The influence of the Greek civil war on the division of the Greek-Cypriot community’s local society

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to explore the antagonism and the collision of the two dominant political camps -namely the "nationalist“ Right and the "communist“ Left- under the influence of the Greek Civil war, and the impact of this conflict to the local society of the Greek-Cypriot community. In the late 1940s the political climate had affected local societies in such terms that specific stereotypes (nationalists VS communists) divided public life in all levels: Sports clubs, groceries, cafeterias, etc. had been converted into the battlefield of the two conflictual camps. As a result of this division people had to choose between the “left-wing grocer” and the “right-wing grocer”, support the football team of the “communists” or the other one of the “nationalists” and so on. What is striking is that the situation described above has been carried out within this concept up to our days.

Ideological Framework

Because of the positive climate that had been created on the island as a result of the alliance between Britain and Greece during WWII, and the participation of thousands of Cypriots in the war, the colonial administration reinstated the elective system that had been withdrawn twelve years earlier from the municipal authorities. This was the first step towards the restoration of limited and mutilated constitutional institutions for political representation\(^\text{1}\). This development in the political rights of Cypriots was approached under different aspects between different parts of society. The working class and their representatives view this development as the starting point of their social...
demands and their long-term political goals. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie
and the ruling class faced the expansion of the civil rights as a concession of
power to political coalitions that were disputing the social balances.

At the same time, both Left and Right were affected by the Greek civil war that
was on a climax. The clashes of 3 December 1944 in Athens, and the military
confrontation that led to the Varkiza agreement, introduced a new meaning to
the concept of so-called "ethnichofrosyni" (nationalist-oriented thinking). These
events known as "Dekembriana", brought together the extremist/rightist
elements and provided the "nationalistic" organisations and groups with an
excuse for terminating once and for all every prospect of co-operation with the
communist AKEL which was providing support to the policies of EAM-
KKE(Communist Party of Greece). The two sides were affected by the civil war
climate in Greece and identified themselves with the respective sides there.

From demonstrating simple solidarity to the conflictual sides of the Greek civil
war, up to participating by sending fighters and/or financial support to their
comrades in Greece, both sides in Cyprus viewed civil war as a development
that was reflecting them straightly. Characterizations, phraseology and terms
were the most innocent elements that were imported from the civil war.

The emergence and consolidation of the Left

Leftist ideas first appeared in Cyprus in the latter part of the 1910s and
acquired formal recognition and a political framework when the Communist
Party of Cyprus (KKK) came into existence in August 19262. KKK’s radical
political manifesto -abolition of private property in the means of production,
expropriation of monastic and church property for the benefit of the landless,
establishment of a socialist society- constituted an openly hostile movement

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2 For the first socialist groups in Cyprus see Yiannis Lefkis, Οι ρίζες [The roots] (Limassol, 1984)
against the ruling class as well as against the Church. Apart from its Marxist and atheist declarations, the Party also adopted an incomprehensible (for that period) anti-colonial policy, favouring an independent Cyprus Workers and Peasants Democracy, incorporated into a "Balkan Soviet Federation".

The Party was successful in indoctrinating class consciousness, and in sensing the feelings of a section of workers mainly in the towns of Limassol and Famagusta. Only a few years after its establishment, KKK realized that failed to rally the people, had no allies, and was inevitably pushed out of the political limelight. It was unprepared for the 1931 uprising (called Oktovriana) which had as a result the arrest and exile of two of its leaders and the ban on the circulation of the party's newspaper and its persecution by the colonial government which culminated in the party being outlawed in 1933. All these misfortunes dealt a heavy blow to its operation.

What allowed the reorganization of the party's scope of action was the establishment of a great number of trade unions which gradually came under the control of the KKK. The trade union movement acquired a new dynamic in 1941 when the party contributed to the formation of the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee (PSE). In the early 1940s, the outlawed KKK, through the trade unions in the towns, laid the foundations for penetrating the wide social strata of the lower classes. The trade union movement, with its pragmatic claims and its effective strike rallies, gradually built the needfully class consciousness within the working class. Furthermore, its anti-colonial stand covered a blank space in its political speech and earned it an audience among the townspeople. The Pancyprian Trade Union Committee monopolised the

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3 See party’s theoretical newspaper Νέος Άνθρωπος (18.09.1926)
4 Oktovriana was a spontaneous rebellion against the British (October 1931) which was failed. About Oktovriana see Kostas Grekos, Τα Οκτωβριανά και το ΚΚΚ [The October rebellion and the Communist Party of Cyprus] (Nicosia 1994). Also see George Georghallides, Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs (Nicosia, 1985).
5 For the situation after the October rebellion see Alexis Kyrou, Όνειρα και πραγματικότητας, χρόνια διπλωματικής ζωής 1923-1953, [Dreams and Reality, Years of Diplomatic Life 1923-1953], (Athens 1972).
workers representation until 1943, thus managing to combine economic claims with the anti-colonial struggle. Because of the activities of the trade union movement, the workers secured tangible practical benefits and the Left acquired supporters among the masses as well as recognition and popular legitimisation. The KKK's need to exit the status of illegality led, in April 1941, to the founding of the “Progressive Party of the Working People”, known as AKEL (Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou). AKEL founded as a "Pancyprian political party of principles" and was an alliance between communists and a section of the bourgeoisie.

With the Soviet Union's entry into World War II (WWII), AKEL played a leading role in organising anti-fascist rallies. At the same time it intensified its social struggles, using the demonstrations against fascism, which were attended by the lower classes in great numbers. These protests helped to proclaim the party's political positions and at the same time raised the reputation of party officials. In this way the party was well received among the working and lower middle-class strata. As "a liberal, pioneering and progressive party of the working class", maintaining anti-fascist activities to its credit, and by lending support for occupied Greece and volunteering slogans calling for unity, the new Left overturned, to a great extent, the unfavourable image and the various stigmas inherited from the KKK. AKEL's manifesto was particularly radical for those years, but it was adapted to Cypriot realities. In 1944 the KKK which was exist and operate in parallel with AKEL, joined the new party, having first ensured that the control of the party was in the hands of its former members. With the inactivation of the middle class co-founders, AKEL shaped itself as a party unlike all others. It became social-democratic in its public image, gaining

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6 See Papademitris, Ιστορική Έγκυκλοπαίδεια της Κύπρου [Cyprus Historic Encyclopaedia] (Vol. 7, Nicosia, 1980), pp 107-111
benefits from its past actions and at the same time it was communist (in a soviet way) in its internal organisation and operation.\(^7\)

By the summer of 1952, when the new “radical leadership” under Ezekias Papaioannou had completed the “ideological clearance” process of the party through a series of party member seclusions\(^8\), AKEL found itself at the head of a wide centreleft coalition. AKEL created coalescences and coalitions with personalities outside its own party domain, and with the help of a network of parallel mass organisations, i.e. the labour trade union of Pancyprian Workers Organisation (PEO), the peasants union known as EAK, the youth organisation of AON, and a women’s organisation, actually transformed itself from a powerful political camp into an electoral majority.\(^9\)

The multiformity of the Right

Since the 1920s the Left had been on a course of ideological crystallisation and structural integration. The Right, however, had always been the dominant power, even if it only functioned as a mixture of various leading personalities whose unifying element was the attachment to a strong plexus of nationalist irredentism and traditional values. Only in the 1940s did the Right become a political formation with ideological content. The pivotal axis of the Right had always been the Orthodox Church in its role of "Ethnarchy" -an institution for wielding religious and temporal power through a pancepyrian network of clerical committees, powerful monasteries- owning large areas of land and with privileges and authority over the Greek educational system. As defender of the

\(^7\) The principle of democratic centralisation (δημοκρατικός συγκεντρωτισμός) and strict party discipline, had already been decided in the first Congress. For the first Statute, which was adopted on 5 October 1941, see Papademitris, op. cit., pp. 111-116.

\(^8\) About dethronemet of members of AKEL see ASKI, Αρχείο ΚΚΕ, κ. 371, Φ 20/21/40, «Η πορεία του Κυπριακού κινήματος, η κομματική καθοδήγηση, ο κίνδυνος για το Κόμμα» [Movements situation, party's leadership, the danger for the party] (Budapest, 1 August 1951). Also see Soulla Zavou, Τα πολιτικά κόμματα της Κύπρου στον 20ο Αιώνα, [Political Paties of Cyprous] (Kastaniotis, Athens 2002), pp. 108-111

\(^9\) For the centreleft coalitions and AKEL see Papademitris, op. cit., Vol. 8, pp. 192-194.
regnant system of values, the Church as an institution, and the clergy as a living resource, had in both theory and practice been the gluing element of the conservative political spectrum. A second pivotal axis had been the merchant-middleman classes in the towns, which, in spite of internal differences, made use of nationalist ideology for the purpose of conserving their hegemony. At the same time, a distinct section of rich middle class citizens adopted an undisguised pro-British stand in order to safeguard the continuation of important privileges which they enjoyed. These two pylons of the Right, exercised control over cultural, athletic and charity organisations, and school graduate associations, through which they indoctrinated working class and agrarian population throughout the island. They also had absolute control of the educational system and in particular of the School Committees which had the authority to decide the curriculum of the schools.

The Rightwing frame was completed by the Greek Cypriot newspapers at both a pancyprian and local level, in their majority pro the ruling class, as well as by a large group of intellectuals who, theoretically, supported the regnant ideological framework. With the exception of the spontaneous and unorganised rising of 1931, the claim for "Enosis" took the form of memorandums and representations to the Greek and British governments in a spirit of moderation and with a friendly disposition toward the British. Palmer's rule during the period 1933-1939 contributed to the loss of coordination and to the fragmentation of urban elites. With the abolition of the limitation of the traditional elective institutions of representation, a significant number of influential members of the ruling middle class openly cooperated with the colonial regime, a fact which caused a credibility crisis in the eyes of the lower classes.

10 For the role of the Church see Panayiotis Persianis, Church and State in Cyprus Education - The Contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British Administration 1878-1960 (Nicosia, 1978)
Because the Ethnarchic Church was in a state of decomposition, and the Right was leaderless, diluted by Palmer’s regime and without a visible “enemy”, it failed to comprehend the social transformation of the 1930s and remained a passive spectator while the Left briskly involved itself in the working class domain. Several leading members of the middle class, of the Church and of the nationalist intellectuals began to suspect the danger of disordering ideological and political balances with the gradual looseness of the totalitarian measures of British rule mainly because of the appearance and activity of AKEL.

With the Left disputing the leading role of the ruling class in matters of "national liberation" while at the same time seeking a role in the political representation of the Greek community, the Right found itself face to face with an unparalleled situation that clearly threatened it. Thus, following the 1943 municipal elections, and a year after the Right’s Pan-agrarian Union of Cyprus (PEK) came into existence, 18 leading members of the Right decided to put aside their personal differences and organised for the first time, by establishing the Cyprus National Party, known as KEK (Kypriakon Ethnikon Komma), the supreme objective of which was to place the concept of the nation above all kinds of social antagonism. At the same time, they achieved to disrupt Left’s dominance within the trade union movement, by calling for a pullout of all "nationalist labourers" from Leftist trade unions and re-accommodating them subsequently in "new trade unions". What also contributed to this pullout was AKEL’s control over PSE and the way AKEL used PSE to promote its electoral party objectives. The Confederation of Cypriot Workers, known as SEK (Synomospondia Ergaton Kyprou), came into existence in October 1944, and this was the first step in the gradual infiltration of the Right into the working

11 For the extension of the Greek national conscience in Cyprus see Paschalis Kitromilides, From Coexistence to Confrontation: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus, Michael Attalides ed., Cyprus Reviewed, Nicosia, 1977, p. 41
12 See newspaper Eleftheria, Αι προγραμματικές θέσεις του Κυπριακού Εθνικού Κόμματος [The manifest of the Cyprus National Party], 10.8.1943
class strata. The political climate was polarised and highly sensitive as the two parties considered each other's political initiatives to be unbearably provocative. The involvement of the Left in the struggle for national independence enraged the Right, and the Right's infiltration into the working class was considered by the Left as a brash provocation.

The Greek civil war created conditions that gave the opportunity to anticommunists to accuse the Left as "ungodly internal enemies", which had as a result for the Right to manage to organise itself as a party, though with a weak institutional structure. In other words, anticommunism and nationalism were the welding elements that kept the Right from disintegrating.

The absence of a strong political “Centre”

In the period under review, conditions did not favour the formation of an autonomous third "in-between" party. Unlike Greece and elsewhere, the political perception of the "Centre" did not exist in Cyprus, not even as a political term until the late 1960s. The emergence of a "Centre" party in the sense of a moderate and unassertive political party was out of the question due to a number of reasons, but the main obstacle was the colonial administration whose contradictions and totalitarian nature undermined all moderate voices within the two communities. Those who dared to show confidence in accepting British invitations for dialogue with the aim for the creation of a more liberal constitutional framework, found themselves exposed, or lost their society's respect. The fact that the so called «εθνικό ζήτημα» [national cause], meaning the aspiration for union with Greece, predominated on the essentially scanty political agenda of public dialogue was another factor. There were moderate elements in both Left and Right but it was impossible for them to meet within a

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13 Gregoris Gregoriades, Ιστορία της ΣΕΚ [History of SEK], 1st Vol. (Nicosia, 1994).
framework which politically, socially and ideologically was in some times oppressive, and above all divisive.

The climate of the Greek civil war, which was robustiously imported into the island and reached its climax during the period 1947-1949, victimised people who were moderate or neutral, or who were not devoted to either of the two opposing sides. As far as the political life of the Greek community was concerned, the few “centered” personalities who, mainly because of the electoral system, sought alliances with either one or other of the two sides, did so in order to survive both politically and economically. With the dynamic return of the Church to the top of the Greek Cypriot political leadership and with the prevalence of the tactical line "Enosis and only Enosis”, the possibility of a “centered” political party being established was manifestly outside the framework of nationalist legality. A "centrist” formation could only arise out of the fragmentation of the two powerful parties, and neither the ideological climate nor the electoral system favoured such a development.

The crisis within the Left that led to the expulsion of some of the most important party leaders in 1952 and could probably have led to a "third situation”, if polarization had not been so powerful, and certainly if the Greek civil war had not been so affective to the society of Cyprus\textsuperscript{14}.

**Political climate in the late ‘40s**

AKEL managed to face the persecutions of the colonial regime and concentrated its activities in support of *Enosis* and the problems of the working class. The Right, although ostensibly affected by developments in Greece, was put in the corner, because it needed to keep the demand for *Enosis* within the

framework of British-Greek friendship. Its mild anti-colonial tactics, together with its unproductive and empty anticommunism resulted in its incapacity to penetrate the popular masses. Above all, its anticommunist obstinacy repulsed a number of upper class supporters who did not favour the introduction into Cyprus of the Greek civil-war climate, given that the Cypriot Left had assumed a different attitude from that adopted by their counterparts in Greece. Moreover, after the events of December 1944 the situation in Greece instilled terror in many Cypriots. Also, the fact that the Left had won some respect by ecclesiastical circles helped AKEL to cooperate with "centered" personalities, forming the "National Cooperation Wing", known as PES (Parataxi Ethnikis Synergasias). As early as January 1946, AKEL tried to press on with a policy of alliances, whereas the Right remained inactive, concentrating mainly on Nicosia. The Leftist argument for national unity exposed the Right as vulnerable under the coercive influence of the extremist elements, entrenched in the Kyrenia Bishopric, insisting that any contact with the communists constituted treason. AKEL submitted proposals to the Right for allocating the positions in the Municipal Councils, but the response was categorically negative.

For the Left, the 1946 municipal elections can be characterised as its crest. During that period its policy and tactics for evolving into a "new type party" (AKEL) were implemented. For the Rightist block, the election results constituted a final warning with regard to its dominant role as "the leading class". The Right lost its monopoly of patriotism and national identification, and was facing the danger of becoming the outgrown rear guard.

The election triumph of the Left not only disgruntled the Right but it also enraged the colonial administration that realised the potential dangers from popular class mass mobilisations on behalf of AKEL and the Trade Unions. Rightist circles decided to put aside their political aspirations and coordinated their activities toward the common enemy, whereas the British put forward
constitutional changes in order to appease the tension and the demand for Enosis. During this same period Greece was entering the convulsion of civil war.

The future of the island was sealed internally and externally by the following two events:

First, the summoning of the Diaskeptiki (Consultative Assembly) by the British, with a view to introducing constitutional reforms that would lead to limited self-government. The Right refused to participate, mainly because of the fear for the potential power that Left could procure in a future self-government, and the Church reacted aggressively with the slogan "Enosis and only Enosis", accusing the Left and the "comarchers" of a national sell-out. This accusation assumed greater significance after the Diaskeptiki collapsed as a result of the contradictory intentions and the unconscionably provisions of the British one year later.

And second, there was the tension externally, of the Greek civil war and the initiation of the "Cold War".

The already existing differences between the Labour movement and the Left in general, and the conservative class and the Church, were in anyway about to lead the two sides in frontal conflict. These two poles represented basically two opposite worlds the interests of which could not be satisfied together. Thus, the conflict was to be taking place. However, the conditions of that period were such that the politics in the Greek community of Cyprus could not remain uninfluenced by the facts happening in Greece. The Greek civil war, as an initial form of division of the postwar Greece, had affected the population of Cyprus as a whole, as well as the connection of forces of the political world in Cyprus.
The position of Left-Right towards the civil war

Since September 1947 AKEL at its E’ Congress (13-15 September 1947) has decided to support even more the DSE (Greek Left forces-Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas) and the Greek Left. Thus, based on this decision, the party organized fund raisings for the collection of money and clothing supply, whereas efforts were made in order to send armed forces. The result was not the desirable one and the main reason was the existing discord in the Left regarding the dimension of implication in the civil war.\(^{15}\)

Apart some doctors and few Cypriot students who were studying at the time in European countries going to Greece to express their support to the DSE, AKEL had been focused on the carrying out of fund raisings for the reinforcement of the Democratic Army. In every chance the members of the party stated that AKEL is DSE and that its rebels "constitute the Greek civilization".\(^{16}\)

The Right, in the presence of the demonstrations and fund raisings of AKEL in support of EAM-DSE could not stay inactive. At a time when the Left was covering a phase of political and ideological clarifications, with the intense and evident internal conflicts, mainly due to the "Diaskeptiki", the Consultative Assembly for introducing constitutional reforms\(^{17}\), the slogan "Enosis kai mono Enosis" (Unification and only Unification with Greece), even though coiling at a great level the Right, did not constitute that much an effective adhesive element for its various departments, as the fanatic anticommunism did. AKEL’s positions pro the DSE and the Soviet Union eased exceedingly the anticommunist propaganda of the Right and the Ethnarchy, which was insensibly asking by the British colonists to outlaw AKEL and to “intern in concentration camps every

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\(^{15}\) See ASKI, Αρχείο ΚΚΕ, κ. 371, Φ 20/21/13, Φ. Ιωάννου-Α. Ζιαρτίδης, προς ΚΚΕ, «Οι τεχνικές δυσκολίες στο καθήκον για την ενίσχυση του Δ.Σ.Ε.» [The technical difficulties about supporting DSE] (Manumitted Greece, November 1948).

\(^{16}\) Spyros Papageorgiou, ΑΚΕΛ το άλλο ΚΚΕ [AKEL the other KKE] (Nicosia 1984) p. 119.

\(^{17}\) For the Consultative Assembly, known as "Diaskeptiki", see Katsiaounis, op. cit., and Andreas Fantis, Η Διασκεπτική [Diaskeptiki] (Nicosia, 1993).
communist as a democratic mean of security of the majority through the restraint of the minority”\textsuperscript{18}.

The nationalists, united against the enemy, and with the help of extreme rightist elements who came from Greece specially for the reinforcement of the anticommunist struggle in Cyprus, intense the conflict against the communists and organize eclaircissement expeditions in reference to the communist leadership which was “devoted to Moscow and been working for the Slavic interests”\textsuperscript{19}. The Right called its followers to support with fanaticism all the rightwing and nationalists in all occupations. “Our grocer, our baker, our greengrocer, our employer, our worker has to be nationalist. Let’s support the cause of the ideological struggle, the struggle of financial sanctions”\textsuperscript{20}. The solidarity of the Right to the governmental army of Greece was significant, since, apart of the Cyprus Right and its solidarity towards the Greek nationalists, rightwing trade unions and organizations carried out funding raisings. Also, many Cypriot nationalists, officers of the Greek army, fought on the side of the governmental army of Greece against DSE.

**The position of the Church**

The Church of Cyprus, having adopted the anticommunism as its official politics, could not stay uninvolved on the existing turbulent tones. On the 7\textsuperscript{th} of September of 1948, AKEL has been condemned by the Church as atheists and “non patriots” implying clearly that they would apply an embargo of the Left from every aspect of the social life of Cyprus controlled at least by them\textsuperscript{21}.

\textsuperscript{18} See rightwing newspaper *Efimeris, Εις την γραμμήν, Λόρδε*, [Keep the Line Lord], 03/04/1948


\textsuperscript{20} Spyros Papageorgiou, (1984), op. cit. p. 52.

\textsuperscript{21} Papademitris, op. cit., p. 183
The support of AKEL to KKE and DSE had been the main reason of its condemn by the Ethnarchy, and at the same time another reason was its electoral force. The fact that a great part of the flock of the Church had escaped from the ideological and political control of the ruling class, indicated that the result of the elections for the primates of the Church could not be under the control of the Right. The massive participation of the Left at these elections (May 1947) had induced the defeat of the Right candidate Sineos Porfurios. The possibility of regaining control of the church’s institutions by the bourgeois had been achieved only after the sudden death of Leontios and the assumption of the throne by Macarios Muriantheos.

The strikes of 1948

The upright division of the Labour movement
The conflict between the Left and the Right, with the powerful interpositions -in support of the Right- by the Church, the Greek Consulate and the extremist elements that came from Greece, had as a main reason the Civil war raged in Greece, whereas its main pretext was the decision of the Left to participate in the Diaskeptiki. This conflict has appeared in every domain of the public life: education, elections for the bishops, labor movement and Public Services. The climax of the conflict, as it was expected, had appeared there where the ideological confrontation was clearly expressed with its class substance, that is, it was transfigured into a conflict between the workers and the employers. While the influence of the Right was based on its access to the governmental mechanism or on the structures of the power of the Greek community, the Left drafted its power from the support provided by the labour class.

The most important role of the labour movement was played by the unions of builders, port workers and mine workers, which constituted the forefront of the massive left movement. During 1948, three major strikes took place: the mine
workers of the Cypriot Extractive Company (KME), the asbestos workers and the builders. The strikes lasted 266 days in total (more than the 2/3 of the year) and in these 4,300 builders and mine workers participated\textsuperscript{22}. The demands of the Labour movement for improvement of their working conditions were satisfied.

**The consequences of the conflict of 1948**

*From the symptom to the diagnosis*

The intensively political character of the strikes of 1948 and the combination of the developments in Cyprus and Greece (*Diaskeptiki* – Civil War), affected at an important level the future evolution of the conflictual sides as well as the political climate which was to be solidified in the Cypriot society. The existing differences between the Left and the Right became clearly class based and were influenced by the discussion regarding the constitutional proposals of the British and were transformed to a particular struggle of survival and domination, in proportion to the results of the *Diaskeptiki*. Additionally, the adoption of characterizations, and in many cases, practices of the Greek Civil War, expanded the differences and raised the gap between the two sides. As a result, the conflict became frontal and violent.

The fact that in Cyprus there was no generalized armed civil conflict is mainly due to the power of the colonist status quo, which did not favor and thus did not allow any active contestation of its autocratic domination, as well as in the chance provided by the circumstances in the Left to decline the choice of response to the violent.

\textsuperscript{22} About the strikes see Ιστορία ΠΣΕ-ΠΕΟ,[History of PSE-PEO], (PEO, Nicosia 1991), Pantelis Varnavas, Ένας Μεταλλωρύχος θυμάται, [A mine worker’s memories], (Nicosia 1988). About SEK’s position for the strikes see Gregoriades Gregoris, Ιστορία της ΣΕΚ, [History of SEK], (Nicosia 1994).
In this conflict, which had the strikes of 1948 on the top, the Left mobilized all its mechanism and had significant political benefits. The victory of the Left trade union developed the massiveness of the labour movement and broadened the validity of the Left. The unity and cooperation of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot workers at the strikes, created the preconditions for the further development of demands. AKEL, by including the strikes in the broader scope of the demand for dispensation of the colonial rule, has been able to pass to the society strong political messages and has colligated the democratic front, something that constituted a great need, since the disagreements by the “co-marchers” regarding the implication of AKEL in the Civil War, created creaks in the coalition.

On the other hand, the Right achieved in this class confrontation to have a stronger access to the working class, something that can be found in the documents of the members of the rightwing trade union of that period\textsuperscript{23}. The establishment of SEK as the opposite pole of PEO and as a pure expression of the Right at the Labor movement, in spite of the defeat that had taken, was a result of the front conflict of two perceptions, a fact that coiled the party in view of the municipal elections. Anticommunism became the official ideology of the Right, which used the practice of making enemies abetted by the facts of the civil war.

The stabilization in the society of these two poles (communists≠nationalists) which divided the society of Cyprus can be located everywhere, in every aspect of public life. The measures of mutual financial war that the two sides took are after all these years evident. The fund raisings of the Left for the DSE as well as for the liberation of its leaders who have been prisoners and the appeals of the Right towards the nationalists for support of their followers were elements

which have been added in the intensity of the conflict and created in the society of Cyprus certain stereotypes. Thus, especially in the country side, we have the Rightwing grocer, baker, green grocer, barber etc and the Leftwing respectively, up to today.

Even the coffeehouses in almost all the villages, which are usually on the same road, are divided as well in cafes of the Left, and cafes of the Right. Additionally, the Morfotikoi Syllogoi\textsuperscript{24} -Cultural and Sport Associations- , a creation of the Left for “a healthy and creative occupation of the workers”, (mostly these are places where the local organizations of the Left are lodged) are usually opposite the Ethnikofrona Somateia – the corresponding associations of the Right- of every village, in which the organizations of the Right are lodged.

Basic area in which the two poles have divided the society of Cyprus is the field of athletics and especially football. In 1948 the conflict has been expanded in the field of athletics. The bishop of Pafos Kleopas initiated on behalf of the Church the politics of dismissal of the left from the sport unions refusing to be present in an activity of the union Kinyras because of the left athletes who participated in it, something that had been applied in Larnaca as well in the case of the Club of Pezoporikos\textsuperscript{25}. A similar position was kept by EPA, the other club of the town, while in Nicosia Olympiakos decided to remove its members which had Left political views.

Because of the above reasons, at the beginning of 1948, the exiled athletes that had leftist views, created new clubs in every town of Cyprus. In March 1948 the Nea Salamina in Famagusta is founded, in April Akli in Larnaka, in

\textsuperscript{24} About Cultural and Sport Associations of the Left see Christos Petas, Το κίνημα των Μορφωτικών Συλλόγων, 1939-1945, [The Morfotikoi Syllogoi Movement 1939-1945], (Nicosia 1992).

\textsuperscript{25} Newspaper Ethnos, Κομμουνισταί δεν έχουν θέσιν εις τον 'Πεζοπορικόν Όμιλον Λάρνακος, [Communists have no position in our Sports Club], 04/04/1948.
May Orpheas and in June Omonia in Nicosia. These clubs are considered until today Leftist since their followers are in majority well disposed towards the Left.

**Conclusions**

The quantity and the type of the differences between the Left and the Right/Ethnarchy of that period, made everybody feel that the clash would come soon, and it would be rough. After all, the continuous climax of the divergence between Labour and Capital would normally induce this conflict. However, the importation of the Greek civil war climate, ejected the differences of the two sides in a new level, generating another field of confrontation that Left and Right could cross their swords using more intense and violent ways.

The importation of the Greek civil war climate was absolutely normal, since the Greek Cypriot community was seeking the unification with Greece. The fact that the Greek Cypriots felt as an integral part of Greece, partly justifies their great interest and their participation to the Greek civil war.

The Right aimed to introduce the civil war climate mainly because in this field it could use helpful argumentation for creating the fear to the people of an internal enemy. AKEL, at first with the forbearance of its “co-marchers” and later with their disagreement, identified its self with KKE-DSE mainly because of its solidarity principles, but also because the party aimed for the unification of “a free Cyprus with a free and democratic Greece”.

If something important comes out of this paper, is that the unity inside the Greek Cypriot community could not be achieved, in spite of the fact that all sides were aiming for the unification with Greece, because of the class divergence between Left and Right, helped by the civil war climate, with results visible up to today.
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