

**STUDENT MOVEMENTS IN GREECE REGARDING
THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
IN CYPRUS: SPRING 1956**

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INTRODUCTION

Although substantial progress has been made in the study of the Cyprus question in recent years, no comprehensive thoughts, analyses and conclusions have been drawn to the popular mobilization for the Cyprus issue in Greece, from the Summer of 1954 until the Spring of 1956. This research article aims to objectively bring light upon this very important period for the future course of the Cyprus problem. It is about examining the involvement of the student movement in political developments regarding Cyprus in 1956, rather than a detailed presentation of its history. Thus, it aspires to provide a basis for discussion of the most important factors that led students to form their movement, to become politicized, and to express their views of paramount importance to the further course of Greece and Cyprus.

This research article attempts to present a detailed analysis of the student movement in Greece regarding Cyprus. Not only the Left but also large sections of public opinion from the Right and the Center were involved in this popular debate around the Cyprus issue (Hatzivassiliou, 2005). This is of particular importance, because at the height of the popular uprisings in May 1956, slogans surfaced, calling for Greece exiting NATO and the “Athens – Belgrade – Cairo” axis were insisted upon (Out of NATO, 1956). Additionally, public slogans demanded the break-up of relations with the West, the adoption of a neutral foreign policy and becoming part of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) (Hatzivassiliou, 2005). The majority of the public opinion indicated that the national interests of Greece were not met in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that those previously seen as the protectors from the

“Communist threat” had become, for the Greek public, the opponents of the international rights of Hellenism.

In addition, there will be an attempt to present the opinion makers on the basis of their influence in creating the student movement. An essential prerequisite is the understanding of their role and how they succeeded in influencing popular mobilization and even pushing this to extremes in the Spring of 1956. This research article also raises a number of questions, in the 1950s, the British by their statements and actions, profoundly offended the Greek public, as well as its creators. But were the statements of the British officials just enough to bolster the student movement? Where did the students' slogans come from? What were the arguments for a confrontational stance with Great Britain? What was the role of the press in 1956? Additionally, the research article will highlight the role of the Left and its attempt to exploit the student movement and express its opposition and anti-Western policy and also, when the students' slogans became more radical, militant and aggressive and if the dynamics of the students' movement reached the point of even affecting or shaping the international position of Greece in post-war relations.

It is clear that the research article attempts to provide answers to these questions as well as to others that arose in the course of writing. The paper does not provide an in-depth analysis of the various events that affected the course of the Cyprus problem in the period 1954 - 1956, but attempts to present how these events led the public to demonstrations in Athens and other cities in Greece. Moreover, this research article will not be a descriptive analysis of the rallies that shocked Greece and culminated in the first months of 1956, but the perceptions, articles, opinions, and even dynamics that determined the formation of the student movement.

In addition, the research article will examine the historical events that occurred in the Spring of 1956 and radicalized the students' movement. The capture and displacement of Archbishop Makarios, March 1956, a dynamic development (Hadjidimitriou, 2005), with explosive effects in Greece, concerns a period preceding the hangings; and the effects of displacement and hanging are partly identifiable and had a large impact on internal political developments in Greece itself. In addition, the research article will not attempt to present the fate of Michalis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou, two young EOKA fighters whose condemnation influenced developments after the displacement of Makarios and defined the intensity, slogans and militancy of the populace (Hatzivassiliou, 2005).

As mentioned above, this research article will not present the events that influenced the course of the Cyprus issue in the years 1954 and 1955. This of course presupposes that the reader is aware of the facts so that they can understand the course of the student movement. A key source for the writing of this work was the press of 1956, which was an important source of information on events, thereby contributing to the commentary representing the social climate, atmosphere, and conditions under which the student rallies took place. Due to the absence of a comprehensive study of the student movement, the press was the main source of information, and the search for articles revealed thoughts, analyses, and ideologies that influenced and even radicalised the movement. At the same time, extensive research within literature was needed, for a more objective approach to the events of the period under consideration, as well as a discussion with many individuals that took part in the mobilizations of 1956. These, "students" assisted in allowing the public to gain a better understanding of their experiences that transformed the student movement of the time.

Cyprus is geographically located in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea and this geographical position always had great importance in shaping the island's history and its inhabitant's lives (Hadjidimitriou, 2005). Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, just after Sicily and Sardinia of Italy, with a population of 800,000 inhabitants, as it was estimated in July, 2008 (Pashiardis, 2004). Cyprus' continued historical and cultural tradition interacts with recent political and economic commitments in regard to its recent entrance to the European Union in 2004 (MoEC, 2003). Historically, Cyprus has had an adventurous history, mainly because of its geographical position at the juncture of three continents. More precisely, Cyprus survived the Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian empires and it also overcame the rule of Alexander the Great and the Romans in the Ancient world (Hadjidimitriou, 2005). Cyprus has been conquered by powers that dominated the eastern Mediterranean at various periods, but at the same time, it has managed to assimilate various cultural influences through its multifaceted interaction with neighbouring countries. As a result, this small, modern European state has developed its own unique character, harmoniously blending various civilizations (Republic of Cyprus, 2011). Additionally, Cyprus was the Eastern border of the Byzantine, Frankish and Venetian medieval empires (Persianis, 2010). In the last four centuries, Cyprus was conquered by the Ottoman Turks (1571- 1870) and then passed to the British Empire (1878-1960) which declared Cyprus a British colony in 1925 and ruled the island until 1960, when it became an independent republic (Papadakis, 2008). The recent history of Cyprus has been marked by multiple conflicts and foreign interventions, which provided the socio-political context of the island. The independence of Cyprus came after the EOKA struggle (1955-59) against the British colonial rulers, specifically through the struggle, of three hundred militants with the active or passive support of all the Greek

Cypriots except the left-wing party members of AKEL, who aimed to unite Cyprus with motherland Greece and achieve *enosis*, the political union with Greece, but it failed and independence was chosen (Hatzivassiliou, 2005). In 1960, Cyprus was declared an independent state, and named the Republic of Cyprus whose population was 80% Greek Cypriots, 18% Turkish Cypriots and 2% Armenians, Latins and others (Hadjidimitriou, 2005). The solution of independence failed to satisfy the expectations of the Greek majority who aimed for *enosis* with the cultural motherland Greece and the Turkish minority that demanded *taksim*, partition of the island. Both ethnic groups continued to pursue their national objectives and in 1963 intercommunal conflicts broke out. These conflicts continued periodically until 1967 when a new conflict amongst the Greek and Turkish Cypriots broke out (Hadjidimitriou, 2005). With the rise to power of the Greek military government in 1967 the Greek Cypriot leadership gradually abandoned the objective of *enosis* and sought to safeguard the independence of the Republic of Cyprus (Hatzivassiliou, 2005). With the support of the Greek military government (Junta), that attempted to dictate policies in Cyprus, a small group of right-wing extremists named EOKA B staged a coup on the 15th July 1974, against the island's President, Archbishop Makarios III with the purpose of bringing about the union with the motherland, Greece (Papadakis, 2008). On the 20th July 1974, Turkey invaded the island and occupied approximately 37% of the total territory of the Republic and nearly 200,000 Greek Cypriots were displaced from the northern, Turkish occupied areas of the island, to the south that was controlled by the Republic of Cyprus. An estimated 45,000 Turkish Cypriots were also displaced to the northern side. Greek Cypriots suffered the most in terms of casualties, people killed, or declared missing and all other social traumas of war and dislocation. All this and most of all the consequences of the Turkish invasion, influenced every part of life in Cyprus,

especially the economy, the educational system, and the society (Persianis, 2010). After the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the old Greek Cypriot ideal of *enosis*, the political union with Greece, collapsed. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot authorities unilaterally declared their own state, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which has since been internationally recognized only by Turkey (Papadakis, 2008). In 1990, Cyprus applied for membership to the European Union and declared the European principles as part of its formal education. In 2004 Cyprus entered the European Union and in 2008 it introduced the Euro as its national currency.

CHAPTER 1

THE “UNBRIDGEABLE DIVISION” BETWEEN GREECE AND GREAT BRITAIN, SPRING 1956

On 19 February 1956, K. Karamanlis, the Greek Prime Minister, remained in power after the most inconclusive elections in post-war history in Greece, as his new political formation, the National Radical Union - ERE, gained more seats but fewer votes in the elections against the Democratic Union, the coalition of the opposition parties (Nikolakopoulos, 2001). At the same time, negotiations were under way to resolve the Cyprus issue between Archbishop Makarios and the new British Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding. The negotiations had begun on October 4, 1955 and had largely proceeded positively. In late February, however, the deadlock was clear and the definitive rift between the two sides came after Makarios met with the British Colonial Minister A. Lennox - Boyd on 29 February 1956 (Tzermias, 2001).

In the days that followed, both sides made harsh statements regarding the responsibility for the failure of the negotiations (Averof, 1981). The British Colonial Minister Lennox – Boyd, blamed Archbishop Makarios solely for the collapse of the negotiations, while the Cypriot leader, without consulting the Greek government, made harsh statements, to foreign and Greek journalists, blaming the British for the breakdown of the talks (Cyprus Under Revolt, 1956). The British surge of anger in Cyprus was also contributed to the wave of bomb attacks on The English School, police stations and patrol cars, which resulted in the death of a Briton and the serious injury of four others.

The British government, in this hostile and mutually distrustful atmosphere, on March 9, 1956, arrested and displaced Makarios and three of his closest associates, to the island of Seychelles. This may have been motivated by the idea that with Makarios' disappearance from the political scene, EOKA's neutralization would soon be achieved (Averof, 1981). On the contrary, the displacement of Makarios caused new intensity of EOKA's activities on the island, as well as new tough countermeasures by the colonial administration.

In Greece, the displacement of Makarios, sparked public outrage, which, with the student youth at the forefront, erupted against any building or company of British interest. Athens, Thessaloniki, and other big cities were overwhelmed by extreme and violent demonstrations, with dozens injured and numerous arrests. At the same time, the British side, ignoring the consequences of Makarios' displacement in Greece, decided to hang two young members of EOKA on May 10, 1956, further aggravating public opinion and "poisoning" English-Greek relations.

SHOCK AT THE DISPLACEMENT OF MAKARIOS BY THE BRITISH

After the collapse of the Makarios – Harding talks, the Athenian press adopted a tougher line and blamed British intolerance for the deadlock. The major change came in the days that followed 9 March 1956. On that day, Archbishop Makarios was scheduled to officially visit Athens, Greece. The Archbishop's visit was planned to reassure him of Greece's support towards the Cyprus issue and highlight the Greek government's full support for the Cypriot struggle. At the same time, a government message was published in the press, which banned all organised public rallies and that

Makarios would be welcomed only at the airport. Additionally, the police prevented any concentration of students at the Propylaea of the University of Athens.

On the afternoon of March 9, the Hellenic Airport was inundated with delegations of workers, officials, students and other organized groups who were waiting for Makarios (Waiting for Makarios, 1956). Shortly before the Archbishop's departure and his journey from the airport of Lefkosia to Athens, however the English forces arrested and displaced him (Makarios has been Arrested, 1956). The news of the arrest of Makarios, the Bishop of Kyrenia Kyprianos, the priest Stavros Papagathangelos and the journalist Polycarpos Ioannides became immediately known and circulated in Athens and the rest of Greece through the newspapers.

Immediately the newspaper sellers were besieged by the citizens, who were stunned by the newspapers' headlines announcing Makarios's arrest. Dense groups of citizens immediately flocked to the scene with resentment, while other groups flooded the newspaper offices to learn details. At the same time, powerful police forces were deployed on the main streets to occupy positions and protect the embassies of Britain and the United States and also the hotels of "Grande Bretagne" and "King George" to prevent possible attacks by the outraged crowd (Makarios has been Arrested, 1956).

The situation at the airport with the outraged students was explosive. Thousands of students who were waiting to welcome Makarios, began rallying against the English and began shouting: "Nothing English will stand up in Greece," "Death to the English," "Greece for Greece," "Curse the English" and there was a general consensus seeking the "revenge" for the "provocative" action of the ally (Makarios has been Arrested, 1956). In Athens, the anti-British sentiment was particularly intense and the tones had risen dangerously. The police did not allow the buses, which were taking students from the airport, to pass Hadrian's Gate towards the Thisseo. There, however, the student youth staged a massive demonstration and, after crossing Theseus Square and Ermou Street, reached Syntagma Square. The demonstration

grew in numbers, and about 5,000 young protestors took to the streets shouting anti-British slogans. Late in the afternoon they gathered at the Propylaea of the University where they shouted the slogans: “Enosis,” “Long live Makarios,” “Death to the English,” “At the (British) Embassy.” A group of about 100 students managed to reach the Army Joint Fund building, where they shouted anti-American slogans. However, the bulk of the student body of about 2,500 people headed for Omonoia square. There, they forced the drivers of the passing cars to rhythmically toot their horns to the slogan “Eno - sis ... Eno – sis.” The anti-British stance of the students also turned against a group of foreigners considered to be British, as well as against American military personnel. The demonstration broke up late at night (Conflicts in Athens, 1956).

In addition, to the demonstrations in the centre of Athens, the student voted protests were also a major event. The University of Athens’ Association of Students Committees (DESPA) declared a permanent strike on the courses and supported the students' decision to fight against the “ridiculous English imperialists” and for the liberation of Cyprus. They strongly protested the “uncharacteristic” act of Makarios' abduction and presented it as a result of “the betrayal of the ideal of freedom and strangulation of fundamental rights” that the Cypriot people believed in and will continue to fight for (University of Athens and Demonstrations, 1956). The students of the British Institute, after the events of December 1954 and their clash with other students, because they did not attend an event in favour of Cyprus, emphasized in their announcement that they immediately left their classrooms and were informed of the arrest and abduction of the Cypriot leader. At the same time, the Ministry of Education of Greece, suspended the teaching of English in all educational institutions (Government changes regarding English, 1956).

In response, to the explosive atmosphere and the lack of any warning about an action that endangered its very existence (Holland, 1998), the Greek government reacted immediately and rapidly. The government of Greece announced that in protest against the arrest and deportation of Makarios and his associates, it immediately withdrew the Greek ambassador from London, ordered a new appeal for Cyprus to the United Nations (UN), and also ordered its Permanent Representative at the United Nations to strongly protest against Britain's actions to the UN Security Council. At the same time, the government also announced its approval to hold a rally on the afternoon of Monday 12 March, following a proposal by the Panhellenic Committee for Union with Cyprus (Developments regarding Makarios, 1956).

The reactions of the opposition parties of Greece to the arrest and displacement of the Cypriot leader were also intense. The leader of the Liberal Party (Phileleftheroi) G. Papandreou highlighted the suffering and indignation of the entire nation over this act of "brutal violence" and accused the government that, although before the elections they were claiming that the Cypriot issue was coming to fruition, they were now being humiliated, because while they were waiting for Makarios at the airport they were informed of his arrest and abduction. The President of the United Democratic Left (EDA) I. Pasalides called for Greece to exit NATO, reiterating the incompatibility of Greek-Western interests, and also demanding the immediate removal of the "bankrupt" government of "national disasters," and the formation of a transitional government of mutual respect and trust. The leader of the Democratic Party, G. Kartalis, underlined that the English had mortally wounded the Greek – English relations, and that this act indicated the English government's panic "in the last stages of their condemned struggle, in which they were currently pursuing to protect the remains of its collapsing colonial policy." The People's Party cited the repeated

failures of government's policy on the Cyprus issue, while the spokesman of the Liberal Democratic Union Party, on behalf of the absent leader I. Politis, emphasized that the historical moment was critical and it was imperative that everyone should take responsibility both inside and outside Greece (Political Parties and the Abduction of Makarios, 1956). Therefore, at this critical moment, the opposition, instead of contributing towards national unity and attempting to overcome the impasse in which the Cyprus problem had reached, they further exacerbated the internal political conflict and presented the government of K. Karamanlis, as indirectly responsible for the arrest and displacement of Makarios.

In addition, the Senate of the University of Athens, in a stern announcement it issued, vituperated London's "offensive" energy, raising even more the anti-British sentiment. The University denounced to the United Nations and the spiritual institutions of all civilized people, the "cynical" behaviour of a "civilized Christian state towards the leader and members of one of the earliest Christian churches, whose only crime was to plead for the freedom of their country." Even more aggressive was the tone they used against the British people, because "this barbaric and self-sacrificing medieval act caused a major blow to the spiritual relations of the Greek Nation" (University of Athens, 1956). At the same time, things started to change after the University of Athens public stance. All moderate voices had disappeared, and in one sense, the rhetoric against Britain by the leading Hellenic foundation may have contributed to, by the culmination of the student movement's reactions after the displacement of Makarios.

The Athenian press appeared to be stunned by this British action. The unexpected arrest and displacement of a religious leader profoundly offended the

Greek press, part of which caused numerous problems to the Karamanlis' government.

Estia spoke of a "retreat outcome" and noted that:

The policy of retreats against our so-called "great friends" is fatal with regards of the intended result. Instead of peace, it achieves national humiliation and, from humiliation to humiliation, it provokes sudden reactions, leading directly to a national disaster. Only the People, freely expressing their will, can give a government capable of dealing with the situation and rescuing Greece, which is already on the brink of disaster (Retreat Outcome, 1956).

However, in a new article, *Estia* tried to lower the aggressive tones by highlighting actions which the Cypriot issue had been revealed, from the difficult position it had found itself in after the capture and displacement of Makarios, and also stressed that the fight would be "rough," but the Greeks and Cypriots "had to" win if they showed prudence, seriousness, courage and above all dignity (Just the Truth About the Cyprus Issue: The System Needs to Become More Serious, 1956).

In the case of *Avgi*, other factors also played a major role. The article, entitled "The gangster arrest of Makarios. The Nation in Rebellion" launched a brutal attack on the British from the very first moment for their action against Makarios and demanded Greece's exit from NATO, as well as the creation of an axis with Belgrade and Cairo. At the same time, they adhered the government policy and emphasized that: "The faulty, the one-sided slavery of our national policy enslaved Greece and exposed it to the repeated attacks of the vicious Anglo-Americans and their mercenaries, the Turks." "National salvation," they continued, was in the process of adopting a "national independence" policy (Out of NATO, 1956). The following day, the United Democratic Left's newspaper, continued with the same high oppositional tones, criticizing Karamanlis' government for its "lazy" attitude towards Makarios' abduction and demanded "the immediate recall of the Greek ambassador from London,

not just simple protests at the Security Council. But, call for an IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION of the UN Security Council!” (Mistakes, 1956).

Eleftheria, the opposition newspaper, was deeply offended by the abduction of Makarios. On March 10, it presented Makarios' displacement under the heading “Makarios has been Arrested,” and underlined that the arrest and exile of the Cypriot leader came “to behead the Cypriot people's liberation movement.” The newspaper continued, stressing that the liberation movement would not be left headless and that new leaders would be found holding the “flag of battle” high.

The heart of the Cypriots will not be disturbed by the kidnapping of their national leader. They will continue their hard-fought struggle, that they have begun and will not be bent [...] All responsibility lies on the shoulders of their political leadership, who must not let the island's oppressing forces win time. Additionally, the time for the struggle above all has come (The Struggle Above All, 1956).

The following day, in a major article, the Centre's newspaper stressed that the Cyprus issue needed a “radical” change in its strategy and severely accused the Karamanlis’ government of “concession” and “hypocritical offerings” when handling the Cypriot case (National Union, 1956). At the same time, the newspaper aimed its fire against the Athens radio station, describing it as “disgusting” because it wanted to show objectivity at that time and did not “embellish” the story about the British act (Free, 1956). In its subsequent articles, *Eleftheria* raised even more the oppositional tone, accusing the government of “treason” (Ta Matzounia, 1956), and also K. Mitsotakis, Chania MP and former Minister, in a column, very harshly condemned the policy of “conciliation” and “moderation” followed by the Karamanlis’ government while handling the Cyprus issue. According to the former Minister, this attitude contributed to the deterioration of the English and the displacement of Makarios (Mitsotakis, 1956).

From the government press, *Vima* was also aggressive and vituperated the British action against Makarios and warned London that the “triumph” of Colonel Harding would turn into “A SOURCE OF NEW INSPIRATION” for the Cypriot fighters (The Triumph of the Struggle will become a Source of Inspiration, 1956). However, the following day, in a new main article, *Vima* warned that the English-Greek relations were progressively moving from “bad” to “worse” because of the British attitude and in a particularly aggressive tone demanded that the government: “be prepared to harm the interests of Great Britain in the way that they have harmed ours, or if not in a greater way” (Feelings of Hatred and Discontent, 1956).

The intensity of this article can to some extent be justified. The displacement of a religious leader struggling to justify his people's struggles deeply offended the majority of the Greek public opinion. The aggressive tone was also reinforced by the attitudes of many spiritual people through the columns of the newspaper. G. Fteris described the attempt against Makarios as an “attempted murder” and compared the events of the arrest of the Cypriot leader to Gracchi's “sneaky” and “deceitful” way of acting before the Italian invasion of 1940 (Fteris, 1956). P. Paleologos, addressed all Greeks, asking them not to forget the “unholy” British actions of the past, which led to the national division and the civil war, because: “without moderation, without memory, without passionate judgments, we give in to deadly hates or passionate love affairs” (Paleologos, 1956).

Additionally, the main articles of the newspaper *Kathimerini* are also of great importance. On March 10, the newspaper's first reaction appeared: “With yesterday's cynical action against the Cypriot National Leader Makarios, the Bishop of Kyrenia and other leaders, the English have removed the last traces of hypocrisy, which guided their policy regarding the Cyprus issue up until today” (Towards Eternal Disgrace,

1956). With this action, according to another article of the newspaper, “England sought to overthrow the government of Athens!” (Internally, 1956). The intensity of the anti-British and anti-Ally tone peaked on the next day's front page with another extreme article of the Right-wing flagship newspaper.

Greece is now by default obliged to overhaul its entire system of foreign relations in the light of the creation of a new reality [...] The foreign policy of Greece must be carved with a realistic approach of the national interests and with a distance from the bi-polar powers [...] Greece will be a landlocked country for these two forces [USA, Great Britain] and will persist in this position, because it has been obliged to detain it (The Consequences, 1956).

The intensity of the articles in the Athenian press at the beginning of March showed an explosive situation. The Athenian press, with a sense of unyielding insult, shown by the criticism of all the newspapers, severely denounced the arrest and displacement of Makarios. It attacked this “brutal” British action and demanded the country's immediate exit from NATO, while *Avgi*, with a more aggressive anti-Ally stance, demanded a union with Belgrade and Cairo. In addition, the opposition press in a particularly sharp manner condemned the government of K. Karamanlis, which it considered responsible for the impasse on the Cyprus issue. The calls of the government press for support or at least moderation in domestic politics had not been heard. In the following days, the “battle” for the Greek public opinion would lead to a clash of internal controversy by using the unpredictable, in its actions, student movements.

THE BLOODY EVENTS OF MARCH, 1956

In the atmosphere created by these explosive news articles, on March 10, mass student anti-British events took place all over Greece. On that day, despite a

government ban, more than 2000 students, having previously dropped out of classes in protest against Makarios' arrest, gathered at the Propylaea of the University of Athens, with the support and active involvement of the Rector of the University of Athens Mr. Bratsiotis. In addition, at the Propylaea, the former Rector of the University of Athens, A. Daskalakis, addressed the students with anti-British rhetoric. Daskalakis urged the students to hold the flag of freedom for the enslaved Cypriots high and in an extremely aggressive tone demanded the immediate expulsion of the British ambassador from Greece. His speech urged the public to attack British interest buildings in Athens (Hatzivassiliou, 2005). The students then heard the anti-British speech of the Rector P. Bratsiotis, burned a British flag and holding the banner of the University went to the Monument of the Unknown Soldier, where they chanted "Down with the British," "Liberate Makarios," "Peak out of Greece," "Weapons to EOKA," "English – Nazis" and "Aden – Hitler."

At the end of the event, the outraged students, motivated by the intense speech of A. Daskalakis, destroyed any target that reminded them of England.

A large group of people found themselves in front of the Grande Bretagne Hotel and were so happy that the hotel's sign was immediately lowered. At first they were shouting: "Down with the sign," but because their claim was not being met, they started throwing sour oranges and stones cut from the saplings of Syntagma Square towards the windows of the hotel, and also formed a committee that requested to enter the hotel [...] Employees of the hotel rushed to cover with many Greek flags the provocative inscription which they slowly withdrew [...] A strong police force protected the sealed English Institute, which, was stoned, but was not damaged, unlike the BEA airline front window, which was smashed by the demonstrators; who also destroyed the Greek art shop 'Abrokat', which they thought was English. Other protesters, who gathered at Syntagma Square, after smashing the front window of the hotel, insisted that the inscription of the hotel 'New England' be lowered immediately and destroyed.

In addition, the furious students lowered and destroyed the inscription of the insurance offices of "Palli" and also the one of the English Insurance Company,

“Union,” while shouting: “Karamanlis responded like a Greek,” “Makarios come back immediately,” “Americans, help us or leave,” and “Out of NATO.” The student movement, was distracted by the harsh tone used by public opinion makers the previous day, reacted violently with a hail of stones in the attempt of the police to control them, and turned Athens into a battlefield. The clashes with the police, which began in the morning, ended late in the afternoon, with 17 protesters and 9 police wounded (Athens turned into a battlefield, 1956).

On the same day, much more serious incidents took place in Thessaloniki and Heraklion, Crete. The Macedonian capital was transformed into a field of ferocious street fighting among thousands of protesting students who, after succeeding in dismantling the successive zones of gendarmerie, were confronted by police and military forces. Due to the clashes, dozens of students, guards and police were taken to hospital for injuries. The brutality of the clashes was largely due to the fanaticism shown by the students, but also to the way in which the Thessaloniki authorities tried to impose order. The intensity of the clashes is particularly evident from the traumatic brain injury of two students who were run over by an armored vehicle. Of great importance, however, were the announcements made by the Senate of the University of Thessaloniki and the Student Educational Union on the incidents. They noted in a very aggressive tone that: they demanded severe punishment of the police forces, who violated the university campus, abused the Dean of the Theological School, beat the students with clubs, without the right or permission to enter the University (Violent Clashes in Thessaloniki, 1956).

However, in Heraklion, Crete, 7,000 students organized an intense rally. Protesters marched towards the English consulate and after breaking the police

protective zone, they stormed into it. The young students, after destroying everything, threw out of the windows furniture, papers, shelves and pictures. The total destruction of the consulate was not prevented by the shootings in the air by the police and the water thrown by fire pumps towards the outraged students, by the firemen (Linardatos, 1978).

Consequently, any criticism of Makarios' displacement at the European level was naturally not as intense as the hostility that was declared in an extreme way in Greece (Holland, 1998). The outbreak of mass passion in mid-March was a combination of several elements: the failure of the Makarios – Harding negotiations, the harsh approach of the Athenian press against the British, the horrific attack of the press after the displacement of Makarios, the attempt to implement a policy of repression against EOKA in Cyprus but also the aggressive attitude of the University of Athens; led the students to extreme reactions. This growing rhetoric aggravated the climate in Greece with unforeseen consequences.

The government in Athens, in the wake of the tumultuous anti-British protests of the previous days and fearing that the March 12 rally would be deflected, decided at the last minute to abolish it. Thus, on the 12 of the month, Athens resembled a military city due to the ‘draconian measures’ that had been taken. Army divisions were called in to reinforce the police task force and armored guards had captured strategic points in the capital. Triple rows of barbed wire were placed in front of the embassies of the United States, Great Britain and Turkey. These measures, even before the rally was officially banned, created a climate of nervousness and anxiety, which was intensified with the circulation of the afternoon newspapers. Most noticeable was the discontent amongst the student youth, who had abandoned their

lessons in the morning and rallied against Britain on the streets and neighborhoods of Athens. In the fierce clashes that erupted between police and protesters, 77 people were injured and 120 were arrested (And the Blood Flowed..., 1956).

In Thessaloniki, after the rally was banned, Lieutenant General D. Serirakis, commander of the 3rd Army Corps, was called upon to maintain the lawful order. The emergency measures by both the police and the army, as well as the installation of police and military forces in strategic areas of the city, eventually prevented the students from attempting a rally (The abolition of the rally, 1956).

The banning of the rally was strongly condemned by the opposition parties, who raised the anti-British tones even more. The leader of the Liberal Party emphasized that: "Only an Occupation Government could prohibit the Greek people from expressing their feelings of indignation," while at the same length I. Pasalides stated that the government that banned the nationwide rallies had managed to contradict with the "patriotic feelings" of the people. The leader of the Liberal Democratic Union stated that the rally's cancellation was sad and nationally damaging, and stressed that the government could have avoided its cancellation if it had accepted it to take place at a designated fenced-in area, as the Sofoulis government had done in the past. At the same time, the Democratic Party leader G. Kartalis questioned the ability of the "minority" government to handle the crisis, which is afraid of the people and reacts in such a way (All against Karamanlis government, 1956).

However, in response to criticism from the opposition, the Karamanlis administration emphasized the existence of miss cross-information that the illegal KKE (Communist Party of Greece) party's mechanism had enabled and was seeking to exploit the rally politically and create a chaotic state. Therefore, in view of these

facts, the Government considered it appropriate to inform the Archbishop of Athens, Spyridon and the President of the Panhellenic Committee for Union with Cyprus, who, assessing the risks and canceled the rally (KKE – To Exploit the Rally, 1956).

Avgi intensely criticized the government's decision to ban the demonstration. The newspaper accused the government of being a subject to British pressure and noted that the Karamanlis government, in its effort not to clash with the anti-British sentiment of the people, claimed that “instruments of hostile pursuit had decided to cause terrorist attacks.” With regards to the rally, the United Democratic Left’s newspaper published extensive news and did not hesitate to compare it with the British colonial regime in Cyprus: “Red priests in Cyprus. Anarchist Communists in Greece. English settlers there, Karamanlis ‘Greek’ government here” (The Red Priest, 1956).

Additionally, in another major article, the newspaper presented the police's attempt to disperse any student gatherings after the rally was banned. According to the article, the police, after preventively arresting some of the leaders of DESPA, led them to the Minister of Presidency K. Tsatsos. There, they were informed of the abolition of the rally. The students then met with the Prime Minister, who told them that the government had: “Information that subversive elements were going to create a turmoil” (Riots, 1956). A Cypriot student, as a representative of all students, stressed to the Prime Minister that the Cypriot students were not satisfied with the government's policy regarding the Cyprus issue. He put forward maximalist positions in the presence of the Prime Minister and called for an immediate written complaint to the British Foreign Office and for the repatriation of Makarios and the rest of the Cypriot fighters. The student also, requested for an immediate appeal to the Security Council and a systematic financial war against any English products. He urged K. Karamanlis

to go to Washington and get explanations from the State Department if its policy served “English imperialism” and to ask if Greece's position in NATO and the Western alliance would lead to a positive result. He instructed the Prime Minister to denounce the Balkan Alliance and to contribute to a new Belgrade-Athens-Cairo-New Delhi axis agreement (Riots, 1956). *Avgi*'s article is being reviewed for its validity and reliability, as the research has not confirmed the newspaper's allegations. Perhaps through this article, *Avgi*, wanted to highlight the anti-Western positions of the UDL, as positions of Cypriot students, and to identify its own anti-NATO slogans with the growing anti-Western sentiment of the Greek people. However, *Avgi*, through its articles wanted to stress that despite the ban on the rally, the people took to the streets of Athens and “condemned the Karamanlis Government” (Riots, 1956).

In the following days, part of the Press called on the youth for restraint. Spyros Melas posed the question through a publishing feature in *Estia*: “This British-Cypriot war [...] has become a Greek versus Greek ...” and “what kind of hatred is this against the English who damage Greek stores?” (Frustration, 1956).

Kathimerini, noted, in a more aggressive tone, that students in their demonstrations were in favor of Cyprus:

They scraped the boards off the piles and picked up the stones, always attacking whatever vehicle they came across, always destroying Greek showcases, always damaging innocent traders, always leaving an account of damages that they were not going to pay [...] They could have passed holding Greek flags and singing, they could have passed with their heads high, without stones, without scarves, without razors, they could have passed like soldiers, and those who did not start with them, would watch them with admiration and emotion. Now one finds with bitterness that the voices and the slogans resemble those presented at the political gatherings of the Popular Front (Under the control of UDL, 1956), “Down with the Americans”, “Leave NATO” (The Rally, 1956).

Certainly, the attitude of the British towards the Cypriots with the capture and displacement of Makarios, offended the Greek public opinion and especially its most militant part, the young students. But the “attacks” on British interest buildings had surpassed the limit, even a few months after the bloody episodes of Patras. The students of DESPA, in addition to their extreme reactions on the streets of Athens, demanded in a telegram, that the United States take a clear position on the “kidnapping” of Makarios and to radically review their policy on the Cyprus issue, because otherwise, Greece could “cease” being their ally! In addition, they expressed their indignation to the British ambassador for his government's “anti-Greek” policy on the Cyprus issue and urged him to leave Greece (Leave Greece Immediately, 1956), and also strongly protested against the Karamanlis government for the reopening of the “British propaganda” institute, when in Cyprus the Greek schools remained closed (Slaughter and Insolence, 1956). The growing rhetoric and aggressive attitudes of the student movement further aggravated the situation with unpredictable consequences.

In addition, King Paul's public appeal for peace and the US Ambassador C. Cannon's statement on “the sympathy and interest shown by the United States Government in recent events in Cyprus” were considered to have somewhat normalized the explosive atmosphere of the Greek capital. At the same time, Anglo-American relations did not remain unaffected by Makarios' displacement, saving Karamanlis' government from difficult situations. Washington -relieved of Karamanlis's electoral victory, as the leaders of the opposition, had spoken of an “equal friendship” foreign policy amongst the East and West coalitions- (Hatzivassiliou, 2000) was informed of the “removal” of the Cypriot leader through news releases and faced the Archbishop's displacement negatively, sparking London's outrage. Even in this case, the US, in pursuit of its overall strategic interests and in favor of the

imperative needs of the Atlantic Alliance in the Eastern Mediterranean, did not hesitate to oppose British policy.

Ultimately, the rise of the rhetoric on the domestic front was caused not only by the actions of the British in Cyprus, but also by the attitude of the United States, which received widespread publicity. Of particular interest is Kathimerini's stance, which, after minimizing its anti-Alliance tone of the previous days, opened up towards the United States, believing that it would be impossible to reach Britain.

Washington had not only been unaware of the English decision to displace Makarios, but also condemned the move unconditionally, while advocated the resumption of the negotiations on the basis of the principles of self-determination, which will essentially lead to self-government (The American Statement, 1956).

On the other hand, the newspaper of the Left criticized the US ambassador's statement, which it described as “disgusting” for revealing the Karamanlis government's “foreign policy” and once again stated the anti-Greek mania of the “allies and friends” (New message from Dulles, 1956). The newspaper continued, in a new article in its headline, to accuse the government of using “Hitler’s” methods to arrest and deport thirty-five “licensed exiles” as a purely intimidating action against the Left, because it had politically taken advantage of the anti-alliance atmosphere, that had been created by the events in Cyprus (‘Hitler’s’ methods against the Left, 1956). The vicious cycle of internal confrontation continued with unpredictable consequences, for the unity of the domestic front, just a few weeks before the hanging of the two young EOKA fighters.

“KARAMANLIS DISMISS THEOTOKIS”

The displacement of Archbishop Makarios and the general policy of Karamanlis' government on the Cyprus issue fueled a growing outcry of discomfort against the Foreign Minister Spyros Theotokis for failing to exert effective pressure on the British government. It was clear that the Greek anti-government political parties were fiercely opposing Theotokis as a substitute for their real target, K. Karamanlis, for slipping away from claiming the *enosis* with Greece (Holland, 1998).

Thus, on April 13, G. Papandreou publicized a telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs that was sent to the Greek Embassy in Paris, dated November 21, 1955, to inform the King of the “formula” that was going to lead to the solution of the Cyprus issue. The president of the Liberal Party accused Theotokis of working with his British counterpart, H. Macmillan, “to formulate the proposals put forward by General Harding on 21 November.” S. Theotokis criticized the opposition for distorting the telegram, while the government handed over Theotokis's telegram to the Greek General Consul in Cyprus, A. Pappas, urged Makarios to reject Harding's proposals if they were not satisfactory “always counting on the full support of the [Greek] Government” (Linardatos, 1978).

The day before the debate in the Greek Parliament on the proposal of no confidence (21 – 24 April 1956) put forward by the opposition, the Ethnarchy of Cyprus also publicly expressed a lack of confidence in the face of the Greek Foreign Minister. The Bishop of Kition (Larnaka) Anthimos, acting Ethnarch due to Makarios' displacement, demanded Theotokis's removal from the Foreign Ministry because of his policy on the Cyprus issue. He also stated that the resignation of Theotokis would be a “great service” to Cyprus. The negative atmosphere against Theotokis was further

reinforced by the revelations of the Cypriot newspaper *Ethnos*. In a front-page article, it revealed that Theotokis “does not enjoy the confidence of the Cypriots” and that Makarios had, before his arrest, recommended to Karamanlis in a telephone conversation to replace his foreign minister (Replace Theotokis, 1956).

This information and the Cypriot newspaper's comments were combined with the revelations made by the leader of the People's Party. Tsaldaris informed the King that he was aware of a message by Digenis to a non-political person. In this message, Archbishop Makarios, upon his arrival to Athens, would have demanded the immediate resignation of the foreign minister. At the same time, Makarios's letter to the National Radical Union's MP and adviser of the Archbishop Savvas Loizidis was revealed, stating that the suggestion of the Ethnarchy of not including Theotokis in the Karamanlis post-election government did not receive proper attention (Replace Theotokis, 1956).

The Greek prime minister, K. Karamanlis, commenting on the articles of the Cypriot newspaper *Ethnos*, noted that there had never been any disagreements with Makarios, neither for individuals, nor for the handling of the Cyprus issue. On the other hand, G. Papandreou, wishing to fuel the debate even more, described the Cypriot newspaper report as a “significant event,” while G. Kartalis stressed that: “These revelations, following the discussions in the Parliament, have established the belief that the Greek government has been on the verge of closing down the Cyprus issue for some time” (Closing the Cyprus Issue, 1956)

Additionally, on the same day, April 20, 1956, the advisor of the Ethnarchy B. Makrides, through the columns of the Cypriot newspaper *Ethnos*, further reinforcing

the opposition's attack on the Karamanlis government, demanded the immediate removal of S. Theotokis from the foreign ministry.

We can only express our satisfaction, because the replacement of Mr. Theotokis has become immediate. Additionally, we are not going to stop the fight against the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is essentially a Cyprus Ministry, until it will be represented by an entrusted and suitable person. We do not wish for this matter to be exploited by the political parties. We ask the Opposition to rise to the occasion and not try to derive partial profits from it. This should help Mr. Karamanlis to easily solve the problem. The target is not Mr. Karamanlis, but Mr. Theotokis, and if the prime minister fails to dismiss his foreign minister he might be also dragged into the gap. Despite our appreciation for K. Karamanlis, we prefer the government to collapse, rather than Sp. Theotokis to remain in the Foreign Ministry (Makrides, 1956)

It is quite indicative, that at that time, a serious discord had been created between Athens and Nicosia. The situation was even more aggravated when, on April 24, the Ethnarchy issued “a new violent attack on Mr. Theotokis at the same time when the cabinet was unanimously taking the decision to declare solidarity with the foreign minister that was under resignation.” This brutal assault of the Ethnarchy against Sp. Theotokis continued during the meeting of the advisors of the Ethnarchy in Athens with the Greek prime minister. The Ethnarchy councils demanded the immediate replacement of Theotokis because “there was an emotional distance between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the people of Cyprus due to the lack of a competitive spirit in handling the Cyprus issue.” At the same time, the Ethnarchy advisor Savvas Loizides pointed out that the members of the Athenian echelon disagreed on how the matter of Theotokis was raised, but felt they had an obligation:

Taking into consideration the conditions in Cyprus and the emotions there, the replacement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs with a person with greater experience and with a more fighting spirit was in order to maintain the harmonious cooperation between the Greek government and the fighting Cypriots and also, to avoid dismantling the solid front between Greece and Cyprus.

In addition, the Ethnarchy advisers suggested the return of the diplomat Alexis Kyrou, hoping that the former general director of the foreign ministry, would eventually take over and become the foreign minister.

However, on the evening of April 24, the Cypriot students, led by the Athenian advisers of the Ethnarchy, organized a demonstration and stressed: “The Cypriot Ethnarchy, EOKA and the Cypriot people today have a demand. Let Theotokis leave. With Theotokis in the Foreign Ministry, the Cyprus issue cannot be solved!” The more aggressive slogans against Theotokis and the protesters' militancy prompted immediate police intervention, which violently disrupted the demonstration (Theotokis Resign, 1956). It should be re-emphasized that only EFEK members participated in this event. The student movement held distance, at the time, on the issue of Theotokis.

The Athenian press also took part in the attack against the foreign minister. The newspaper of the Left, in a front-page headline, described Theotokis as “a subordinate to the Nation,” and demanded that the “national traitors” government should “flee” with him. With regards to the Foreign minister's policy on the Cyprus issue, *Avgi*, stated that it was personal but “was also in line with the demands of the well-known out of Greece factors to whom the whole government was subject to” reiterating its anti-Western rhetoric (National Traitors, 1956). The newspaper emphasized that: “The whole nation, from the suffering Cyprus to the last corner of motherland Greece demands: The collaborator must leave immediately. The saboteur must be halted” (The Saboteur, 1956). The following day, the newspaper director Vassilis Ephraimidis, vituperated the “foreign controlled” Cypriot policy of the Karamanlis government, and also threatened that:

If you stay focused on your well-known Cypriot policy, changing not the “melody” but only the “violinist” Mr. Theotokis, then, and justifiably, the government and its parliamentary party will be irrevocably condemned to the conscience of the Cypriot and Greek people (Efremidis, 1956).

But perhaps the most striking example of *Avgi*'s articles was the exhortation to the National Radical Union's members of Parliament. The newspaper, despite its aggressive accusations against the government and the foreign minister, it called on the government's allies to condemn Karamanlis's Cypriot policy and to vote the no confidence act and “not for the party. But for Cyprus. For Greece!” (The Battle, 1956) This informal friendship “attack” of *Avgi* towards the members of the ruling party is extremely interesting.

The right-wing flagship newspaper, in its cover of April 20, accused the opposition leaders in particularly aggressive tones, stressing that:

The public opinion is expecting these leaders to prove their allegations not on the basis of the Lefkosia newspaper articles, but on the basis of evidence. If they cannot provide evidence this would mean that these people are slanderers or at least exhilarates [...] Because, the only one who has an interest in creating an impression among the Cypriot militants, that they cannot rely on the Greek Government, impression of pessimism and defeatism, is the Oppressor. Unfortunately, this is of no interest to Mr. Papandreou and Mr. Tsaldaris (Callousness, 1956)

The following days, *Kathimerini* attempted to open a public dialogue with the opposition and the Press that supported it. In a front-page article, the newspaper presented evidence that thwarted the opposition's attacks on S. Theotokis and the government of Karamanlis (The Whole Truth, 1956), and also enlightened the “damage” caused by the Opposition regarding the Cyprus issue.

On April 25, G. Papandreou, the leader of the Liberals, called for a new debate in the Parliament against the foreign minister. It was obvious that the Greek opposition was directing its fire on Theotokis as a substitute for its real target, K. Karamanlis.

This attack will continue and culminate after the executions of the two young EOKA fighters and the bloody episodes that took place in Athens.

THE CONDEMNATION OF MICHALIS KARAOLIS AND ANDREAS DEMETRIOU

Since the fate of Michalis Karaolis was to have a profound effect on subsequent developments, it is worth mentioning in general in this chapter what preceded the prosecution of murder and conviction. The Greek newspapers had been monitoring for many months the drama of Michalis Karaolis - the “good boy” - as they called him. Michalis Karaolis came from a relatively wealthy family. A graduate of The English School in Lefkosia, he was a role model of his class and had participated in sporting events organized in honor of Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953. He then worked as a civil servant in the British Income Tax Office in Lefkosia and despite the fact that in May 1955, there was an explosion in the building he was working in, no evidence linked him to the fact. The 24-year-old Greek Cypriot, however, was charged with the murder of Police Officer Poullis. On August 29, 1955, police officer Poullis was hit by a bullet from a revolver on Ledras Street, inside the walls of Lefkosia, where eyewitnesses saw the executioner riding a bicycle. A passerby threw the shooter off the bike, but the offender disappeared. The bike that remained there was the crucial piece of evidence against Karaolis, who was absent from his job that day. After four days he was arrested in Famagusta while trying to escape questioning, and in his pocket was a letter that read: “Zaedro, I'm sending you the bearer of this note. He is a good child and a self-sacrificing patriot. You can trust him. No one should know his identity. [Signature] Averoff” (Andreou, 1990 and Holland, 1998).

The trial of Karaolis began on October 24, which fueled the discontent of Cypriot students and caused the October unrest. The judge was President of the Supreme Court of Cyprus Sir E. Hallinan and Crown Lawyer, the Turkish Cypriot Lawyer, Rauf Denktash. On October 28, Karaolis was found guilty of all charges and sentenced by the Supreme Court to execution by hanging. It was the first such conviction imposed on an EOKA's party member's action (The trial of Karaolis, 1955).

On November 12, the Supreme Court in Lefkosia dismissed Michalis Karaolis' appeal and transferred his case to the Council of Thrones. Karaolis' new appeal was heard on April 11 and rejected on the 14th. In addition, twenty-year-old Andreas Demetriou was also sentenced to death. Demetriou had killed no one, but had shot at an Englishman in Famagusta on November 23, 1955, just two days after the State of Emergency arrangements had imposed a death sentence on those who carried weapons (Andreou, 1990). The decision of the Crown Council on Karaolis and the death sentence of Demetriou triggered the agitation of the Athenian press particularly against the Foreign Minister S. Theotokis for his failure to exert effective pressure on the British government (Holland, 1998). The lives of the two young Cypriots would depend, after being judged at the highest level, on the "clemency" of Governor Harding (Clemency, 1956).

The indignation of the Press and opinion-makers triggered a fierce and extreme attack against the British actions in Cyprus. *Vima* spoke of "aggressive and inhumane" torture of Karaolis by the English, noting that: "Bullets fell over his head against a wall at the base of which he laid on and rested. Additionally, a rope tied in the shape of a ready-made gallows was placed in his cell." With regards to these tortures, *Vima* stressed that the "English Colonial Regime" should be classified along with the

regimes “of the Tyrants of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, [...] the Fascists and the Communists.” Finally, it pointed out that only a “tyrant” uses such methods in its attempt to remain in power (*The Tactics that Offend and Denigrate Civilization*, 1956). On April 21, it presented the resolutions of the Greek Parliament on Michalis Karaolis and noted that hanging of the two young EOKA fighters would “hinder” the relations between the Greek people and the British government in the future (*The Resolutions of the Greek Parliament on Michalis Karaolis*, 1956). On the same day, the Archbishop of Athens Dorotheos appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to intercede for the salvation of the young Cypriot patriots (Linardatos, 1978).

The execution of Karaolis and Demetriou seemed almost certain to take place in early May. However, the student movement warned that if the hanging were carried out, the consequences would be more devastating than Makarios' displacement. The Hellenic Studies Society did this in a very aggressive tone. It called on the “free world” to “intervene” and “prevent” the completion of an “unprecedented judicial murder,” and made it clear to the allies that: “Nevertheless, indifference to the upcoming crime of the British Government will inevitably injure the faith for them by the Greek people.” Even more aggressive were the announcements towards the British government, which warned that: “if the assassinations proceed, it will be solely responsible for the immediate and widespread insurrection that will follow within and outside the borders of the heroic island!” (*Be Careful*, 1956). In addition, the Cypriot students of EFEK, in the same aggressive tone, called on all youth to “condemn the shameful” attitude of England and to contribute with all their might to the salvation of the two Cypriot heroes (*Condemn the Shameful*, 1956).

On May 8, the Executive Board of the Cyprus Administration met, which confirmed the imposition of the death penalty on the two convicts. Last-minute

appeals for the salvation of Karaolis and Demetriou followed. The Foreign Minister S. Theotokis telephoned the British Ambassador C. Peake and spoke in a manner that “made him shiver.” London's refusal to help change the death sentence; forced the Greek government to focus its attention towards the Americans. While the US ambassador Cannon told a delegation that visited him at the US embassy that he had done “everything he could” to reduce the sentences, a senior State Department official told the Washington Greek ambassador that “we [the United States] do not have anything to do with it” (Holland, 1998).

The decision of the Executive Council not to postpone the hanging of Karaolis and Demetriou triggered a new outburst of harsh and extreme reactions by the Athenian press. *Vima* described the fury of Harding to proceed with the hanging of two young men as “sadistic” and stressed: “It is possible to open a huge gap that will split the two nations.” The article also noted that the British Government should be aware that: “Innocent blood is not merely a magical property of watering the trees of Liberty, it also has the ability to take revenge ...” (The blood of the innocent always avenges the tyrants, 1956).

Kathimerini showed the same harsh and extreme reactions. On May 9, the newspaper presented the hanging of the two young men as a “cold and atrocious crime,” an act of “momentary barbarism.” The newspaper continued in the same vein, stressing that: “the heinous crime that was committed, was impossible not to upset the consciousness of the free world, of people who have not buried their feelings and thinking”; and declared that the execution of the two Cypriot heroes would cut off any communication ties with the British (The Crime, 1956). On the same day, the national adviser and MP, of the National Radical Right, Savvas Loizidis, through *Kathimerini's*

columns, attempted to present the abuse of human rights in Cyprus (Human Rights Abused, 1956).

On their behalf, the students with protest resolutions admonished against the intent of the British and threatened with reprisals. The National Association of the Economic University of Athens called on students around the world to condemn the “barbaric act” of the English, which “plunged” the culture of the 20th century in “chaos and disgust,” while EFEK made it clear that Harding's “public” decision was a “brutal challenge” to the pan – Hellenic sentiment. At the same time, the National Association of students, of the Panteion University of Athens, called Harding a “murderer” and threatened him that the “Greek student youth will seek revenge,” while in Thessaloniki, the Student Committee for Cyprus demanded in very angry tones from all of the students to be ready to retaliate (Retaliate, 1956).

The British action to lead two young men to the gallows was worthy of blame. At that time all the moderate voices had disappeared. Everyone was demanding revenge for the “unholy” act of the British, and the wrath of Aeolos; which had been unleashed with the displacement of Makarios, was leading a highly charged and emotional public into explosive reactions.

“GREEK - GREEK CIVIL WAR” WITH DEAD AND WOUNDED

The aggressive press articles and the student movement’s militant resolutions created an electrifying atmosphere, in which the large mass events took place throughout Greece on May 9, with the support of PEEK. On that day, the Panhellenic Union Committee for Cyprus, asked the government of K. Karamanlis for permission to organize a rally in Athens with the request to abolish the hanging and save the young

Cypriot militants. The rally was set for May 9 (the day before the two young men were going to be hanged in Cyprus) in Omonia square in the afternoon. Interestingly, the rally was positively promoted by the newspaper *Vima*, who even noted that the “outburst” of “popular anger” was necessary (The Chasm has become Unbridgeable, 1956).

Thus, the bloodiest rally for Cyprus took place in Athens. Before the main rally began, groups of youngsters were walking in the streets, in the morning, organizing small demonstrations and shouting anti-British slogans:

Groups of students, acting on the basis of PEEK's program, were placing banners on the balconies of buildings, at Omonia Square, with various slogans in favor of Cyprus in Greek and English, such as: “Greeks know what freedom is and will free their Cypriot brothers,” “The Union of Cyprus with Greece means the release of our 420,000 brothers who live under English violence,” “The justice which the English deny will be achieved by Greece in the UN” (The Rally, 1956).

At Omonia Square, the arrival of each group was welcomed with “frenzied” cheers, and the welcoming of students who had gathered from the University was welcomed (The Students at the Rally, 1956). Early in the afternoon, the whole square and the surrounding area had been crowded with people. Shortly thereafter, members of PEEK arrived, led by the Archbishop of Athens Dorotheos, who would be the only speaker at the gathering. There, Dorotheos delivered a “national” and “anti-British” speech, repeatedly interrupted by slogans against the British, Americans, Harding and in favor of Grivas, Makarios and the two deceased Cypriot fighters. In addition, slogans were heard against the Greek Foreign Minister S. Theotokis, while some placards were demanding that the country's foreign policy be revised and the creation of a new alliance with Belgrade and Cairo. The Archbishop pleaded for the crowds to be dismantled: “quietly and peacefully, as it is in the civilized and noble Greek culture, because the opposite would put the two Cypriot fighters Karaolis and Demetriou in a

very difficult position,” and additionally, his speech ended “Long live our Cypriot brothers. Long live Cyprus” (The Rally, 1956). After the end of the massive Athenian rally:

[...] a group of about 1000 young people with placards that wrote “Makarios the idol of the Greeks,” “Axis of Athens - Belgrade – Cairo,” and with slogans supporting the union of Cyprus and against the English and the Foreign Minister. S. Theotokis, started to ascend Stadiou Street in order to apparently reach the Syntagma [...] At Klafthmonos Square fierce clashes amongst the students and the police forces occurred, during which the police used their clubs and bullets to shoot them. Many were wounded on both sides. The stoneware and the complexes were destroyed in front of many shops and pavilions, and the crystals on the facade of the US Intelligence Service were completely destroyed [...] At this point, the conflict reached its climax and suddenly the students were fighting with the police using their fists. In spite of the large number of injured, which were constantly falling on the sidewalks and on the pavement of the street, the demonstrators were again able to repel the police and managed to isolate, at the height of Pematzoglou Street, the Police Chief Mr. Papadopoulos, who was repeatedly hit with bats and stones and when he fell to the ground, many of the protesters stumbled upon him. At that moment the first shot was dropped. Some other fired shots followed almost immediately and confusion erupted between the protesters who began to retreat [...] However, some of the police officers appear to have lost their temper and injuries were reported due to the gunshots (Clashes at Stadiou Street, 1956).

The clashes with the police at Stadiou Street resulted in the death of two citizens Nikolaou and Gerontis. However, at the end of the demonstration at the intersection of Hippocrates and Didotou streets, with gunshots fired by police officers, the twenty-year-old, I. Konstantopoulos, was seriously injured and died while being transported to the hospital, the third victim of the bloody May 9. The student movement had been heavily involved in the conflict, with many names of students listed on the injured list. On May 19, the heavily injured policeman K. Giannakouris also died, raising the number of victims to four (Clashes at Stadiou Street, 1956).

In Thessaloniki, the events had begun in the morning, when groups of university and high school students, at the request of the Cyprus Student Council, organized a demonstration that swept the streets of the city with anti-English slogans.

Then a three-member group of students, consisting of M. Economides, H. Papadopoulos and I. Sepoulia, went to the English and American consulates, where they delivered a resolution with the request to be transmitted to the governments of those two countries. Afterwards, the protesters went to the Ministry of Northern Greece, where they also delivered a copy of their resolution. The protesters continued until late at night. Thessaloniki was heavily policed by the Authorities in an attempt to prevent similar clashes to those of Athens (The Rally in Thessaloniki, 1956).

The British decision to hang the two young men, and in particular the conviction of the two young Cypriots, offended the Greek public opinion and especially the student youth. But the students' reactions surpassed all limits, even the day before Karaolis and Demetriou were hanged. Their rage helped turn the rally into a "Greek-Greek civil war" with dead and injured. The letter of the Cypriot student E. Economidis to the Athenian press the following day confirmed the students' participation in the bloody events of Athens (Student Movements in Athens, 1956). Only *Vima*, of the Athenian press representatives, accused Britain of trying to put an end to "violence" and "bloodshed" in Cyprus, but managed to bring it "to the heart of Greece" (The Chasm has become Unbridgeable, 1956).

The May 9 rally marked the culmination of the mass events for Cyprus that had begun in the Summer of 1954. There was no sign of convergence of the political forces, despite the anti-British menace in the Greek society. The political forces attention was focused on the responsibility for the rally's bloodshed, and not on the hanging of the two Cypriot young men. Despite the shocking impression that the news of two young men being hanged in Cyprus (even the Athenian City Council's decision to rename a section of Loukianou Street, where the British Embassy was housed, to Karaolis and Demetriou Street) (The Renaming, 1956), G. Papandreou pointed out in

a very aggressive tone that the tragedy of Athens highlighted the government's "heavy responsibility" and pointed out that the people were demanding that the "national minority" and the government that had shed "brothers blood" to go away. On the same wavelength, the leader of the Centre Union, S. Venizelos, asked K. Karamanlis' government to reflect on its responsibilities and to leave Greece in order to avoid further bloodshed. The acting Committee of the Democratic Left demanded the immediate expulsion of the government and the immediate assumption of power by another, which would adopt a "genuine patriotic policy" for the Cyprus issue (The "Bloody" Government, 1956).

The prime minister, expressed his deep sorrow because the opposition leaders had exploited the tragedy of the Cyprus struggle for political and party purposes, and his government attributed the bloody clashes of Athens to "anarchists," who were:

... determined to defame the National Issue, they stormed out of the rallies and by all means attacked the police even with firearms, as confirmed by credible eyewitnesses of police and civilians [...] The Government did not allow the police to use weapons under any circumstances and so far there is no report by the police authorities that police had made use of their weapons.

The announcement by the Karamanlis government, in addition to the anarchists, pointed as bloodline leaders also at the agents of the Intelligence Service. They, according to a government announcement, sought to present the government responsible for the bloodshed of Athens, to revolt the people against it, and to panic the crowds so that in the future they would not participate in similar rallies in support of their freedom and self-determination. In addition, the picture of the "agents" and "English" interventions in the Greek political scene, as well as the events of the rally demonstrated the embarrassment of the government, which was trying to find a way out of the bloody events of Athens (The Intelligence Service behind the bloodshed, 1956).

However, after the execution of the two Cypriot fighters, the Athenian press, did not remain indifferent to the government's political confrontation with the opposition, thereby contributing to the rise in aggressive sentiment. *Vima* spoke of “unprecedented” indignation and great “suffering” of the Greek people over Harding's decision and criticized the government that designated Omonia Square as a gathering place. The newspaper warned the British government that the gap between Athens and London was now becoming “unbridgeable” and “would literally be an absurd if the Greek-British negotiations could restart with the dead bodies of two young men being hanged and Makarios exiled on an island in the Indian Ocean.” Nevertheless, *Vima* pointed out that a new, more dangerous British enmity had just begun. The Greek people “STEELED BY THE NEW TRIAL” and united in defense of the “free but enclaved of Cyprus,” will face the situation with vigor and calmness, “confident that their struggles will be justified” (The Chasm has become Unbridgeable, 1956).

Eleftheria turned its rhetoric against the government of K. Karamanlis. On a front-page article on May 10, the newspaper stressed that the rally turned out to be a “death trap” and accused the Prime Minister of being responsible for the “committed killings!” It criticized the government's decision to convene a rally without eliciting public reaction, and aggressively accused it of being “bloodthirsty” and “unworthy” of respecting the Greek people (Murderers, 1956). The same newspaper also published “unquestionable” evidence that “proved” the Karamanlis government's guilt over the bloodshed in Athens (The guilt of the government for the day before yesterday's blood is undisputed, 1956). In addition to its opposition policy, the Centre's newspaper also mentioned hanged “children.” The newspaper also noted that Karaolis and Demetriou now belonged to the Nation as “insurmountable educators of the race” and

“unparalleled” symbols of Hellenism, while their death was an “example” for all Greeks and all the world (Brave Young Men, 1956).

Estia presented its articles in a similar way. It began with the comparison of the dead and the living, criticizing the “foreigners” who condemned the two young men to death and their “Greek-speaking servants,” that is, according to the newspaper, the Greek government. It also noted that Greek foreign policy became an “evil” kind of domestic policy, and he urged the “dead” heroes to pray for the living! (The two heroes and us: dead and alive, 1956). In another article, *Estia*, further exacerbating the internal controversy, accused the Karamanlis government of being “anti-national” for standing against the rally and criticized its insistence that the event be organized the day before the hanging and not after. The “government of blood,” the newspaper continued, should not remain in its place, and that its stay is a “challenge” and a “danger” to the “bitter” tested nation (The Government of Blood, 1956). The newspaper, ending its anti-government rhetoric, called for the posthumous deportation of the two national heroes, and reminded the Athens government that the nation would respond to “anti-national” acts (While the sirens echo, 1956).

A much more aggressive attitude was taken by *Avgi* against the hangings and the bloody events of Athens, demanding the expulsion of the “bloodshed” and “national minority” government, which “steeped” Athens into the “blood of peaceful demonstrators” to “resign” (Resign, 1956). The newspaper sought to portray the Karamanlis government as directly responsible for the hangings and the events in Athens, as well as to identify it with the British colonial regime in Cyprus.

In the Cypriot capital, the English settlers hanged the two Cypriot fighters. In the Greek capital, by another process and other means, the Greek government killed and wounded a Greek patriot. Executioner Harding cites the need for “law enforcement and order” in Cyprus, which in Cyprus is

“driven by anarchist and terrorist elements” and the Karamanlis government, using just the same pretexts, are resorting to building an “alibi” for the criminal bloodshed it caused (In front of the Dead, 1956).

The following day, the newspaper once again noted the need to “oust” the Karamanlis government, whose policy led to the “Greek massacre” of May 9. On the same day, Kostas Varnalis, from the columns of *Avgi*, did not fail to point out that: “With so many corpses and bodies falling [in Greece and Cyprus], the haunted Arta Bridge, which joins the English with the Greek government, was solidified!” (The Anarchist elements, 1956).

Kathimerini launched a brutal attack on the “agents” of Moscow and London, who exploited the wrath of the people to create a hostile state and to show on a global scale the inability of the Greek people to claim their national rights. The article pointed out that the “enemies” of Greece wanted to portray it “as a non-state, as having no law, as not pursuing a foreign policy of its own, as one that drifted by the winds and storms” (The enemies of Greece, 1956).

The following day, the right-wing newspaper criticized the opposition's stance. The newspaper noted that the opposition “confined” to partisan ideals, proved “incapable” of dealing with the political and moral courage of reality. The conclusion of the article was clear: there had to be a Greek list of measures against the enemies of the Nation in order to better promote the Cyprus struggle (Without feeling responsible, 1956).

On May 11, the newspaper's first offensive reaction to the hanging appeared: “No form of rational explanation can withstand the heinous crime committed in Cyprus,” the article noted, stressing that Englishmen behind the law “tried to conceal them.” Worst of all: by this law, two heroic young men were “killed.”

But the murder of Michael Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou is not going to weaken the fight as the tyrant seems to hope. Their sacrifice will further warm the already burning soul of the Greek people of Cyprus and the whole nation. It will be a station, not an end. The blood of the martyrs of liberty will become an untold source, from which the water of romance will water the fruit of liberty until its fruitage.

The intensity of the tone in this article is, in part, at least explicable: the sense of rage had gone beyond any limit, the prejudice against Greek opinion was enormous, and there was a feeling that the British were ignorant of Greek history and the Greek nation. However, it should be noted that the British actions did not force the newspaper to take positions beyond measure, but forced it to warn the British that the Greek nation was “fighting” without interruption and “offering” to “sacrifice” the finest of his children until the ultimate justification of its struggles (The heinous crime, 1956).

The rise of anti-government rhetoric was not only being marked by oppositionist articles through the press, but also through student resolutions. The National Students' Union of Cyprus complained in an aggressive tone about the government's policy of attributing the rally's events to “communists or anarchists,” and designated police as those sole responsible for the rally's bloody events. According to the resolution, the police lost their temper and made “indiscriminate” and “unjustified” use of weapons. It also noted that Harding's “dishonest” act would be recorded in English history, and Cypriots would “never” forget the rope of the hanged and will “always hate” the British. The resolution called on all Cypriot students to wear mournful arm bands with the initials of the two hanged and to also donate blood in memory of the two heroes. On the day following the hanging, EFEK members laid a wreath at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier (Cypriot Students, 1956).

In addition, the Students' Association of the School of Philosophy protested against the Greek government's tolerance of the “treacherous” actions of the allies, but

also of the “barbaric” and “anti-Greek” armed “attack” against the unarmed police (The heinous crime, 1956). The Board of Directors of the National Student Association of ASOEE declared a 40-day period of mourning and asked for the pictures of the two Cypriot heroes to be posted at the staff’s office, while Panteion University students approved the annual Karaolis-Demetriou Prize. At the same time, they demanded from German President Heuss to grant freedom to: “brutally tested brothers under the British colonial rule” (Heuss look into Cyprus, 1956). In addition, the Corfu Students' Association distributed to American officers and sailors, English-language proclamations condemning England's attitude to Cyprus and seeking America's support in the Cyprus struggle for self-determination (Students inform US soldiers, 1956).

The University of Athens in a resolution, addressed to the United Nations of the World, condemned the inhumane execution of the two young patriots and emphasized that such an act carried out by a Great Power, which wanted to be the leader of the free world, created a new stigma for European culture. It also noted that this “stigma” was becoming “biased” because it was being observed during the days of the Orthodox Christian holiday and at a time when a bill was proposed to the House of Commons to abolish the death penalty (University of Athens, 1956). It should be noted here that the University held a neutral position and did not take part in the dispute amongst the government and the opposition. The country's top intellectual institution did not want to be positioned, as it did in the Summer of 1954, but its inertia and modest attitude led the student youth to adopt extreme views.

NARRATIVES, MEMORIES AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS IN GREECE, 1956

The capture of and displacement of Makarios was undoubtedly a strong move, demonstrating London's determination and willingness to play a leading role in the developments in Cyprus. Britain, in doing so, emerged as a brutal colonial power of past times, while at the same time revealing its inability to subjugate a small colonial population immediately after the collapse of the Makarios-Harding talks and the dismissal of General Glubb from the position of Head of the Transjordan's Arab Legion.

In addition, mass outbursts against British targets throughout Greece after Makarios' displacement, did not suspend Britain's decision to lead two young EOKA members to the gallows. These brutal actions of the British made Makarios and the young fighters, in the eyes of not only the Greek Cypriots but also most of the Greek public, as symbols of the Cyprus struggle, and burned every prospect of a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue.

Certainly, the British actions in Cyprus lacked calmness and prudence, but the student movement's reactions, aided by anti-British press articles, led to hundreds of casualties and four deaths. The violent clashes with the police in the spring of 1956 did not contribute to the better handling of the Cyprus problem, but instead drew public attention to the debate over responsibility for the Greek genocide in Athens. The radicalized student movement had become a pawn in the chessboard of the confrontation between the government and the opposition, and with its dynamics it had endangered political stability in Greece itself.

Indeed, the Cyprus spring of 1956 was combined with a game of internal strategic maneuvering. That was the biggest mistake in managing it: the solution to the Cyprus problem would not come with the fall of the government in Athens and its replacement with a government coming from the opposition, but with the right use of the opportunities presented to the international community, from all the political parties of Greece. Consequently, the opposition was directing its fire on Foreign Minister S. Theotokis after the displacement and the hangings, as a substitute, of their main target who was K. Karamanlis, while the government in Athens strongly disagreed with the opposition, that turned public opinion against her. The escalating crisis faced by Theotokis threatened the very existence of the government, which was targeted from everywhere. The replacement of Theotokis at the end of May with E. Averoff-Tositsa was not a sign of the Prime Minister's weakness, but an attempt to restore communication with the Ethnarchy, which had been disrupted after the displacement and hangings (Hatzivassiliou, 2005).

Finally, the British actions were a lever to split the internal front. Indeed, the extreme reactions of public opinion shocked many analysts, who wrote in the wake of the March rallies and warned of the worst, while several authors and intellectuals, who wrote in the Spring of 1956, were trapped inside a whirlwind of emotion and escalating sentiment. After the peak of March and May, public opinion shifted its focus looking for a scapegoat for the developments in Cyprus.

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