



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

From socialism via anti-imperialism to nationalism : EDA-TIP : socialist contest over Cyprus

Christofis, N.

Citation

Christofis, N. (2015, February 3). *From socialism via anti-imperialism to nationalism : EDA-TIP : socialist contest over Cyprus*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/31818>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/31818>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/31818> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Christofis, Nikolaos

Title: From socialism via anti-imperialism to nationalism : EDA-TIP : socialist contest over Cyprus

Issue Date: 2015-02-03

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	
Methodology	16
PART I	
Background and Framework	
Chapter 2	
2.1 Brief Overview of the Greek Left until 1951	44
2.2 Brief Overview of the Turkish Left until 1961	49
2.3 Brief Overview of the Cyprus Question	54
PART II	
Case Studies	
Chapter 3	
The Greek Case: United Democratic Left (EDA)	72
Chapter 4	
The Turkish Case: Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP)	153
PART III	
Comparisons	
Chapter 5	
5.1 Ethnikofrosyni and Kemalism: Two Ideologies that Shaped the Future of the Left	238
5.2 1821 vs. 1919 – 1922: Bringing Back the Past	251
5.3 Patriotism, Internationalism and Binary Divisions	274
5.4 Anti-Imperialism/Colonialism	282
5.5 Anti-Americanism as an Expression of Anti-Imperialism	308
Conclusion	347
Bibliography	361
Curriculum Vitae	386
Summary in Dutch	387

Abbreviations

AKEL	Progressive Party of Working People/Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou
AP	Justice Party/Adalet Partisi
CHP	Republican People's Party/Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
CKMP	Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi/Republican Peasants' Nation Party
EAM	National Liberation Front/Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo
EDA	United Democratic Left/Eniaia Dimokratiki Aristera
EK	Center Union/Enosi Kentrou
ELAS	Greek People's Liberation Army/Ellinikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos
<i>Enosis</i>	Union with Greece
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Struggle/Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston
ERE	National Radical Union/Ethniki Rizospastiki Enosi
GP	Reliance Party/Güven Partisi
TİP	Workers' Party of Turkey/Türkiye İşçi Partisi
KATAK	Association for the Turkish Minority of the Island of Cyprus/Kıbrıs Adası Türk Azınlığı Kurumu
KKE	Communist Party of Greece/Kommounistiko Komma Ellados
KKK	Communist Party of Cyprus/Kommounistiko Komma Kyprou
MDD	National Democratic Revolution/Milli Demokratik Devrim
MHP	Nationalist Action Party/Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi
MP	National Party/Millet Partisi
SEKE	Socialist Workers' Party of Greece/Sosialistiko Ergatiko Komma Elladas
Taksim	Partition (of Cyprus)
TKP	Communist Party of Turkey/Türkiye Komünist Partisi
TMT	Turkish Defense Organization/ Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı
TSEKP	Socialist Party of Turkish Workers and Peasants/Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi
TSP	Turkish Socialist Party/Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi
Türk-İş	Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions/Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu
Yön	Direction
YTP	New Turkey Party/Yeni Türkiye Partisi

Acknowledgements

The research for this dissertation would not have been possible without the support and guidance of several people at different times and different places. I owe many thanks to all of them.

First of all, I must thank my closest friends in Greece and note my deep appreciation for the best times I had in my life with them; alphabetically, they are Petros Dalakakis, Apostolos Tsiachristas and Giorgos Tsitsias, and of course their partners, Natasa Chondronasiou (and young Myrto), Ellie Triantafyllou (and young Hektor). And of course, Maria (Manitsa) Anastasiou. I would like to thank also Chrysa Stavara and Antonis Iordanidis, as well as Apostolos Stagiannis. Amaryllis Logotheti and Anastasia-Ileana Moroni were, and still are, an indispensable part of my intellectual journey. In that respect, I owe extra thanks and gratitude to Amaryllis for putting up with my often quite foolish questions and absurd requests, and for looking over my writing and making corrections with her invaluable suggestions. I owe you so much! I would like to thank also Dimitrios Stamatopoulos for believing in me during my first steps as a doctoral student. I was lucky enough to meet Alexandros Lamprou, Leonidas Moiras and Giorgos Filis, and I will always be grateful for their friendship. Stratis Bournazos was always extremely helpful in locating material and helping me clarifying things. Petros Petroulakis, who sadly left us too early (April 24, 1981 – March 2, 2010), will never be forgotten; I will always miss you.

As regards my research in Turkey, I would like to thank (in alphabetical order), Erden Akbulut for his tremendous help with the archives at TÜSTAV, Nihal Boztekin for her friendship and for some of the greatest times I had in Istanbul, Şakir Dinçşahin, Caner Doğan, and of course, Kerem Ünüvar for always finding material that I needed and for answering all of my questions concerning the Turkish left. In addition, I would like to thank all those who agreed to have interviews with them; they shaped my perceptions of the issue in many ways. In alphabetic order, they are Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı, Murat Belge, Tarık Ziya Ekinci, Serpil Çelenk Güvenç, Ahmet İnsel, Rasih Nuri İleri, Ertuğrul Kürkçü, Ömer Laçiner and Gündüz Mutluay. Special mention must go to Gündüz Mutluay for making me feel at home as we drank *rakı* and ate *meze* on Heybeliada for countless hours. I must also thank Serpil Çelenk Güvenç, who always offered her help and was selfless in her sharing of her personal archive as well as her father's personal archive. Without her guidance, I most probably would still be lost. Thank you.

As for my work in Holland, I would like to thank (in alphabetical order) Toygar Sinan Baykan and Can Eyüp Çekiç for the good times we had during their stay in Leiden, as well as Özgür Gökmen for his help during the first stage of my research. I also must thank Anna Karagianni, Ioanna Svana and Giorgos Portokalidis for all the good times we had in Leiden. And lastly, for the times I spent in Cyprus I would like to thank (again in alphabetical order) Niyazi Atay, Stelios Irakleous (for the Holland years as well), Serkan Karas, Giorgos Magos, Christos Mais (for the Holland years as well), Yannis Soulos, Themis Svoukis, and their partners, Ersi Kostea (and the new member of their family), Zoe Kavaltzi (and young Myrsini), and Elena Panayiotou. Thanks to Giorgos, Yannis and Themis I had the most wonderful student years anyone could ask for; I owe you a debt of gratitude for everything. Lastly, I cannot thank Ass. Prof. Michalis N. Michael enough for everything he did for me in Cyprus and for the opportunities he made possible. If there is anyone I forgot to thank, I must ask your forgiveness.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the individuals who worked at the research institutes for their generous help. I'd like to thank Sibel Sular, Filiz Öğretmen and Bülent bey who helped me at the institute in Turkey, and in Greece, Anta Kapola, whose vast knowledge of the EDA archive made my life easier; also, I'd like to thank the staff at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. Also I would like to thank all these people that agreed to send me material: Antonis Antoniou, Gökhan Atılgan, Tamer Balci, Stratis Bournazos, Nur Bilge Criss, Erkan Doğan, with whom I had also a very productive discussion in Ankara, Serpil Çelenk Güvenç, Ioannis Stefanidis, Anta Kapola. Financial support for most part of my research was provided by the Greek State Foundation (IKY) scholarship, and I must thank IKY for that. Special thanks are also due to Professor Christine Philiou at Columbia University for including me in the workshop "Ottoman/Turks in Conflict, 1800-2010: New Approaches." The discussions during and after the workshop were of great help. I'd also like to thank Mark Wyers for his help in improving the language of the text. Cheers Mark!

This study is dedicated to my parents, Costas and Violetta, and my two sisters, Eliza and Kiki, as well as George Tsaltas, and my nephew Konstantinos. My parents provided moral and financial support for much longer than I anticipated, and I would like to apologize for my moments of being temperamental and for taking so long to complete this study. My gratitude to them is immeasurable. Last but not least, I would like to dedicate this study with all my love to my beautiful Liana for all of the love and support she's given me since we've been together.