Marilena VARNAVA, *Cyprus before 1974: The Prelude to Crisis*

Anastasia Yiangou
ities apparent throughout his life and work, and not just in his single archaeological publication. His sympathy for those in desperate circumstances, for example due to excessive taxation, manifest throughout his career, motivated him to pay local people to undertake digging for antiquities, and his highly developed abilities to consolidate data and lucidly set out his findings underpinned the production of his paper. His relatively modest explorations were productive of new knowledge as well as social benefit in the form of paid employment for Cypriots suffering the effects of famine, facts which challenge simplistic narratives of imperial exploitation by the participants in the ‘mischievous pastime’ or indeed the activities of privileged foreign residents more generally. This volume also provides a detailed account of Sandwith’s involvement with archaeology in Crete, although he left no published writing on the subject; he collected antiquities, some of which ended up in the British Museum, and elsewhere, and recognised the potential of the site of Knossos, although he was unable to convince Charles Newton to excavate.

Boys Smith also refers to a diary kept by Sandwith of a cruise on the Nile, undertaken after retirement with his daughter, and taking in museums and excavations; it is anticipated that this will form a future publication, which will undoubtedly shed more light on Sandwith’s archaeological interests. These were, however, only a small part of his experiences, and Boys Smith’s account, with its rich social history and ringside view of key developments in the Levant over four decades, is highly valuable in enabling historians of archaeology to broaden their perspectives and deepen their understanding of the political and socio-economic contexts, both local and regional, within which early archaeological investigations took place. Biographies such as this help to differentiate the varied priorities and approaches of individuals tangentially engaged in archaeology, and demonstrate the potential of largely untapped archival resources to add to historical knowledge and cast a raking light on archaeological activities in the imperial and colonial periods. The present volume can be highly recommended to those seeking a more nuanced understanding of the contexts within which consuls operated in Cyprus and beyond, and an overview of the history of the Levant in the late Ottoman period, through the lens of the British consular service.

Anna Reeve


Marilena Varnava’s *Cyprus before 1974: The Prelude to Crisis* focuses on an examination of developments concerning the Cyprus problem in the post-independence period up until the Turkish invasion of 1974. While existing historiography tends to highlight the impact of external factors in the evolution of the Cyprus problem, Varnava’s analysis adopts a fresh approach.

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In doing so, attention is given to the internal situation in the island. Indeed, Varnava illustrates how internal factors and domestic policies, which unfolded in both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities – particularly from 1964 onwards – affected the course of events leading up to the tragedy of 1974.

At the outset of the study, the author sketches the background to the analysis of the events. The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 was viewed by both communities as an interim stage towards the fulfillment of their long term – albeit conflicting – aims. On the one hand, the Greeks of Cyprus aimed at the implementation of the right of self-determination, which would lead to their union (enosis) with Greece. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots, despite gaining significant advantages in the 1959 settlement, aimed in the creation of a federation in Cyprus that would eventually lead to partition. President Makarios’ ‘Thirteen Points’ and the subsequent intercommunal December 1963 crisis are discussed. The adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 186 (4 March 1964) with which the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established and a mediator was assigned to the island are also assessed. The book then explores the diplomatic developments of this period: the Galo Plaza mediating efforts (1964-65), the Greco-Turkish dialogue (1965-67) as well as the inter-communal negotiations of 1968-1974.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part (chapters 1-4) examines the period 1964-1967, while the second part (chapters 5-7) investigates developments that took place during 1968-1974. The analysis commences with a detailed examination of Galo Plaza’s mediating efforts, on behalf of the United Nations during 1964-65. The author initially investigates the prevailing atmosphere upon Plaza’s appointment. She further explores the agendas and motives of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The mediator’s report was announced on 23 March 1965 but despite recommending the immediate commencement of negotiations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots [rather than viewing the problem exclusively as a Greco-Turkish affair], his efforts were eventually fruitless. By 1965, Turkey’s intransigent position had further hardened. Simultaneously, developments occurring within the island minimized any chances that both sides would show moderation towards Plaza’s suggestions as the gap between them only deepened. Indeed, as Varnava points out “…goodwill and trust were the most important elements absent from all the contested parties” (p. 41). Therefore, the deadlock that followed Plaza’s mediation only strengthened communal separation.

The author then turns her attention to developments concerning efforts made by Greek Cypriots, led by President Makarios, to amend parts of the 1960 Constitution. Varnava discusses how from 1964 to 1967 the Cyprus Government endeavored to restructure the state machinery by “transforming it into what amounted to a purely Greek-Cypriot unitary state along the lines of Makarios’ previous ‘Thirteen Points’” (p. 44). Changes took place in the executive, legislative, judicial pillars as well as in the military sector. Such changes included, inter alia, the establishment of a new Ministry responsible for education, culture and religion, headed by Constantinos Spyridakis, thus serving in promoting the Hellenic character of the island. In their efforts to transform the state, however, the Greek Cypriot side miscalculated Turkish Cypriot reaction to cope with isolation as well as the repercussions of this new status quo. The author also enriches our knowledge by assessing the situation in the Turkish Cypriot enclaves, the formation of which was, as the author highlights, far from a static process. Varnava convincingly
demonstrates how this period (1964-1967) was extremely important for the later formation of the Cyprus problem. While Greek Cypriots went on to reorganize the Cyprus Republic, Turkish Cypriots – under full dependency from Ankara – proceeded with the establishment of a separate administration on the island that gradually became more effective and organized.

The first part of the book also explores the economic policies and developments of both communities and the ways with which they affected the course of the Cyprus problem. The author highlights the different financial experiences of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots; the latter, as already pointed out, being confined in enclaves after December 1963. The economic disparity between the two communities – a factor that has been overlooked in existing literature – increased the dependency of Turkish Cypriots on Ankara and further heightened their mistrust and insecurity. Concurrently with developments on economy, following Plaza’s mediation, the diplomatic activity continued. The author looks into the aims and calculations of the various protagonists. She also discusses the ensuing negotiations between Greece and Turkey while also exploring Makarios’ relations with Athens.

The second part of the book begins with an assessment of the crisis of November 1967, concerning events in Kophinou and Agios Theodoros. The author discusses the background of the crisis, which formed a turning point for later developments. While a Greco-Turkish war was averted, Athens accepted Ankara’s demands for immediate withdrawal of the Greek division from Cyprus. The immediate aftermath of the aforementioned crisis was the return to inter-communal talks, which commenced in 1968. Hence, the last two chapters of the book explore in details the negotiation process between Greek and Turkish Cypriots which took place between 1968-1971 and 1972-1974. The analysis further provides an examination of the goals of the two leading negotiators, Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash; the latter we learn having held a moderate attitude towards the initial stages of the talks. The thorough examination of the negotiations intertwines with a discussion of the main internal political events of this period in both communities (examples include the establishment of new Greek Cypriot political parties, the formation of the National Front as well as developments within the Turkish Cypriot Provisional Administration). Finally, the course of the Nicosia–Athens relationship up to 1974 is explored.

The author merits praise for the extensive use of both secondary as well primary sources. Indeed, the use of primary sources forms a distinctive feature of this book. Sources consulted include official correspondence from the National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA) such as material kept in the Dominions Office (DO), the Foreign Office (FO), and documents from the Prime Minister’s Office (PREM). Furthermore, Varnava uses material from the Republic of Cyprus’ State Archives in Nicosia, the Cypriot press, the published official documents of President Makarios – the role of whom in events is closely examined in the account – and the \textit{Foreign Relations of the United States} volumes. Moreover, the author makes use of oral interviews of Greek-Cypriot politicians.

Marilena Varnava has managed to delve into a crucial period of the recent history of Cyprus by carefully scrutinizing and interpreting available sources. In doing so she presents an expertly account of how internal developments determined the complicated trajectory of the Cyprus problem, while placing such events in the wider scope of regional as well as international developments. All in all, \textit{Cyprus before 1974: The Prelude to Crisis} is an important contribution in
existing historiography, one which facilitates our understanding of a critical historical period with long-lasting effects to this day. This book is a must read for anyone who wishes to understand the complexities of the Cyprus problem in its post independence phase.

Anastasia Yiangou


Paschalis Kitromilides' book is one of the latest additions to the very prominent series of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies, a collaboration between the British School of Athens and Routledge Publications. The series, although new, has already shown a good record of studies by early career and established academics. *Insular Identities* is of added value for this collection due to its preoccupation with the social and political history of an island which has for centuries been part of the Greek world and, unavoidably, of Greek Irredentism.

*Insular Destinies*’ significance lies in its dual nature: firstly, it can easily be used as a reference book, since the collection of essays cover a great time span, from 7000 BC until the tragic events of 1974. Secondly, it is a personal and self-retrospective book. By putting together a series of studies written in more than 30 years’ timeframe, Kitromilides shows a personal and lifelong scholastic commitment with intellectual history and more specifically the Enlightenment as the central expression of European modernity and the matrix of the modern idea of liberty (p. 8), as well as with ‘modern Cyprus evolution’ against the backdrop of the island’s travails (quoting Robert Holland, p. xi). Kitromilides’ Greek upbringing, in conjunction with his intellectual history studies and life as a Cypriot expatriate have let him to a self-awareness – as Holland points out in his forward – that is apparent and prominent in the essays of this book, – especially in Part II – making this collection both interesting and still relevant despite the fact that the essays were written years ago.

The book is divided into three parts: “Part One: Culture and society on a captive island”; “Part Two: The politics of the Cyprus question”; and “Part Three: Bibliographical and critical notes”. In the context of this review, it would be difficult to comment upon all the essays, but we will stand on the most indicative examples of each part.

Part One includes eight chapters, the seven of which are focused on the intellectual and social history of early modern Cyprus, while the eighth, is a concise yet comprehensive overview account of the history of the island from the prehistoric times in 7000 BC until the island’s independence in 1960. Essays in this part can be studied under the more general umbrella of Cyprus’s intellectual and political history. And yet, between them, they cover different themes and offer various perspectives which can satisfy the intellectual needs of a versatile audience. Some chapters cover wider time periods (for example Chapters 1 and 2) something that could be of interest to researchers not familiar with the history of this part of the world; to get acquainted with key events and internal dynamics that have shaped the history of Cyprus and impacted on the Cyprus Question. Other chapters deal with relatively known events to historians of Cyprus yet studied from a different perspective or analysed in a wider context. For example, in Chapter 4 the uprising of 1764 is perceived, not