros Sakellaropoulos' work will undoubtedly continue to inform and inspire scholarship and dialogue surrounding the history and the future of Cyprus for years to come.

**Alexis Alecou**

## **Loukis Akritas: His Small and Great World** **[Λουκῆς Ακρίτας. Ο Μικρός και ο Μεγάλος του Κόσμος]**

**Takis Hadjidemetriou**

**Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Youth**

**Nicosia, 2020 [pp. 379]**

**ISBN: 978-9963-0-0189-7**

Takis Hadjidemetriou's *Loukis Akritas: His Small and Great World*, published by the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Youth (YPPAN), Nicosia, 2020, is a book dedicated to the politician, writer, and journalist Loukis Akritas (1909-1965). This is the fourth edition of the Cultural Services for Loukis Akritas, the former three (in Greek) being: 1. *Short Stories* (*Διηγήματα*, 1986), 2. *Thirteen Texts* (*Δεκατρία Κείμενα*, 1995), 3. *Three Theatrical Plays* (*Τρία Θεατρικά*, 2001).

Loukis Akritas, an individual with great activity in political, journalistic, and educational matters in Greece, is not only uncle to the writer Takis Hadjidemetriou, but also the one who defined him intellectually. Hadjidemetriou sensed that Loukis Akritas was fading into oblivion, and, as the last of an entire generation, bore the burden of saying a final word about this man whose life became an example. Therefore, he felt the need to narrate what he saw and experienced before he faded into oblivion himself, 'before my own voice stops being heard', as he characteristically says (p. 15). The phrase of writer Ivi Meleagrou (Hadjidemetriou's sister and Akritas' niece): 'Now Louki, you will have to be confronted with oblivion and time' (p. 17) also shook Hadjidemetriou. The writer admits that he is not writing history; he is not writing the biography of Loukis Akritas, either. He is rather offering the reading audience a book that aims to preserve the memory of an entire family through the presentation of the significant personality of Loukis Akritas. Hadjidemetriou chooses to talk about the multifaceted personality of Akritas, the man who may have lived only few years –he died at the age of 56– but achieved many important things.

The book consists of 18 chapters, which cover the entire life of Loukis Akritas, as well as his family history. The writing of the book is based on the family archive, and particularly the vast amount of correspondence collected by the writer, which follows the entire course of Loukis Akritas' life, as well as the lives of people in his close family environment (Euripidis Akritas, Christos Akritas, Takis Hadjidemetriou, Ivi Meleagrou et al.). Indicative of what Takis Hadjidemetriou attempts to achieve is the first

chapter of the book, where the intentions of the writer and the methodology used are presented. This chapter is –allow me the phrase– the soul of Hadjidemetriou’s work. In this chapter he defines his authorial boundaries and explains his intentions. The author writes: ‘I have always thought that it would be very important to write about the life of Loukis Akritas. [...] I let my desire to write about Loukis Akritas sleep for many years, but he was never absent from my thoughts. In difficult times and in cases where I needed answers to questions and problems, I took refuge in Loukis and read his texts’ (p. 21). Regarding the writer’s choice to use the letters of Loukis Akritas and other family members, Hadjidemetriou explains: ‘I thought: what are you doing now? Do you find the evidence and make your own synthesis, or is it better to present the testimony alive as it was stated in the letters while life took its own course? I opted for the latter’ (p. 22). Therefore, Hadjidemetriou carves his own writing path to illuminate important moments of Loukis Akritas. Structuring the chapters of his book in a particular way, he passes the torch over to the reading audience, allowing them to form an opinion about Akritas’ life.

In the second chapter of the book, the secondary literature, as well as material from the press of the time, are used by the writer to unravel the thread of the family history of Loukis Akritas, dating back to the late 18th century / early 19th century. The narration of the life of Loukis Akritas actually begins with the third and fourth chapters, entitled ‘Loukis the Teacher’ and ‘Loukis in Athens’, respectively. Here, the writer discusses Akritas’ teaching career and his transition to Athens, where he hoped he would see himself progressing. ‘[...] I give you my word of honor, that I will progress’ (p. 61), he writes to his cousin Euripides Ioannidis. The fourth chapter includes references to the publication of Loukis Akritas’ first book, the novel *Young Man with Good Recommendations* (*Νέος με Καλές Συστάσεις*, 1935), as well as his second book *The Valley* (*Ο Κάμπος*, 1936) which is inspired by the Cypriot countryside life.

The fifth chapter concerns Loukis Akritas’ endeavors towards the literary and journalistic world, again making extensive use of letters received or sent by Akritas. Of particular interest is the letter dated 28 March 1939, in which, while talking about journalism, Akritas writes: ‘[...] so what is a journalist? A conventionally intelligent subject that intervenes everywhere without being frowned upon. Because the intervention is guaranteed: The salvation of the people [...]’ (p. 82).

The next three chapters, six, seven and eight, are concerned with how he perceived and experienced the events of World War II. As we are informed by the letter dated 23 August 1939, Loukis Akritas was serving his military duties and in Decem-



ber 1940 he found himself on the Albanian front, where he would remain for some time. There he became a war correspondent, and his writings were published in Athenian newspapers and reprinted in Cypriot ones. Characteristic, not only of the feeling experienced by Loukis Akritas, but of his entire personality as well, are the two phrases from a letter Akritas sent to Euripides while on the Albanian front: a) '[...] I am happy, Euripides, that I am fighting today as a soldier and as a journalist so that we can achieve together what free humanity desires and rest assured that we will win [...]' and b) '[...] it is the desire of all free people to win and to eliminate systems of violence once and for all. And we will win [...]' (p. 103).

In chapter nine the writer deals with the period after the Liberation, when Loukis Akritas was appointed head of the Directorate of the Ministry of Press and Information. An important part of this chapter is the history of *Καθημερινά Νέα* (*Daily News*), the problems of the publication, and how it was finally led to closure. The troubled era following the end of WWII is sufficiently understood, as are the political positions of Loukis Akritas which are expressed in *Καθημερινά Νέα*. His differentiation from George Papandreou and his ideological orientation can be identified in his article in *Καθημερινά Νέα* on 31 August 1945 (p. 283). Chapter nine is one of the longest in the book and we consider it to be of particular interest because it essentially describes an entire transitional period for post-war and civil war Greek society.

The tenth chapter is entitled 'Toward a New Journey: 1947-1950' and concerns Loukis Akritas' life in the USA and London, as well as the micro-history of Loukis Akritas publications, and the journalistic adventures brought about by the closure of *Καθημερινά Νέα* and the publication of the *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* (*Hellenic Chronicles*), released on 19 May 1950. The information provided by Hadjidemetriou is also important regarding Akritas' book *Armed* (*Αρματωμένοι*), published in 1947, and for the tragedy of *Hostages* (*Όμηροι*), which was to be staged by the Greek National Theater in the same year; the play, however, was never staged and, as Hadjidemetriou informs, *Όμηροι* were finally staged in a production by Cyprus Theatre Organisation (THOC) in 1964, directed by Vladimiros Kafkaridis. Particularly important for the portrayal of Akritas' temperament is the letter he addresses to his niece Ivi, on 6 June 1950: 'If the world falls apart, I will always be standing among the ruins, always ready for new struggles' (p. 201). Another similar chapter, is the fifteenth, which concerns Akritas' editorial/publishing efforts, focused to *Επιστήμη και Ζωή* (*Science and Life*), containing letters that Loukis or his brother Christos sent to Takis and Ivi, asking them to spread the word about the journal.

In the eleventh chapter, Takis Hadjidemetriou proceeds with Loukis Akritas' transition from journalism to politics, with his participation in Nikolaos Plastiras' *Εθνική Προοδευτική Ένωση Κέντρου* (EPEN, National Progressive Center Union) with which he was elected as a member of parliament in the elections of 9 September 1951, as well as with his exclusion from the EPEN-Liberals ballot in the elections of 16 November 1952. Both chapters twelve and fourteen are about his political career. In these chapters Hadjidemetriou briefly presents the Progressive Union founded by Akritas, his activity in the Cypriot movement, his selection as Ethnarchy Councilor by the Holy Synod of the Church of Cyprus in 1957, and the elections of 11 May 1958. In chapter fourteen the writer also narrates his own journey from Athens to Zeli of Locris, a small village in Central Greece, and from there back to Cyprus in 1959, at the prompting of Loukis Akritas. In the same chapter we read also Akritas' last text on the Cyprus issue (14 February 1959), where he states: 'The Agreement on the Cyprus conflict puts Hellenism in front of one of the most delicate and risky challenges its historical path' (p. 258), referring to the Zurich Agreements.

Chapter sixteen is also political, and the writer presents the period during which Loukis Akritas gets elected as a member of parliament in the elections of 3 November 1963, the issue of the Cyprus conflict, and, of course, the relationship of Loukis Akritas with the educational reform in Greece while George Papandreou was in office.

Three chapters of Hadjidemetriou's book depict the individual Loukis Akritas, these are chapter thirteen, which concerns the creation of a family by Loukis Akritas (he marries Sylva Giavasoglou in 1954), chapter seventeen which explores the last period of his life and the book's last chapter, the eighteenth, with letters relating to his death.

The extensive use of the letters in Hadjidemetriou's book is of a wider interest. Many of the letters used are not Loukis', but his relatives' and friends', which allows us to observe things from a different angle; one could call it a second reading of Loukis Akritas' real intentions or state of mind. Apart from the wider issues that the book tackles, the reader can also extract interesting information on small fun-facts or trivia. An example is with regard to the town of Morphou and its inhabitants –we can see that the micro-history of Morphou is interwoven with the great history of Loukis Akritas. In addition, other small details are provided regarding the interwar period in Athens, such as the rent rates during the period, the tram ticket prices, as well as the prices of the fabrics in Cyprus and Athens, a culmination of detailed information that makes up the universe which gave rise to Loukis Akritas.

In conclusion, faithful to what he declared in the first chapter of his book, Takis Hadjidemetriou presents in a succinct way the world of Loukis Akritas, from his biggest to his smallest moments, from Morphou and his teaching career to the publishing houses and newspapers, and the consequent struggle for survival, on the mountains of 'Arvanitia' at the Albanian front, the publishing successes and electoral triumphs, and his by no means insignificant contribution to the educational reform. Introducing Loukis Akritas by talking about him and his relatives, Hadjidemetriou paves the path towards preserving the memory of an important Cypriot personality who left his village, and his country, in his attempt to escape from the margins. Loukis Akritas writes (28/3/1939): '[...] the world is wide -so wide. And every person has the right to position themselves wherever they want; As long as he can. I feel that I can; a motivation pushes me everywhere there is action, movement, creation, eternity perhaps in the broader sense of the word. And I face the situation with the irony of the brave and the laughter of the cunning [...]' (p. 82).

The book also includes an index of names, a list of family names, bibliography, and a list of publications by Loukis Akritas Publishing House (Akritas Publishing House, Kosmos Publications 1961-1962).

I cannot but notice, though, that the book by Takis Hadjidemetriou *Loukis Akritas: His Small and Great World* lacks both typographical and editorial care by the publisher, the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Youth, an oversight that I consider rather unfair to the content of the book.

Apostolos G. Kouroupakis

## **Distillate of Life: Letters – Writings - Articles [Απόσταγμα Ζωής: Επιστολές – Κείμενα – Αρθρογραφία]**

**Photos Ia. Photiades**

**Rizes Books**

**Nicosia, 2019 (pp.392)**

**ISBN: 978-9963-2434-3-3**

*Distillate of Life* largely includes a series of past articles and letters the author of the book had written, as well as speeches and interviews he had given in the past. In this book the author, the late Photos Ia. Photiades, covers a long period of roughly 60 years. Reading through this sizeable book that was published single-spaced covering roughly four hundred pages, one forms a clear impression of the author's mindset and his vision of the future of his country, the island of Cyprus. He emerges as a concerned patriot who worries about the future of his country and its people. His concerns drive him to formulate a series of recommendations on how the country can reach its potential and how it can come out of the quagmire of foreign occupation of part of its territory. He offers well thought out ideas and makes striking recommendations on how to build a better future for all.

On careful reading one sees the life and aspirations of a highly successful business man who fascinatedly and at a young age started his business career in a very modest way. At 22 he was operating a very ordinary and undistinguished small trading house in the (then small) city of Nicosia. At that time (early 1940s) the town hardly had 40,000 -mainly poor- residents. Cyprus was then occupied by the British and boasted a meagre CY£50 per capita GDP. From those modest business beginnings in a poor and occupied country he grew to become one of the island's principal business leaders. Practically anything he tried in business, during his long life, proved a success. His passion for quality and good management lay at the centre of his endeavours. The Photos Photiades Group continues to operate successfully in the brewery business, in real estate development, in distribution and in numerous other activities. He was the first to establish a private insurance company which is a leader in its field to this day. His competitors, were mainly subsidiaries of financial institutions which benefited greatly from cross-selling to borrowers that needed to have insurance cover.

Reading through the book, one quickly realises that the author's overarching con-

cern in life was not just his business ventures. He was most concerned about the future of his under-threat country. As such, he expressed his concerns, spoke and wrote about them, and took an active role in making his views known. His views covered: social issues, economic matters that were of concern to the country in general, and -most importantly- political issues that centred around the future and the survival of his fatherland. Nearly 40% of Cyprus' land continues to be occupied to this day, as is more than 52% of its coastline.

The book is a contrast between how the author as a leader envisioned the future of his country and how things ultimately turned out. Through his writings the author comes out as an achievement<sup>1</sup> driven leader and a man of vision and dreams on how his country can reach its full potential. We now know that what ensued did not fully realise the dreams of this author-patriot. The book is about original ideas, and mostly disappointing outcomes. It brings out the best in constructive and imaginative designs. Its main thrust centres around the management of the economy and the national issue. Both are laudable themes and are in many ways closely interconnected seeing that without a thriving economy there is little a country can achieve in other spheres. In this way the author captured the two main concerns of the people of the country, considering the dangers the country has long faced on account of the presence of some 40,000 occupation troops and hundreds of thousands of colonists.

The author placed considerable trust in the willingness and abilities of outsiders to solve the national issue. These outsiders by and large failed the people of Cyprus, though Cyprus' EU membership provides the island with some confidence. Such foreigners include the European Union (formerly the European Economic Community), the major EU member-states, the UN (and its leadership), Britain and the US. The author seems to have misplaced his trust in the ability of the Greek diaspora and its organisations to influence major American decisions on Cyprus' political stalemate. Reading the book, one also witnesses the author's dashed hopes as regards the country's offshore energy reserves. He suggested that these energy finds be shared with strong EU countries, in the hope that this would lead to the building of alliances that would defend Cyprus' Exclusive Economic Zone against Turkish threats.

In his writings the author expressed his great concern about the two economic evils, inflation that can ruin economies and recession, whose remedy, the author rightly asserts, can only be economic development and investment. The author was bold enough to even come up with radical ideas, a trait characteristic of practical-

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<sup>1</sup> Aris Petasis, *Leadership Triumphs & Failures*, Nicosia: Arion Publishing, 2019.

ly-minded smart persons. One such idea was the abolition of direct taxation on profits and income that push people to find ways to hide or to spend it in frivolous ways once they successfully have avoided declaring it. He wisely notes the cost to civil service salaries of collecting direct taxation and also the cost to small companies and individuals of securing the services of accountants to audit and prepare their books. He sagely advocated substituting direct taxation with a consumer tax long before VAT came into being in Cyprus. These were bold, innovative and radical ideas at the time. He also advocated no taxation for foreign investors that make their profit by exporting what they manufacture in Cyprus. In retrospect all these creative ideas came to little considering Cyprus' present pitiful manufacturing base. One needs to only look at the curve of Cyprus' value-added contribution to the GDP from manufacturing for the years 1975-2021, which is the period the author mainly writes about. Manufacturing now contributes less than 12% to the GDP. In the period 1995 to 2022 manufacturing in Cyprus averaged a tiny 254.44 million euros, which roughly amounts to the cost of building a few luxury hotels<sup>2</sup>.

Considering Cyprus' recurring water shortages, the author came up with what at the time must have sounded as outlandish. He suggested the idea of bringing water via underwater pipelines from Syria's Nahr El Seen River to cover Cyprus' domestic and irrigation needs. This project would have supplied Cyprus with 180,000,000 tons of water per year that would have been ample for the island's water needs. The author emphasised that the Syrian water would have turned the then free (but now occupied) Mesaoria plain into a green 100,000-donum agricultural oasis. This would have provided the domestic market with fresh fruit and produce, with the rest being exported. With the author's dream unrealised we now read that, 'Cyprus is the most water impoverished nation in the EU with the island's needs vastly outstripped by its only source of natural supply, rainfall, the agriculture ministry said [...].'<sup>3</sup>

The occupation by Turkey of productive agricultural land and the continued downgrading of the agricultural sector means that the author's hopes for an advanced, productive and profitable agricultural sector remain unfulfilled. Agriculture now contributes to Cyprus' GDP a meagre 1.7%. Agricultural output fell from a max-

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<sup>2</sup> World Bank and OECD National Accounts data files, Manufacturing, value added (% of GDP – Cyprus), available at <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.IND.MANF.ZS?locations=CY> last accessed 22 May 2023.

<sup>3</sup> Nick Theodoulou, (28 March, 2023). Water poverty at its EU highest in Cyprus, 28 March, 2023, available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2023/03/28/water-poverty-at-its-eu-highest-in-cyprus/> last accessed 22 May 2023.

imum of 15.9% contribution to the GDP in 1976 (two years after the invasion) to its current 1.7% contribution. The contribution to GDP for 2021 based on the data of 166 countries averaged 10.35%.<sup>4</sup>

Dishearteningly, in 2021 Cyprus imported nearly US\$1.5 billion worth of agricultural products<sup>5</sup>. Cyprus is food insecure whilst it is being threatened by Turkey and its 40,000 occupation troops. If Turkey were to besiege Cyprus, the country would probably surrender within a few days unless the food security situation changed significantly and storage capacity and facilities, silos, and cold stores were improved significantly.

The author's economic 'pet subject' has been tourism. Reading through the author's writings, interviews and speeches, the reader sees the author concentrate on high quality tourism and marks his aversion to mass low-income tourism. Most strikingly, the author wished the tourist product to focus more on higher concepts, such as Cyprus' cultural heritage and long history, antiquity, churches and religious heritage, ancient theatres and the like, rather than just on beaches and cheap drinks. In the same line of thought, he proposed the creation of high value tourist resorts and as such departed from the current sand and sun tourism. In one of his suggestions, he even counselled the government to encourage tourist projects in Nicosia, away from the beaches that are now threatened environmentally. He repeatedly warned of the dangers of cheap mass tourism that would attract poor revenues and cause much destruction to the environment and its limited water resources. We now know that the author's fears about cheap tourism have materialised. Cyprus now yearly hosts some 4 million tourists that crowd Cyprus' seashores and beaches and gradually make it difficult for the local population to enjoy those beaches that have hotels built on them, just a stone's throw away from the surf. France, a leader in tourism, serves 1.3 tourists per local resident whilst Cyprus serves 4 tourists per resident. Worst still, much of Cyprus' tourist income leaves the island to pay for imported energy/electricity (used by air conditioning units, pool water purification, etc.), gasoline and imported agricultural products. More damagingly, Cyprus' tourist sector generates mainly low-skilled jobs such as waiters, cleaners, housekeeping, etc in a country that sees some

<sup>4</sup> *Cyprus: GDP share of agriculture* The GlobalEconomy.com, available at [https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Cyprus/Share\\_of\\_agriculture/#:~:text=The%20average%20value%20for%20Cyprus,166%20countries%20is%2010.35%20percent](https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Cyprus/Share_of_agriculture/#:~:text=The%20average%20value%20for%20Cyprus,166%20countries%20is%2010.35%20percent) last accessed 22 May 2023.

<sup>5</sup> Foreign trade imports, available at <https://knoema.com/data/foreign-trade-imports+cyprus+agricultural-products#:~:text=Though%20Cyprus%20imports%20%2D%20agricultural%20products,million%201000%20US%24%20in%202021> last accessed 23 May 2023.

60% of its high school graduates go on to receive a university education. Inevitably, Cyprus is forced to import low-skilled labour from third countries whilst the educated cadre amongst its youth remains unemployed in large numbers.

The author of *Distillate of Life* had great expectations about the help Greeks in the diaspora (mostly in the US and Britain) could give the cause of Cyprus, only to be let down. Soon after the Turkish invasion of 1974, as a member of a team, he travelled abroad on an enlightenment mission and fundraising to help destitute refugees. He was greatly disappointed with the poor fundraising results. We now know that the American diaspora, on whom the author placed high hopes, has not delivered much at all in the direction of changing American foreign policy over Cyprus.

In reviewing the book, I would rate Cyprus' expectations from the EU as probably the author's biggest disappointment. Things did not turn out as he, and most amongst the population, had hoped for. Starting with the European Economic Community (EEC) and later with the European Union (EU) the author harboured high hopes. He believed that Cyprus' membership would mean freedom for Cyprus as the EU would have insisted on all Cypriots enjoying all the human rights that the EU provides to its members. When Cyprus joined the EU he hoped that the EU's *Acquis Communautaire* would apply throughout the island and that the EU would apply pressure on Turkey for this to happen. This has not happened, even if Cyprus has been an EU member for almost 20 years. Most disturbingly, the European Parliament voted by a large majority in support of the Annan Plan, that was put to a referendum in 2004 and defeated, and which would have basically set up an apartheid regime in Cyprus, pushing the Greek majority to its demise. The UN, where the author had placed his confidence as well, also betrayed Cyprus seeing that the Annan Plan bore the name of the UN Secretary and as such discredited the office of the UN Secretary<sup>6</sup>

The author's optimism let him to believe that in the future Cyprus would morph into a Switzerland of the Middle East, attracting wealthy investors and bank deposits from the oil wealth of the petroleum producers of the region. Little did he suspect that, in March 2013, Cyprus would become the first and only country in the EU to initiate a damaging bank depositor haircut. Reckless banking practices and greed led Cyprus to accumulate some €70 billion in deposits that were three and a half times its GDP. In the end disaster struck and the banking system collapsed along with the dreams of Cyprus becoming a regional financial center. Whilst Switzerland has a bal-

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<sup>6</sup> Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-general's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999-2004*, Hart Publishing, 2005



anced economy, Cyprus' economy has not yet managed to achieve even a semblance of balance and is still searching for alternatives to some of its parasitic sectors.

Another major disappointment must have come to the author from the high hopes he had placed on the EU partnering with Cyprus to explore and market Cyprus' energy finds. To this day not a single euro has been earned by Cyprus from energy even if, 'the island [had] reported its first natural gas discovery, Aphrodite, in 2011, measuring around 4.5 trillion cubic feet and now run by U.S. energy firm Chevron (CVX.N).'<sup>7</sup>

In summary, the book reviewed allows the reader to see in the author a courageous and innovative leader who was not afraid to put forward his views on the major issues that affected his country and, more particularly, the issues that touched on the economy and the occupation of nearly 40% of Cyprus' territory and more than half of its coastline. Cyprus' current leaders would do well to read the book and maybe take a leaf out of the book. This might help in an improved understanding of the importance of quality as opposed to quantity and even parasitism. The book could be a valuable source for anyone that wishes to examine strategies which fall outside the simplistic and the superficial.

**Aris Petasis**

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<sup>7</sup> Juliette Portala and Tassilo Hummel, TotalEnergies, Eni announce major Cyprus gas find, 22 August 2022 available at [https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/totalenergies-eni-announce-major-cyprus-gas-find-2022-08-22/#:~:text=The%20island%20reported%20its%20first,U.S.%20energy%20firm%20Chevron%20\(CVX](https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/totalenergies-eni-announce-major-cyprus-gas-find-2022-08-22/#:~:text=The%20island%20reported%20its%20first,U.S.%20energy%20firm%20Chevron%20(CVX) last accessed 22 May, 2023.

## **1948: The Truth Regarding the Great Rift [1948: Η Αλήθεια για τη Μεγάλη Ρήξη]**

**Pampos Stylianou**

**Promitheas Research Institute**

**Nicosia, 2020 (pp. 247)**

**ISBN: 978-9925-7673-1-1**

Pampos Stylianou's book examines the division in sports as a reflection of the ideological rift that extended to all aspects of life in Cyprus during the 1940s. In addition to the introduction, epilogue, and bibliography, the book includes ten chapters that cover a wide range of topics related to sports during the 1940s and 1950s in Cyprus.

In the first three chapters, the author makes a historical review beginning from the foundation and the operation of the first reading rooms, gymnastic clubs and associations. In the four following chapters, he examines how the rift in sports gradually developed. The eighth and ninth chapters present those actions that led to the unification in sports, and examine the events that took place in the period immediately after the unification. The last chapter analyses how the Turkish Cypriots were organised in sports during the period under examination.

For writing this book, P. Stylianou studied the press of the period under examination, as well as the Cypriot literature, particularly books and articles related to the history of sports in Cyprus. The book contains a rich photographic documentation of the entire period under study and offers fascinating snapshots of sporting life on the island.

The author presents in detail how the gymnastics clubs, associations, and other sports bodies had operated since their foundation, and he assesses their leading role during the 1940s and 1950s. As the author very strongly argues, the operation of gymnastics clubs was decisive, both for the development of sports and for the subsequent policy of exclusion and constant control that was applied to sports events.

The rapidly rising popularity of football, especially from the 1930s onwards, led to a shift in interest from classical sports to football. As a result, there was greater engagement with football, and, gradually, a better organisational structure in comparison to other sports, with the establishment of teams, the recruitment of coaches, etc. Most of the teams that starred in the 1940s had been already founded, and the same goes for the Cyprus Football Association.

The book sheds light to unknown incidents in the sporting life of the island, and highlights important and, at times, insurmountable problems encountered at the time by the sports organisations. These problems included the absence of stadiums and gyms, and the efforts to build new ones. Financial problems plagued the clubs, either as a result of the political disputes or a lack of public interest. The book presents those occasional efforts made by individuals to promote sports participation, despite all the above-mentioned difficulties.

Furthermore, Stylianou records the results of football matches and athletics competitions held in the period under study. He provides biographical information about Cypriot athletes and coaches of the 1940s and 1950s. The author also mentions various individuals who played an active part in the sporting life of Cyprus by holding important positions as founding members of the new associations, or as members of administrative boards, etc.

Comprehension of the historical context is a prerequisite for a better understanding of the events that unfolded in the island's sporting life. The author mentions, throughout the book, the historical events of the period, without failing to express his own opinion regarding these events. From the municipal elections of 1943 onwards, the sports clubs and associations started to express their political affiliation with political parties, and to identify with those parties' positions on the political developments in Cyprus and the Civil War events in Greece. This political polarisation resulted in a turbulent situation, with documented extreme reactions. Moreover, the premises of the sports associations were used as venues for holding speeches and meetings of the representatives of various clubs and organisations for the discussion of mainly political issues. The participation of political figures in the gymnastics clubs by holding leadership positions could only contribute to the intensification of the rift.

The rift in the society as a result of the polarisation created by the Greek Civil War had an impact on football and gymnastics clubs, reaching extremes, such as the exclusion or even the unregistration of athletes from clubs, preventing athletes and teams from entering stadiums, and, consequently, the creation of new clubs and a new Cypriot sports federation and, eventually, the organisation of two separate football championships. In his book, Stylianou extensively presents the conditions under which the new football clubs, such as Nea Salamina, Alki, Orfeas, and Omonia, were founded, as well as the first steps towards their establishment and operation.

Just as important is the author's description of the role of AON [Ανορθωτική Οργάνωση Νεολαίας] and the organisation's activities in sports, including the setting

up of all-Cypriot youth sports competitions, as a result of the rift. An indication of how the events in Greece continued to have an impact on the Cypriot situation, even after the end of the Greek Civil War, is the decision made by the AON Central Committee to dedicate the 4th Pan-Cypriot Youth Games of 1952 to the ‘memory of the hero Nikos Belogiannis’; the tribute was also registered on the diplomas awarded to the winners of the Games.

The unification of Cypriot football, and Cypriot sports in general, occurred when the athletes and associations realized that the promotion of Cypriot sports could not be achieved under conditions of discord. In a period when the Greek Civil War had ended, and the political forces of the island were all in favour of ‘Enosis’, the reasons that contributed to the 1948 separation were no longer valid. Therefore, it became apparent that unity was the only appropriate way to put an end to the financial problems encountered by the various sports clubs and associations. It was clear that such a change would improve the performance of the athletes, the conditions under which they trained, and, by extent, the development of sports.

The author analyses the circumstances under which the unification took place, which, as he states, was an imperative and the only factual option for the Cyprus Amateur Football Federation ΚΕΠΟ [Κυπριακή Ερασιτεχνική Ποδοσφαιρική Ομοσπονδία]. The book also claims that there were no initiatives to change the composition of the gymnastics clubs, and that many teams were rejected from playing in the first and second division for other than sporting criteria. Considering these facts, as the author claims, a true unification in sports was never achieved.

Finally, as already mentioned, an important element of the book is its rich photographic material, which includes clippings of articles from newspapers, copies of the founding statutes, and the diplomas that were awarded. The published images illustrate various aspects of the sports history of Cyprus, as this is laid out in the book’s 247 pages. Also, the book introduces all those individuals who starred in the sports life of Cyprus, as well as those who were pioneers in the promotion of sports. The book is an integral part of the Cypriot literature for the 1940s, and an essential reading for all interested in the history of Cypriot sports.

**Konstantina Konstantinou**

# Civil Procedure in Cyprus

**Achilles C. Emilianides**

**Kluwer**

**The Hague, 2020 (pp. 279)**

**ISBN: 978-90-654-4936-8**

Filling the gap in the civil proceedings' legal literature, Emilianides' *Civil Procedure in Cyprus* has accomplished to encompass -through a comprehensive, detailed, and extensive analysis- the fundamental principles that any legal practitioner must be equipped with to gain an insightful and thorough understanding of the intricacies and complexities revolving around the subject matter of Civil Procedure Rules in Cyprus.

The book serves as an invaluable resource of information and knowledge of the civil procedures for any individual, from law students to advocates and legal scholars, judges or simply persons taking an interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the procedures governing Cyprus' civil litigation and proceedings and, generally, Cyprus' legal civil system. Emilianides' unique and distinctive approach ensures that any reader will obtain a clear understanding of civil procedure in Cyprus, while comprehending the underlined issues and intricacies that may arise through the application of said civil procedures in practice, at the same time not getting lost over unnecessary details.

Emilianides' geographical, historical and political meticulous juxtaposition from the very start of the book, proves of vital importance. It accomplishes to furnish the reader with the complete background based on which the civil procedure rules and regulations were introduced in the Republic of Cyprus, by aiming to provide explanations and insightful information on the reasons that our civil procedures' legislation and caselaw developed in the manner that it has.

The clarity and simplicity of the way in which it lays out the basic principles of procedural law, the initiation of the civil trial, the way in which it is promoted and how it is concluded, is quite remarkable.

I have found extremely important the analysis of the measures for the execution of a court decision as well as the development of the procedural requirements for each measure. Equally significant and, I would say, essential are the two separate chapters in relation to the admissibility of the testimony and the administration of the testimony.

The analysis of alternative ways of resolving disputes beyond Court is valuable for a better understanding of even - the newest of civil procedural rules.

The book is the first comprehensive exploration of the essential civil procedure rules that have governed Cyprus' civil legal system since 1960.

It delves, elaborates, and systematically expounds, providing a broad-range of useful and necessary references to the provisions of essential caselaw of the institutions that are either not used quite often or did not significantly occupy the Cypriot Jurisprudence, successfully giving the complete picture of the civil procedure system. Therefore, the reader gains a comprehensive understanding of how not only the judicial process in civil trials works, but also the entire justice system in Cyprus, while refraining from unneeded details.

On a daily basis, lawyers and legal practitioners are used to searching for answers to any of our questions in relation to the civil procedure rules and proceedings, drawing from English and Cypriot caselaw.

With the publication of Emilianides' book, lawyers are no longer in search through an abundance of caselaw, as the author has managed to systematically analyse caselaw in a manner that provides the reader with a deeper understanding of the civil procedure rules and of civil proceedings. Through his unique codification of the civil procedure rules and institutions, with references to both Cypriot caselaw and international caselaw, *Civil Procedure in Cyprus* provides all the essential knowledge that a legal practitioner must have to tackle any legal matter, and our search for finding correct procedures becomes easier since our answers are clearly elaborated on in this book.

Thus, what elevates *Civil Procedure in Cyprus* to being a valuable piece of literature in the realm of Civil Procedure rules and civil litigations, is its unmatched importance in addressing the significant gap that existed in legal literature. The book pioneers an avenue of inquiry that had previously been unexplored. By serving as the pioneering reference on the subject, Emilianides' work establishes itself as an essential contribution to the field of legal scholarship.

Emilianides' unparalleled clarity, meticulous organisation, and commitment to practical relevance establishes this work as a cornerstone of legal literature. By presenting a comprehensive exploration of Cypriot civil procedure, this book transcends its academic significance, enriches the legal community and advances our understanding of this intricate legal system.

**Despina Hadjidemetri Karas**

**Cyprus Theatre Organisation 1971 – 2021.  
Half a Century of Theatre. An Entire World.  
[Θεατρικός Οργανισμός Κύπρου 1971 – 2021.  
Μισός Αιώνας Θέατρο. Ένας Κόσμος Ολόκληρος.]**

**Press and Information Office,  
Cyprus Theatre Organisation (ΓΤΠ 130/2022)  
Nicosia, 2022 (pp. 504)  
ISBN: 978-9963-50-555-5**

This volume can be viewed as a continuation of previous works edited by the Cyprus Theatre Organisation: (a) *Cyprus Theatre Organisation, the First Ten Years 1971-1981*, Nicosia 1982 [Θεατρικός Οργανισμός Κύπρου, Τα Πρώτα Δέκα Χρόνια 1971-1981, Λευκωσία 1982], (b) *1971-1996, 25 Years of THOC*, Nicosia n.d. [1971-1996, 25 Χρόνια ΘΟΚ, Λευκωσία χ.χ.] and (c) *Scenes – Cyprus Theatre Organisation*, Nicosia 2000 [Σκηνές – Θεατρικός Οργανισμός Κύπρου, Λευκωσία 2000], in order to celebrate its existence and evidence its cultural contribution to the Cypriot society throughout time. At the same time it creates a collective testimony regarding the actions and the people that have founded and supported the state theatre. The authors of the book attempt to reproduce the history of THOC, while paying tribute to its key personalities and crucial moments, and to its repertoire. Apart from that, the book aims to give special attention to the role of THOC as a vehicle of theatre development in Cyprus. At the end of the book, an extensive list of all its performances, around five hundred (from 1971 until today), is available to the reader, as well as information about independent theatre groups that have been subsidized by THOC, followed with a full presentation of all the recipients of the THOC theatre prize. A big part of the book consists of photographs from the activities, rehearsals, performances and much more, taken by a great number of notable photographers.

The book begins with the welcoming notes of the President of the Republic, the Director of the Press and Information Office (since the book is the result of a collaboration between the two organisations, PIO and THOC), and the President of the Board of Directors of THOC, adding up to the celebration mood permeating the volume. All three emphasise the importance of culture in general and of theatre in particular for the society and express their enthusiasm for this magnificent tribute of a book. Four men who have served in the positions of director or artistic director

of THOC introduce the book and share their experience. The opening part ends with a very detailed summary of the book's contents by Antonis K. Petrides, the scientific editor of the whole effort, who highlights the most significant moments of this theatrical journey, described in the 504 pages of the volume.

Chapter A consists of the history of THOC and is divided in three sections. The first one is delivered by Andri H. Constantinou, who aspires to provide a thorough look into the 50 years of THOC, giving evidence for its founding and of all the procedures that have established and transformed its identity. Moving forward to its evolution, some major performances are described, and so are moments that have changed or improved the organisation.

The second section of Chapter A is dedicated to the grand moments, as the title suggests, historical performances and important developments in the structure of THOC. This part unfolds in 16 subchapters, written by ten different authors and deals, for instance, with the decision of the then young Republic on founding THOC and with *Agamemnon* (1971) -its first production- and with the struggle of THOC to decode and reflect on the experiences of the turbulent period of 1974. It refers briefly to the milestone productions of *Mother Courage* (1977) and *The Suppliants* (1978). The following subchapters analyse six significant productions of THOC throughout the years (from 1975 until 2018). The selection has been made by the authors and strictly represent their opinion, leaving out, I dare say, far more interesting and important productions that do not seem to have merited further attention and detailed mentioning.

Furthermore the reader finds out about the creation and activity of the Experimental Stage of the Organisation, hosted in Agios Andreas' Market between 2001 and 2011, about the founding of the New Stage of THOC, about the need and the decision of having a Theatre Development Section, about the building of the new THOC theatre, about the ending of the permanent company and the establishing of the position of the artistic director, about the Children's Stage and the Stage 018, about the involvement of THOC in the European Theatre Convention and, finally, about the history of the institution of the THOC theatre prizes.

The third section of Chapter A presents 46 personalities that indelibly marked the history of the Cypriot theatre. Here one can enjoy black and white portraits and read a small curriculum vitae of a series of artists, mostly actors and actresses, directors, stage and costume designers. A great number of people is surprisingly absent from this part of the book, for example playwrights and other members of the company of



THOC that served the organisation for decades. The criteria for the specific selection are not clear.

Moving forward to Chapter B, which discusses the repertoire of THOC, five indicative subchapters are designed in order to accurately approach the different categories of plays that the organisation has produced: ancient drama, international repertoire, modern Greek theatre, Cypriot dramaturgy, and children's and teenagers' theatre. Each subchapter analyses thoroughly every domain, giving detailed information about all the productions and illustrating the vast range of performances with a great number of historical photographs.

Chapter C presents, and analyses at the same time, the many aspects of the theatre evolution, as it is approached by the organisation. This section is divided in ten passages, aiming to demonstrate the multiple activities of the organisation towards this specific direction. Apart from an introductory chapter which gives the historical framework and suggests the goals, strategies and structure of the theatre development department of THOC, the next topic deals with the philosophy and the ways in which THOC subsidises other theatre companies. The importance of the Cypriot dramaturgy as a main focal point of the organisation follows, seen in a historical perspective. In this subchapter the programme PLAY is described, as well as its achievements since its application. Moving forward the reader has the opportunity to glean information about a number of activities organised by THOC that aim to familiarise students and others with the art of the theatre, such as the theatre school festival, theatre workshops (offered, for example, to teachers) and the amateur theatre festival. These actions intend to train the younger generations as theatre-goers and also to give them the chance to personally experience the magic of the theatre, thus creating future theatre professionals. A tribute to the Theatre Museum of Cyprus in Limassol comprises the next part in Chapter C, all the efforts of its creation are documented, as well as the milestone of 2015: the first scientific conference about theatre in Cyprus, that recorded a big number of participations and stated the constitutional act of the Cypriot Theatre Studies, as Professor Walter Puchner proclaimed in his keynote speech. Later on, the importance of the involvement of THOC in international openings is outlined, for instance the programme Young Europe under the auspices of the European Theatre Convention. The active participation of THOC, starting from 1991 until today, at the Prague Quadrennial, which is considered to be one of the most significant set design festival in the world, is also stated. Chapter C closes with a note on

the special circumstances the pandemic has forced on the organisation, which kept producing and, by doing so, kept up the spirit throughout the Cypriot society.

An Appendix constitutes Chapter D, first by giving all the information the reader needs regarding all the performances of the organisation throughout the 50 years of its existence. Starting from 1971 until 2021, counting 50 theatre periods, this detailed list is accompanied by a characteristic photograph for each production. The next big section of this chapter is dedicated to an analytical list of subsidisations the organisation has given to independent companies, from 1979 until 2020. The next part of this section presents all the artists who won the Theatre Prizes THOC (from 1999 until 2021) in all different categories. Under the title 'The People Backstage', all the names of the members of the Board of Directors, as well as the names of the members of the Artistic Committee, are listed, next to the names of all the directors of THOC. Finally, the personnel that worked but also the people still working for the organisation are mentioned, followed by a list of the authors of the texts of this volume and a list of the photographers who provided the illustration for and embellished the edition.

The positive aspects of the album lie in the multiplicity of its approach towards all the activities of THOC that reach every possible spectrum. The work achieved is tremendous and the reader enjoys a part of Cypriot culture history at its best. All the essays have a scientific background which makes the different aspects of the book fascinating, while discovering the plethora of the work done. It is a spectacular documentation of Cypriot society that needs to find a home in every educational institution, because it serves the cause of giving insight about this grand cultural theatrical tradition but also exhibits the synthesis of the various sectors that are engaged with theatre and its subdivisions. The book is suitable for students and researchers that are interested in the relevant fields, but also for those who aspire to go back in time and remember again or learn anew about the bright theatrical moments of the Cyprus Theatre Organisation.

The less positive aspects that I personally detected have been mentioned in this review. I would also include the absence of a part about the critics of the various performances by THOC. In order to embrace the whole impact of a production, especially of some exceptional ones, I believe the reviews of the few trained spectators that express their written opinion would have been an extra asset to this volume. I would also have preferred a short curriculum vitae for all the authors who have contributed to this book instead of a title referring to their occupation. Regarding the edition, I would comment on the large size of the volume (the dimensions are 24,6X33,1 cm),

which makes it a bit difficult to deal with, but the reader could alternatively use the option of its electronic version. The choice of the photographs selected in order to illustrate the different sections of the book is not always ideal, I believe that not all photographs are representative enough for what has been achieved.

To complete this review, the volume *Cyprus Theatre Organisation 1971 – 2021. A Half-Century of Theatre. An Entire World.* is an excellent choice for those who want to discover the beautiful pages of this island's culture. It is highly recommended for everyone as it opens doors into new spaces, unknown to many people. A future English version of the book is highly recommended.

**Emilios Charalambides**

# **The Martyrs' Bloodshed of 1821** **[Η Εκατόμβη των Μαρτύρων του 1821]**

**The Fathers of Machairas Monastery (eds.)**  
**Holy Basilica and Stavropegic Monastery of Machairas**  
**Nicosia, 2022 (Vols. A and B: 1055 pp.)**  
**ISBN: Vol A 978-9963-648-33-7**  
**Vol B 978-9963-648-34-4**

This extensive two-volume publishing work is the culmination of the collaboration between the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Cyprus and the Holy Monastery of Machairas. The work includes scientific volumes A and B, of 1055 pages in total with a continuous numbering, and was published by the Holy Basilica and Stavropegic Monastery of Machairas in 2022. The first volume is the bulkiest, consisting of 823 pages, as opposed to the much smaller second volume of 232 pages.

The articles included in the first volume are conference speeches, which were delivered in various scientific conferences held throughout Cyprus during the anniversary year of 2021, on the occasion of the completion of 200 years since the Greek Revolution of 1821. The authors include, amongst others, academics, historians, philologists and clergy, who presented the results of their research and provided important information on the historical events of the period, known and unknown, enriching knowledge about the historical past of Cyprus and Hellenism.

The first volume includes the articles at the scientific conferences held in June and September 2021. The three conferences of June took place on 5 June 2021 at the Research Centre of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, on 12 June 2021 at the Events Hall of the Holy Metropolis of Limassol and on 19 June 2021 at the Municipal Theatre of the 'Tassos Mitsopoulos' Aradippou Lyceum. The last conference took place on 4 September 2021 at the old church of Agios Georgios Paralimni of the Holy Metropolis of Constantia-Famagusta.

The scholarly studies included in the first volume cover a wide range of topics related to 1821 in the fields of history, philology, theology, church history and art history. Indicatively, various topics are examined, such as the relationship of Cyprus with 1821, which is analysed based on historical documents and reports of the French consular and diplomatic authorities, the actions and the personality of Nikolaos The-

seus, Commissioner of the island of Cyprus, the facts in the area of Lapithos-Karavas in 1821, the 9th of July 1821 in Cypriot poetry with the dialogue between literature and history in poems by Vasilis Michaelides and Kyriakos Charalambides, the faith in God and the Greek Orthodox spirit of the fighters of 1821. The martyred clergy of 1821 in Cyprus, the relics of the martyrs of 9 July 1821 in various monasteries of the island are also presented, while the art of painting is promoted as a means of liberating the homeland.

A large number of articles focus on the unique figure of the national martyr Kyprianos, Archbishop of Cyprus. These articles highlight the personality, the work and the actions of the Archbishop in all sectors of the Cypriot society. Special reference is made to his rich ecclesiastical work as well as to his concern for the Greek culture and the development of education in Cyprus. Meriting a mention are the articles that study the apprenticeship of Kyprianos, later Archbishop of Cyprus, in the Danubian Principalities, examine the relationship of the Archbishop of Cyprus Kyprianos with the Greek Revolution of 1821, and analyse the contribution of the Archbishop to the educational renaissance of Cyprus in the 19th century.

Apart from the fact that Archbishop Kyprianos was the first martyr of Christianity and Cypriot Hellenism in July 1821, he was a far-seeing ecclesiastical and national leader who placed great emphasis on the development of Greek education in Cyprus and the establishment of Greek schools around the island. A special mention can be made of the paper that highlights the importance of the establishment of the Greek School of Limassol, the culmination of educational development in the era of Archbishop Kyprianos, with clear influences from the ideas of Enlightenment and the pre-revolutionary processes. Moreover, with the establishment, in 1812, of the Greek School in Nicosia, later known as the Pancyprian Gymnasium, Archbishop Kyprianos placed Cyprus in the spirit of the Modern Greek Enlightenment, which was then reaching its peak in the geographical area of Europe.

The issue of the canonization of the Archbishop and other martyrs by the Church of Cyprus is also examined. For this purpose, a parallel between historical sources and the Gospel is attempted to outline the holiness of the Archbishop of Cyprus Kyprianos, the obligation to integrate the martyred Cypriots during the Turkish occupation into the hagiography of the Church of Cyprus is emphasized, while the importance of the establishment and work carried out by the Committee for the Inclusion of New Saints in the Celebration Calendar of the Church of Cyprus is highlighted.

The first volume concludes with a photographic appendix of articles. In par-

ticular, photographic and archival material from the scientific articles of Stylianos Perdikis, Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, Paraskevas Samaras and Charalambos Chotzakoglou is presented.

The second volume initially presents the three-volume work of the Holy Monastery of Machairas, with a total length of 1560 pages, published in 2021 in Athens by Arvanitidis Graphic Arts-Printing, as it was highlighted at an event held on 31 October 2021 at the Strovolos Municipal Theatre. The first volume is entitled *1821 ἐν Κύπρῳ. Ταμείον Βιβλιογραφίας Μαρτύρων – Όμολογητῶν – Διασωθέντων – Έξιολαμισθέντων*. In this specific volume there are detailed lists of 140 people out of about 250 people for whom there are historical references and who were either martyred or tortured by the Turks. The cases of five well-known confessors are also recorded, who resisted and were not intimidated by the threats of the Ottomans and in the end escaped death. In addition, the known cases of the 130 proscribed people who managed to escape capture and massacre are mentioned. Finally, there is a nominal list of 22 out of a total of 40 people mentioned in historical sources as having succumbed and converted to Islam. Of these, nine remained Muslim, while the remaining 13 later rejoined the ranks of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. At the end of the volume there is a list of Cypriot volunteers, who fought in various battles during the Greek Revolution under the leadership of important chieftains of the struggle. Some of them met heroic deaths on the battlefield, while others either settled in Greece temporarily and were later repatriated to Cyprus or remained permanently in Greece until the end of their lives. Subsequently, in the second volume, entitled *Τουρκοκρατία ἐν Κύπρῳ*, a serious scientific attempt is made to write a History of the Turkish Occupation in Cyprus (1571-1878) through the Greek perspective, which reflects on the real historical events of the period, in order to restore the historical truth, since it has been distorted by the works of foreigners who attempted to write the history of that period. The volume utilises primary sources collected after thorough research, in order to depict the History of Cyprus during the Turkish occupation based on the correct scientific approach. Through the rich bibliography, it is possible to comprehend historical events and draw safer conclusions, as well as to conduct further research on the period under review. Finally, the third volume entitled *Κύπρου Κυπριανός - Ό ποιμὴν ὁ καλός* highlights the multifaceted work of Archbishop Kyprianos. The volume anthologises lectures delivered at various scientific conferences as well as articles covering various aspects of the Archbishop's life and rich work. The indexes and the rich bibliography of the volume constitute an

essential contribution to the history of the Church of Cyprus and more broadly to the History of Cyprus.

The scientific editorial board of *Η Εκατόμβη των Μαρτύρων του 1821* also included other selected studies in the second volume, directly or indirectly related to the historical milestone of 1821. The selection of the included studies was based on their historical significance, since, although written at an unsuspected time, they offer unknown material and information about this historical period and for historical personalities, or contribute to the effort to interpret texts related to this period. In particular, it includes the study of Lambis Konstantinidis on the relationship of Ioannis Kapodistrias with Switzerland and the adventurous journey of the fighters of the Sacred Band (Ιερός Λόχος), as well as two studies by Bishop Epiphanius, Abbot of Machairas and Bishop of Ledra: the first on the figure of Lavrentios, Metropolitan of Kyrenia, who was caricatured by the Turks in July 1821 and the second on the historical, literary and theological implications in Vasilis Michaelides' poem 'Σὺ πρὸς σκοτώθης γιὰ τὸ φῶς' ('You who perished for the light').

At the end of the second volume there is a photographic appendix of the study of Lambis Konstantinidis as well as the two studies of Bishop Epiphanius. It is completed with a photographic appendix of the scientific conferences included in the project.

In conclusion, this two-volume work is a collective effort to enrich historical knowledge about a historical period that is a milestone for Modern Greek History, since the Greek Revolution of 1821 led to the creation of the first Greek state. At the same time, it contains historical data of this period that significantly enrich the historical knowledge about Cyprus during the period of 1821. Important historical data of the period and information for laity and clergy are given, highlighting the fact that the milestone of 1821 influenced –and continues to influence till today– the historical events in Cyprus.

The two volumes complement each other and constitute a remarkable contribution to the Modern and Contemporary Cypriot and Greek History, since they enrich the existing knowledge of the role played by Cyprus in the Greek struggle of 1821 through new data and archival material that researchers of the period managed to secure and utilise, shedding light on essentially unknown aspects of historical events and the personalities that shaped them to a large extent.

The topics dealt with in the two volumes are certainly not exhausted by the contributions and the truly remarkable work carried out by the researchers. However, the articles included in the two volumes open up new perspectives in research, in order

to continue the effort to identify new elements that have been latent until today and to possibly shed light on still unknown aspects of the events that took place in Cyprus before and after the beginning of the Greek Revolution in 1821.

**Foivi Christodoulou**



## **Bellapaïs. First Year of Operation of the Enclaved School 1974-75. A Report.**

**[Πέλαπαϊς. Πρώτος Χρόνος Λειτουργίας του Εγκλωβισμένου Σχολείου 1974-75. Μελέτη.]**

**Rina Katselli**

**Kyrenia Folklore Club**

**2020, pp. 80**

**ISBN: 978-9963-2450-2-4.**

Oral history is about the revision and utilisation of sources other than archival material. More specifically, oral testimonies are not exclusively related to major historical events, but also to the salvaging of experiences and the study of the life of social groups through the researcher's dialogue with the informant. This kind of material salvages the testimony of those whose voice is missing from official documents.

Oral history collects the life stories of invisible heroes and presupposes the existence of a memory, from which they draw their material. It is thus an active memory whose mechanisms function as a survival strategy for individuals, supporting their effort to classify their memories in order to manage their experiences. The discourse provided constitutes not only of memory, but also of oblivion, silence or repression. Testimonies are valuable because individuals remember and reconstruct their past as members of a social group, while formal history permeates individual experience.

Rina Katselli's book indeed belongs to this category of oral testimony/soul testimonial. At the same time, it is included in the general framework of the publishing activity of the author herself and that of the Kyrenia Folklore Club towards the rescue of 'the history, customs and contribution of remarkable people of the region', as indicated on the book's jacket flap. More specifically, the book is structured, in addition to the introduction, in three chapters with subsections, while it is accompanied by an indicative bibliography and a rich photographic material.

In the *Introduction* (pp. 9-11) the author evokes the reason for writing this particular book at the instigation of the refugees and enclaved former inhabitants of the village of Bellapaïs, with a dual objective: First of all, to preserve in memory this valuable aspect of the occupied village's educational history, and, secondly, to commemorate the contribution of all those who have voluntarily contributed, in one way or another, to the operation of the school. The author then explains that the material

presented is derived from a large number of oral testimonies, which contributes to the 'objective' recording of events, since testimonies are cross-checked with and verified by each other. It is important to point out to the future reader that the Primary School and the High School of Bellapaïis operated for a period of two school years, from September 1974 to May 1976, when the inhabitants were finally forced to leave their village under the pressure of the occupying troops. Katselli's book deals exclusively with the first school year, since for the second year there is already a study that is mentioned in the bibliography.

The first chapter, entitled *Bellapaïis. First Year of Operation of the Enclaved School 1974-75* (pp. 13-34) refers to the location and the history of the village and especially of the Abbey after which the village took its name. The Abbey, whose church is dedicated to Our Lady of the White Garments (Παναγία Ασπροφορούσα), was -and still remains- the main attraction for tourists and foreigners, some of whom were so enchanted by the natural environment that they bought and built houses in the village. Rina Katselli then describes the difficult conditions that followed the Turkish invasion of July 1974 and especially the second invasion of August 14, 1974, the enclavement of the residents within the boundaries of the village and the valuable help and protection provided by the Red Cross that supplied them with food and handled their correspondence with the free territory. As the narration of the testimonies progresses, so does the suffering of the residents due to the presence of the Turkish army in the village, the arrest of the men from 18 to 60 years of age and their deportation to a camp in Turkey for three months, the forced departure of the Finnish contingent of the United Nations, the lack of water and food for many days, the curfew, the ongoing pressure to leave their homes, etc. At the same time, the author points out the beneficial role of some people -holders of foreign passports- who risked their lives in order to cross to the free areas bearing correspondence of the residents with relatives and information regarding the situation in the occupied village. Throughout this very moving narration, Katselli does not omit to pay tribute to the comfort that the enclaved people found in the Sunday church service.

The last part of the first chapter is devoted to the establishment and operation of the school. According to the testimonies, it was the result of the fortunate coincidence of some teachers being among the enclaved in the village. Katselli vividly describes the steps taken both for the occupying authorities to allow the school to operate, and for the Cypriot authorities to send the necessary teaching material. She once again mentions those who, having foreign citizenship, would cross to the free areas and

directly communicate with the Ministry of Education. Details of school life are then described: the opening hours of the Elementary and the High School, the subjects that were allowed in the curriculum, the number of students, their villages of origin, the names of the teaching staff and the subjects each was teaching, their limited cultural activities, the short school trips within the village boundaries, etc. At this point the author emphasises that, apart from the three teachers, all others offered their help voluntarily. Some of them were sixth grade students of the Kyrenia High School while others had just graduated High School. As the author points out, these young men and women proved to be worthy volunteer teachers, as they 'gave their souls to educate these children'. The first chapter ends with the gradual departure of some volunteers due to personal problems and to pressure, and the supplementation of 'educational' staff with other refugees from Kyrenia.

The second chapter entitled *Testimonies* (pp. 35-56) presents the oral testimonies of the 'leading heroes' of this venture. This, in my opinion, is the most moving part of the book, as personal testimony confirms, clarifies and sheds light onto the facts' various aspects. Furthermore, it is most impressive that all living narrators recall what happened with journalistic accuracy, while their testimonies cover any gaps and questions that the reader might have. All, without exception, refer to the contribution of others, to the difficulties they encountered, to their fears and anxieties from the moment they conceived the idea of establishing a school and until the moment they were forced to leave the village. Their profiles are mixed: educator, priest, volunteer nurse, enclaved foreign national. Most of them are still alive and, through their flowing speech, exhibit the imperceptible bitterness of the refugee who knows that they are 'a stranger in their own land'.

The third chapter of the book is entitled *Biographies* (pp. 57-76). Half of it consists of the biographies of the volunteer teachers, while the other half consists of the very touching photos of the teachers and students of each class that are customarily taken at the end of each school year. The first part of the chapter includes 14 biographies, starting with the then assistant priest and teacher, and then the seniors and graduates of the Kyrenia High School who volunteered to teach the younger classes. Their biographies refer not only to their contribution to the enclaved students and to their forced deportation to the free areas, but also to their life until today. Most left the village in June 1976 along with the last remaining children.

The book ends with the *Bibliography* (pp. 77-78) which refers both to the area of Bellapais and to the general history of Cyprus.

Katselli's language is vivid and flowing, easy and enjoyable both for reading and for inspiring further research. Personally, I would like to emphasise two points that impressed me. The first is how people manage to deal with life's woes and how they adapt their lives accordingly in order to survive. The second is Rina Katselli's extensive use -in almost all of her books- of oral history as a negotiation tool. In her case, oral history is not about verifying or refuting official sources, but it's about providing an alternative narrative and interpretation of the past.

**Maria Koumarianou**

# Trust Laws in Cyprus: An International Perspective

**Paolo Panico (ed.)**  
**Globe Law and Business**  
**UK, 2022 [pp. 287]**  
**ISBN: 9781787428782**

An excellent guide embracing various aspects of Trust Law in Cyprus is presented through the book *Trust Laws in Cyprus: An International Perspective* by Mr. Paolo Panico, a contributor and editor. The book offers an explanatory spectrum of different aspects of the operation of trusts within the Cypriot legal order.

The bibliography apropos of trusts in Cyprus is very limited. The book presents a comprehensive and practical approach to domestic trusts legislation and for the trusts formed under the Cyprus International Trusts Law (69/1992) as amended by the International Trusts (Amending) Law of 2012.

There are different contributors to each issue raised in the book, all having a legal background. The book tries to accumulate all the crucial facets of the everyday function of trust, but also provides an academic analysis of subjects that have not magnetised judicial review yet.

As an ex colony of the British Crown, Cyprus was endowed with the Common Law system. Trust Law cannot be an exception. Trust law remains unaffected despite other aspects of the Cypriot Law, which have been heavily amended or harmonised with the EU legislation. Still, the dominant legislation remains the Cap 193 (The Trustee Law of 1955), which reflects the UK Trust Law 1925.

The roots of trusts go back to the Crusades, when Crusaders needed a protection mechanism to safeguard their assets until their return from the Holy Land. The situation was not always smooth; thus, many ‘trusted’ people denied returning the assets. Crusaders complained to the King that this was unfair and not just, and, of course, the King remitted the issue to the Chancery. Therefore, realising that Trust Law is chained with Equity is imperative.

In the modern world, trusts have evolved into more complex structures, but the principle remains always the same: asset protection.

The book is divided into three different parts. Part I introduces the Cyprus legal system, domestic trust law, Vakfs, charitable trusts, and organisations. In the spotlight of Part II is the International Trust Law and other vital ramifications that need

to be illustrated for the reader to comprehend the entire operation of the Law. Part III deals with more practical matters like taxation and UBO registry developments.

In the first part of the book, a brief Introduction to Cypriot legal order is made by Ms E. Louca, trying to depict the legal environment under which a trust can operate. As mentioned before, English Law is the primary source of guidance, and substantial UK case law can be used as a beacon when trust disputes arise, or when there are any shadows of doubt about the mechanism of a trust.

The next chapter of Part I illustrates the operation of domestic trusts and the pre-requisites that need to be adhered to, for a trust to be valid. Furthermore, Ms C. Papacleovoulou – Vassiliou and E. Papacleovoulou demonstrate the different types of trusts, either express (e.g., fixed, discretionary) or implied (e.g., constructive and resulting) and also how immovable property can pass under a trust and the stamping requirements.

The next chapter of Part I accommodates an analysis of the Vakfs in the context of International Trust Law and a comparison with other jurisdictions. It is one of the most engaging chapters of the book. Vakfs is an unchartered area with limited bibliography and case law. Mr. Panico has scrutinised the matter, and his remarks indicate that this unexplored area has excellent potential to create a new market. The chapter describes the characteristics of the Vakfs, the role of Mutevelli and the reflective elements between the Vakfs and the trusts created under the International Trust Law.

Part I concludes with the analysis of Ms E. Drakou about charitable trusts and charitable organisations. This chapter highlights the creation of charitable organisations and organisations under the International Trust Law and Cyprus Charities Law. It appears that there are similarities with English Law regarding the establishment of Charitable Trusts. Thus, the Trustee Law of 1955 also has vital guidelines for forming such trusts, even under International Trust Law.

The second part of the book is focused on International Trust Law. The International Trust Law is a step forward for creating the same environment as other jurisdictions (e.g., Guernsey, Bermuda, BVI, etc.). The International Trust Law reciprocates the modern needs of non-residents looking for safe and secure jurisdictions to safeguard their assets.

The International Trust Law, as the book also underlines, must be read together with the Trustee Law of 1955. The International Trust Law is the backbone of the main benefits of prospective settlors looking for a malleable mechanism of protec-

tion over their assets; many focal issues, like the role of trustees and the rights of the beneficiaries, are still extracted by the Trustee Law 1955, English Law cases, but also from other jurisdictions which have developed similar legislations (e.g., Guernsey, British Virgin Islands, etc.)

Moreover, it is also significant to note that International Trust Law seeks to mitigate the strictness of English Law in some matters, like the reserved powers of the settlor or the role of Protectors. Cyprus International Trust Law follows the path of other Common Law jurisdictions offering the same regime. Thus, legal practitioners or the Cypriot Courts must look to those jurisdictions for guidance.

The second part of the book starts with a thorough analysis of the sections of International Trust Law. Ms. Papacleovoulou – Vassiliou outlines the basic principles surrounding the operation of International Trust Law and explains the role of new amendments and how these improved the operation of the Law.

The next chapter of Part II deals with the reserved powers of the settlors. This section of the Law provides safety to a potential settlor since his control is not extinguished with the formation of the trust deed. Ms E. Yiolitis, the author of this chapter, navigates the reader to other jurisdictions with similar provisions in their legislation, to demonstrate how other jurisdictions familiarise their legislation with the modern needs of the settlors.

The leniency the Law provides to a prospective settlor also has a countereffect, as Ms. Yiolits illustrates. It is easy to raise suspicion that an international trust may be a sham or an effort to avoid taxation. It is also worth mentioning that UK Law is very reluctant to allow any leeway to settlors retaining reserved power. UK Tax Authorities (IRS) initiated most of the litigation. Any direct or indirect (e.g., option of buying back shares from the trust) reservation of powers by the settlors will be scrutinised.

In the next chapter of Part II, Ms. N. Xenofontos focuses on the beneficiaries' information rights issue. International trusts, like domestic trusts, create a triangle relationship among the settlor, trustee and beneficiaries. The relationship among those parties is not always smooth, and, especially when disputes arise among beneficiaries, the position of the trustees is vital. The basic undisputed principle is that the trustees always act to benefit the beneficiaries, which is the most important duty they must adhere to.

The flow of information to the beneficiaries depends on the nature of the trust (e.g., if it is a fixed trust, discretionary trust, etc.), and the position of the trustees varies. The balance between trustees and beneficiaries is thin. Trustees cannot op-

erate under a veil of secrecy, but on the other hand, beneficiaries are entitled to get informed, though not without limitations. The issue is not simple. It appears that the Court will finally filter cautiously any request of the beneficiaries and instruct the trustees which kind of information can be unveiled.

In the light of anti-money laundering legislation, it is interesting to examine how the trustees' duty to reveal information is affected. Anti-money laundering legislation imposes specific tasks and obligations to entities and physical persons providing particular services. Ms. Xenofontos points out the challenging nature of anti-money laundering Law and the fair balance that must be kept.

The next chapter of Part II concentrates on the duties of the trustees and their obligations towards the beneficiaries. As Mr. S. Georgiou mentions, the trustees have a duty of care to act according to the Law, and in case there are any ambiguities, they should address their request to the Court for directions.

The following chapter of Part II highlights the role of protectors. Protectors have a crucial role. The International Trust Law referred to a broad frame of powers conferred to protectors. Besides the ability of the settlor to maintain reserved power over the trust after its formation, the protector can also have similar capabilities. Thus, the choice of protector should be wise. As Ms. Yiolitis mentions, the role of the protector is not to substitute the trustee, but to constantly monitor the actions of the trustees.

Ms P. Kouzoupi, in the next chapter of Part II, provides an analysis of the non-charitable purpose trusts. International Trust Law allows the creation of such types of trust. This is a step forward since new horizons emerge and there are more options for potential settlors seeking flexibility. Moreover, Ms Kouzoupi references other jurisdictions that have developed non-charitable purpose trusts. Finally, Ms Kouzoupi expresses her concerns about the current legal framework and the need for modernisation.

Another controversial area analysed in the next chapter of the book by Mr. C. Constantinides and S. Marangos is the right of the trustees to apply to the Court for guidance. The right of the trustees is derived directly from the International Trust Law, and the UK case law is moving in the same direction. The complexity around this area emerges when it comes to the question of under which circumstances the trustee can apply to the Court. The Cypriot case law has not been reviewed by the Court of Appeal or Supreme Court, and the guidance is derived only from first instance Courts. The writers present the developments that took place in Jersey jurisdiction, but as the book points out, the area remains challenging.



The following chapter of Part II examines the duration of both domestic trusts and trusts under the International Trust Law and how the issue of perpetuities is managed under the International Trust Law.

In the next chapter of Part II, Ms. S. Kammitisi demonstrates the high level of protection Cypriot Law provides to family members under succession Law. The core of the succession Law in Cyprus is the protection of the family members. Thus, the Law does not allow the creation of a trust with a will, in contrast to UK Law, where the creation of a trust through a will is standard practice. Also, Ms. Kammitisi is looking at the operation of the trusts and their enforcement in other jurisdictions under international private Law, and more specifically under EU law and the Hague Convention.

In the next chapter of Part II, Mr. P. Economides presents a more thorough angle of the operation of the mechanism of trusts. Furthermore, Mr. P. Economides sheds light on potential pitfalls of the process of Law and how to avoid them.

Moreover, Ms. Xenofontos, in the next chapter of Part II, highlights the duties of the trustees but with more focus on their liability in cases where their actions are questionable or even if they have acted mistakenly.

The next chapter of Part II captivates a lot of interest. Ms. Xenofontos and Mr. Panico are discussing the domestic and International Trust laws under the prism of reform. It is crucial to emphasise that Cyprus is the only jurisdiction within the EU that caters to the mechanism of trusts. There is competition from other jurisdictions like Luxemburg, where there is a similar mechanism of foundations. Within the EU, Cyprus is the only Common Law jurisdiction that can offer trusts. In other words, Cyprus must take advantage of this position and be able to provide up-to-date legislation for individuals or business entities looking to take advantage of this regime. The International Trust Law needs to reflect a competitive business and convenient environment for the prospective settlors. On the other hand, the domestic legislation needs to be upgraded since the benefits are substantial. The authors present some examples (e.g., the International Trust Law to apply to domestic trusts) for reform, but especially the modernisation of the domestic trusts is not going to be an easy task.

In the final chapter of Part II, Ms. Papacleovoulou – Vassiliou reviews the existing case law concerning International Trust Law. The area is still under development since most case law derives from first instance Courts.

The third part has two chapters. In the first chapter, Mr. G. Economides analyses the taxation in domestic and international trusts under the Cypriot legislation. In the second chapter of the third part, Ms. Drakou evaluates the newly introduced obliga-

tions for the UBO registry and the duty of the involved parties to inform the different authorities in Cyprus.

Trust Laws in Cyprus is an excellent synopsis of the main trust law areas for domestic and international trusts. It is a fundamental addition to the Cypriot bibliography.

The present book is not addressed to legal practitioners only. Still, it can be an advantageous handbook for professional service providers, legal or physical persons acting as trustees, prospective settlors and beneficiaries who can draw on important information vis-à-vis their rights, obligations and duties under a trust.

**Leonidas Psychakis**

## **The Greek Foreign Policy on the Cyprus Problem (1960-1974) – The Myth of Missed Opportunities and the Circle of Trappings**

**[Η Εξωτερική Πολιτική του Ελληνικού Κράτους στο  
Κυπριακό (1960-1974) – Ο Μύθος των Χαμένων  
Ευκαιριών και ο Κύκλος των Παγιδεύσεων]**

**Maria-Erifili Antonopoulou**

**Aigaion Publications**

**Nicosia, 2021 (pp. 348)**

**ISBN: 978-9925-565-24-5**

The book by Maria-Erifili Antonopoulou is a study which aims to identify the policies adopted by the Greek Government towards the Cyprus problem and the political errors and miscalculations made by successive Athenian governments, mainly during the period of 1960-1974. By identifying the deep-rooted problems and the complexities of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot policy planning procedures, the author concludes that these underlying problems were the main obstacles preventing Athens and Nicosia from establishing a united national front over the handling of the Cyprus problem and the future status of the island.

Throughout the book, it is pointed out that all of the Greek Governments failed to comprehend the concerns of the Cyprus Government which mainly derived from the fact that Cyprus had been an independent state since 1960. At the same time, the book sheds light on the United States policy towards the Greco-Turkish rivalries over Cyprus. Maria-Erifili Antonopoulou has a doctorate degree of contemporary history from the University of Ioannina, Greece, and her main research interest is the contemporary history of Cyprus. Her book summarises the Greek foreign policy on the Cyprus problem, and it is based on existing secondary sources, mainly Greek bibliography, and the published archives of the US Department of State pertaining to that period.

The author performs a chronological analysis, and the book has three parts. The introductory part sets the historical background of the Cyprus problem from 1878 up to 1960 and independence. Through an extensive narrative, based mainly on existing secondary sources, the historical background of the period under examination is

presented. Particular focus is given on negotiations held during the EOKA struggle of 1955-1959 and Antonopoulou analyses the solutions drafted during that period.

The second part of the book focuses on Konstantinos Karamanlis' and George Papandreou's Governments (1960-1965). Antonopoulou provides insights over Karamanlis' government' reluctance to disrupt the stability and balance of power in the Greco-Turkish relations, which was established after the Zurich-London Agreements and the independence of the island. Nonetheless, the governments which succeeded Karamanlis adopted a different approach. The author highlights the inherent weaknesses of the Greek Governments that followed, emphasising their heavy reliance on NATO and the United States. This dependence provided them with only limited room for manoeuvre while drafting their strategic planning for Cyprus' future. A crucial aspect of this study is the presentation of the various talks that took place after the outbreak of the first intercommunal clashes, in December 1963, up until the failure of Acheson's mediation effort and his proposals for resolving the Cyprus question, in the summer of 1964. By using, mainly, the archives of the US Department of State, the author analyses the positions taken by the various parties, Greece, Turkey, USA and Britain. Discussions over the Acheson plans are extensively presented. According to Antonopoulou, Athens believed in its limited bargaining power, leaving decision-makers in a predicament: choosing between a solution that could secure regional peace and the possibility of war with Turkey (p.218). Therefore, in order to prevent an armed confrontation with Ankara over Cyprus and avoid disrupting NATO's strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean, the Greek Government reluctantly agreed to the concession of double *enosis*. Conversely, President Makarios was focused on confronting Ankara's threats by using Soviet support (or perceived Soviet 'threat' for the motherlands and NATO) and a solution which could be endorsed by the UN. Consequently, Makarios rejected all of Acheson's proposals, as they were incompatible with his declared values and principles, the international law, and UN principles. Following the failure of Acheson's mediation, Antonopoulou provides a brief account of the Galo Plaza mediation effort and the subsequent bilateral talks between Athens and Ankara. The author closes this part by admitting that even after Plaza's mediation, both the Greek and Cyprus Governments failed once again to agree upon a strategy of achieving the only realistic and viable solution of the Cyprus problem, which was a moderate constitutional amendment without a disruption of the existing Treaties.

In the third section of the book, there is a presentation of the events that occurred

from 1966 until the Turkish invasion of July 1974. More specifically, the author studies the critical junctures of this period, such as the Evros talks of September 1967, the intercommunal crisis of November 1967, the junta regime in Greece, the changes in Makarios' declared policy (feasible solution versus desirable solution) of January 1968, and the intercommunal talks. It is worth noting that this chapter would have benefitted from a more in-depth analysis of the historical background of Athens and Nicosia's relations and how the deterioration of these relations affected the development of the Cyprus problem leading up to 1974. Antonopoulou summarises, in her conclusion, that the biggest mistake of the Greek Government after 1966 was that it still negotiated with Ankara, without Makarios' approval, on the basis of the already rejected Acheson plans. She also asserts that the *coup d'état* and the Turkish invasion of July 1974 seemed as if they were already 'predetermined by the foreign decision-making centres in order to protect NATO's geostrategic interests in the area' (p. 314). However, the author accepts that, despite the above reality, successive Greek Governments made grave mistakes. Antonopoulou also stresses that the military regime in Greece failed to grasp the importance of the new realities created after 1968 and the intercommunal talks on the island. Therefore, its position, especially that of Brigadier Ioannidis, drove the Cyprus problem towards a dead end, leading up to the *coup d'état* of July 1974.

Antonopoulou's study offers a comprehensive overview of the policies implemented by the Greek Governments between 1960 and 1974, with a particular focus on the period from December 1963 to August 1964. Although the author heavily relies on primary archival material from the US archives in the second section of the book, the remaining parts largely reconstruct existing narratives. Moreover, it is unclear which theories Antonopoulou aims to challenge with her subtitle, *The Myth of Missed Opportunities*, as her analysis and conclusions do not explicitly address them. In any case, Antonopoulou's book provides a valuable summary of the policies adopted by the Greek Governments during this period, as well as highlights the involvement of American foreign policy in the evolution of the Cyprus problem.

**Marilena Varnava**

# **The impact of Europeanization in Cyprus Contract Law and the Spill-Over to Matters of Civil Procedure: More Pieces on the Mosaic?**

**Nicholas Mouttotos**  
**Maastricht Law Series 20**  
**Eleven International Publishing**  
**Amsterdam, 2021 (pp. 437)**  
**ISBN: 978-94-6236-206-2**

Modern legal analysis is concerned with dissecting legal systems that are at the brunt of principled change and international material interdependence, locating their position within the spectrum of established legal tradition, and attributing colour to the substantive and procedural content of their historical development. This book is the result of the work and efforts of legal expert Dr Nicholas Mouttotos, who holds a PhD from Maastricht University Faculty of Law, Department of Private Law, and whose research interests focus on, among others, European private law, Contract Theory, European contract law and the financial crisis, Comparative law and theory, and Law & Economics.

This academic book uniquely combines the impact of Europeanization on Cypriot contract law, and the peculiarities of Cyprus as a mixed legal system, with a discussion of the implications that the latter has on civil procedure. The composition of Cypriot contract law and civil procedure on the one hand, and the Europeanization of these areas of law on the other, are reflected emphatically in the title of the book itself, which posits the question whether there will be ‘more pieces on the mosaic’. This inquiry reflects the uncertain destiny of the Cypriot model in our complicated, shifting legal environment.

The author has successfully chosen to engage a multi-level analysis, which serves the in-depth analysis of the subject and its completeness. On the one hand, he synthesises theory with practice. The book is divided into two parts, ‘Approximation from Theory’ and ‘Approximation from Practice’. These separated parts allow Mouttotos to draw diverse connections between the macroscopic political challenges facing the island, such as its geopolitical position and occupation, the values embodied by the myriad Western legal systems on which its principles are based, market pressures and economic indicators, and the dynamics of EU law diffusion. He situates the Cyp-

riot legal system within this complex landscape and crafts a circumspect critique accounting for the authentic mixture of challenges and forces that guide its ideology and impress themselves upon its foundations.

On the other hand, the analysis in the book also follows a historical approach. Citing Symeonides' depiction of the elements of Cypriot law as 'accidents of history', the author keenly takes into account the historical path of Cyprus. He recognises that Cyprus' characterisation as a mixed legal system, or mosaic, derives from its provenance as a British colony, an independent state, and then a member state of the European Union. Moreover, the analysis follows a comparative legal approach; the theory developed by scholar Jan Smits is scattered throughout the book and serves as a cornerstone of discussion in Chapter 3, 'Comparative Law and Economics', and Chapter 4, 'Contract Law in the Aftermath of the Financial Crisis'. This infuses the author's conclusions with a tangible sense of legitimacy and justification, through the lens of comparative scholarship.

The book is divided into two parts and seven chapters. The second chapter of the book, 'The Legal System of Cyprus as a Mixed Legal System', seamlessly weaves together a discussion of legal classification and an analysis of the Cypriot jurisdiction. The chapter examines how legal systems can be classified into five different families, and places Cyprus within the 'third legal family', a concept developed by Vernon Valentine Palmer, building on the work of Symeonides and Hatzimihail. Mouttotos chooses to look deep into the webs of Western legal tradition that have spawned Cypriot law and its myriad claims to the values of formalism, individualism, rationalism, and liberalism. He dissects the mixicity of Cypriot law, particularly as a legal system in which judicial common law inclinations coexist alongside institutions designed by civil law principles. Impressively, the author succeeds in distinguishing Cyprus from other mixed systems as having its own unique cocktail of influences and traditions. His detailed analysis of the influence that English traditions continue to exert upon Cypriot law shows the manner in which political and material contexts can impact the elasticity and adaptability of legal institutions. The urgency of this chapter is palpable; the author himself posits that all legal institutions in the EU will inevitably mix to some extent, making clear the relevance of his project to our contemporary legal discourse.

The author also sketches a comprehensive historical overview of Cyprus through the years, from British colony to a possible solution through a bizonal bicomunal federation. He then discusses the Cypriot economy and gives a full picture of the legal

system, analysing both the civil and common law sources that weigh heavily upon the Cypriot judicial system. Finally, the author critically evaluates the current situation in Cyprus with regard to EU membership and the challenges that such entails. Mouttotos identifies that, ultimately, Cypriot law remains conciliatory regarding its 'bastardised' origins. The law aims to reconcile and segregate differing legal influences to various extents, rather than maintaining an unresolved parallel legitimacy between the two conflicting legal systems. This is made more difficult through attempts to achieve harmony with European law, especially in contract law, which have produced incomplete or strained reinterpretation at the hands of Cypriot judges. Particularly interesting is the conclusion that the author reaches in Chapter 2, and his enhancement of such in Chapter 5; he observes that, despite the adoption of EU derivative law within the Cypriot legal order, alongside various laws such as the United Nations Convention on Contract of the International Sale of Goods (CISG), English contract and commercial traditions continue to prevail within the contract law of Cyprus. The author credits the persistence of the English influence to the reluctance of lawyers and judges to rely upon the CISG, and the fact that absorption of the Unfair Contract Terms Directive into legal practice and case law has been gradual.

Thus, while civil design dominates the public core of the state, private economic relationships are still directed by the distant hands of common law precedent. This is mostly the result of pragmatic inertia rather than conscious principle. Mouttotos' analysis thus raises the qualified observation that domestic and European measures have found greater success in institutional, rather than jurisprudential, convergence. Common law thinking in the private sphere is resistant, and thus it seems that large scale institutional reform and reorganisation are needed in order to leave the character of civil law legislation untainted. Until the introduction of formal elements and concepts, the law will remain liable for reinterpretation and underhanded material qualification.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to comparative law and economics. The author, inspired by Austrian-British economist and philosopher Friedrich Hayek's 'The Road to Serfdom', creates the theoretical basis on which the analysis of the following chapters is built. This chapter is particularly crucial, attempting to answer some challenging questions such as whether European private law has an autonomous character, whether mixed legal systems are more receptive to outside influences, and what drives their mixedness, approaching this primarily from their theoretical basis. Moreover, the author analyses the influence and impact of the competitive process in European law, thus



introducing and assisting the reader in understanding the influence the European law has on the Cypriot legal system.

The author analyses the competitive process that leads to convergence between different jurisdictions as a tool towards efficiency, while he refers to the LOT (legal origins thesis, the thesis that legal origin impacts economic growth and the common law is better for economic growth than the civil law) and, in particular, to the impact of the LOT on contract law. The author very cleverly concludes that the idea of the LOT and DBR (efforts to link the economic performance of a country with its legal system resulted in the Doing Business Reports of the World Bank) on Cyprus is mostly seen in the context of procedural law reform rather than contract law, as the Republic of Cyprus appears to be lagging behind in terms of contract enforcement, due to delays in the adjudication of cases.

Despite the author's extensive citation of LOT statistics and market trends, the intellectual bedrock and aspiration of this chapter leaves something to be desired. The author's methodology and direction follow a somehow narrow path, never quite shaking off the limitations inherent in the economic perspective of the thinker with whose work he begins his task. In proceeding to structure the entirety of this chapter around the assumptions and goals of this ideological persuasion, he possibly misses out on a richer analysis of the autonomous value of law and its visceral connections to social wellbeing beyond the abstract numbers of market growth. Arguably, this chapter could have engaged more seriously with criticisms of the traditional liberal economic model, which forms the foundation of much praise given to the common law model, failing to reflect on the important ways law can also affect economic distribution, spur innovation, and guarantee non-priceable standards of quality by mitigating market failure. Although the author mentions some of the alternative benefits of civil law systems in passing, he continues to found the vast majority of his analysis on the unchallenged precepts of common law market liberalism and an evaluation of Cyprus' positive affinities in terms of their capacity to conform. In fact, the premise of evaluating law as a market product (to use the metaphor employed) appears flawed from the beginning; it is not merely a static product dependent and vulnerable to market forces, but a dynamic force that itself has the power to write its own rules, thus manipulating the demand of 'its customers' and exacting from them their own productive fidelity.

The comprehensiveness of the analysis of the issue of 'Contract Law in the Aftermath of the Financial Crisis' is shown by the fact that the author examines the Cypriot

legal system alongside the Greek system, a choice justified by the cultural affinity between both countries as well as the influence that Greek legal thinking impresses upon all civil law systems. Furthermore, both countries share high debts and have noted difficulties in the performance of contractual obligations to creditors. In general, the author highlights how Cyprus adopts a narrow reading of contracts and tends not to deviate from the orthodox common law principles of certainty and freedom of contract. This analysis is enriched by a discussion of the ethics of civil law systems and the contradictory perspectives between certainty and restorative justice, positive and objective duties, and subjective freedom of contract. Most crucially, Moutotos highlights the importance of fulfilling 'the social function' of Cypriot private law according to EU standards and adapting contracts to social circumstances so as to protect general economic stability and virility. Chapter 4 constitutes a significant contribution to the academic community, with the author prudently suggesting the use of EU law as a tool for contract modification.

In Chapter 5, the author deals with the main research question of the book, the impact of European law on Cypriot contract law. This chapter is dedicated to the impact of EU law on consumer contracts in Cyprus, especially for consumers of financial services, in particular the MiFID I and II. The author undertakes a critical analysis of Cypriot case law, comparing it to other jurisdictions that have influenced Cypriot development. In this chapter, the author puts emphasis on legislative control of fairness and, in particular, the directives for the protection of consumers and their implementation and impact on the Cypriot legal system. Furthermore, the author examines critically the difference in the application of the above-mentioned directives, on the one hand, by the courts and, on the other hand, by the public authorities and sectoral regulators. The author outlines that enriching Cypriot law with the nuance of civil law systems and Europeanization overall has been slow. Rules designed to mitigate the hazards created by uncertain financial environments have received weak implementation in Cypriot jurisprudence; for example, the courts have maintained a suspicion of pre-contractual evidence, unwilling to balance asymmetric power with the enthusiastic spirit of Greek law, whilst imposing a harsher burden of proof for the recognition of intimate relationships requiring positive duties of care and restricting application in the consumer context. The limited application of the good faith context in Cypriot law makes more sense in light of the hollow constitutional foundation, unlike the Greek Civil Code which establishes the social malleability and evaluation of a contract as an institution from the foundational level.

Finally, the doctrinal analysis of the impact of European law on the Cypriot legal system, in the light of contract law and civil procedure, turns to examine the recent developments made to the administration of justice in Cyprus. Chapter 6 of the book, titled 'Procedural Law as a Tool Towards Changing the Law', deals with some of these reforms, such as improved case management practices, increased resort to alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, the establishment of specialised courts, online dispute resolution, and court automation. The author comprehensively undertakes an ex post critical analysis of the impact that these changes have had on the application of EU law in the Cypriot justice system and properly suggests that such developments will ensure the uniform and effective application of EU law in Cyprus. Uniquely correlating civil procedure with contract law, the author shows how contracts can be better enforced through efficient civil procedures, with this programme of reform thus becoming a vehicle for the furtherance of economic growth. The author's analysis emphasises the challenge of coping with the volume and complexity of cases in the modern world, a situation that leads him to prefer the advantages offered by the inquisitive model of courts, functioning as an active extension of a bureaucratic state, and ensuring that even imperfect justice is seen as an effective and orderly tool.

In general, the author maintains an in-depth analysis of the issues at stake, allowing him to segue into tangential observations and subsidiary layers of perspective. Nevertheless, the writing suffers from the overuse of trite repetition and the tendency to gravitate towards an uncritical preoccupation with statistics and models. The emergence of certain valuable observations is sometimes frustrated by the timid hesitation to develop them into sharp, philosophically stimulating pronouncements on the nature of law.

In conclusion, this book constitutes an important contribution to academia in that the author provides a theoretical and critical analysis of the issues presented, providing insight into the conceptual and institutional proclivities of a mixed legal system under a range of pressures regarding the modern economy and transnational legal imports. This book, for its defined scope, stimulates legal thinking and embarks upon an in-depth study of contract law, European Union law and civil procedure, and the interrelationship between these areas of law.

**Nicolas Kyriakides\***

*\* The review was prepared with the help of Caitlin Gillett and Ioannis Karanasios, Jurisprudence students at the University of Oxford.*

## **Anthology of Historical and Analytical Texts on the Evolution of the Positions in Relation to Cyprocentrism, Cypriot Consciousness, Cypriot Identity and Cypriotism**

**[Ανθολογία Ιστορικών Κειμένων και Αναλύσεων  
για την Εξελικτική Πορεία των Θέσεων για τον  
Κυπροκεντρισμό, την Κυπριακή Συνείδηση, την  
Κυπριακή Ταυτότητα και τον Κυπριωτισμό]**

**Andreas Panayiotou, Anna Misiaouli, Nikos Moudouros (eds)  
New Cyprus Association  
Nicosia, 2022 [pp. 501]  
ISBN: 978-9925-568-56-7**

*The Anthology of Historical and Analytical Texts on the Evolution of the Positions in Relation to Cyprocentrism, Cypriot Consciousness, Cypriot Identity and Cypriotism* is an ambitious and daring volume, that will retain its significance as a contribution to Cypriot scholarship in the following decades. Edited by Andreas Panayiotou, Anna Misiaouli and Nikos Moudouros, the Anthology collects and presents a rich array of resources, including interview extracts, political texts, academic articles, independent studies and literary art, bringing back to life sources that had remained largely under-represented and inaccessible to contemporary readership. In terms of content, the end result is nothing short of impressive, as the 501 pages spanning the Anthology contain resources on a multiplicity of themes, ranging from counter-hegemonic historical narrations and alternative conceptions of (national) identity, to literary explorations and left-wing visions of modernity, retaining at the same time communal particularity through the consistent inclusion of texts originating from both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities of the island. The scope of the volume essentially covers all of modern Cypriot history, presenting sources from the late Ottoman period until the Christofias presidency of 2008-13.

Arguing that Cyprocentrism is characterised historically by two fundamental elements, the ‘(cultural/political) emphasis placed on the autonomy of the Cypriot space’ and ‘the recognition of the existence of an internal de facto pluralism in modern Cyp-

riot history',<sup>1</sup> the Anthology does not merely offer a collection of texts, but is further accompanied by a broader historical narration, utilising its presented texts as its source material. Characterised by this duality, the volume is therefore not an anthology in the strict sense of the word, moving beyond mere collection and documentation to further encompass historical reinterpretation. Placing its sources in a dialectical relation to the hegemonic ethnonationalist ideologies of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalism, the Anthology re-evaluates modern Cypriot history from the perspective of non-hegemonic positions and articulations, formulating a genealogy of Cypriotness from the premodern to the late modern period, identifying in these articulations the evolution of a set of Cyprocentric political and cultural identities. This interpretation becomes theoretically possible through the utilisation of the concept of the 'residual',<sup>2</sup> of cultural, social, historical and political remnants that are argued to have neither been subsumed nor eradicated by Greek and Turkish national homogenisation, enabling multiple expressions of Cypriotness to survive and develop in parallel to the historical unfoldment of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalism.

There is little doubt that the genealogy offered in the Anthology will remain controversial in the near future, since the resignification of various historical moments and figures as expressions of this unwinding Cyprocentrism stands in contradiction both with hegemonic historical narratives and established academic interpretations of Cypriot history. For example, the politics surrounding the Diaskeptiki conference of 1947-48 are argued to crystallise the formation of a political Cyprocentrism acting as an alternative to the demand of enosis, the Makarios presidency (1960-77), with its eventual acceptance of an independent Cypriot polity, is reinterpreted as a pivotal moment in its historical evolution, while the campaign for a 'No' vote in the Greek Cypriot community during the 2004 Annan Plan referendums is argued to be characterised by significant Cyprocentric elements, expressed through the evocation of the Republic of Cyprus for its political argumentation. The originality characterising the interpretations offered in the Anthology enriches the literature surrounding Cyprus, offering novel critical readings, new points of departure for future analysis and a plethora of historical resources waiting to be scrutinised, evaluated and incorporated in future scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> Andreas Panayiotou, Anna Misiaouli, Nikos Moudouros *Anthology of Historical and Analytical Texts on the Evolution of the Positions in Relation to Cyprocentrism, Cypriot Consciousness, Cypriot Identity and Cypriotism* (Ανθολογία Ιστορικών Κεμμένων και Αναλύσεων για την Εξελικτική Πορεία των Θέσεων για τον Κυπροκεντρισμό, την Κυπριακή Συνείδηση, την Κυπριακή Ταυτότητα και τον Κυπριωτισμό) (Nicosia: New Cyprus Association, 2022), page 50.

<sup>2</sup> Panayiotou, Misiaouli, Moudouros (no 1) 56.

In its conclusion, the Anthology provides a clear position regarding its subject matter, arguing that ‘Cypriot identity, as well as forms of Cyprocentrism more generally, can be understood as an alternative identity in modernity (in relation to national identity)’.<sup>3</sup> While not phrasing its conclusion with reference to alternative interpretive paradigms, this interpretation can be contrasted with the more dominant analytical schema associated with Caesar Mavratsas<sup>4</sup> and Nicos Peristianis,<sup>5</sup> which perceives Cyprocentrism as an expression of a civic form of nationalism counterweighting the hegemony of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ethnonationalism. In offering an alternative interpretation, the Anthology thus contributes to broader debates surrounding the nature of (national) identity in Cypriot modernity, adding to the existing literature both empirically and analytically.

The Anthology, however, is not without its limitations, of which two should be highlighted here. The first limitation is the absence of any description relating to the methodology employed for the locating of sources. There is no discussion explaining which magazines, newspapers, archives or personal collections, were surveyed during the research period, why some collections may have been preferred over others, what difficulties the editors faced in locating sources, and whether the compilation of the Anthology was preceded by other relevant activities, such as holding informal interviews with political activists, establishing networks with members of cultural and political groups, or exploring extensively the available academic and non-academic literature. The inclusion of this information in a future edition would improve the academic merit of the Anthology tremendously, as without it; it becomes extremely difficult to evaluate the Anthology methodologically, as well as to identify and explore additional collections that may not have come to the attention of the editors during the long process of research preceding the publication of the volume.

The second limitation is fundamentally theoretical. Since the Anthology formulates

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<sup>3</sup> Panayiotou, Misiouli, Moudouros (no 1), 457.

<sup>4</sup> Caesar Mavratsas, *Facets of Greek Nationalism in Cyprus: Ideological Contest and the Social Construction of Greek Cypriot Identity 1974-1996* (Όψεις του Ελληνικού Εθνικισμού στην Κύπρο: Ιδεολογικές Αντιπαραθέσεις και η Κοινωνική Κατασκευή της Ελληνοκυπριακής Ταυτότητας 1974-1996) (Athens: Catarti, 1998), page 88.

<sup>5</sup> Nicos Peristianis, ‘Boundaries and the Politics of Identity’ in *Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Identity Formations: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Issues: Proceedings of the Colloquium Held in Lyon, 1997, Lumière-Lyon 2 University, University of Cyprus (Chypre et la Méditerranée Orientale. Formations Identitaires: Perspectives Historiques et Enjeux Contemporain: Actes du Colloque Tenu à Lyon, 1997, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Université de Chypre)* (Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2000) 185-195, page 187.

an alternative historical narration, the theoretical concepts employed are central in influencing both specific interpretations, as well as the broader narrative accompanying the Anthology itself. The Anthology is however burdened by significant conceptual obscurity, as a series of utilised concepts remain either undefined, or not discussed in sufficient detail, including the concepts of 'postmodernism', 'nationalism', the 'nation' and the 'nation-state'. As these concepts have been ascribed multiple meanings by different, and sometimes antithetical theoretical traditions in the social and political sciences, the meanings attached to them within the pages of the Anthology are not self-evident, making it difficult at points to determine with sufficient clarity how specific conclusions were drawn. This is particularly notable in relation to the concept of 'nationalism', which carries a fundamentally different meaning within the field of nationalism studies than it does in everyday political discourse. The absence of a detailed discussion surrounding the concept makes it tempting to wonder whether Cyprocentrism can simply be adequately described using Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation as an 'imagined political community' that is 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign',<sup>6</sup> or Ernest Gellner's definition of nationalism as 'primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent',<sup>7</sup> since Cyprocentrism expresses the claiming of a unique, limiting political/cultural identity ascribed to the Cypriot population, as well as the attachment of this population both to a particular territory, and to a state formation corresponding to that territory.

Despite these limitations, the Anthology remains a rare contribution to the academic literature surrounding Cyprus, with its interesting insights and extensive resources marking it as a reference point for the study of Cyprocentrism and Cypriot identity. Cypriot scholarship being characteristically interdisciplinary, the Anthology will unequivocally act as a useful resource for scholars working in the fields of history, sociology, anthropology, political science and literary criticism, providing a firm basis upon which future empirical research can develop. Hopefully, the volume will eventually see an English and a Turkish translation, making its contents available beyond merely Greek-speaking audiences, removing linguistic barriers that have so often accompanied Cypriot academic works.

**Antonis Pastellopoulos**

<sup>6</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised Edition, London: Verso, 2006), page 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past* (New York NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), page 1.

## **Archival and Historic Analects of Oral Tradition and Early Modern Cypriot History**

**[Αρχειακά και Ιστορικά Ανάλεκτα Προφορικής Παράδοσης και Νεότερης Ιστορίας της Κύπρου]**

**Kyprianos Louis**

**Cyprus Research Centre**

**Nicosia, 2021 (pp. 180)**

**ISBN: 978-9963-0-8165-3**

The present volume, authored by Dr Kyprianos Louis and edited by Dr Apostolos Kouroupakis, is a republication of seven articles that originally appeared between the years 2001 and 2013 in conference proceedings, collective volumes, as well as in the *Annual Review of the Cyprus Research Centre*. As stated in its title, the book has a twofold thematic focus: on one hand it explores methodological matters of oral history, applied in the case of the multiphase, longterm research projects for the establishment and development of the Cyprus Research Centre Oral Tradition Archive; and on the other hand, it delves into the Early Modern economic and institutional history of Cyprus, employing Late Ottoman written records as a primary source of study. The rationale behind the publication of this new volume is laid out by the author in his introductory note. According to Louis, the book aims at informing the wider public of the establishment processes, the content, the scientific standards, and the potential exploration opportunities of the Cyprus Research Centre oral history archives, and, more specifically, the Oral Tradition Archive. Moreover, it aspires to showcase how studies based on Ottoman period archival records illuminate aspects of the Early Modern history of Cyprus, broadening the scope of historical analysis and challenging stereotypical narratives about the recent past.

The book is organised in two parts, which reflect its dual thematic axis. The first part comprises three articles, dedicated to the research projects implemented by the Cyprus Research Centre (henceforth CRC) for the development of its largest oral history archive, namely the Oral Tradition Archive (henceforth OTA). The OTA was established in 1990 and during its initial development phase (1990-1998) it was intended to host sound-recorded testimonies of people previously residing in rural areas of the northern part of the island, which has been under Turkish occupation since 1974. In the 2000s, the CRC undertook the task of expanding and completing the



archive's content via the implementation of two funded research projects, covering rural areas under the effective control of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as urban centres. In its present form, the OTA features more than 8.000 recorded interviews and remains unique in terms of both the quantity and the quality of amassed oral history data concerning the Cypriot (micro)history and culture from the early 20th century onwards. Its materials are a most valuable source of knowledge for researchers working on modern Cypriot history, geography, culture, folklore, oral literature, and other fields.

The three articles in the first part of the book focus mainly on the later research projects, implemented between 2005-2006, also 2007-2009, under Louis' scientific coordination and direction, for the supplementation of the already existing OTA content with new oral testimonies. Along with a series of preceding articles by the CRC senior researcher Theophano Kypri,<sup>1</sup> namely the leading figure behind the OTA's initial development phase, the three republished articles by Louis provide a most valuable insight into the establishment processes, the development history, and the scientific methodology adopted throughout the archive's long formation period, from its conception up to its completion.

The first two articles are rather similar in terms of examined topics, and comparable or complementary in terms of provided information. As also acknowledged by the author in his introductory note, the replication of information in the first part of the book is to a certain degree inevitable due to the discussion of the same archival formation processes. Thus, both the first and the second article highlight the reasons behind the establishment of the OTA; they briefly describe its four implementation phases and explain the applied fieldwork methodology; define the wide spectrum of topics under investigation, and provide information regarding the methods of archiving the collected data. Furthermore, the first article briefly discusses matters of accessibility to and exploration of the archival data, whilst citing potential risks and providing useful suggestions.

The third article of the first part of the book refers exclusively to the OTA enrichment project, implemented by the CRC in 2005-2006. It describes in detail the multistage training undergone by the two young researchers employed in the framework of the project; provides further information on fieldwork methodology, from

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<sup>1</sup> These articles were first published during the 1990s and early 2000s in the *Annual Review of the Cyprus Research Centre* and in conference proceedings, and later they were compiled in the volume titled *Collective Memory: Studies, Articles, Speeches* (Nicosia: Kyrenia Foklore Society, 2013).

preparation to realisation; discusses archiving practices, and summarises the results of an interesting pilot proposal for introducing oral history in Secondary Education curriculum either as an independent scientific field, or by utilising OTA testimonies as primary sources in teaching specific thematic units of already existing subjects.

The second part of the book features four articles, focusing on questions of Cypriot economy and administration during the Late Ottoman period. A common thread in all four studies is the exploration of Ottoman records maintained in Cypriot Orthodox Church archives, and more specifically in the archives of the Archbishopric of Cyprus and the Holy Bishopric of Kition. These records illuminate the evolving political, administrative, and economic 19th century structures, in which the Cypriot Orthodox Church had a prominent participation.

The first article examines the role of Archbishop Makarios I as head of the Cypriot Orthodox *millet* during the years 1854-1865. To begin with, the author discusses in detail the historical context of Makarios' era, namely a period coinciding with the Ottoman *Tanzimat* modernisation reforms, which had an empire-wide effect. Louis presents the impact of these reforms on the Cypriot governance system, most evident in the establishment of new administrative bodies, and he then proceeds to interpret the effect of introduced changes into the role of the Cypriot Orthodox Church in administration and economy. According to Louis, the participation of the Cypriot Church in mid-19th century state power structures institutionalised and enhanced its authority, even though the form of these novel structures also moderated the Church's political power, allowing the participation of prominent laymen in collective bodies responsible for fiscal and administrative matters. Given the more favourable policy of Ottoman authorities towards the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the context of the *Tanzimat* reforms, under Makarios' leadership the Church managed to secure more rights and increased its jurisdiction over Greek Orthodox community issues. Another great accomplishment of Makarios was the promotion of education as a means of both material prosperity and spiritual development, with the massive expansion of primary education in urban centres and major rural communities.

The following article examines the exploitation of the Pyla *çiftlik* by the Holy Bishopric of Kition, between the years 1833 and 1838. This remarkable study sheds light on local particularities of the Late Ottoman *çiftlik* economy, which appears across the Ottoman Empire from the 17th century onwards, in many regional modes and variations. The emergence of *çiftliks*, namely extensive, cultivated landed estates, is generally associated to the rise of large-scale commercial agriculture in the Ottoman

Empire. According to Louis, during the period under study, the Cypriot agricultural production was completely commercialised and the *çiftlik* productive units were oriented towards meeting the needs of primarily foreign markets. Following the 1821 upheaval, the Cypriot Church, namely a major economic actor aiming at being reinstated to its former position, is known from primary sources to have turned to *çiftlik* leasing for generating income. A codex preserved at the Holy Bishopric of Kition documents all the economic transactions related to the exploitation of the Pyla *çiftlik*, which was situated near the prominent commercial centre of Larnaka. Using this important primary source, the author describes in brief the physical environment and material culture of the *çiftlik*, including cultivated land, animals, buildings, and equipment; reconstructs the *çiftlik* managerial system; specifies the different categories of employed workforce, and lists the various types of cultivated crops, also evaluating their contribution to the overall *çiftlik* income, along with stock-farming and beekeeping. Based on the records' numerical data, Louis calculates the yearly profit made by the Kition Bishopric during the period under study, and subsequently provides an analysis of the expenses and the incomes deriving from the exploitation of the *çiftlik*. The examination also documents the existence of a more complex web of economic relations, since, along with the Church, important foreign merchants were also investing in the *çiftlik* production, to secure cash products for exports.

The next article delves into further questions regarding the Late Ottoman economic history, focusing on the fiscal administration system operating in Cyprus during the period 1830-1839/40. The study analyses the local administrative structures, which developed in the wider context of the Ottoman *Tanzimat* reforms, and which also aimed at encountering the economic stagnation and population decline on the island in the aftermath of the 1821 events. Based on archival records, the author sheds light into the operation of the Community of the Cypriots (*Κοινό Κυπρίων*), a communal institution managing the financial duties of the Greek Orthodox Community of Cyprus towards the Ottoman state. The Community, which operated under the Sultan's authority, comprised different bodies with distinct jurisdictions: the Church Hierarchy (*Εκκλησιαστική Ιεραρχία*), the central Council of Elders (*Δημογεροντία*), the Committee of the Community (*Επιτροπή του Κοινού*), and the General Assembly of the Community (*Γενική Συνέλευση του Κοινού*). Louis explores the role of the aforementioned bodies, reconstructs the tax designation and collection system, and examines the different categories of incomes and expenses of the Community.

The fourth and final article looks further into matters of fiscal administration

during the Late Ottoman period, this time presenting the relevant extant registries in the Archive of the Archbishopric of Cyprus. These records were produced due to the Church's active involvement in matters of fiscal administration during the period 1800-1839/40, and are thus extremely valuable for documenting the Church's economic activities and policies. The author commences the analysis by sketching the historical backdrop and listing the sources under study, broadly classifying the registries according to their content. Next, he presents the tax designation and collection system operating in Cyprus during the period under study, thus providing the framework for the creation of the registries. After referring briefly to the criteria for the typological categorisation of economic registries, he proceeds with a detailed analysis of registries per type, as follows: 1. name lists of the Greek Orthodox, adult male population subject to taxation (1820, 1825/6), as well as of Cypriot emigrants, 2. registries documenting tax collection by officials appointed by the Church or other subcontractors, 3. registries for the collection of sums covering regular and emergency expenses, the former for expenditure of the local Ottoman administration, and the latter for the needs of troops brought from Karamania to face the 1804 uprising, and troops sent from Syria during the years 1822-1823 to re-establish order after the 1821 events, 4. lists of properties confiscated during the 1821 events, as well as name lists of Christian taxpayers who fled Cyprus during the same period and then returned, entering again the taxpaying system, 5. the main registry of tax or other public income sources leasing, collecting, and paying, as well as of the arrangement of administration expenses. In the final part of his examination, Louis points out potential future methodological directions of study and highlights the multifaceted value of the aforementioned sources for the examination of demographic, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic phenomena.

To sum up, this new volume that draws together several past studies successfully meets its initial aims. Its first part introduces the public -not only general but also scientific- to a uniquely important, large-scale oral history program carried out in Cyprus for decades, showcasing the highly scientific standards applied in its different stages, from fieldwork preparation and realisation to archiving. The demonstrated value of the Oral Tradition Archive renders even more crucial its proper maintenance and management, to make it better known to and easily accessible by both researchers and the general public. The second part of the book succeeds in revealing the potential of studies exploring Ottoman economic and institutional history through the examination of archival primary sources. Up to recently, the study of economy

remained peripheral to Early Modern Cypriot history, especially since scholarly research traditionally emphasised the examination of political events. Louis' original studies highlight the value of archival materials for the documentation and interpretation of economic, and at the same time social, demographic, and cultural phenomena, and in this respect, they introduce into Cypriological studies current trends in the field of Ottoman history. Although some of the questions discussed in the republished studies call for a more detailed analysis and presentation, Louis' work paves the path for new and more extensive research on similar, understudied topics.

**Petroula Hadjittofi**

## **Fear of Crime in Cyprus** **[Ο Φόβος του Εγκλήματος στην Κύπρο]**

**Dr. Michael Hadjidemetriou**

**Nomiki Bibliothiki**

**Athens, 2021 [pp.296]**

**ISBN: 978-960-654-511-5**

The book deals with a very important theme in the field of Criminology, that of fear of crime and potential victimisation. It does so by providing primary empirical data from Cyprus, whilst at the same time analysing the most important components of this topic in a logical, comprehensive, and thorough manner. The author, through the rich subject matter of the book's chapters, attempts to map the multidimensional nature of the fear of crime both internationally and locally, using throughout recent research and findings to properly substantiate everything he presents and analyses.

The first three chapters of the book offer an in-depth introduction to the nature of the phenomenon. The fear of crime is conceptually defined, its 'ingredients' are outlined, and an important distinction is being made between its 'subjective' and 'objective' nature: Do we fear only when there is reasonable cause and perceived risk, or does fear of crime relate to other factors, too? Next, the main (sociological mostly) theories are examined which attempt, each through its own perspective and context, to 'decipher' the fear of crime by placing emphasis on either the individual himself/herself, his/her environment, or society at large. In addition, the main ways in which the fear of crime (and as a result of victimisation) can be measured are mentioned and evaluated, using well-known examples from abroad such as the British Crime Survey (BCS).

In the following chapters, the author focuses on different but equally important elements: the consequences of fear of crime which are analysed in Chapter 5 is such an example, and there are several interesting variables examined. Does our gender, age or even our demographic characteristics in general affect the way in which we perceive risk or danger and do they, in any way, shape how we react to the fear of potential victimisation?

What are the most frequent social and psychological effects of this fear, and in what ways does the ever-changing nature of crime seem to 'generate' new forms of insecurity, such as, for example, fear stemming from a potential terrorist attack? It is

particularly interesting to note here the author's reference to fear as a tool of manipulation of public opinion. It is well known that one way of controlling 'others' is by creating a climate of fear and insecurity.

The sixth chapter deals in depth with the various 'generative' factors of fear and feelings of insecurity. From Cohen's 'moral panic' and the role of the media in the spread of fear (as the author rightly notes 'fear sells'), to the role of neighbourhood in the escalation of fear and its 'transmissibility' through socialisation as the mathematical model advocates, it becomes clear that to properly understand the phenomenon it is not enough to examine it piece by piece in a fragmentary fashion, but it rather requires a more combinatorial (holistic) approach.

Having analysed extensively the 'why' (why do we fear), the author moves on to another important dimension which examines the 'how'. How, that is, can the fear of crime be reduced? Prior to considering the main ways in which fear can be controlled and/or decreased, he makes a particularly interesting parenthesis in which he briefly refers to the 'paradox' of the phenomenon. Often, the fear of crime doesn't precisely 'match' the reality of the situation. For example, the most frightened citizens are not necessarily those who have been victimised in the past, and the most frightened communities are not necessarily those which have suffered with high levels of crime. The world's perceptions are not always shaped according to actual events but are often influenced and even constructed by other social and/or environmental factors. In regard to possible ways of reducing the feelings of fear and insecurity, the author presents quite a few of them, many of which are being adopted at both international and national level, including community policing, restorative justice, crime prevention measures, social care policies, and proper environmental planning.

In the subsequent chapters of the book, the emphasis is placed upon the Cypriot reality in terms of the fear of crime victimisation and its features. Data available from local surveys and relevant professional organisations (such as the police) on crime indicators, feelings of insecurity, citizens' concerns and so forth, are compared to and contrasted with those of other European countries. Especially interesting and useful is the addition of a chapter on children and adolescents, focusing on both their fear of crime (mainly within the school environment) as well as their concerns and perceptions in a more general context. It is worth noting, as the author rightly reports, that research with children has specific peculiarities, and their 'methodological' needs and weaknesses must always be taken into consideration.

As mentioned above, the book includes and accounts in detail the research under-

taken by the author in order to record the concerns (fears) of young people (children of Middle and Technical Education, aged 13-18) on various topical issues, including delinquency and the potential risks arising in their everyday environment (school, home, or neighbourhood). Many important findings seem to emerge from this research, and the author compares these findings with similar research carried out abroad. Amongst other things, the results revealed that the most frequent concerns of the children surveyed were not so much related to criminality per se or potential victimisation, but rather focused on their performance at school, how they see their future, the health of their family, animal cruelty issues and environmental protection matters. At the same time, however, and in line with results from other relevant European research, all children seem to feel more secure when walking alone during the day than being alone at night, children from urban areas are more concerned about safety issues, and girls experience more insecurity (than boys) and trust the police more.

To summarise, the book provides a solid overview on the fear of crime and victimisation, and it examines closely the fear of crime in Cypriot society, presenting both theoretical and empirical aspects of the phenomenon. It is important to emphasise that it includes rich Greek and international literature on the relevant topics. It can be argued that its usage is of a dual nature: on the one hand, it is a very useful manual for teachers, researchers, and students alike; on the other hand, it can serve as a tool/aid to the development and formulation of crime prevention measures and policies, and as we know the combination of theory and practice usually proves the most successful!

**Stavroula Soukara**



# **Torture, Inhumanity and Degradation under Article 3 of the ECHR. Absolute Rights and Absolute Wrongs**

**Natasa Mavronicola**  
**Hart Publishing**  
**Oxford/New York, 2021 (pp. 210)**  
**ISBN: 978-1-50990-299-6**

Carey Young is a contemporary visual artist who often draws inspiration from legal and political issues in her work. One of her well-known installations, created in 2005, is titled “Declared Void”. In a corner of the exhibition hall, certain black lines trace a square that serves as an imaginary gateway to a bleak *non-legal/a-legal area*, a “zone of lawlessness”. A nearby sign, featuring large-letter text, conveys its message, with a forceful tone: “By entering the zone created by this drawing, and for the period you remain there, you declare and agree that the US Constitution will not apply to you.”<sup>1</sup>

The visitors can, perhaps even *are invited to*, cross the lines; taking the –exceedingly delicate step– that will (dis)qualify them as radically deprived individuals, as *right-less subjects*. Implied here, as a sort of “fourth dimension” of the entire installation, is an *all-encompassing and almighty Power*: A Power, capable of imposing *what is and should be legally inconceivable*, as we aim to show below, as a *de facto situation*. Indeed, we must stress it out in the most unequivocal manner: Within the institutional and moral framework of modern legal systems, no legitimate authority can enforce “such lines”; and no individual is capable, even with their own consent, of “crossing them”. “*Such lines*” *aren’t even –normatively– conceivable*.

To be expressed in terms of Kantian philosophy: human persons cannot be conceived to exist in a state, or enter into relations, that do not presuppose them as free and equal beings (violating, thus, the “principle of humanity in their own person”). In the same line, and more importantly: no ruling authority can alienate individuals under its control from this foundational principle. It cannot deprive, in other words, any individual or group of the “right to have rights [to freedom]” (recalling

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<sup>1</sup> See the installation photo available on the artist’s website: <http://www.careyyoung.com/declared-void>, accessed: 30 October 2023.

here, in conjunction with Kantian thought, Hannah Arendt's emblematic phrase<sup>2</sup>). In this case, we would not only be dealing with a grave case of injustice or institutional violence, but with the actual *void of law itself*, an instance of raw violence masked by the façade (and false identity) of "legal institutions."

Fundamental rights equate to *basic aspects, specifications, or guarantees* of the *equal freedom and inherent worth* of all human persons. With this as the foundational premise, the following positions can be normatively derived (as *equally* valid and mutually complementary): a. rights can only be restricted if, and only if, this is demanded by the very *balance-system of equal legal freedom* (see, for instance, proportional restrictions on freedom of expression in order to protect other rights, such as those related to privacy, personality, etc.). At the same time, b. certain fundamental rights *can never and should never be restricted for any reason whatsoever* (these are exactly what legal theorists call "absolute rights"). Because, simply put, b1. there can be no justification drawn from a system of equal legal freedom that allows such restriction. On the contrary, b2. absolute rights violation would not just pose a challenge, *but a complete upheaval to the system of equal legal freedom itself*.

It becomes, then, clear why the *prohibitions of i. slavery, ii. torture, and iii. inhuman and degrading treatment* are considered as absolute rights. Freedom from slavery is an absolute right, because merely questioning it results in a radical separation of the individual from their inherent right to freedom and self-ownership. The same holds true as well for ii. and iii.: No authority can wield or permit such *nullifying violence* (see *torture*) that pushes human persons into the grim state of existence of a "human res", or of a "living dead". Nor can it reduce them to a level of functioning that equals legal annihilation and nullification *qua persons* (see *inhuman and degrading treatment*). We will return to all of these points, in detail, below.

We live in a world where rights are everywhere invoked, and everywhere challenged.<sup>3</sup> Increasingly today, rights are accepted as a *secondary variable* – constantly

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<sup>2</sup> For an insightful study that co-examines Kant's philosophy with that of Arendt, specifically in relation to the topic of political regimes that represent a structured "absence of law and freedom", perpetrating in that way what we could describe as "organized barbaric violence" against individuals, see Helga Varden, "Kant and Arendt on Barbaric and Totalitarian Evil" 121 (2) *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 221-248.

<sup>3</sup> See Justine Lacroix – Jean-Yves Pranchère, *Les droits de l'homme rendent-ils idiot?* (Éditions du Seuil et La République des Idées, 2019). The book expertly discusses the current, contentious arena of rights, in both discourse and practice. As stated among others, rights today are not only threatened by their usual sources of danger (e.g. states and powerful private entities), but also, and perhaps more worryingly, by a *zeitgeist increasingly less willing and able to practically uphold and guarantee them*.

adaptable to other “values” and overarching objectives (see “national security”, the somewhat elusive “public interest”, even “fiscal stability,” and so on). Certainly, there is a robust theoretical discussion advocating for rights. Paradoxically though, these advocacies often turn into arguments for the human rights adversaries: Rights may be “theoretically valid or attractive,” as they claim, but in practice,<sup>4</sup> rights are either *vacuous or dangerous*, lying far from, or even standing in opposition, to real problems and required institutional designs and actions. Even absolute rights may then be circumvented, as they further claim, under exceptional circumstances.<sup>5</sup>

We need to set the tone for the appropriate response from this point forward: torture and inhuman-degrading treatment are *not only, under any circumstances, legally intolerable*. They should, to be more precise, be considered legally *inconceivable*.<sup>6</sup> Their very practice equals a bleak ideogram that represents nothing less than the exact opposite of *rightful interpersonal* relations and *legitimate political institutions*. Torture and inhuman-degrading treatment should never be permissible, under any circumstances. As if they were, then: *nothing would be in fact legally impermissible*.

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In her book presented here, N. Mavronicola encourages (and significantly aids us) to “take absolute rights seriously”. The latter phrase stands in obvious dialogue with the prominent American legal philosopher Ronald Dworkin<sup>7</sup> – who also constitutes a fundamental theoretical source and reference for the author, as demonstrated

<sup>4</sup> Kant critically engaged with this line of argument in his time; essentially asserting that if something is well-founded “in theory” (i.e., it is valid as a demand of practical Reason) but it is contested “in practice” (i.e., in terms of human social experience), then this should not be set forth as a negation of the former but rather as an argument for the realignment of the latter, see in his essay “On the Common Saying: ‘This May Be True in Theory, but It Does not apply in Practice’”, in *Political Writings* ([2nd ed.] ed. by Hans Reiss, Cambridge University Press, 1989) 61-92.

<sup>5</sup> In a 2018 interview, the Belgian Vice-Minister Theo Francken suggested the necessity to find ways to bypass the Article 3 of the ECHR (see *prohibition of torture/inhuman-degrading treatment*), in order to address the challenges posed by mass immigration in Europe (although he later clarified, in response to criticisms, that he did not actually mean it as a challenge to art. 3). See the on-line article “Theo Francken veut ‘contourner l’article 3’ pour renvoyer les bateaux des migrants: l’opposition réclame sa démission” (Radio Télévision Belge Francophone on line, 6.6.2018, <https://www.rtf.be/article/theo-francken-veut-contourner-l-article-3-pour-renvoyer-les-bateaux-de-migrants-l-opposition-reclame-sa-demission-9937090>), accessed: 30 October 2023.

<sup>6</sup> As for Greek-speaking legal scholarship, let us also reference the in-depth philosophical examination of this subject in the work by Philippos Vassiloyannis, *Autonomy and Bioethical Coercion: A Critical Casuistry* (Crete University Press, 2020) 85-90 [in Greek].

<sup>7</sup> See Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Harvard University Press, 1977).

throughout the text. The book's chief strength lies in its ability to bridge theories of rights and legal interpretation with an in-depth knowledge and analysis of actual judicial practices and case-law. The author effectively engages with both the *puzzles of theory* and the *intricacies of jurisprudence*. Her research aim, expressly stated, is to offer tools that encompass both a. conceptual clarity and b. legal interpretation guidance, capable of ensuring legal protection of absolute rights.

Mavronicola aligns with and builds upon the widely accepted legal theory approaches (see for instance the views of A. Gewirth), according to which *an absolute right is one that cannot, under any circumstances and with valid justification, be restricted*. Within this context, particularly regarding the European Convention of Human Rights, rights considered absolute are those whose textual wording does not include any restriction clauses. To be more specific, these rights refer to articles 2-4, which address the right to life, the prohibition of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, and slavery or forced labor. On the other hand, the rights detailed in the articles 8 and beyond, such as the right to private life or freedom of expression, allow for their conditional and justified limitations.

In this case, the critical question persists: How does the absolute nature of protection of certain rights shape their interpretation and application in particular contexts? The core thesis put forth by the author in the case is as follows: Despite prevalent misconceptions (or concerns in this context), the obvious need to specify the regulatory meaning of absolute rights (in varied, and unforeseeable circumstances) harmonizes perfectly with the inherent absoluteness of their protection. Within this scope, Mavronicola's book ambitiously seeks to develop a theoretical framework, precisely *for the correct interpretation and legitimate specification of absolute rights* (particularly, Articles 2-3 of the Convention).

Informed by rich academic scholarship, the author aligns with what we regard as *sound and crucial* legal theory and methodology *theses and key-points*. In summary, and if we were to undertake a certain reconstruction, these are the following:

1. The (clear) requirement for specialized rights protection in specific contexts should not be misconstrued as a potential basis for deviations from – or alterations of – the absolute right's normative content. In essence, specialization *arises from and concretizes the article's regulatory content*, rather than justifying departures from it.<sup>8</sup> (It is worth emphasizing that this applies to all legal rules subject to interpreta-

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<sup>8</sup> For a Greek-speaking legal methodology contribution that serves both as a theoretical model for the "factual concretization" of legal interpretation, and at the same time as a theory of *sound legal reasoning*,

tion, not solely within the realm of human rights law). The author aptly underscores that it is *this adherence to the law*, and not its very antithesis – i.e. *extraneous to law reasoning and policy-based considerations* –, that delivers the required legal certainty.

2. In order to ascertain the scope of the respective rights, one must engage in robust normative reasoning, aimed at grasping their precise juridical meaning and, notably, the *legal wrong* with which their violation is associated. By employing this approach, ultimately, we end up tailoring the right at stake *according to its inherent meaning and value*; rather than molding it to conform to extra-legal policies and assessments. Mavronicola’s key-thesis, here, is that *contesting absolute rights is tantamount to challenging the equal elevated ethical status of all persons* (see also in this instance our references, stated above, to Kantian human dignity and the inherent right to freedom). It could be contended that Mavronicola in fact formulates a *Dworkinian theory of (the interpretation of) absolute rights*, all while drawing from a *Kantian philosophical foundation* (the latter is tacitly acknowledged in her work, without in-depth exploration; we need to note, of course, that the present observation is not at all a criticism – her work is not a treatise, after all, in legal or moral philosophy).

3. The accurate delineation and application of the ECHR provisions regarding absolute rights should not rely on a necessarily “strict” or historically fixed (“originalist”, as we call it) interpretation (i.e. what constituted torture during the Convention’s drafting or according to a closed and time-bound list). Nevertheless, the requirement for a “dynamic” interpretation does not negate the existence of *accurate* – or, at the very least, *more accurate* compared to others—legal interpretations and judicial opinions.<sup>9</sup> The author emphasizes that the Court (in *the present case*, as *in all cases* – as it is crucial to add) is obligated to render well-founded judgements, involving *substantial interpretative argumentation*, so as to precisely uncover and accurately define the meaning of the ECHR articles in the particularly given context.

4. Last but not least (something evident from the above but still worth under-

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see the book of Constantin Stamatis, *Justification of legal Judgements* ([8thed.], Sakkoulas, 2009) [in Greek].

<sup>9</sup> Let us be allowed to refer at this point to a study of ours; where, among others, the so called “dynamic interpretation of the ECHR” is being re-assessed as a variant of purposive-systematic interpretation, and notably, as an argumentative pillar for substantial correctness in interpreting the ECHR articles, Stergios Mitas “‘European Consensus’ and the justification of the Strasbourg Court judgements. Reflections for a methodological reappraisal”, in Konstantinos Tsinas (ed.), *Court judgement justification in Greece and Cyprus* (Nomiki Vivliothiki, 2023) 35-52 [in Greek].

scoring): The correctness of an interpretation is *unrelated* to its potential popularity or convenience for present state policies or public opinion views. As Mavronicola astutely observes, popularity may arise *precisely because* the solution was juridically flawed: restricting for instance or distorting the protective scope of a right. Furthermore, endorsing the standpoint on the existence of correct legal answers does not imply that a certain court-reasoning provided at a particular point in time is necessarily *the correct one*, nor does it negate the possibility for critical re-assessment of it, of differing legal opinions etc. Conversely, the latter (re-orientation through criticism and rational disagreement) becomes precisely impossible if one favors the opposing position: that of the *inability to discern a correct legal answer* to a specific legal question (see, as we can label it, the “no-right answer thesis”).

The author delves into the conceptual and normative analysis of *what constitutes an absolute right* and the actual *nature of the legal wrong* associated with its violation in the early chapters of the book (Chapters 2 and 3). Subsequently, she proceeds to examine the regulatory aspects of the subject, primarily through an analysis of positive law and case-law (Chapters 4 to 7). Chapter 4 focuses on torture, Chapter 5 deals with the human-degrading treatment, Chapter 6 touches upon positive obligations stemming from absolute rights for the states, and Chapter 7 raises the issue of the connections between absolute rights protection under the ECHR and the non-refoulment principle of refugee law.

The analysis in Chapter 4 regarding torture and the relevant case law of the European Court truly stands out. Indeed, we frequently allude to the “profound evil” embodied by torture, indicating that the ascribed “fundamental wrongdoing” in this context is characterized more by its *qualitative nature* than by its *quantitative aspects*. The author underscores and significantly elucidates this point.<sup>10</sup> The actual *normative wrong* inherent in torture does not primarily lie in the pain or trauma it inflicts *per se*. By exercising control and inflicting suffering and pain (as a demonstration of the *absolute power* of the torturer), torture instills terror and dehumanizes the individual to such an extent that *it erases their status as a person*. In particular,

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<sup>10</sup> With regard to the conceptualization of torture, the author draws creatively from the works of David Luban, Jay Bernstein, Jeremy Waldron, and others. It is important to pay tribute, in this regard, and emphasize the significance of the soul-wrenching (and philosophically powerful) testimony of Jean Améry (to which Mavronicola also refers), see “At the Mind’s Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and its Realities” (trans. by Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld, Indiana University Press, 2009). The idea that torture actually represents a *radical power asymmetry* and a *moral annihilation of the individual* is a concept we largely owe to the work of Améry.

torture renders the victim profoundly and infinitely susceptible to the arbitrary will of others.

Should we grasp that freedom is fundamentally a *relational* concept (as noted by Kant: one is free if they can set and pursue goals in independence from the authority or influence of another person), it becomes evident why torture represents a radical violation of our *shared humanity*. Torture, as a result therefore, is structurally *akin to slavery*; not merely something in deviation from a rightful legal condition, but *in direct opposition to it*. The individual subjected to torture forfeits the right to determine their own body, resembling the state of a slave.

What is more, when it comes to the ethical aspects and the (negative) attributes of torture in particular, it is important to take into account the following aspect: The body of the victim, which to reiterate in Kantian terms is the foremost “means of external freedom,” inseparable actually from our own person, undergoes – in the torture case – a (truly *abhorrent*) transformation: It doesn’t merely turn to something foreign and contrary to the person’s own will; rather, it becomes the very *instrument of complete subjugation and moral annihilation* of the person.

What do all of these considerations, then, imply for the legal assessment of torture and the accurate interpretation of the Convention article at hand? The author correctly highlights that the interpretive approach to determining whether a practice constitutes torture should prioritize the practice’s inherent (*qualitative and relational*) features rather than its outcomes. Often, the Court’s decisions err precisely when they tend to classify a practice as torture based on external or quantitatively measurable aspects of harm to the victim, such as severe physical injuries.

Here, the author makes the following (counter)observations: First of all, this approach neglects to recognize that contemporary torture techniques frequently do not leave physical traces (at least not on the victim’s body). Additionally, it fails to consider that a specific practice may qualify as torture in one case but not in another, depending on the context and the traits of the persons involved. Moreover, it dismisses the fact that the mere threat of torture can be tantamount to torture itself, as it may lead the recipient to believe that the impending violence and suffering they are about to endure will be boundless (and, actually, “nullifying”, in the sense explained above).

As we can discern from the above, in line with the author’s fundamental stance: The legal interpretation to be undertaken should be a. *dynamic, purposive, and fact-oriented*; and at the same time b. ultimately *resistant to* relativist presuppositions or extraneous to law considerations. The reasoning that the Court should un-

dertake needs to be centered around the (*qualitatively*) *heightened harm* the torture actually conveys. Key determinants in this regard encompass the degree of power asymmetry (within persons involved), and the imposition held upon the victim, potentially resulting in the person's actual "nullification" (see in terms of self-determination and self-worth).

Now, the practice of inhuman and degrading treatment shares some of the regulatory characteristics and negative "qualities" of torture. What is called into question in both cases is the *equal inherent dignity of persons*. Over the years, the European Court of Human Rights has introduced in its case law the concept of a "minimum level of severity." That is, that an act or a state of affairs must meet or exceed this essential minimum to be classified as inhuman and degrading treatment. Despite standard uses by the Court, the severity criterion still remains unclear and uncertain. The unclarity in this context tends, in practice, to serve as a restraining factor: This threshold poses, both, as *demanding* and *uncertain* – leading in that way to its very *infrequent* assertion. The practice of resorting, then, to extraneous to law criteria, supposedly in order to address this uncertainty, only exacerbates legal uncertainty; and does not in fact align with the absolute nature of protection (as stipulated in the Article 3 of the Convention).

The assessment of passing the threshold must naturally consider various factors, including specific circumstances, duration, effects, and individual characteristics. However, as the author consistently emphasizes, the concept of severity in these cases is *qualitative*, not quantitative; it is concerned with the nature of the treatment rather than the extent of harm or suffering. For instance, forcing a religious person to burn a sacred book or compelling a woman to stand naked in front of individuals of the opposite sex may be deemed inhuman or degrading treatment depending on the circumstances. In such critical situations, the "severity" evaluation needs to assess the *qualitative and relational aspects* of the behavior or condition in question, all within the context of upholding one's fundamental dignity. The book offers a comprehensive commentary on these cases and detailed jurisprudence.

In chapters 6 and 7, there is however a modest decrease, in our view, in the depth of theoretical insights, even though they remain as rich, coherent and rigid as the rest of the book. Those chapters take their cue, as well, from the core belief of the book, namely a. that particular case-circumstances play in the case a highly influential role (e.g. when assessing the reasonable and effective measures the states might adopt for absolute rights-protection; or in determining whether the expulsion or a deportation



of foreigner could result in exposure to inhuman and degrading treatment). Specific conditions however b., as the author rightly insists, are properly considered and assessed through the lens of the regulatory content of the ECHR articles; the latter being *properly specified and further elaborated upon the specifics of the case*, rather than *sidestepped because of them and by their invocation* (as is often the unfortunate case). Within these chapters, there remain some points and themes that still have unexplored potential. In our view, those themes could be more thoroughly and fruitfully explored, especially by drawing upon additional theoretical references and literature (akin, for instance, to the approach taken in the chapter on torture). This could very well provide the basis for the author's future research, e.g. delving into topics such as refugee law, socio-economic rights, basic human needs, the *principles and legal rationales underpinning* all the above etc.

Let us revisit the issue: legal scholarship and thought should be capable of offering a sound response to the critical question at stake: Can torture or inhuman-degrading treatment, even under exceptional circumstances, be justified and supported? If the answer is no, then a. legal theory must be capable of elucidating the specific *legally binding rationales* (as opposed to abstract *ethical ones*) that establish the prohibition as absolute and unconditional. And b. legal theory should be competent in employing the relevant interpretive standards (based on legal rules and principles, not extraneous considerations and policies) that permit a solid and legally secure assessment of specific case-details; taking of course into account the specificities, yet *within the binding normative light* of the ECHR rights. The author points out shrewdly the interconnection of a. and b., offering valuable theoretical guidance on how to successfully address both.

**Stergios Mitas**

## **Claiming the Homeland - The Turkish Cypriot Opposition in the Period 1964-2004.**

**[Διεκδικώντας την Πατρίδα - Η Τουρκοκυπριακή  
Αντιπολίτευση την Περίοδο 1964-2004.]**

**Nikos Moudouros**

**Psifides Publications**

**Thessaloniki, 2022 [pp. 499]**

**ISBN: 978-618-85930-2-2**

The book *Claiming the Homeland - The Turkish Cypriot Opposition in the Period 1964-2004* analyses the course of the Turkish Cypriot community during the time period 1964-2004. The special contribution of the book lies in the fact that it approaches the Turkish Cypriots as a subject of History. It does not treat them as a whole either as organs of Turkey or as victims of the Turkish expansionist and revisionist policy. It does not treat them as a group of people with common views, common aspirations and a common attitude towards Turkey's policy and interventions in Cyprus. On the contrary, the book presents the different positions and the progress of the various parties of the Turkish Cypriot community, as well as of dynamic trade union organisations of Turkish Cypriots, such as the Teachers' Trade Union. It also outlines the rise of Rauf Denктаş to the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community, the policy pursued by him, and his political collapse.

At the same time, it highlights the process of the emergence of social movements. In particular, it analyses the emergence of the Turkish Cypriot Left and the dynamics it managed to develop, despite the internal pressures on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot nationalist elite and the external pressures from Turkey itself. It presents the power and the interventions on a political, economic, cultural and social level, exercised by Turkey in the Turkish Cypriot community. It is a situation which the Turkish Cypriot nationalist elite accepts, maintains and reproduces, and which the Turkish Cypriot Opposition objects.

Turkey attempts to establish and strengthen the 'Motherland – Small Homeland' relationship, a concept it cultivated -long before 1974- seeking to promote its geopolitical aspirations for Cyprus. Studying the policy that Turkey consistently and rigorously followed concerning Cyprus, we conclude that even decades before the

invasion, Turkey was manifesting much more than a *droit de regard* towards the Turkish Cypriot minority.

As characteristically mentioned in the book, the Turkish Cypriots are treated neither as equal nor as 'adults' in their relationship with Turkey; furthermore according to Turkey 'they should not be considered as Cypriots'. As the author claims, Turkey's authoritarian relationship with the Turkish Cypriots also had ideological implications: the Turkish Cypriot 'periphery' was 'provincial, rural and always suspect due to its proximity to the national enemy'.

Of particular interest is the approach to the issue of the Cypriotness of the Turkish Cypriots. Especially, Turkey treats with suspicion the expression of Cypriotness on the part of the Turkish Cypriots, considering that it harms Turkishness and that it implies the claim of coexistence with the Greek Cypriots. Therefore, supporting Cypriotness poses obstacles to Ankara's dichotomous strategic visions. In fact, committing the international war crime of settlement, Turkey attempts -among other things- to damage the Cypriot identity of the Turkish Cypriots. Rauf Denktaş fights against the Cypriotness, while the Turkish Cypriot Opposition claims the preservation and promotion of the Cypriot identity of the Turkish Cypriot community.

The book presents opinions and positions of a part of the Turkish Cypriot Left, which opposes the illegal self-proclamation of the pseudostate and highlights the need for independence and autonomy of the Turkish Cypriot community from Turkey's interventions. They support the federal solution, as they believe it provides a guarantee for the preservation of the identity and autonomy of the Turkish Cypriot community. It is worth mentioning that some Turkish Cypriots characterised the pseudostate as an 'open prison', as a 'camp for prisoners of war', or as a 'proclamation of the disappearance of the Turkish Cypriots'.

After the illegal self-proclamation of the pseudostate, Turkey's interventions in the Turkish Cypriot community, in the field of the economy, are intensified. In particular, the author describes the attempt of neoliberal transformation of the Turkish Cypriot economy on the part of Ankara, and the transformation of the northern regions of Cyprus into a kind of free trade zone. Denktaş adopts and supports the aforementioned efforts of Turkey, which opposes the Turkish Cypriot Opposition. Mass protests and strong strike actions take place, to which Denktaş' authority responds with authoritarianism and violent repression. In a highly polarised political environment, the mobilisations of the Turkish Cypriot Opposition contributed to the weakening of the

Turkish Cypriot nationalist elite, which sought the political, ideological and moral delegitimisation of opposition views.

The book mentions acts of intimidation, threats and persecution of members of the Turkish Cypriot Opposition. It also refers to murders of individuals, such as Turkish Cypriot journalist Kutlu Adali, and its social and political subsequents.

According to the author, the authority of Denktaş has begun to suffer blows, however its collapse comes with the support of the Annan Plan by the majority of the Turkish Cypriot community. The correlations are described as follows. On one side is Denktaş, who is supported by Turkey's military and bureaucratic establishment. On the other side is the Turkish Cypriot Opposition, which is supported by the new, still weak, Turkey's AKP government. Finally, the Annan Plan was rejected, as 75.8% of Greek Cypriots voted 'no', and 64.9% of Turkish Cypriots voted 'yes', in separate referendums held in the two communities on 24 April 2004.

After its strengthening, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's government initiates a new era of interventions and control of the Turkish Cypriot community and the occupied territories of Cyprus, continuing Ankara's consistent invasive policy, on a political, economic, cultural and social level. As the author emphasises, the concept of managing a 'Turkish prefecture', a 'Turkish province' prevails again. Part of the Turkish Cypriot trade union movement continues to express its concern regarding the preservation of Cypriot identity and communal existence. However, as it is pointed out, political parties that have traditionally opposed the creation of dichotomous political structures have now become part of their management.

The time period on which the book focuses starts from 1964 and reaches 2004, for which period it highlights the attempt, to a state of exception, of the Turkish Cypriot Opposition to transform the relations of the Turkish Cypriot community with Turkey.

The author selects the two aforementioned dates as decisive. As he states, he chooses 1964 as the moment of 'a first form of division of the Cypriot space and population', given that from 1964 to 1974 -when the Turkish aggression on Cyprus took place- with the intercommunal conflicts, the vast majority of Turkish Cypriots was settled into enclaves. The period under study includes 1974, the year of the illegal Turkish invasion in Cyprus, which was carried out in two phases, and the illegal occupation of over 36% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. The author places his analysis in the new Post-Cold War global environment, concerning relations and dynamics that develop between Turkey-Turkish Cypriots, Greece-Greek Cypriots-European Union, until the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union,

on 1 May 2004. He chooses 2004 as the moment in which the majority of the Turkish Cypriot community approved the solution of the Cyprus problem proposed by the Annan Plan, in the referendum that took place.

In conclusion, this book is a very interesting monograph, which provides the reader with a comprehensive picture of the Turkish Cypriot community, during the time period 1964-2004. It focuses on the Turkish Cypriot Left, highlighting its emergence, its positions, the course it charted, its strengthening, and ultimately the leading role it played. It presents the authoritarian relationship and the complete control -at a political, economic, social and cultural level- that Turkey exercises over the Turkish Cypriot community, as well as the attempt of the Turkish Cypriot Opposition to transform this situation. The author shows particular diligence in pointing out the various positions and tendencies of the political parties and trade unions of the Turkish Cypriot community. It could be argued that the author succeeds in abolishing the 'depersonalisation' of the Turkish Cypriots, which is often encountered in studies concerning the Cyprus problem, and which is mainly the prevailing image for the Turkish Cypriot community.

**Virginia Balafouta**

## **Entrepreneurship and Economic Strategy in Cyprus during the First Half of the 19th Century:**

### **The Case of Georgakis Markantonides**

### **[Επιχειρηματικότητα και Οικονομική Στρατηγική στην Κύπρο κατά το Πρώτο Μισό του 19ου Αιώνα: Η Περίπτωση του Γεωργάκη Μαρκαντωνίδη]**

**Kyprianos D. Louis**

**Cyprus Research Center & Kyprianos D. Louis**

**Nicosia, 2021**

**ISBN: 978-9963-0-8162-2**

Dr Kyprianos Louis, the Director of the Department of Secondary General Education of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Youth in Cyprus, strives as a diligent historian to detail the establishing and progress of the strategic entrepreneurial and economic activity during the Ottoman Period in Cyprus in his book *Entrepreneurship and Economic Strategy in Cyprus during the First Half of the 19th Century: The Case of Georgakis Markantonides*. Dr Louis builds a historical narrative that extends from the beginning of the 19th century to 1839, meaning that he mainly chooses to examine the time during which the trade relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe were exemplified. On the one hand, his book is an essential read for all historians focusing on the aforementioned historical era, as it encourages a critical reflection on the role played by the Church and the Public of Cypriots («Κοινό Κυπρίων») in the administration and the management of tax revenues, the tax-collection mechanisms at a central, local, and community level, the origin and disposal of goods, along with pertinent buying and payment practices, and the organisation of the Cypriot society, per se.

On the other hand, although this book constitutes more than Georgakis Markantonides' biography, it provides a well-written account of the thoroughly examined case study of Markantonides' business endeavours. Markantonides was born in the 1790s in a family that had access to both church and political power. He started his business activity in Larnaca in 1817, while he also served as the Secretary of the Public of Cypriots, and as an employee of the Archbishopric, who was responsible to collect taxes from the district of Kythrea. The author narrates how Georgakis Mar-

kantonides endorsed an inventive typology in his business strategy that entailed a successful example in securing financing, trading goods, and developing other activities such as the leasing of tax annuities and manors. During the period under examination, Cyprus faced a societal and economic crisis that led to deep socioeconomic changes. However, Markantonides managed to meet his goals by leasing tax- and manor-revenues, and also, by operating as a mediator between producers, exporters, and foreign traders. He thus managed to develop a very wide network for the exploitation of goods and raw materials (i.e. cotton, silk, and carobs), by building and maintaining strong links with European merchants, intermediaries connected to the production places, and producers. For this reason, as the author himself explains, examining the entrepreneurial strategy that Markantonides developed to overcome such challenges, is illuminating for the broader trends and role-models in the Cypriot economy during those times.

When considering the methodology deployed for the historical analysis, one observes that it successfully builds on meticulous research, in-depth study of historical sources and archives, and sound data-analysis techniques. Arguably, the book substantially contributes to the literature as it draws upon the analysis of archived materials that have been unknown to the public. The author examined Markantonides' "ledger of transactions" as the basic source for his research. Although the ledger belongs to the Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, the author mainly examined Ledger IV (recorded in February of 1983) from microfilms and copies that were provided by the Historical and Paleographic Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. In his methodology, Dr Louis clearly explains the stages for the processing and analysis of the ledger. He not only transcribed the ledger, and recorded the accounts by title and thematic classification, but he also created separate registers for cash, commodities, taxation, bonds, bills of exchange, foreign currencies and transfers. Moreover, he extracted his results with multiple analysis tools, including cash flow, indexes, profit and loss, balance sheet, simple and extended balance of the entire period. In terms of analysis, the author has been very descriptive of his findings stemming from the primary research of the archives, while he has done an excellent work on bringing an extensive core of literature and evidence together.

Having said that, the monograph is successfully structured to connect Markantonides' portrait to the quantitative data emerging from the ledger analysis, in a way that builds up to the historical narrative. The first chapter portrays Markantonides, per se, by placing emphasis on who he was, his family relationships, financial and

administrative activities, property status, and people with whom he transacted. The second chapter presents his commercial activities in terms of context, type, traded goods, and profits. The third chapter analyses his financial activities and the loans provided and received. The fourth and fifth chapter picture the leasing of public tax annuities and land annuities (i.e. rental of manors), respectively. Arguably, chapters four and five stand out in the whole narrative as they are both very detailed and descriptive, while providing a rounded analysis of the leasing system, mechanisms, pre-conditions and processes. However, the last chapter of the book is also important as it focuses on conclusions by providing a critical and reflective account of Markantonides' activities.

In conclusion, this book provides a rigorous historical account of a personality that no other researcher had closely examined in the past. However, what makes the book an interesting read is that it also provides for an in-depth socioeconomic and political analysis of the period under examination masterfully depicting the nexus between the Ottoman authorities, the Cypriot Church, and other people of the economic hierarchy, from merchants, to artisans, farmers, and servants.

**Christina Hajisoteriou**







## CALL FOR PAPERS

*The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section on

### ***“Cypriot Diplomacy and its Evolution Post-EU Accession”***

The Republic of Cyprus joined the EU in 2004. Since then, the state has managed to secure its place within Europe and has reassessed its foreign policy priorities. While the extent to which the Republic’s foreign policy has matured remains contested and relatively underexplored in literature, Cyprus has managed to accelerate its strategic, security, and defence priorities as part of its own foreign policy. Much of this development has to do with the EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) frameworks, yet this growth is also arguably a result of changing systemic conditions in the regional and international environment, as well as the changing role of other powers in the region, such as the United States, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and China. Nonetheless, in other areas, the Republic of Cyprus seems to be lacking behind in certain EU foreign policy goals.

This special section of *The Cyprus Review* (CR) invites papers that seek to examine the nexus of diplomacy and foreign policy priorities in areas like security and defence, energy, tourism, intelligence, the environment, and other areas coinciding with security, defence, and foreign policy priorities of the Republic of Cyprus. This also may include the gaps such policy may have, the quest for maturity, and the bilateral and multilateral relations the Republic has developed since its accession to the EU in 2004.

We invite scholars and practitioners to reflect on the Republic of Cyprus’ evolving diplomacy. We are particularly interested in papers that connect the concept of ‘diplomacy’ to other policy priorities the Republic of Cyprus has had since 2004.

In this special section, we hope to reflect on various thematic areas that focus on interdisciplinary approaches. Such areas may include insights from Political Psychology, Security Studies, Legal Studies, International Relations Theory, Computer Science and Policy, Surveillance Studies, or Critical Studies, to name a few. We seek contributions that aim to assess both contemporary and traditional understandings of diplomacy in the Cypriot diplomatic arena. These contributions could explore tools and approaches such as digital and other technological developments, A.I., political psychology, defence-related developments, e-governance, or political psychology. Therefore, the

contributions seek insights from both social sciences, as well as other disciplines such as, but not limited to, Computer Science and Engineering.

We particularly invite original proposals on the following subjects pertaining to the Republic of Cyprus' diplomacy and security:

- The Cypriot MFA and its approach to diplomacy
- Civil Society and Diplomacy
- Security/Defence Diplomacy
- Energy Diplomacy
- Tourism diplomacy
- Intelligence and Diplomacy
- Cyprus and Bilateral/Multilateral Relations
- Digital Diplomacy and/or Cultural Diplomacy
- Modern approaches to Security and Diplomacy / Online Spaces and Digital Diplomacy
- Modern Technologies and/or Surveillance Diplomacy

This is not an exhaustive list of ideas and issues. Articles can present research that addresses and investigates various socio-political approaches as they relate to diplomacy in the Republic of Cyprus.

We invite proposals for traditional academic papers, provocations, and experts'/practitioners' reflections that respond to the theme of the Special Section.

### **Submission Instructions**

- Authors should consult the CR's guidelines for submission, which can be found at: <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/about/submissions#authorGuidelines>
- For specific enquiries, please contact the CR via [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy)
- Submission should be sent to [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy) or submitted through the CR's webpage, no later than **4th February 2024**. All email submissions should be identified in the subject line with the heading 'Diplomacy Special Section – Article Submission'.
- This section is **Guest-Edited** by **Constantinos Adamides** and **Petros Petrikkos**.

## CALL FOR PAPERS

### *The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section on **“Twenty Years after the Accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU”**

The Republic of Cyprus joined the EU in 2004. Since then, the EU has dominated strategic considerations, as well as the public debate. The decision to apply for EU membership was predominantly driven by political considerations. Successive Governments and the political elite saw the EU as a safeguard for the island’s future security and as a forum where a favourable solution to the political problem was likely to be reached. Furthermore, EU membership was understood by the Republic of Cyprus as an effort to overcome the drawbacks associated with its small size and to minimise the shortcomings resulting from its internationally vulnerable position. By becoming part of the EU, the RoC aspired to no longer feel defenceless, to enhance its position to negotiate, and to have its voice more effectively heard by becoming part of a powerful and important regional group. However, euroscepticism seems to have increased since accession, especially following the handling by the EU of the 2013 financial/banking crisis.

This special section of *The Cyprus Review* (CR) invites papers that seek to assess and evaluate specific aspects of the EU-Republic of Cyprus relations. We welcome contributions that incorporate theories of integration or draw on empirical data, but also papers that reflect on specific thematic areas or focus on interdisciplinary approaches. Contributions may refer to the interrelationship between the EU and Cypriot policy priorities, foreign, financial, banking, social, justice, competition, governance etc.

#### **Submission Instructions**

- Authors should consult the CR’s guidelines for submission, which can be found at: <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/about/submissions#authorGuidelines>
- For specific enquiries, please contact the CR via [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy)
- Submission should be sent to [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy) or submitted through the CR’s webpage, no later than **10th May 2024**. All email submissions should be identified in the subject line with the heading ‘EU Accession Special Section – Article Submission’.

## CALL FOR PAPERS

*The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides on

### ***“Cyprus and International Law”***

*The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides (1942-2022) on Cyprus and International Law.

The Republic of Cyprus has been a unique study in Public International Law due to the Cyprus Problem, one of the intractable international conflicts. Kypros Chrysostomides was a distinguished lawyer whose research work focused on the international law aspects of the Cyprus Problem. His book *“The Republic of Cyprus. A Study in International Law”* remains the leading analysis on the issue nearly three decades after the original Greek edition was published, and more than two decades after the publication of the English edition. In 2022, Kypros Chrysostomides was honoured with the “Lifetime Achievement Award” in the Cyprus Review Annual Book Awards (CRABA 2022) at the University of Nicosia, in recognition of his significant body of published work, especially on the international aspects of the Cyprus Question. The special section, dedicated to his memory, purports to examine aspects relevant to the application of International Law in the Republic of Cyprus. Although we seek predominantly legal contributions, we welcome papers which apply interdisciplinary approaches between International Law and International Relations.

A non-exhaustive list of potential areas of consideration may be found below:

- Crisis and continuity in the Republic of Cyprus
- The Turkish invasion of 1974 and its effects
- The occupation of northern Cyprus
- The legal status of the “TRNC”
- The UN Buffer Zone
- The UN and the Republic of Cyprus
- International Law and the negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus Problem
- International law aspects of the Cypriot accession to the EU
- The ECHR and the Cyprus Problem
- The application of international treaties in the Republic of Cyprus
- SBAs and International Law

### **Submission Instructions**

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- For specific enquiries, please contact the CR via [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy)
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