

The agrarian class in Cyprus

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CHAPTER ONE:

The Creation of an Agrarian Class in Cyprus

The creation of the bourgeois class in Cyprus took place after the British occupation had started. Before the British there was no bourgeois class in the way we understand it today. The richer and more capable Cypriots of that period had founded the bourgeois class on a hopelessly bad basis. In all the European countries, this class, was created in one of the two following ways, one easy and the other difficult. The easy way is accumulation by the drawing off national wealth through usury, trade, and by the practice of the professions and sciences which consume it, such as medicine and law. The difficult way is accumulation by expanding the national wealth, by increasing the growth of a merchant navy, and industry, and by applying practical sciences such as plumbing or engineering, chemistry, geology, geophysics, etc. The Cypriots unfortunately selected the easy way of accumulating wealth and "after the first evil, millions more follow" as an ancient wise man correctly stated.

Since the richer and more capable Cypriots began and – with few exceptions continue until now to accumulate wealth by the easier means we mentioned, they had to use means whereby their victims wouldn't be conscious of the act of extraction so they again employed a means ready to hand, that of exploiting the highest human ideals, the ideals of nation and religion. From the first years of the British occupation, they presented themselves to our people as the

only proper directors for the management of a struggle for our return to restoration [1] as a nation, and this they continue to do until today. For the sake of this struggle, the people were told to postpone issues concerning their daily livelihoods because these could be attended to all at once after national restoration had taken place. Also, they tried to make the Greek population of the island fanatic against the other resident element on the pretext that they happened to be our racial enemy but in fact, in this way, they managed to distract the people continually, so that they did not have time to confront the exploitation against them. What these leaders should have done would have been to present "the Turkish element" as fellow slaves and to co-operate with them in order to make their yoke lighter instead. It seems that the pre-occupation with racial antagonism towards the other community was not enough to fully distract popular attention from the fact of exploitation, so these leaders created an issue over the Archbishopric elections, and kept it going for a whole decade. They intended to prolong it still further – for how many years we cannot know, if the government had not decided to resolve it by force. It was in this long period that the bourgeois class emerged and consolidated itself by blood-sucking the working people.

The blame for the continuing and deepening distress of the working people was laid on foreign government, which the bourgeois class decked out with many fine words. It is inescapable that this class had not the slightest interest in the welfare of working people, and this can be seen in the newspapers of this period. They provide the most reliable testimony as they were engaged exclusively with events outside Cyprus and rarely devoted more than a few lines to the daily livelihood problems of common people. They made no proposals for improvements, but merely vented their condemnation on the agent they saw as responsible for all evils - foreign government.

The first bourgeois property concentrations were used for the higher education of the next generation. Unfortunately for the Cypriot people their exploiters chose the one easy path for themselves. The whole of their higher education was limited to virtually two sciences only – medicine and law. They were not interested in studying mechanics or electrical engineering, and generally none of the practical sciences. And the reason is easily understood: You cannot easily check up on the work of the incompetent doctor or lawyer. But if an engineer attempts to fit something or to repair it, and makes a mistake, his incompetence is revealed when a second engineer attempts the task successfully. Cyprus, was flooded very soon by just two classes of specialists - doctors and lawyers. They ended up being elected to the Legislative Assembly – while the only work which they did in that Assembly was voting for the Bills put forward by the government and most of the time did nothing to advance popular interests.

However something mysterious happened regarding the remuneration of lawyers : Their fees were decided on the basis of lawyers in England, instead of on the basis of the cost of living in Cyprus, as would have been appropriate, but nobody said anything about it or otherwise commented on this little detail. Certainly those who administered Justice were well rewarded. Besides, nobody was forced to go to a lawyer. If you were stubborn and you rushed off to the courts or you were a criminal and you had daily dealings with the police, then you had better knock some sense into that hard head of yours. Those were the comments and the interpretations given if somebody complained about the high cost of lawyers' fees. The same happened with the remuneration the doctors received. Soon it emerged as an axiom that if anyone got involved with doctors and lawyers his economic destruction was guaranteed. In popular parlance the sympathetic phrase for those had fallen into the clutches of lawyers and doctors was: "It's an evil day and misfortune for those who they get their teeth into."

Ordinary people had never heard of the principle that expensive justice means denial of justice, and that medicine should not be practiced for the purpose of sucking money out of patients, but in order to succour the sick, or that doctors' remuneration shouldn't have as its basis the value of their labor but should bear some relation to the ability of their customers to pay.

The exploitation by the lawyers reached a climax in the legal professions, which arranged their payment for lawsuits against debtors with promissory notes from their money lenders. The lawyer was supposedly entitled for payment due to the aid which he gave the court in finding the truth and rendering justice to the plaintiffs or to the defendants. As if the court needs help to establish that the money lender has the right to ask for his debt from one of his debtors, who doesn't have any arguments on his side in the face of the promissory note which he had signed. This situation has its tragic-comedy side.

If the lawyer tells the court that Yiannis, for example, owes Costa five pounds, the lawyer gets a pound for his efforts. If he says that Yiannis owes Costa one hundred pounds because that is how much he owes, he now gets five pounds, just because he uttered or written down the figure "one hundred" instead of "five". And there is worse still: for a claim rendition of three lines, written by the lawyer's clerk for the sale of a debtors fields, there is a one pound fee, and another pound for the deposition at the land-registry office, so often a debt of a few shillings ends up costing the debtors many pounds.

In the same way, there are many methods of usury against the working man. One method is through usury-based trade, that is, giving out goods or other necessities on credit at up to 200 per cent and never less than 50 per cent interest. These are the methods - practiced for many

decades, and still to be found – by which people were impoverished and their standard of living declined.

But, viewed from another perspective, this is how today's cities and today's civilization were created.

CHAPTER TWO:

The Government's Responsibility for Today's Misery

The bourgeois class seriously undermined the livelihoods of ordinary people by the practices and methods we have just outlined. The government accelerated this economic destruction by its anti-agrarian policy which it started to impose openly during the first world war. The government intervened quite scandalously in the internal economic life of the country using the irregular war situation as its justification. The government imposed price controls, but instead of controlling the prices of merchandise, as would have been justified to protect the rural public from the exploitive intentions of the merchants, it allowed the price of goods to float freely and controlled the prices of rural produce, that is, the government tethered the sheep and let the wolves run free.

Price controls, as well as requisitioning and other extraordinary measures, are based on the principle of preventing someone earning huge sums at the consumers' expense during an irregular situation.

According to this principle, rural produce must be excluded from such measures and if it appears necessary to interfere, this should be very carefully calculated because in this case the issue is not profit but compensating the producer's labour - which regularly amounts to three quarters of the value of the produce.

The beginning of the 1914 war found rural people with debts running to hundreds of thousands of pounds, particularly in certain areas in Limassol and Kyrenia. The end of the war period, 1921, found the whole of rural Cyprus with debts of more than three million pounds, aggravated by an annual interest of 12%. Evidently the difference of the two million nine hundred thousand pounds of the rural profits of

seven years were reaped by the few skillful rich usurers and business man: though an impudent opinion was promoted that these rural debts had arisen due to the wastefulness of the villagers. This cannot be seriously sustained since we all know that the amount which is spent by an upper class townswoman for her beauty is enough to support an ordinary woman, and that an bourgeois family's minor expenditures are enough for the full maintenance of a village family. The argument about buying expensive land could find support if villagers ever bought urban land, an action which they never even consider. The bankruptcy was rather the result of buying rural land at high prices, thus causing bankruptcy for farmer A, rather than farmer B.

CHAPTER THREE:

Class Consciousness in the Agrarian Class.

The specter of collective bankruptcy for rural people awakened them at last and they began to produce a few spasmodic political class-based movements. A movement first showed itself in the Mesaoria region, because there indebtedness was widespread, due to the collapse of cereal prices. Cereals were the only product in the Mesaoria area, which made it unlike other areas, where the danger was less, because of the variety of produce. Kyriacos Pavlou Rossides a lawyer, emerged at the head of this movement. He loved agriculture and sympathized with the agrarian class. An example of the rural population's combative potential is available to us in a pamphlet which Mr Rossides published in 1925 with the title "The Policy of the Agrarian Party – its Basis, Goals and Tactics". Rossides is described as the senior organizer of the Agrarian Party, and he reports the decisions of the Pan-Agrarian Congress which was held in Nicosia on July 1925. The first paragraph in this book when Rossides made a speech to the conference is characteristic :

"Gentlemen, I believe, since you came here from such long distances, you didn't forget to bring your minds rather than your hearts. That's very much to the point because until now what used to happen was that in each gathering, the speakers and listeners brought lots of enthusiasm and much heat, but little reflective thought and cool composure. Thus, the purpose of the collective deliberations were limited not to finding solutions and crystal clear conclusions by the unity of our thinking, but to excitement and ecstasies and sounds of applause and this was naturally fatal. So we have sailed calmly into the plight we are in today. " We have cultivated air, we sowed winds and we are harvesting storms".
[Cypriot Proverb]

The Congress concerned itself with the creation of a rural Greek-Turkish party and the Turkish and Greek speakers agreed, stressing the usefulness of co-operation in the Legislative Assembly so they composed a common memorandum which they sent to the government asking for solutions to all the serious agrarian problems of the time. Towards the end, Mr Rossides was asked to take a Turkish fellow worker as collaborator with the intention of creating a Greek-Turkish body of candidates as representatives of the Agrarian Party in the elections of 1925. But the plan failed and the elections in October, instead of a well designed and well-organized Greek-Turkish front, yielded only spasmodic and isolated actions, so the only one clearly rural representative to the elected parliament was Mr. Rossides.

The main reason that this positive, beneficial effort failed was the indifference, to say the least, shown by the bourgeois class and the Cyprus press. The Cyprus newspapers of the period turned all their energies to the establishment of a major Agricultural Bank which, it was claimed, would have saved the farmers by means of paying off in full all their debts to Cypriot money lenders. According to this plan, rural people would pay off debts by taking out loans at a low interest rate ; the truth is that this interest rate was a means for the bourgeois class to ensure the collection of the whole debt from the government, something that they as a class couldn't do [as they had correctly predicted] without the rural bank of their choice. In vain did Mr. Rossides oppose the loan policy, explaining with irrefutable arguments that real protection of the farmers was not by changing money lenders, but through better prices for their products, an approach to security used in all the European countries.

But all in vain. The only correct voice was drowned in the orchestra of hoarse shouting for a rural bank, with millions of pounds as capital.

And naturally the question arises: Why did this initiative by rural people fail so ingloriously? Simply because the conditions which brought them to this sorry plight had not changed. Self-styled leaders continuously argued that the sole cause of the situation was the foreign government and that they could be liberated from their misery only through national restoration, which the Greek parliamentary representatives would obtain.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Events which resulted from the Political Movements of 1925 and 1942

In previous chapters we have set out the facts with the greatest possible brevity, the contribution of the bourgeois , direct or indirect, [direct with its actions and methods and indirect with its influence on the government,] for the immiseration of the rural population until 1925. Injustice and oppression, from wherever they came and wherever they take place, lead to resistance which develops gradually into organizations or political parties.

This natural evolution developed disappointingly late. Only in 1925 did the first serious movement for the establishment of an agrarian party start, and it continued spasmodically and with a declining growth rate until 1931, when events occurred which legitimized the suspension of both political and class evolution. But this suspension increased the rapid pace of impoverishment of rural people, whose sufferings increased seriously to the point that the government became uneasy. It reacted against the complete feudalization of Cyprus with various semi-measures, so for a short time fate was postponed. These measures included a mutilated agricultural bank, and peculiar co-operatives, associations foreign to the co-operative spirit, for selling fields under the law of rural indebtedness, whose long gestation kept its benefits to a minimum. I said that all the measures which have been taken by the government could only postpone the full feudalization of the countryside. Because the productive population of Cyprus, being the exception from the rest of the people, not only had no protection for its produce but was not helped in any way to help itself. Under these conditions, it was impossible to have extra money to pay installments on debts. Only the war saved this situation by providing work opportunities to the rural population for

defense projects and more generally by increasing the circulation of Cypriot paper money.

These external affairs affecting Cyprus which might have helped the peasants towards economic recovery, were unfortunately brought to a halt by the government when it stopped the selling of the peasant produce. As I said in the previous chapter, in the first war the government did the opposite of what it should have done - fixing the price of produce, but leaving free the price of consumer merchandise. What happened before is over and done with. It is an elementary principle of justice that rights entail obligations. The government violated this elementary principle, when the war ended. It did not acknowledge any obligations to the peasants, meaning the protection of their produce in exchange for rights which were exercised over their produce during the recent war. Instead, it did something worse. It protected British industry and restricted cheap foreign imports with quotas when, as is well known, there was a high demand for metal for armaments, and mining companies made huge profits every year. These things were done at the expense of the producer, and for the benefit of foreign firms. The agricultural world was abandoned in favor of free competition. In all other agricultural countries there was drastic bankruptcy of the weakest farmers, and the mining companies obtained plenty of human hands for their tunnels. It was a unique opportunity for the Government to protect the Cypriot producer at the expense of foreign companies, and this protection would come through applying high tariffs or by the total banning of imports, at the very least the majority of agricultural imports from foreign countries. But such protection found no favor with the foreign companies because expensive food would have justified a claim for wage increases. Secondly, such measures would have allowed many rural producers to stay in their villages and would have saved them from bankruptcy. Thirdly, a small increase in the numbers of workers would have increased

demand, and an increased demand for workers would have given them courage to seek higher wage increases and better housing and improvements in their living and working conditions. And because that would have reduced the profits of these companies, the agrarian classes were victimized, and they suffered, and they were sacrificed to British industrial interests.

CHAPTER FIVE:

The Outbreak of the Current War.

The beginning of the war we have been experiencing found the rural population and the government with the features we just described. The position of the government can be described objectively by the following picture: "A poor man finds himself in insurmountable economic distress. He seeks relief from a relative, takes what he needs to get through his difficulties, basing his requests on his kinship rights. After some time he is in better shape, even in a position to return what he borrowed, or a least part of it. But at this point he completely ignores his benefactor's complaints, he replies with contemptuous laughter that he does not care for the misfortunes of his former benefactor. But times change again, poverty and misfortune again harass the unscrupulous, despicable fellow. In the meantime, the benefactor whom he recently scorned is again in a position to help him. But great audacity is needed by the poor man in order to come and ask again for help and when he does this, he does it modestly, admitting his guilty errors and asking his former benefactor whom he treated so unfairly, to give him whatever he chooses. The government is like that poor relative who forgot his benefactor and came audaciously again, even requisitioning by decree what the producer has, without so much as asking his opinion.

CHAPTER SIX:

The Political Evolution of the Rural Population

Briefly, and without exaggeration these were the vicissitudes of the rural class from 1914 and onwards vicissitudes which had as a general result a terrible degeneration, amounting to a decisive defeat of almost half the rural population. This half of the rural population was left indigent, propertyless workers depending wholly on their manual labor, while the standard of living of the remaining workers also fell in order for them to keep their positions. In the previous chapter we spoke of the agrarian class awakening and the reason this movement failed and came to an end. Because of this failure, the rural population seemed for a long period to be dead. The 1931 events had made their own contribution to this. The agrarian population awakened only in 1942 due to the unfair and terrible economic pressure at their expense through price fixing, and requisitioning. They were now asked to move forward politically. It was natural, that after seventeen years of waiting there should have been some new political movement and indeed the rural population was evolving - but alas, this evolution was in the wrong direction. The people whose interests would have been harmed by this political awakening and the coming into being of an independent, economic organization, took care to torpedo this effort.

They had no difficulty finding the methods. They improvised and experimented. They again invoked the holy ideals of fatherland, religion and family. This time, the enemies were not people of other religions or races, because the enmity had faded away due to official Greek – Turkish friendship. [2] The enemy was identified as a section of the classes which made up the rural population, and which existed in every village whether in greater or smaller proportions. These were brothers, children, relatives, countrymen who had committed the involuntary crime of being without

Comment [PL1]:

property and had been transformed into labourers for the reasons we've explained before. And the rich farmers, believed that it was possible to separate and protect their own interests from those of their co-villagers. Once this destructive schism had started, it continued and due to their great naiveté the farmers believed that their brother, their kinsman and their covillager whom they had known since they were small children had now found it possible to change their religion and their race readily, as if religions and races were things which could be changed like a shirt whenever one liked. [3] And here we understand the propertyless labourers who dwelt in villages and who had not cut their ties with the villages.

Instead the richer farmers ought to have enfolded the poor with pity and sympathy, having in mind that they and their children might one day face the same danger of disinheritance. But on the contrary, they showed them contempt, indifference and too often ill will in the face of their sufferings. The others [those who were in dire difficulties], should have accepted the fact that their plight was primarily their own fault, and only in the second place involved other people. After a careful analysis of their mistakes they might have understood their own role, and stopped themselves falling further down the slope they were on, and from there they might have tried to climb back up towards the point from where they had fallen. But not so. They continued down the slope towards utter wretchedness which carries the name "the working class".

Unfortunately, the leaders of this social class were unaware of the specific differences which separated the landlord proper, and small peasant proprietor - from property-less labourers and the moral implications of the villagers' desire for material independence. They encouraged him to align himself with the working class [4] and to work towards the formation of organizations in their own villages, opposing the agrarian class and its interests. This wrong-headed and

harmful policy must stop, because every villager is necessarily a peasant since he is engaged with agricultural work and he tries not only to earn a better daily wage but also to avoid becoming a daily-wage laborer, by gradually building up his own agricultural livelihood - which means, not only farming the land, but can also mean livestock husbandry, and all kinds of other activities in the village. In that way, united, we can seek the rights of our village in particular, as well as of villages more generally and we shall find progress and improvement only through the rural population's overall prosperity.

Unfortunately seventeen years of political movement found rural people in evolutionary decline, since all they had managed was to be divided in two mutually hostile parties in almost all the villages. Why? Because eternally cunning local influentials whispered in their ears that their destitute fellow villagers were now uniting in order to destroy them economically and that they were no longer Christians and Greeks, and so for these reasons they should be despised, disregarded and hated. These cunning whisperers told those of their fellow-villages who had managed to hold back a piece of land from enforced sale, or those who had enough to live a tolerable life, that they should see themselves as members of the capitalist class and because of this, as enemies of their destitute fellows.

The quarrels in the villages between the AKEL followers and the followers of PEK remind me of a scene in the exciting film Ben-Hur. The film is dealing with the deepest reasons for the conviction and crucifixion of Jesus by the so called leaders and protectors of the Jewish nation. There is a scene in a Roman galley on which they traveled for refreshment round the coastal area of Palestine --- high Roman officers with Jewish national leaders. The gallery was a kind of Roman invention --- a boat without sails which moved along by the power of human arms, by a certain number of slaves who worked in the lower part of

the boat. The labor was hard and so miserable, that even the most virile man couldn't stand it more than two years and then ended up dead or crippled. In the lower part of such galley, there were two slaves who had dishonestly managed to get promotion to overseers, and were holding whips in their hands, then striking without pity those slaves who for one reason or another did not row properly.

One man among them denounced to the overseers the methods they had used to get their positions. The supervisors then furiously attacked him and executed him. The other slaves were watching this macabre scene without any protest, but with an internal satisfaction, which was expressed by a few of them after the tragic end of their colleague because this dead slave had for a moment appeared first and best among them and his superiority to the other slaves was so great that they had all felt a crushing pressure from his example. For this reason they felt internal satisfaction after his death. Meanwhile, on the upper part of the galley, in a luxury cabin, the Romans and Hebrews continued a festive orgy with Jewish slave-girls.

Owing to the racial hatred against the Turks which is still concealed in the deepest part of their consciousness, they managed to throw their Turkish house-mates out of their organization. [5] There was no-one to tell them a few simple truths. Nor could they think that as every village is a state in miniature and as the states have their own particular principles, that a schism is as destructive in a village as in a state. Also no-one pointed out to them that all the inhabitants of a village depend directly or indirectly for their preservation on the production of this village and that the prosperity of the village as a whole is the prosperity for everyone separately and as Jesus declared with his divine words "Every town or country, which is divided against itself will not survive" . There was no-one to tell them, nor could they think that the Turkish Cypriots stopped being our racial enemies once the British occupied the island and they

transformed themselves into co-slaves, alongside us, with regard to the new authorities. And we ought to perceive them and to judge them likewise and work out that it was in our interest and it was our duty to unite with them in order that this unity might make our common yoke the lighter.

Why were these large and simple truths never conveyed to the common people? For the simple reason that these truths were not only incompatible with the interests of the bourgeois class but actually against them.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Patriotism and Patri-exploitation

The very serious problems of the island we live in are set aside, indeed ignored, in favour of the high ethical principle called patriotism. They speak of nothing else, they burst out of their jackets for it, for patriotism they will endure the highest sacrifices, and for such a high cause they will bring back those who have lost their way. But they have never managed to analyze what patriotism means and who is patriotic. Such an action of course runs counter to their so-honorable interests. So, for the Cypriot people, patriotism, that highest of ethical goals has been reduced to an abstract idea and given a new sense: how much money a person has given for the military needs of Greece. If you want, you may ask the peasants: Is that person a good patriot? The answer comes back Yes, very good. How do you know? Because he donated five hundred pounds, a sum nobody else has given in Cyprus.

This answer will be given in explanation by anyone and everyone. The slightest hesitation draws down the charge of being unpatriotic and communist. But where can the proper definition of the word be found? Where else, but Ancient Greece?

The Ancient Greeks gave us the following definition of patriotism "Regard the city as your home, and your fellow-citizens as your companions." Because in ancient times, the state was a city-state, a free metaphorical translation of this idea is needed for us today. Thus, the true patriot regards all his fellow countrymen as if they are members of his family. The Ancient Greeks rightly defined patriotism as the greatest virtue, and anyone who had it, had reason for pride. According to this definition, the adoption and working out of patriotism begins from childhood and

continues without interruption to the grave. The good pater familias cares not only for his own particular individual happiness but also for the happiness of the whole family, and he considers their misfortune as his own, the very same. The true patriot seeks happiness and finds his happiness and that of his family, in the happiness of his fellow-countrymen.

That means, as the economists say, that patriotism helps the evolution of the Nation's wealth. Imagine someone, no matter whom, no matter whether he is rich or not, who creates new jobs, which bring new income to the country, and then uses the profit in such way as to offer the largest portion voluntarily to his countrymen, retaining only a small part of the profits for himself and his family, and treats those he employs more as associates than as a master to servants. He is the person with the right to the title of patriot. Unfortunately, such people are very rare, especially in Cyprus. More common are the people who seek success by increasing the national wealth only in a way from which they can take advantage, and they manage to get almost all the possible profit, holding down daily wages as low as they can.

The common type of people, that is, most of the Cypriots, are in this category, and have no thought for increasing the National wealth but are out to siphon off as much as possible of what already exists. They know many ways, some repulsive, some diabolical. We cannot list them all – that would be impossible – and nevertheless they contrive to present themselves as benefactors and protectors of ordinary people. One way of sucking the poor people dry is through false interest calculations, false weights and measures and the like. Thus are huge fortunes amassed. Then one of these men gives £500 from his dishonest fortune to the national cause. A lot of people are impressed by this deed and they offer him communal or political honors, which he then uses not only to recuperate the 500

pounds he originally offered but also five thousand pounds more. This is a form of patri-exploitation we need protection from and we should be on the lookout for it. We should not allow these patri-exploiters, whether they are the residents of the cities or the villages, to pull the wool over our eyes, to wrack up profits great or small. Because unfortunately such people exist in every part of Cyprus.

When we have to choose somebody for offices high or low, or even when we are considering showing respect, appreciation and trust in a person, we need to look deeply into his previous conduct, to learn if his actions show that he is a true patriot and if his actions do so convince us that he is really so, then we can show him with our appreciation and our trust and entrust him with low or high offices. But take care not to be influenced by donations great or small, or parchment certificates if they have come to him by profits taken at the expense of his fellow villagers or any other Cypriots, since we've said the true patriot doesn't lower himself by earning at the expense of his fellows. The Holy Bible says "A man who says he loves God but despises the brother he sees every day, can he truly love the God he has never seen?" When you consider anyone else, poor or rich, complete illiterate or outstanding scientists, regard them with disdain if they shaped their fortunes at the expense of common people. You have to evaluate your fellow-villagers and your country men by radically different yardsticks: Until now, the standard you used was how much property they had, and you ignored the method by which it had been accumulated. From now on, the yardstick should be a man's actions. How many Cypriots or co-villagers in general deserve your disdain when weighed against their wrongly - accumulated wealth?

It is not only your right to do this, but also a duty to yourself and to the coming generations: To do this is natural, for when a youngster sees that someone in his village enjoys the respect of others, holding office irrespective of the

means he used to build up his property, the only ambition the youngster will have is to follow in his footsteps. This youngster willing to hold offices and enjoy the respect of his co-villagers will apply exactly the same ways to amass wealth. If on the contrary he understands that certain ways of getting rich have brought the rich man into contempt and disrepute, he will hesitate to imitate the man and his ways. Our religion not only requires forgiveness but also demands certain attitudes from us. Because Jesus with his divine goodness, forgave everyone - the unclean adulteress, the tax-collector, the robber and even those who crucified him. Yet the only people He did not forgive were the hypocrites. For He cried out "Beware the Scribes and the Pharisees, the hypocrites."

You have a similar duty to denounce those who don't regard the city as a common home and their citizens as companions [according to the definition which our ancestors gave for true patriots] and present themselves as true patriots and ask you to entrust offices of all kinds to them. When people in all the villages unite and with one voice reject those who have habitually been elected or recommended for office, and when the showing of respect and recognition to those people is changed to contempt for the patri-exploiters, and respect is shown only to who really deserve it and to those who they see their personal interests as part of common interests, then, and only then, will rural people see better days and come to take the place they deserve among other classes of Cypriots.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

Good and Bad, Competent and Incompetent Managers-Administrators of Public Affairs

Another defect of rural society which is concurrent and complementary to the one previously referred to, is that when it comes to electing their representatives, they are guided more by feelings rather than by rational judgment. They get carried away by big words and promises without making an attempt to find out whether these are true or whether they can be realistically fulfilled and they just simply cast their vote for them. Then comes an additional vice: When the time comes to re-elect their representatives and those who made those high and unrealistic promises come back as candidates again, people in rural areas forget what those promises were and do not even try to find out why they had never been fulfilled. They hear the same or even more and greater promises and cast their vote again to those who promise most. Our ancestors used to say: "Authority maketh the man" in other words, it is when authority is given to a man that we realize exactly what this man is worth from his achievements – be they great or insignificant – whilst in power; and at the end of this man's service, we can judge his work not on the basis of his justifications or his self-praise, but on the basis of what he has achieved, what we handed to him and what he delivered back to us; we can examine the circumstances and conditions under which he worked and decide whether it would be beneficial and moral to trust authority in his hands again. This is what politically mature people do. However, those who used to place their trust in big and fine words and cast their vote to the demagogues were described by our ancestors as "the mob" and they used to refer to those who carried them along and misguided them with the insulting names of "demagogues" and "rabble-rousers" rather than "politicians" which was a term qualifying those who sought

and acquired authority thanks to the good deeds they did for their native land. I dare make the regretful statement that in its political life to date, the rural world is presented as a mob being carried along and misled by the demagogues. This is the main reason why it has ended up in the sorry state in which it is today. This tactic of listening to fine words and deciding accordingly needs to be reviewed; the rural world needs to examine the deeds of those seeking power before taking any decision. In the case of politicians already in service, we should look at what they have achieved in the course of their service and to what extent they have fulfilled their promises. In the case of a politician who runs for elections for the first time, we should discuss his plans and promises and ask him to explain how he intends to execute them, and if we are persuaded that there is some hope of them being fulfilled, then we can assign authority to him. However, if he is unable to convince us that his promises can be fulfilled then we should refuse to give authority to him and we should call him a demagogue and rabble-rouser.

CHAPTER NINE:

The Role of The Rural Classes in Relation to the Other Classes in Cyprus, or the Reasons for Cypriot Misfortunes

Our remaining task is to examine the position of the rural classes in relation to the other classes on the island and the way the rural classes must tackle the various direct and indirect, present and future risks threatening to unite this small remnant of the class of rural household owners with the massive class of rural workers-serfs which has been created over the past thirty years as a result of the government anti-rural policy assisted by all the reactionary local elements. The rural classes are a target for exploitation, first and foremost by the government and then by all the other classes. As a result of these continuous and long-lasting tactics, country people end up hating their work, their village and their life. Only the utmost need will persuade country people to lead their children to follow in their own path. All those who are relatively well-off will send their children to a higher educational institution depending on their financial situation, the sole objective being to find a job with a salary. To my knowledge, there is not even a single case of a countryman's child who after having followed any studies whatsoever in a higher institution went back to work on his father's land as a farmer. Those country people who are not well-off sent their children to learn a craft "in order not to be doomed to work on the farm for the rest of their life and rot on the damned land". But in this case, who will be left to work on the land that feeds us all, given that agriculture is the only consistent national resource available? In villages, one often hears the following dialogue between villagers and school teachers: "Master, how are the boys doing at school?" – "Yiannis is not very good but Costis is one of the top pupils in the classroom – Right then I'll keep Costis in school and

take Yiannis out of school to work on the land". So Yiannis who is not a good student, meaning of a lower mental ability, becomes a farmer, whereas Costis who is of higher mental ability will exercise a different profession, something other than farming. The poorer rural children, whether they are orphans or have been neglected by their parents, arouse compassion because "they have been abandoned and left in the dark, being bossed around by everybody and they haven't even learned a craft". Agricultural work is not considered to be a proper job. Nobody is interested in specializing in this work, so young people whose parents are not farmers do not go into farming professions. Why should they specialize in skills requiring hard work and providing low wages? So, the farming workforce is rapidly diminishing both in quality and in quantity.

On the contrary, year by year there is a rapid rise in all other professions. As a result of the policy which was implemented after the war, according to which one may only exercise a profession if one holds a professional license for it, the government is faced with this distorted situation. However, it takes no preventive measures against this. All professions are highly saturated and if a statistical study is carried out, it will be revealed that there is a greater proportion of technicians and professionals compared to all other countries; however, this congestion in the technical-professional field instead of diminishing, is rising to the detriment of the sole productive class of the island, i.e. the farmers, due to the incessant persecution against them. It is necessary, even at this late stage, for all of us, people and government to realize that the number of the drones in the Cypriot hive has risen to such an extent that all the bees run the risk of dying and the hive becoming a hive of drones. To avert this danger which threatens the land with bankruptcy, it is necessary to proceed without any further delay with the negative and positive protection of the productive world of the island.

Positive Measures:

To replicate and implement the entire rural legislation of Greece, both internal and external in relation to selling, disposing and exchanging Cypriot rural products with other useful goods for the producer, such as fertilizers, tools etc – not in a preferential manner but in the best interest of the farmer. Internal protection of the locally consumed product from competition from similar products imported from abroad.

Negative Protection:

The system of government professional licences for exercising any profession should be imposed and implemented by law in the post-war period; the public should however be warned that licences for exercising XYZ profession shall not be issued following an XYZ number of years (to be specified).

CHAPTER TEN:

Measures for The Self-Protection of Smallholder Farmers

The protection measures mentioned briefly in the previous chapter will of course be beneficial if applied. However, given that British occupation will be prolonged, and until such time as it will hopefully come to an end through our union with Greece, the small-owners/producers ought to apply as of today the so-called "closed economy" system, because without this, they will certainly and undoubtedly go bankrupt and this is internally and externally related to the government economic policy.

The term "closed economy" refers to eating and wearing what we are producing, and buying as little as possible. Such a mode of living is similar to the one which was strictly applied in the middle ages and which continued up until almost the end of the 19th century. Of course, this lifestyle reduces the living standard from the point of view of leading a good and comfortable life but when faced with two evils we would go for the lesser one, as our ancestors used to say. And it is certainly a lesser evil to wear for instance Cyprus cashmeres, Cyprus aladjia and cotton woven and made by ourselves, than to be left in a few years' time landless and homeless for the sake of wearing European cashmeres, silk stockings and high heels. To illustrate this better I shall give you a number of concrete examples:

To produce 100 okes (128 kg) of barley we need to work for 10 days. This production will yield us 400 piastres. If by working 10 days I can produce a material (fabric) which would cost me 500 piastres to buy, then I will work to make the material instead of producing 100 okes of barley. So, then there is less barley on the market and textile prices fall, thus achieving an equilibrium. More concretely, all village

women will stop working on the land and will start working at home weaving materials to dress their families. Men alone will be involved in farming and livestock activities in order to contribute to the food self-sufficiency of the family.

This is the only way to subject the endless swarms of drones of Cypriot society to total deprivation; so from the enviable position they hold now they will become the object of contempt and disdain and the bees will rise.

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Endnotes

1 The phrase *ethniki mas apokatastasi* is hard to translate. The choices are restoration, reinstatement, restitution of health, recovery. I have been advised that "restoration" is the most appropriate.

2 This may be a reference to the Venizelos-Ataturk Accords of 1931. The only other explanation might be that in Cyprus the colonial government was, during war time, [1939-1945] trying to promote a degree of cooperation between the islands ethnic groups. The specific time implied is not clear in the original text.

3 In the original Greek the author writes of changing "*thriskia kai phyli*," religion and race. It seems to me a strained metaphor to describe the intensity of the split in village society between the rich and the poor.

4 I take this to imply an urban, industrial working class. The Greek simply mentions *ergatiki taxi*.

5. The subject of this sentence seems to be the eternally cunning local influentials, mentioned two paragraphs earlier

– i.e. opportunists disguised as nationalists. The writing is sometimes awkward in terms of transitions, and the signalling of the active subjects of verbs.