

ENOSIS—CYPRUS' ROAD TO FREEDOM

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A STRIKING photograph of a young London Cypriot carrying a poster saying 'Five years in prison for any Cypriot who dares say *Enosis*', was published recently on the front page of a British non-Communist newspaper with the following characteristic caption: 'A picture that shames every Briton.' Indeed, the grave decisions taken by the Tory Government in the recent months on the future of Cyprus—decisions taken in the name of the British people—are a menace to the British people as well.

At the end of June, the British Government, ignoring the fact that 100,000 adult inhabitants of Cyprus had signed a peace petition in 1950, and without any consultation of the people of Cyprus, declared that it had decided to transfer the Middle East Command from Egypt to Cyprus. As soon as this became known in Cyprus, the whole people protested to the Governor and Colonial Office.

What does this decision mean for Cyprus? Firstly it means complete destruction for that beautiful island in the event of a new imperialist war: secondly, perpetuation of the colonial status of the island: thirdly, still more poverty, unemployment and rising cost of living owing to the presence of yet more foreign troops there.* Cyprus, like other colonies has no effective industry: the great majority of the population are peasants and small farmers. Already 87,000 acres of fertile land have been confiscated and taken over for military purposes. Despite the resistance of the people it is planned to take over yet more land. Whole villages, led by the village priests in the front line, are demonstrating against this confiscation of land which is forcing thousands of young Cypriot peasants to emigrate to Britain and other parts of the British Empire to seek a livelihood.

In the House of Commons on July 29 Sir Winston Churchill explained that, with the development of the Hydrogen bomb, in any future war, the position of British troops in Egypt would be untenable. A day earlier, the Tory Major Legge-Bourke unwittingly underlined what the decision to transfer the Middle East Command to Cyprus may mean for the people of that island when he said:

*Since this was written, the official cost of living index has shown, in one month alone (September, 1954), a rise of 4.3 points—due, of course, to the transfer of more troops from Egypt to Cyprus. This gives the lie to British official propaganda that the move of the Middle East Command will benefit financially the people of Cyprus.

I am quite sure that if the arguments that have been used about H-bombs for removing ourselves from Egypt are applied to Cyprus, the position of Cyprus is thoroughly terrifying.

The Cypriot people have long been aware of these dangers and that is why their demand for Enosis is coupled with the demand that no foreign power shall have the right to military bases on the island.

On July 28, the Minister of State for the Colonies, H. L. d'A. Hopkinson, almost on the eve of the summer recess and without any previous notice to the House, suddenly announced further grave decisions on the future of Cyprus. These decisions shocked and angered not only the people of Cyprus and of Greece but also some of the Labour members who know something of the history and aspirations of the people of Cyprus. Mr. Hopkinson quite cynically declared that: 'They could not contemplate a change in the sovereignty of Cyprus' and that 'certain Commonwealth territories . . . could never expect to be fully independent'. He also announced that the government had decided, 'to introduce in the near future a modified constitution providing for a legislature containing both official and nominated members—together forming a majority—and elected members'. In other words, the Cypriot people should give up their hopes and aspirations for National Rehabilitation and understand that their future should be based on serving imperialist aims—as long as imperialism exists. These amazing statements—contradicting all the previous assertions that Britain's mission was to educate the colonies until the time when they could rule themselves—were made to meet the 'Tory caucus' insistence on a declaration that there would be no more withdrawals from territories in the Empire or under its domination.

In the heated debate which followed, Mr. Hopkinson expressed the hope that 'enough men of goodwill' would come forward to operate the new constitution. He based his hopes, no doubt, on the systematic efforts of the colonial administration to create a pro-British feeling among the Cypriots by effectively controlling education, prohibiting Greek history and even the Greek national anthem in the schools, promoting teachers on the basis of their knowledge of English whilst dismissing patriotic teachers, granting scholarships to Cypriot students (incidentally forcing others to study in Britain since degrees from other universities are not recognised in Cyprus) and by high wages and salaries for government employees.

Mr. Hopkinson was ignoring the fact that British imperialism is not the first which has endeavoured to destroy the national Greek character of the Greek people of Cyprus. Neither is it the first to

fail in this endeavour! For three centuries prior to the British, the Turks (and others for four centuries before them) closed down the Greek schools and suppressed the national Greek culture and did everything possible to destroy the national Greek character of the people. But on the 'fruitful' results of their efforts let an ex-governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, speak. In his book he wrote:

The Greekness of Cypriots is in my opinion indisputable. . . . No sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling, Greek (*Orientalism*, p. 550).

As for the 'constitution' which Mr. Hopkinson hoped might attract at any rate a section of Cypriots, the people of Cyprus as a whole learned from their own experience—even before it was confirmed by the case of British Guiana—that these 'constitutions' are only granted and maintained as long as they serve the interests of the imperialist power. Cyprus had a constitution from 1882 until 1931. During all those years not a single bill was passed in the Legislative Council promoting the national interest of the people. In 1931, when taxes proposed by the British Governor were defeated when (for the first time) a Turkish member of the Council voted with the Greeks, the taxation bill was made law by decree. Following the expressed indignation and opposition of the people, even the sham constitution was withdrawn. Since then Cyprus has been ruled directly from Whitehall with the British Governor as virtual dictator of the island. In 1948, a more 'liberal' constitution was offered with a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council but with executive and veto powers again left in the hands of the Governor. This offer was unanimously rejected by the people of Cyprus. It will not therefore be an easy task for Mr. Hopkinson to find 'men of goodwill' to operate the new 'constitution' announced on July 28, 1954, which provides for a majority of *non-elected* members.

These 'last ditch' measures of the Tory Government are not only an insult to the people of Cyprus but have outraged the national feelings of the whole Greek nation, which has forced the monarcho-fascist government of Greece to place the question of Cyprus before the United Nations.

Five days after the announcement by Mr. Hopkinson of the decision to impose a constitution, his representatives in Cyprus announced that the monstrous laws of 1931 which had not been enforced for some years, would be put into force. These laws, violating every human and democratic principle, were denounced by even the most reactionary press in Britain. Their enforcement means the outlawing of every Greek political party in Cyprus whether of

the right or the left because all support the Union of Cyprus with Greece (Enosis) which is, by these laws, to be treated as sedition. Leaders of political parties advocating Enosis may be imprisoned for five years and ordinary members for two. Newspapers writing about Enosis may be suppressed for three years and their editors imprisoned for five. These laws in practice forbid the circulation of British newspapers which advocate Enosis and even of reports of debates in the House of Commons taken from Hansard. The popular word 'Enosis' which has been the symbol of freedom for many centuries in Cyprus is outlawed. Any Cypriot who dare pronounce it—even in his own home—may be imprisoned for years.

But these monstrous laws, brutal as they are, have had a positive effect: they have exposed imperialism as the common enemy of all Cypriots—so that even anti-Communist Enosis supporters now recognise the correctness of the Cypriot Communists' consistent fight against British imperialism and the need for a united front against imperialism. A solid unity has been achieved embracing every political party and Greek organisation in Cyprus. For the first time, the Archbishop of Cyprus has met with the General Secretary of the People's Party of Cyprus, A.K.E.L., for discussions on the common problems and the measures to be taken to confront them.

The fortnight which followed Mr. Hopkinson's statement constitutes a landmark in the struggle of the people of Cyprus for National Rehabilitation. Nationalist and Communist editors met together and took common action: in protest against the 'anti-sedition' laws they stopped publication of their newspapers for one week. Communist and Nationalist mayors and councillors met, unanimously protested against these laws and demanded the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination.

Above all, unity in action appeared in the whole working class of Cyprus with the peasantry. This was vividly demonstrated in the completely successful 24-hour general strike on August 12, called by trade union organisations of the right and of the left, the right and the left peasants organisations and the Shopkeepers' Association. It was one of the most outstanding political events in the history of Cyprus. This unity in action on the part of workers and peasants, and other sections of the people, coupled with the unity splendidly expressed by the workers and peasants and others in Greece itself for the cause of Enosis is the guarantee of success for the people of Cyprus and Greece in their struggles against imperialism.

The fight of the people of Cyprus for Enosis and the ceaseless struggle of the people of Greece against the Anglo-American

imperialists and their monarcho-fascist agents in Greece are one and inseparable. It should never be forgotten that the present reactionary régime in Greece was imposed upon the people of Greece by the same British imperialists who today hold Cyprus in subjection. Since the present régime in Greece owes its existence to British intervention in 1944 and U.S. dollars since 1947, it can be readily understood that Premier Papagos and his government brought the question of Cyprus before U.N.O. only as the result of intense and united pressure by the Greek people. In fact, Papagos and his crew do not want Enosis. On May 19, 1954, he made this clear in an interview with an Italian journalist when he said: that Greece did not want Enosis but a constitution for Cyprus and a promise that, after a number of years a plebiscite would be held there.

This achievement of the people of Greece has already had its effect upon the aggressive alliances of the imperialists' satellites. Only a few weeks ago Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed a treaty of alliance: today Turkey threatens Greece with war itself if the appeal to U.N.O. on Cyprus is proceeded with. All American subterfuge has not succeeded in concealing from the Greek people that this 'great ally' not only does not support the Greek demand for Cyprus but is working night and day to prevent the question being discussed. When on September 23 the Steering Committee decided by nine votes to three with three abstentions to place the question on the agenda of this Ninth General Assembly, it was worthy of note that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Burma, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Iceland, Siam and Syria voted in support, whilst imperialist France and Australia voted with Britain against; the U.S.A.—the 'great ally' of Greece—abstained. The other 'great ally' of monarcho-fascist Greece, Turkey, voted against when the General Assembly endorsed the decision by 30 to 19 with 11 abstentions. Thus the whole Greek nation can see who are their friends and who are their potential enemies. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are thus recognised as champions of the rights of all oppressed peoples.

There are people who ask why the Cypriots want to 'unite with a monarcho-fascist Greece' and lose the 'benefits' of British colonialism. They should remember the following. Governments come and go but the People always remain. A united people of Greece and Cyprus can fight much more effectively for the fulfilment of their aspirations than when they are divided as they are at present. For the heroic people of Greece it is not the first time that they suffer under a dictatorship like the present one. Recent history shows that

during the past 34 years at least eight dictatorial régimes and reactionary kings have been routed by democratic struggle.

As for the propaganda of the British Colonial Office on the 'prosperity' of Cyprus, let the facts speak for themselves. In 1938, an official investigation into 'the needs of those governed' revealed after a definite minimum average of subsistence had been fixed that 25 per cent. of the people were existing below that level, 50 per cent. just at that level and only 25 per cent. above it. In 1951 alone, 3,809 people emigrated to Britain and other parts of the British Empire. After 76 years of British rule, the bulk of the peasants still use primitive wooden ploughs for tilling their land. The total sum of Cyprus' national income is £25,838,000. Of this profits amount to £18,428,000 (51.43 per cent.); interest to £899,000; rents to £4,892,000; wages and salaries to only £11,614,000. Profits, interest and rent take 67.59 per cent. of Cyprus' national income!

Now the question of Cyprus has been placed before U.N.O. The Cypriots have no illusions about the hazards entailed. The people of Cyprus know that the fulfilment of their aspirations depends on the united and systematic struggle of the Cypriot and Greek people, the support of the democratic forces of the whole world and not least on the solidarity of the great labour movement in Britain. Under the glorious banner of unity, inspired by the symbol of the general strike of August 12, the Cypriot people has prevented the British colonialists from, as yet, actually operating the monstrous laws announced on August 2. The Greek people have forced the monarcho-fascists to act against their will and take the question to U.N.O. Now, at this very moment, the monarcho-fascists of Greece and the U.S. imperialists are conspiring with the British to find a 'solution' and (after putting it last on the U.N. agenda) so to betray the aspirations of the Greek nation for Enosis.

Without underestimating the great difficulties which face the Cypriots in their struggle on the road ahead, they are advancing, confident that the day of national rehabilitation cannot be delayed for long. There can be no other solution of the national and economic problems of Cyprus than the one proposed by the Cypriot people. That is, Enosis—the Union of Cyprus with Greece, without conditions, and without granting military bases to any foreign power. Any other 'solution' such as 'constitution', so-called self-government, or any other compromise with imperialism is not only dangerous and harmful to the people of Cyprus and the Greek nation as a whole, but it constitutes a threat to world peace and affects the well-being of the British people.

HENRY FIELDING (1707-1754)

JOHN SAVILLE

HENRY FIELDING was born at Sharpham Park, near Glastonbury in the county of Somerset, on April 22, 1707. His father, who later became a General, was descended on the male side from the first Earl of Desmond, and his cousin was the well-known Lady Mary Montagu. His position in English society is also shown by his education. After a private tutor, he went to Eton ('Public schools', he once wrote, 'are the nurseries of all vice and immorality'), and after Eton he studied law at Leyden in the Netherlands. After a fairly short stay there, Fielding came to London, where he quickly established a reputation as a playwright with his comedies and burlesques.

Henry Fielding was a man of immense physical vigour. He had an enormous zest for life and was remarkably powerful and active. A brilliant conversationalist, a great story teller and a striking wit, he plunged into the life of London of the 1730's with tremendous gusto.

His first play was produced in London, at Drury Lane, in 1728, and his second in 1730. There followed many other writings for the stage, of which the farces and the burlesques are the most successful. In these Fielding found a wonderful vehicle of expression for his high spirits, his sense of extravagance, and his faculty of irony. His earlier comedies were in the declining tradition and fashion of Congreve; but his later writings for the stage and especially his burlesques introduced new positive influences into the contemporary theatre. Particularly in the famous *Tom Thumb*, Fielding mocked the absurdities of the dramatic conventions of his day; he was, as has been well said, 'on the side of sanity in English drama'. In another, and more important respect, Fielding was an innovator. He introduced contemporary themes into his writings, and his later burlesques are biting political comments on his own times. Fielding vigorously opposed Sir Robert Walpole and the corruption which surrounded his Government. In 1736 he took over the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, formed his own company of actors and produced his *Pasquin: A Dramatic Satire on the Times*. This was followed in the next year by *The Historical Register of 1736*. So keenly edged were his political allusions, so powerful his satire against a corrupt administration that Walpole became alarmed. The government passed the Licensing Act of