

Iakovos Menelaou. *The Rhetoric of the Cyprus Problem: Idealism, Nationalism, Realism*. Budapest: Trivent Publishing, 2021, 155 pp. ISBN 978-615-81821-3-3.

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In recent years the historiography of the *Cyprus question* has shifted from an exploration of events concerning the critical developments of the 1950s to an assessment of other aspects of the island's colonial and post-colonial experience. Iakovos Menelaou's short study focuses on the *Cyprus problem*. In doing so, however, his main focus is on an analysis of the reasons that led to the Turkish invasion of 1974. Moreover, his book also explores the forces which keep the problem unresolved even almost half a century later on.

The book is divided into three chapters. In Chapter One, the author discusses the long-standing demand of *enosis* (union) with Greece in the 1950s. Menelaou shows how *enosis*, which was backed by the majority of Greek Cypriots, existed on the island even before the onset of the E.O.K.A. revolt. Here, it would be useful if the author outlined the general context of the *enosis* movement during the British rule, connecting such discussion with the role of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, as this would facilitate further the reader's understanding of later events.

Indeed, the British had to confront the *enosis* question even at the outset of their presence on the island in 1878. During the early stages of British rule, the *enosis* movement existed in a quieter form as compared to its later incarnation. However, the movement's dynamic fluctuated over the next few decades and it acquired more organizational complexity after the end of the Great War. By that time continuing disappointments the Greek Cypriots experienced from the British – who were welcomed in 1878 with the hope that they would hand Cyprus to Greece as they did with the Ionian islands in 1864 – accentuated the force of irredentism. Following the end of World War I, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus came to the forefront as the champion of the national movement. The role of the Archbishop as the leader of the nation (*Ethnarch*), in particular, had been shaped by the various occupations the island had suffered over the years.

The book identifies nationalism as a crucial factor that complicated the *Cyprus question*. More specifically, the author points to the fact that what Greek Cypriots failed to take into consideration in their struggle for *enosis* with Greece was the wishes of the minority of Turkish Cypriots. Quite naturally as demands of the Greeks of Cyprus for their union with Greece intensified, so did the reaction of the Turks of Cyprus who, following the end of the Second World War, started looking towards Turkey for protection rather than towards Britain, as

they traditionally did. Indeed, during the 1950s the role of the Turkish Cypriot minority came to the foreground as a perplexing factor of the *Cyprus question*.

Chapter 1 further examines the importance of the Erim report – written in November 1956 – which, as the author discusses, formed the keystone of Turkish foreign policy in the years which followed. Nihat Erim was commissioned by the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to write a report on Cyprus. In effect, Menelaou points out, the Erim report reflects Turkish geopolitical priorities and is necessary for the understanding of Turkish policy in Cyprus.

As Menelaou further shows, the Erim report was characterized, *inter alia*, by a separatist philosophy. Erim report was drafted almost concurrently with the statement of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Alan Lennox-Boyd regarding “double self-determination” which was announced on 19 December 1956 in the House of Commons. The discussion here could be strengthened more by connecting events in Cyprus with the regional circumstances. More specifically, the Suez crisis which had culminated in the autumn of 1956, elevated the importance of Turkey in the region as a potential ally of Britain. Indeed, gradually, Britain came to see Turkish friendship as an essential safeguard of her interests in the region and sought not to displease her. It is against this background that one must interpret Lennox Boyd’s statement. As Robert Holland aptly put it, at that moment the genie of partition was finally eased out of its Cypriot bottle.

Chapter 1 also throws light on the post-colonial experience of Cyprus. As Menelaou rightly points out, the establishment of an independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960 was seen by both the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus as a compromise. The chapter closes with an examination of the role of Greek Junta in the tragic 1974 events.

In Chapter 2, Menelaou discusses Ankara’s decision to invade Cyprus in 1974. By doing so he brings into the analysis the controversial role of Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States. The author argues that Kissinger was attached to “cold realism” and thus his main goal was to secure American interests against the Soviet Union. Menelaou also examines Kissinger’s policy *vis a vis* to the one pursued by Klemens von Metternich, the Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, and how both saw the Ottoman Empire and Turkey respectively as “states whose existence secured their anti-Russian interests” (p. 76). Chapter 2 further looks at how Kissinger promoted the solution of bizonality in Cyprus following the invasion of 1974. This chapter also examines the differences between a unitary state, a federation and a confederation.

The book closes with a discussion of the plans for the solution of the *Cyprus problem* which were under negotiation in the post 1974 milieu. This includes the American-British-Canadian Plan in 1978, which, as it has been suggested,

constituted an important opportunity to solve the *Cyprus problem*. The author further discusses the efforts of the UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, to negotiate on the *Cyprus problem* as well as Boutros-Ghali's "Set of Ideas". Quite naturally central to the analysis is a discussion of the Annan Plan. The author points to the fact that the Annan Plan was "rejected massively by the Greek Cypriots because it was seen as such a separatist solution" (p. 102). Indeed, as Menelaou argues, Annan Plan's dysfunctional points were not overlooked by the majority of Greek Cypriots who eventually voted against it. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots accepted the Plan because of the benefits they would enjoy after a settlement within the European Union. Finally, the book argues that the Annan Plan should be seen in conjunction with Ahmet Davutoglu's doctrine on Turkey's "strategic depth" which had an important impact on Turkey's foreign policy. Menelaou further argues that Davutoglu's doctrine reveals similarities with Erim's proposals and as such show a continuity in Ankara's policy with regards to Cyprus as both "share the same expansionist spirit" (p. 136).

The author uses both primary and secondary sources in his analysis, however the book could benefit more from further engagement at least with existing literature both as regards to the political history of the colonial Cyprus as well as its post-colonial experience. All in all, however, this is a useful study which introduces the reader to the complexities of the *Cyprus problem*.

Δημήτρης Καργιώτης. Περιστασιακή ποίηση. Δοκίμιο για την ανάδυση μιας κατηγορίας. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Gutenberg, 2021, 285 σελ. ISBN 978-960-01-2194-0.

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Στην ελληνική βιβλιογραφία των λογοτεχνικών σπουδών σπανίζουν οι μονογραφίες που προσανατολίζονται σε θεωρητικά και ειδολογικά ζητήματα. Το πρόσφατο βιβλίο του Δημήτρη Καργιώτη, καθηγητή Συγκριτικής Φιλολογίας στο Τμήμα Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων, για την περιστασιακή ποίηση καλύπτει και τις δύο παραπάνω πτυχές. Αποτελεί αξιόλογη συμβολή πέρα από τα ελληνικά δεδομένα, εφόσον και η διεθνής βιβλιογραφία για την περιστασιακότητα στη λογοτεχνία είναι εξαιρετικά περιορισμένη. Η κατηγορία της περιστασιακής ποίησης συνδέεται μ' έναν χρονικό ορίζοντα αιώνων - από την αρχαιότητα έως το παρόν - και μ' ένα μεγάλο εύρος εθνικών λογοτεχνιών που εκφράζονται σε