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CYPRUS UNDER BRITISH RULE

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PREFACE

Having left Cyprus in the summer of 1956, after eleven years of residence, I had seen the island in peace and prosperity, taking considerable steps forward in many aspects of modern life; then I had lived through a year and a half of violence and terrorism; thanks to my position in the field of education and the Cyprus Scout Council, during both periods, I had had contacts with key persons among the rulers and the ruled; I had known personally many Britishers in responsible positions, including Governors Lord Winster, Sir Andrew Wright and Field Marshal Sir John Harding, as well as Greek Cypriot leaders like Archbishop Makarios III, Dr. Themistocles Dervis and even the elusive and mysterious "Dighenis" himself. This personal background naturally awakening a keen interest in me, coupled with the proportions and acuteness the Cyprus problem has assumed during the past few years, have led me to choose Cyprus Under British Rule as my subject for study.

Much has been written on Cyprus and some of the periods of its history are rather well studied, but the period of British rule which, in some ways, is the most significant, has not yet received the attention it deserves. There is a volume by W. Hepword Dixon called British Cyprus, written in 1879, when the British had just arrived there. There is also Charles W. Orr's Cyprus Under British Rule, which, however takes us only as far as 1918. In Sir George Hill's History of Cyprus, a well documented and monumental work of four volumes, we find Part II of the

fourth volume devoted to a description of British rule in Cyprus. This is the most thorough and scholarly work on the subject, but it too brings us down to 1948 only, leaving the last decade to be discussed and also the whole period to be re-studied in the light of what has happened since.

However, the need for this study was felt not only because the development of the situation has outstripped the existing studies; not only because the last ten hectic years of kaleidoscopic change have necessitated a new evaluation of British rule in Cyprus, but also because all existing standard works are by Britishers or Greeks, hardly anything reliable and thorough enough existing by disinterested third parties. Writing in 1948, Sir George Hill felt that "to give an adequate account.... of the work which had been accomplished by Britain in the government and administration of the island would require a fifth volume,"¹ which he never wrote. Such an "account" or stock-taking is particularly timely now that British rule in Cyprus is in the process of liquidation.

The present study is far from claiming to take the place of that "fifth volume" but, within the limitations of my competence, available sources, time and space, it is an attempt to supply a substitute for it. Making every effort to avoid tendentious selection or conscious suppression of facts to justify preconceived ideas, I have tried to bring together relevant material that was available and organize it in a logical sequence to help the understanding and evaluation of British rule in Cyprus, not hesitat-

1. George Hill. A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV, Preface, p. ix.

ing to state my own conclusions for what they may be worth.

As my bibliography and footnotes will indicate, I have consulted the great wealth of available sources, not a negligible number of publications and primary sources, however, being unavailable here in Beirut. The history of Cyprus to a great extent, being the history of certain major powers, many general works on British policy and Russian designs in the Middle East have been of help to show things in a better perspective.

I am deeply indebted to my adviser Dr. Zeine N. Zeine, whose constant guidance, criticism and suggestions have been of invaluable assistance as the preparation of this study progressed through the academic year of 1958-1959. My thanks are due to Dr. Nicola Ziadeh, who, knowing my background and interests, was the first person to suggest this subject for study. I must also mention my gratitude to the B.C.W. Administration for allowing me to take time off my full-time duties there to carry on this work. I wish also to express my thanks to the British, Greek and Turkish Embassies in Beirut and the A.U.B. and the B.C.W. library staffs for so kindly making available to me all relevant material in their possession.

ABSTRACT

By the Cyprus Convention of 1878 Great Britain agreed to guarantee the remaining Asiatic possessions of the Sultan against further Russian expansion and in return obtained the right to administer the island of Cyprus, which she claimed to be necessary as a base for this purpose. British rule, thus inaugurated in Cyprus, falls into five natural periods. From 1878 to 1914 the island was technically Ottoman territory administered by the British, who had to "pay" tribute. In 1914, with the British declaration of war on Turkey, it was made British territory but did not officially become a Crown Colony until 1925. Then followed the third period (1925-1931) during which more and more popular participation in the administration of the island was admitted. With the violent outbreak of 1931 this experiment came to an end and a new period (1931-1955) of direct rule by the British started. After the Second World War, Greek Cypriot determination to achieve Enosis took on an increasingly more aggressive form until it broke into a final four-year period (1955-1959) of unprecedented violence by EOKA, a terrorist secret organization. Turkish Cypriot reaction was equally violent, leading to communal clashes in the island and strained relations between Greece and Turkey.

All this came to a "happy" conclusion, when on February 19, 1959, an agreement was signed in London by Great Britain, Greece and Turkey as well as the Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives.

It provides for an Independent Republic of Cyprus, with key positions in the new administration being distributed between Greeks and Turks in the ratio of seven to three respectively. The Turks, however, have several additional guarantees against domination by the Greek majority. The Turkish Vice-President has veto power over the more important decisions of the Council of Ministers. The five largest towns of the island will have separate Greek and Turkish municipalities and each of the communities will have a Communal Council for its own internal affairs. The Turkish Government, as well as the Greek and the British, will maintain military bases in the island. A last and a most painful concession, which is the very negation of all that they have been struggling for during the entire period of British rule, was the Greek renunciation of Enosis.

British rule, which, in spite of many shortcomings and failures, had succeeded in giving Cyprus eighty-one years of peace, progress, prosperity, justice and an efficient administration remarkably free from corruption, will come to an end early in 1960. A new era will be ushered in but one does not need much prophetic insight to see that with its complicated and delicately poised machinery, the new regime will require something more than the usual amount of statesmanship and good will on the part of the three governments and the two Cypriot communities concerned to make it a success.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Cyprus. - World War I brought the British and the French to many Arab countries of the Middle East as mandatories but immediately after World War II these powers started to pull out of the area, ultimately leaving Cyprus practically as the only secure strategic base in the region under direct Western control. Meanwhile the Middle East and its defense by the West had become more essential than ever because of its proximity to the Soviet Bloc, its newly discovered abundant oil deposits and the vacillation of some of its leaders in choosing sides in the Cold War between the two hostile camps of the contemporary world. These particular circumstances explain in part the fact that Cyprus is today receiving world-wide attention, altogether out of proportion to its size and economic value.

Our Problem Stated. - There is no doubt that in this gigantic world struggle, Cyprus, by its cultural heritage, belongs to the camp of individual freedom and political democracy. Three of its greatest sons, each one in his own way, has through history proclaimed the sanctity of the ideal of freedom. Evagoras¹ the king, fought the might Persian Empire to assert the Greek ideal of political freedom; Zeno,² the great philosopher, was one of the greatest

1. Philip Newman. A Short History of Cyprus, p. 36.
2. Ibid. p. 47.

teachers of the freedom of mind; Barnabas, the apostle, preached the freedom of spirit, brought to the world by his great Galilean teacher.

In modern times this Cypriot ideal of freedom has been revived in the new guise of pan-Hellenic irredentism demanding "Enosis" or union with "Mother Greece". Some of the questions this demand raised are: will the island's important Turkish minority, who were its rulers for three hundred years, acquiesce such an eventuality without a bitter struggle supported by their "Mother" country? Can the West afford to let go its own way this last base under its own sovereignty, in this most sensitive Cold War area? What kind of a solution will best serve the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole and the cause of world freedom?

Our purpose in this study will be not an attempt to analyze the Cyprus Problem as such or to find final and clear-cut answers to these and similar questions, but to describe the situation as it is and as it came to be since the British occupation, to discuss the forces at work, the factors involved, hoping that such a study will be a help in the understanding of the problem as we face it today.

Like all political and social questions the Cyprus Problem, to a certain degree, is the product of its geography and history. Consequently we shall have first to acquaint ourselves very briefly with the main geographic features of the island, have a glimpse of its past, review the circumstances that brought the island under British rule and then discuss in some detail the achievements and

1. Ibid. p. 62.

shortcomings of that administration and the situation it faces today.

Significance of the Geographic Factor. - Cyprus is the third
1
Mediterranean island in size, 3572 sq. M. in area, that is slightly
smaller than the Republic of Lebanon. The 35th North parallel and
the 33rd East longitude intersect somewhere near its center. Hence,
geographically, as well as geologically, speaking, Cyprus is part of
2
the Asiatic continent only forty miles from Turkey, 60 from Syria,
108 from Beirut and 230 from the northern end of Suez Canal at Port
Said. On cloudless days both the Taurus and the Lebanon mountains
are clearly visible from the island.

Not being large enough to maintain an independent existence
of its own, and being so near all three great continents of the an-
cient world and hence easily accessible, are the geographic factors which
constitute the key to the history of Cyprus going back thousands of
years. It has constantly come under the domination of one or the
other continental power, much depending upon the relative naval
strength of the powers. As a rule we find Cyprus subject to the
navy dominating the Eastern Mediterranean. In the earliest days
when the sciences of shipbuilding and navigation were rudimentary
only immediate seafaring neighbors like the Phoenicians, Aegians and
Greeks got Cyprus under their influence, but soon, with improved
shipping, its domination from Egypt and Venice became possible and
finally, as a result of modern progress, even England, the mistress
of the seas, was not too far to bring the island under her control.

1. Great Britain. Cyprus 1954 (Colonial Reports), p. 131.
2. Harry Luke. Cyprus, p. 21.

The history of Cyprus bears the marks of not only its size and location but also its topography. There is the Troodos Massif in the west, with its foot hills, taking up about one third of the islands total area. At Mt. Olympus it rises to 6403 ft.,¹ and contains practically all the summer resorts, mines and the more important forests of the island. Then there is the Kyrenia or Karpass range, about 100 miles long, along the northern shores, significantly stretching out a long and inviting arm to the Syrian coast. This range, which is not much higher than 3000 ft.,² has practically all the best-known castles (St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara) and many of the island's famous monasteries (Bella-Pais, Chrysostomos, Magar and Apostolos Andreas). Troodos mountains come first in size and economic importance, while Kyrenia mountains supersede them in scenic beauty and cultural, as well as military significance, in the history of Cyprus.

The third important natural region is the coastal plain, usually two-three miles in width but fertile and in many places very attractive. Much of the rain of the island falls in these plains because of the mountains, which capture the rain-bearing winds coming from the sea. In general the early settlements were on these plains for the additional reason that the colonizing city-states, coming from the sea had to rely upon their sea power for defense. Such Greek and Phoenician³ settlements became independent "kingdoms" but maintained cultural, sentimental and even political ties with the mother country.

1. Hill. Vol. I. p. 8.
2. Ibid. p. 5.
3. Newman. p. 19.

The fourth and last natural region of Cyprus is the Mesaoria, the central plain between the two mountains, as the name signifies. The Mesaoria¹ is the granary of the island but, like so many other Mediterranean areas, suffers from insufficient rainfall, much less than the average 21.15² inches for the island, this being the main cause of frequent crop failures. Very much like the rest of the Mediterranean lands, the Mesaoria in ancient times was completely forested and the problem of early colonists consisted in cutting down the trees to make room for cultivation. Now, it is treeless and arid.

The Climate. - The climate of Cyprus is Mediterranean of course and a corresponding vegetation thrives there, including grape vines, olives, oranges, carobs, pines and other coniferous trees. The coastal plain is humid and warm all through the year, the temperature seldom falling below the freezing point.³ The climate of the central plain is almost continental, cold in winter, dry and hot in summer, with a range of about 40 degrees Centigrade, sometimes the thermometer rising to 43.9° C (111 F)⁴, higher than the record temperature for Cairo. The great range of temperature variations and the lack of sufficient rainfall can be explained by the fact that the mountains quite effectively cut off the prevailing winds and the sea breezes.

The "Beautiful Island". - In the mountains and parts of the coast along the Kyrenia range, as well as in the Paphos area

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1. Hill. Vol. I, p. 7.
 2. Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Middle East, 1950, Ed., p. 119.
 3. Great Britain. Cyprus 1954 (Colonial Reports), p. 31.
 4. Hill. Vol. I, p. 13.

one can find some of the most beautiful natural scenery in the world and a most pleasantly mild climate. Leonardo da Vinci was enchanted by the "loveliness" of this "beautiful island of Cyprus... the realm of the goddess Venus."¹ Speaking of the peaks, slopes, valleys and certain areas along the shore, Sir Harry Luke justly affirms that "there is scenery which... cannot be surpassed elsewhere in colour, in romantic outline, in fragrance of vegetation."

Natural Resources. - One could safely assert that the natural resources of Cyprus are not negligible at all, but because of inefficient methods of exploitation, its inhabitants have in general suffered from poverty. The standard of living of the majority of the people—peasants and workingmen—was very low indeed until about the second decade of the twentieth century. Other reasons for this poverty will become evident in later chapters.

Through most of history and until the present day the two most important sources of income for Cyprus have been its agriculture and mining. Agriculture is the backbone² of the island's economy, its main products being wheat and other cereals, alcoholic drinks of fame, oranges, and other citrus fruits, carobs, olives and live stock.

Mining,³ particularly copper mining, has usually been an essential part of Cypriot economy through the ages since the second millenium B.C. In fact there is a confusion concerning the origin of the word Cyprus. Some think it is derived from the Greek word

1. Luke. p. 123.

2. Great Britain. Cyprus 1954 (Colonial Reports), p. 51.

3. Ibid. p. 62.

for copper, others think "copper is a corruption of the Greek word for Cyprus."¹ In their order of importance the minerals mined at present are copper, iron ore, asbestos and chrome, to mention the more important ones. The salt obtained from the salt lakes of Larnaca and Limassol was the main source of income for the island during the Crusading period,² but now is used only for home consumption.

Brief Historical Survey. - Before we proceed with a discussion of Cyprus Under British Rule, it may be helpful, in addition to these geographic notions, to have also a brief survey of the thirty or more preceding centuries of Cypriot history as a background. Table I shows the successive periods of this history with changing masters and their dates. Our account could really go back to the very beginnings of civilization and trace the long and interesting developments in succeeding periods, but we shall have to limit our interest strictly to a few main events which made Cyprus what it is today, with its character, culture, traditions and institutions.

Early Cosmopolitanism of Cyprus. - Egyptians came to Cyprus under Tuthmosis³ III (1500 B.C.) as conquerors, while, beginning the eighth century, Phoenicians from Tyre and Sidon came as traders and established trading-posts as permanent settlements under self-governing chiftains or "kings" and therefore had a greater and a more lasting influence upon the country. The

1. Kevork Keshishian. Romantic Cyprus, p. 24.
2. Hill. Vol. I, p. 11.
3. Newman. p. 15.

Table¹ I

Periods of Cyprus History

<u>Approximate Date</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
3500 B.C.	Neolithic Age	Many remains found
3000 B.C.	Bronze Age	Facilitated by presence of copper
1500-525 B.C.	Egyptian and Assyrian Rule	Large measure of local autonomy most of the time
525-334 B.C.	Persian Rule	
334-30 B.C.	Alexander and Ptolemies	Progress of Hellenism
30 B.C. -A.D.395	Roman Province	Most prosperous and most populous period
395-1191	Byzantine Rule	Treated as Darr-ul-Harb hence harsh treatment
649-964	Arab Incursions	"Harsh exactions" by Templars, hence revolt
1191-1192	Richard I and Templars	Prosperity and high culture
1192-1489	Insurgents	
1489-1570	Venetians	Decline in prosperity
1570-1878	Ottoman Rule	Sharp decline in prosperity
1878-1959	British Rule	Progress, first slow then rapid

Aegeans² and their successors, the Greeks, came about the same time as Phoenicians, seeking new homes in Cyprus and consequently had still a more profound influence and were able to give the island its Greek character as a permanent feature.

After the Egyptian conquerors came the Assyrians, then again the Egyptians, followed by the Persians (525 B.C.). Cyprus was a helpless pawn in the hands of the mighty. During the Ionian³

1. Table I is based upon Newman's characterization of the various periods and tables 2 and 3 on pp. 12 and 67 in his A Short History of Cyprus.

2. Ibid. p. 19.

3. Ibid. p. 28.

Revolt (502 B.C.) and at other times, she made many attempts to shake off the oppressive yoke of oriental despotism but this dream was permanently realized only by the appearance of Alexander the Great. During the following three centuries of Hellenistic rule under Alexander and the Ptolemies, Cyprus was hellenized more thoroughly than ever, without, however, losing much of its earlier cultural heritage—Egyptian, Phoenician, Aegean, Assyrian and Persian—as these influences were not foreign to the Hellenistic spirit. Cosmopolitanism, a characteristic of the Hellenistic Age, was more marked in Cyprus than in most other areas. Perhaps the person most representative of that spirit of the age was the founder of the Stoic School of Philosophy, Zeno¹ of Kitium (336-264 B.C.), a Cypriot of Phoenician parents and an Egyptian subject, carrying out his work in Athens in the Greek language.

Founding of the Church of Cyprus. - In the middle of the first century B.C. Cyprus, with Egypt, became part of the Roman Empire, this status being legalized with the death of Cleopatra² in the year 30 B.C. Under Roman rule, particularly during the reign of Augustus, Cyprus flourished as never before. Peace, security and justice prevailed and much of the local revenue was spent on public works, roads, bridges, harbors, aqueducts, water reservoirs and temples being built all over the island. Population³ approached the half million mark, a record figure until 1956.

1. Hill. Vol. I, p. 213.

2. Ibid. p. 211.

3. Newman. p. 211.

Without the slightest hesitation, however, we may assert that the most important event of the Roman period of Cypriot history is the establishment of the Church of Cyprus, an organization which has been for the past 1913 years, and still is, the most potent and permanent factor influencing the social, cultural and political life of the island.

About a hundred years after the Roman occupation, St. Paul and his friend St. Barnabas, a Cypriot Jew, on their way to Rome stopped at Cyprus (A.D. 46)¹, converted its Roman Proconsul and founded the "Autocephalous Apostolic Church of Cyprus". Thus the island became the first land to be governed by a Christian. The Archbishop of Cyprus still considers himself the successor of St. Barnabas, the apostle, and therefore has the right to sign in red ink, wear the purple cloak and submit to no other ecclesiastical authority as his superior. Under the Byzantines the church came to be known as the "Orthodox Church of Cyprus" without giving up its prerogatives.

The Byzantine Period. - When the Roman Empire was finally divided in 395,² Cyprus naturally became part of the eastern half, subject to Byzantium or Constantinople. Byzantine rule thus inaugurated and lasting for about eight centuries, did not, however, mark a radical change from Roman policies and methods of administration

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1. Lord Kinross. "The Problem of Cyprus," History Today, Vol. IV, Nov., 1954, p. 727-729. As a footnote it is interesting to add that the success of Paul and Barnabas was probably due to the presence of an important Jewish colony in Cyprus. In fact the Cypriot Jews eventually became so powerful that in 115 they rose in revolt and fought the Roman legions for two years before they were crushed. This revolt cost the island 250,000 killed and led to the total expulsion of the Jews from Cyprus. (See Newman. op. cit. p. 62)
 2. Luke, p. 31.

as far as Cyprus was concerned, except that as decay of central authority at Constantinople progressed, internal and external challenges to that authority increased proportionately. Finally a point was reached when a local governor declared himself an "emperor"¹ of Cyprus and often the imperial army and fleet proved themselves completely helpless against foreign invasions.

Arab Incursions. - The first series of these invasions were Arab incursions, at least twenty-four of them in the course of three hundred years (649-964)². Cyprus was part of Darr-ul-Harb, hence these incursions were punitive, remunerative and violent. For instance in the year 802 the Emperor refused to pay Haroun-ar-Rashid³ the customary annual tribute. This resulted in a series of raids so violent that many Cypriot towns, in the hope of finding greater security, moved whole cities to new sites further inland.

Invasion by Crusaders. - The Crusading armies of the West were responsible for a second wave of invasions. In 1191 Richard⁴ I of England occupied the island, but soon sold it to the Templars from whom the Lusignans obtained it in 1192 and remained its masters for almost four centuries, until 1489.⁵ The coming of the Crusaders was of great significance because it ushered a Western domination of Cyprus for such a long period and what is more important it introduced the feudal system of the West and the Latin⁶ Church as a hated

1. Newman, p. 96.

2. Doros Alastos, Cyprus in History, p. 127.

3. Newman, p. 85.

4. Alastos, p. 146.

5. Neroman, p. 104.

6. Ibid. p. 114.

rival of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.

Iusignans. - Iusignans were kings of Cyprus, as well as Jerusalem and Lesser Armenia, but most of the time their kingdom of the latter two realms was nominal, their effective authority extending only over Cyprus. As foreigners they were disliked by the Cypriots, particularly, because they had to give titles and lands to their Frankish comrades at the expense of the local nobility and even more important, because, under pressure from the Pope, they had to support the Roman Catholic Church and clergy against the Church of Cyprus and its clergy. Bulla Cypria¹ of 1260 was probably the most important document by which the Pope sought to regulate the relations of the two churches in Cyprus, as would be expected, by subordinating the Orthodox clergy to the Latin.

In spite of these difficulties and their foreign origin, the Iusignans came as near to establishing a truly independent Cypriot political entity as ever, so that they can be called "kings of Cyprus" in a more real sense than any before or after them. According to many writers "Cyprus under the Iusignans represented the apex of Medieval civilization"² although it had been in a pitiable condition when they took it over. "In every aspect of Medieval civilization the little kingdom played a distinguished part."³

Venetian Rule. - Sovereignty over Cyprus passed from the Iusignans to the Venetians in 1489, when the queen regnant, Caterina⁴ Cornaro, a Venetian by origin, was induced to abdicate in favor of

1. Ibid. p. 124.
2. Ronald Storrs. Memoirs. p. 484.
3. Luke. p. 43.
4. Alastos. p. 218.

the Republic of Venice. This was possible first, because there was a very large and influential Venetian colony in the island; second, and more important, because Venice had the best navy in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the very start, however, Venetians did not feel that they had a firm grip over the island, because of the hostility of the inhabitants and the growing sea power of the Ottomans. They made some concessions¹ to the Cypriot nobility and clergy to appease them. They also destroyed the mountain castles, which might be helpful in a local revolt and to meet foreign attacks they "modernized" or adopted town walls and other fortifications to the new conditions of warfare, making use of gunpowder.

Venetian rule over Cyprus lasted 81 years during which hardly anything was done to promote prosperity. In fact agriculture, industry and even commerce declined,² but just the same the rulers managed to secure a substantial annual revenue from it for their Republic.

The work of their best engineers and the large sums of money spent on fortifications could not save the Venetians when Iala Mustafa appeared at Larnaca in 1570 with the Ottoman fleet. Cypriots went as far as helping³ the Turks, who marched into the interior without meeting resistance. The Venetians retired to their three great fortresses—Nicosia, Famagusta and Kyrenia Castle—and awaited the attack. Nicosia was stormed, sacked, 20000⁴ of its inhabitants

1. Newman. p. 159.
2. Storrs. p. 485.
3. Luke. p. 73.
4. Newman. p. 166.

killed and many others taken into captivity. Kyrenia Castle, frightened by this punishment, surrendered without a fight and as a result remains intact to this day. After a heroic resistance of eleven months Famagusta surrendered, and in spite of the terms of surrender, all its defenders were put to death and their commander flayed alive. This terrible news aroused Europe to a new effort, "the War of Cyprus",¹ a sort of a crusade which defeated the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto but two months too late. Cyprus was already securely in Ottoman hands and was to remain there, as an insignificant province of that Empire for the next 307 years. In the long struggle between East and West for Cyprus, the East had secured another victory because Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent had made the Ottoman fleet superior to the Venetian.

Some Historic Remains of Cyprus. - Before we go on further into the modern period of Cypriot history with a discussion of the Turkish and British periods, we should get at least a glimpse of the historic remains of earlier periods. Leaving out the considerable amount of relics of the neolithic, Cretan, Hellenic, Punic, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods already uncovered by archeologists, we shall mention only a few of the monumental remains of the late Medieval or crusading period, the golden age of Cyprus. Among such monuments are the three crusading mountain castles—St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara—the sea castle of Kyrenia and the Latin monastery of Bellapais.

Each of the three mountain castles has its own exquisite

1. Luke. p. 111.

scenic beauty and its own exciting history but they have so much in common that for our purposes it will be sufficient to have a brief description of one of them. Originally they probably were signal posts, then towers, at the same time being used to house political prisoners. Later the Byzantines¹ turned them into castles to help them detect and resist Arab incursions. The final form in which we find these castles now is due to the extensive constructions and reconstructions of the Lusignans.

The most impressive of the mountain castles is that of St. Hilarion, the "fairy castle" a couple of miles off the main road between Nicosia and Kyrenia, on a 2,200 ft. peak of the Kyrenia range, rising almost vertically from the narrow coastal plain and dominating the towns of Kyrenia and Iapithos, their coastal plains, the sea beyond and on the other side of the mountain the central plain of Mesaoria as far as the eye can see. Most of its existing structures were completed in 1228,² when it became the summer resort of the Lusignan king and his court. It has three concentric lines of defense, the outermost walls having a circumference of about 500³ yards and the northern side of the castle being protected by a vertical precipice of about 200 feet. Each of the three concentric areas was self-sufficient with its own supplies of food, war equipment and rain water stored in cisterns. The third and innermost circle of St. Hilarion consisted of the royal residence, perched upon the very peak with a

1. Keshishian. p. 109.
2. Keshishian. p. 125.
3. Ibid. p. 125.

dominating view of the sea on one side and the great central plain on the other side. Frederick Barbarossa's men failed to capture St. Hilarion in spite of a persistent siege lasting two years¹ (1228-1230) but finally succeeded by resorting to treachery. Viewing this castle just before sunset from the lower hill to its south east, is a most memorable experience.

The sea castle of Kyrenia built next to the harbor and having an inner harbor of its own is even better preserved than the mountain castles and is a most impressive monument of the Medieval history of Cyprus. It was built by the Lusignans at the beginning of the thirteenth century and strengthened by the Venetians in the fifteenth century. As it surrendered without resistance the Turks did not damage it. The Kyrenia castle² has the proud title of never being taken by storm during its history of 750 years.

The fourteenth century monastery of Bellapais (a corrupted form of the old French spelling "Abbaie de la Pais") is considered to be "the best Gothic monument of the Levant".³ It is found at the foot of the Kyrenia range not far from the town of Kyrenia, about the same distance to the east of it as St. Hilarion is to the west. After partly destroying it, the Turks turned⁴ Bellapais over to the Orthodox clergy, who still use its church as the church of the village, named after the monastery.

1. Keshishian. p. 125.
2. Ibid. p. 59.
3. Ibid. p. 60.
4. Ibid. p. 59.

A last but unique relic of the past to be mentioned here is the Tekke, near Iarnaca, officially known as the Kalat i-Sultan Tekke. The building with its dome and minarets receives its importance as a moslem shrine because it contains the tomb of Umm Haram, the wife of a Companion¹ of the Prophet. According to tradition, she came to the island with her husband in 649, during one of the Arab incursions and falling from her mule died where she is buried now. Her tomb is really a prehistoric dolmen consisting of three huge stones, two vertical and one horizontal, across them. According to one tradition these stones were miraculously² transported from Jerusalem and placed at her head and feet and over her body. During the Turkish period all their ships that came in sight of the shrine were required "to dip their flags in homage to Umm Haram."³

Orthodox Clergy Favored⁴ by Turks. - Thanks to this sea power and the dissensions among their Christian enemies, the Turks felt quite secure and this security from an overseas invasion was a great relief to the islanders. Cypriots were also rejoiced because the Orthodox clergy were favored by their new masters and feudalism was "abolished". These seemingly very important improvements proved illusory as the first led to an alliance between Church and state for the oppression of the people and the second amounted to cruel tax exactions from the peasants by a heartless system of tax farming. In fact "the history of the Turkish occupation is largely the story of how these two changes worked out in practice."⁵

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1. Luke. p. 130.
 2. Ibid. p. 131.
 3. Keshishian. p. 92.
 4. Luke. p. 77.
 5. Newman. p. 172.

The Orthodox Church was recognized as the only Christian
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faith in the island and Latin Church property was confiscated and
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churches were turned into mosques or used for other purposes. The
Turkish motive of course was to remove from the scene the Latin
Church which they considered a dangerous instrument in the hands of
the West, instead, supporting a rival local church which they could
control more readily. In the course of time the higher clergy be-
came an ally and sometimes a rival of the Governor. "Cyprus was
the only province in the Turkish Empire in which the bishops thus
3
became the virtual rulers of the people," living a luxurious life
at the expense of the half-starved peasantry.

Distress of the Peasantry. - The second deceptive "great re-
form" by the Turks was the abolition of feudalism, which made the

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1. Lebanese Maronite churches of the island were not "interfered with by the Turks." Hill, Vol. IV, pp. 308-381.
 2. Among the Latin churches that were turned into mosques we might mention the following:
 - a. The Nicosia Gothic Cathedral St. Sophia built in 1208, where the Lusignan kings of Cyprus were crowned. As the chief mosque of Cyprus until recently it was called Aysofya. Now it is known to the Turks as the Selimieh Mosque. Keshishian, p. 62.
 - b. The Famagusta Cathedral of St. Nicholas, a magnificent Gothic structure of the fourteenth century, is now the principal mosque of the city, under the name of Aysofia. Keshishian, p. 88.
 - c. The Famagusta church of St. Peter and Paul was first "used as a mosque and later on as a potato store. Now it is classed as an ancient monument" by the Antiquities Department. Keshishian, p. 88.
 3. Ibid. p. 188.

peasants tax-payers, a status certainly not better than serfdom, under the then prevailing conditions. In fact the only thing about Cyprus, which seemed to interest the central authorities of Constantinople was the amount of revenue from the island. One of the first things the Turks did was taking a census to pass onto the registers the names of the taxable inhabitants. It was a general practice to sell "the governorship of the island.... to the highest bidder."¹

Drought, plague and locusts were often added to these man-created calamities to intensify the distress of the people, whose number fell down to a mere 25,000 in 1640.² The Sultan at last felt the need of doing something to restrain his Governors, whose avarice was killing the hen that lay the golden egg. He enhanced the position of the Archbishop as the "defender" of the people to check the abuses of the pashas. In spite of this and other administrative measures taken at different times, the distress of the peasants of Cyprus was little diminished.

Final Phase of Ottoman Rule. - Things came to a climax at the time of the Greek revolt on the mainland (1821). As sympathizers of the rebels, the Archbishop, three bishops and other leading Christian Cypriots were summoned to the Governor's palace and murdered, thus ushering in a massacre.³ This marked the end of the power of bishops and a last vain effort on the part of the Turks to assert their authority. But the "Sick Man" of Europe was unable to prevent

1. Ibid. p. 177.

2. Ibid. p. 175.

3. Alastos, p. 292.

the creation of an independent Greece (1832). Now, more than ever, Greece was a powerful pole of attraction for the islanders. For many Greek Cypriots it became customary to go to Athens, acquire Greek citizenship and return to the island entitled to enjoy the privileges guaranteed by the "capitulations".¹

The sultans and some of their liberally minded advisers realized that it was not possible to stop the further disintegration of the Empire solely by the negative policy of trying to crush separatist movements of subject peoples or by taking advantage of the rivalries of great powers and pitching them one against the other. People like Sultan Mahmud II, Reshid² Pasha and later Midhat Pasha became champions of reform or the Tanzimat movement which was considered the only positive policy that could westernize the administration and thus save the Empire from destruction. The Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane³ (1839), Hatti-Humayun⁴ of 1856 and Midhat Pasha's Constitution⁵ of 1876 followed one another promising much but accomplishing little. Partly because of the reform spirit in the air and partly because of the progressive weakening of the Turkish power, the lot of the Christian subjects (rayahs) of the Empire, including that of Cypriots, had somewhat improved by the time the island came under British rule.

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1. Newman. p. 190.
 2. Hill. p. 175.
 3. Luke. p. 81.
 4. Ibid. p. 81.
 5. Seton-Watson. Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question, p. 121.

In spite of exactions and maladministration, which continued to the very end of Ottoman rule, a certain degree of prosperity, a feeling of confidence and security and an effort for progress were evident among the rayahs. Notwithstanding reform proclamations the farming of certain taxes was still practised and public works completely neglected, more than 85¹ per cent of the island revenue being sent to the Sultan. These and similar evils, however, were not sufficient to paralyze the people. One very significant sign of progress was the opening of primary schools even in the villages and secondary schools in the towns by the Church, students going to Athens for higher education. Their rayahs were out-stripping the Turks more and more not only in the quality and extent of their educational system but also in trade, finance, general economic development and in many forms of cultural and social progress. This progress of Greek Cypriots, due mainly to their more intimate contacts with the West and their greater readiness to accept Western ideas and methods, made the ruling race jealous and would probably have led to more trouble, as it did in other parts of the Empire where the progress, prosperity and political consciousness of subject peoples became too conspicuous. The coming of the British in 1878 however forestalled the possibility of any further violent forms of friction between the two main communities of Cyprus.

1. Alastos. p. 300.

CHAPTER II

ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE IN CYPRUS

Defense of the Route to India. - As a first reason for the British desire to possess Cyprus we may mention the need to defend the route to India. After their first occupation of Cyprus in the days of Richard I, more as a result of a series of accidents rather than design, the British fostered no special interest in the small island at the opposite end of the continent. This indifference, however, came to an end when they obtained a firm grip over the Indian sub-continent in the first years of the seventeenth century, because now Cyprus was a convenient half-way station on the main route to their great new empire and as an island easily defensible by their sea power. In the hands of a powerful enemy it could be as dangerous to England's life line as it could be useful and handy in friendly hands. This must be what Lord Beaconsfield believed when he declared in the House of Lords: "in taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean, it is Indian. We have taken there a step which we think necessary for the maintenance of our Empire and for its preservation in peace."¹ The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) did not change the situation materially, on the contrary² it was supposed to enhance the importance of Cyprus as a safe island base for guarding the main imperial route and also as an essential link in an "alternative route."³

1. Percy Arnold, Cyprus Challenge, p. 9.

2. Divers Historiens et Archelogues. Precis de l'Histoire d'Egypte, p. 328.

3. Seton-Watson, p. 424.

For thirty years Lord Beaconsfield had been in substantial agreement with the rather extravagant claims concerning the role of Cyprus described by an officer of the East India Company in the days of the Napoleonic Wars. He had declared that "the possession of Cyprus would give to England a preponderating influence in the Mediterranean, and place at her disposal the future destinies of the Levant."¹ Beaconsfield summed up all this in his letter to the queen by calling her new island acquisition the "key to Western Asia".² We must add that both before and after the occupation there were British statesmen who rejected this kind of assertion as an "utterly untenable theory",³ but in official circles, as well as among the general public, the first view was more generally accepted.

Russian Expansionism. - This need to insure the safety of the route to India was becoming daily more urgent because of the growing threat to it from the North. Russian interest in the Near East was, of course, not new at all. Since the fall of Constantinople (1453), Moscow, the self-appointed heir to the Byzantine Empire, had considered herself duty-bound to "liberate" Tsargrad⁴ (Constantinople) from the dominion of the crescent. By the nineteenth century this situation was considerably aggravated by a combination of several factors. In the first place, the deterioration of the condition of the "Sick Man of Europe" was hopelessly accelerated and the emergence of Russia as a great European power had

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 270.

2. Arnold, p. 9.

3. Seton-Watson, p. 423.

4. Zeine Zeine, "Russia in the Near East", Middle East Forum, March, 1958.

become evident to all. The balance was completely upset. On the other hand, the defense of the route to India had become of greater vital interest, because of Great Britain's increasing dependence upon her great Eastern Empire as a source of her wealth and power. The net result of these circumstances was the increased vigor and determination on the part of the Tsars to attain what had been "the goal of Russian ambitions"¹ for so long, and an equally intensified resolve and vigilance on the part of Great Britain to prevent such a "calamity". More than ever it was the Russian aim to reach "her natural and legitimate southern boundaries",² warm waters and open seas. To acquire control of Constantinople and the lands beyond had become an obsession for Russia, while to safeguard the "integrity"³ of Turkey against such threat had become an established British policy which served as the main excuse for their acquisition of Cyprus.

British Expansionist Mood. - Russian imperialism, with designs on Constantinople and the Mediterranean, became especially dangerous for international peace because it met an almost equally vigorous British imperialism. At the time of the occupation of Cyprus "the imperialistic aspirations" of the British had risen to their highest pitch. Three years earlier (1875) Disraeli had purchased an almost controlling number of Suez Canal shares from the Khedive and the following year had successfully arranged the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India⁴, with all the pomp

1. Ibid.

2. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, Article by R. Nisbet Bain, "Peter the Great and His Pupils", p. 304.

3. Seton-Watson, pp. 377 and 423.

4. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII Article by Stanley Leathes, "Great Britain", p. 32.

and grandeur befitting the historic occasion. The Liberal Party of Gladstone, especially when not in power, favored avoiding complications with foreign powers and supporting the cause of subject nationalities, but the conservatives, who were in power at the time, led by Disraeli, pursued a vigorous almost aggressive foreign policy and "took pleasure in actions which manifested...splendour and greatness."¹ Such a policy naturally brought to a sharper focus the inevitable conflict between the two expanding empires.

Disraeli seemed to agree heartily with Gustav Hirschfeld the "he who would become and remain a great power in the East must hold Cyprus in his hand."² From this island base the British would also keep close watch upon the increasing number of subject nationalities breaking away from the Ottoman Empire and counter balance Russian moves and influence there. In fact many observers in England at this time seem to have considered a final partition of the "Sick Man"'s possessions not a remote possibility, hence the desirability of being on the spot.³ Just before the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, Lord Beaconsfield, the great enemy of Russia, is reported to have said to Shuvalov, the Russian representative; (The Ottoman Empire's) "days are numbered.... I want to agree with you (Russia) and satisfy the Tsar."⁴ The real question seemed to be the sharing of the spoils.

1. Ibid. p. 31.

2. Hill. Vol. I, p. 1.

3. Divers Historiens et Archeologues. p. 328.

4. Seton-Watson. p. 159.

Events Precipitating the British Occupation of Cyprus. -

We cannot here attempt a discussion of what has come to be known as the Eastern Question because any one of its many aspects would require a whole volume. We shall, therefore, not try to describe the fundamental causes of the decay of Ottoman power, the rise of nationalism among subject peoples, the increasing interest of the Great Powers in the complex situation arising from the interplay between these two parallel and partly interdependent historical processes, but we shall have to mention the events which precipitated the British Occupation of Cyprus, an episode of that long-drawn and complicated drama, called in history the Eastern Question. Among these events are the Bosnian revolt, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, all of them links in a chain reaction.

The Revolt and the War.¹ - The whole thing started with a revolt, like many similar revolts in the Ottoman Empire, because the rapacious tax-farmer pressed by all the means known to the local Zaptieh, his demands, which the peasants could not possibly meet due to a failure of crops. The Bosnian peasant rising (1875) and the subsequent repression led to a Serbian and Montenegrin declaration of war on Turkey (1876) and the Russian invasion of Ottoman territory (1877) ostensibly in defense of the little Slav brothers.

These events created serious problems not only for the powers involved in the war but also for other Great Powers, espe-

1. The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. XII (Article by William Miller "The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Peninsula"), p. 388.

cially England, where public opinion first condemned the "unspeakable Turk" as Gladstone put it, for his "atrocities"¹ and his incorrigible misgovernment in general. However, as the Russian armies approached Constantinople, more and more Britons began to lean toward the point of view of Disraeli, who firmly believed that the Russian advance should be checked at all costs. Confronted by the stiffening attitude of the British and knowing well that after the exhausting campaigns, she was in no position to face the British navy ordered to the Straits, Russia agreed to negotiate with Great Britain and the other Great Powers. In fact she had gone to war trusting that the great wave of indignation inflamed by the supreme oratory of Gladstone would prevent a British intervention in favor of Turkey.²

The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.³ - True enough the Treaty of San Stefano, signed (March, 1878) at the point of the bayonet, left Constantinople to Turkey but otherwise, it cut deep into both European and Asiatic Turkey, leaving the whole country at the mercy of the Northern Bear. By London this being considered intolerable, the British fleet appeared at Constantinople and Russia had to swallow her pride and agree to a revision of the dictated treaty.

The Powers met at Berlin (1878), with Bismarck as the "honest broker" and drew up the new treaty, pushing Russia more than half way the distance she had come. The "Sick Man of Europe" was saved

1. Ibid. p. 384.

2. Ibid. (Article by Leather, "Great Britain"), p. 32.

3. Ibid. (Article by Miller, "The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Peninsula"), p. 394.

once more. A major operation was performed on him but England saw to it that it did not prove fatal. Cyprus was the main price Turkey paid her savior, for just before the close of the Berlin Congress Disraeli announced to the astonishment of the delegates and the world that a Convention¹ had been signed between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire transferring the administration of Cyprus to England, to enable her to guarantee the security of the remaining Asiatic territories of the Sultan and the introduction of reforms there.

Negotiations. - One of the few things on which Gladstone² and Disraeli, in fact practically all Englishmen, agreed in June, 1878, was the need of checking the advance of Russia to the warm waters of the Straits and for this purpose securing the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, if possible, by rejuvenating it and signing with it a defensive alliance. It was also felt that to be able to carry out this policy with a minimum of effort, England should be in possession of a nearby base. Before deciding upon Cyprus as the required base, the British government considered several other possibilities as Gallipoli, Crete, Acre, Haifa, Alexandria³ and Alexandretta. The last two mentioned, with better harbors, were in some respects preferable to Cyprus but it was thought that their acquisition would be resented by France, known to have her own designs.⁴

Thus, finally the government decided upon Cyprus as a place

1. Luke. p. 84.

2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 274.

3. A.H. Hourani. Syria and Lebanon, p. 157.

4. Seton-Watson. p. 426.

combining "the requisite characteristics of location, size, defensibility and economic advantage"¹ and immediately instructed its ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Henry Layard, to start negotiations with the Porte. The way the proposal came was hardly a friendly act, because Layard was ordered to inform the Sultan, almost in the form of an ultimatum, that Russia had refused to evacuate the fortresses in the Armenian provinces and that therefore it was necessary, if England was to be able to give effective help, to sign an Anglo-Turkish defensive treaty and arrange for a British occupation of the island of Cyprus as a "place d'armes". The proposal came on May 24, 1878 and Turkey was given only forty-eight² hours to give her reply. It so happened that only a few hours before the "ultimatum" was delivered, there had been an attempt to dethrone³ the Sultan. This event, added to the presence of the Russian armies at the gates of Constantinople, had completely broken the morale of Abdul Hamid, who had no choice but to agree.

The English were in great haste to conclude the deal before the effect of the psychological moment wore out. Salisbury telegraphed his ambassador to "spare no efforts or threats to get the firman at once." Thus, Layard, without waiting for a draft to arrive from London, drew up the Convention and the Annex himself and offered it to the Turks. The Porte naturally hesitated and tried to prolong negotiations on details. In fact ratification by the

1. W. N. Medlicott. The Congress of Berlin and After, p. 19

2. Arnold J. Toynbee. Survey of International Affairs 1931, p. 356.

3. Seton-Watson. p. 427.

Turkish Grand Council did not come before July 15, although the Convention had been signed¹ on June 4.

Both parties had been anxious to keep the negotiations secret, because the Porte feared² an unfavorable reaction from its own people, a stiffening of the Russian attitude and similar demands by other powers. Meanwhile, the English were anxious to offer the Congress of Berlin and the interested powers a fait accompli, not to give them a chance to object. But soon the whole thing was an open secret³ to many of the diplomats in Berlin.

Occupation Operations.⁴ - As soon as the Convention was signed the British took steps to occupy the Island. No time should be allowed for a possible foreign intervention, a sudden change of heart by the Sultan or the organization of resistance by the local garrison and population. British ships from Port Said and other neighboring areas were ordered to proceed to Cyprus immediately and they were there on July 8, actually two days before the arrival of the Sultan's firman, instructing the local kaimakan to surrender the island, although a fast English ship, the Salamis, had undertaken to convey the Porte's Commissioner with the firman. Vice

1. Ibid. p. 428.

2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 287.

3. The earliest leakage seems to have been through the Sultan's physician to the Greek Minister in Constantinople, leading to a wholesale purchase of lands in Cyprus by Constantinopolitan speculators like Basil Zaharoff. Ibid. p. 83.

4. Hill. pp. 293-295.

Admiral, Lord John Hay, who was in charge of the occupation operations, was not sure what to expect and consequently had to be ready to use force, if necessary. But the whole thing went on very peacefully and the British flag was hoisted in Nicosia, the capital, on July 12, 1878,¹ accompanied by a brief ceremony, in an atmosphere of mutual courtesy between the English and the Turks, while the Greek clergy and populace rejoiced hopefully. One of the reasons given for the cooperative spirit shown by the local officialdom was that the English commanding officer had promised to pay all arrears of salaries. Even the Turkish populace had reason to rejoice for its liberation from the oppressive, corrupt and arbitrary rule of the "Red Sultan".

Terms of the Convention.² - The diplomatic document called the Cyprus Convention of June 4, 1878 is a very brief statement of about 200 words, followed by an "Annex" of about the same length, dated July 1, 1878 and an "Additional Article" dated August 14, 1878. The original Convention consists of two articles plus a third, dated a month and a half later, while the Annex has six articles. The obligations undertaken by England are comparable in vagueness with the Sultan's promise of reforms. In fact the only immediate and concrete consequence of the Convention seems to have been the British occupation of Cyprus, the supposedly important provisions for which this was to be only a means, remained a dead letter. The terms of the Convention can be presented as follows:

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1. Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 13.
 2. See Appendix for the "Convention", "Annex" and "Additional Article". Also British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. 69, pp. 744, 746.

1. The Convention was to be a Defensive Alliance by which England promised military aid to the Porte in case of further Russian aggression in the Asiatic possessions of "His Imperial Majesty".

2. "In return".... the Sultan made a solemn promise to carry out reforms judged by the signatory powers necessary "for the protection of Christians and other subjects of the Porte in these territories."

3. To make it possible for England to carry out "her engagement" the Sultan agreed "to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England."

The Annex to the Convention made the following provisions:

1. The Moslems were to maintain their religious courts (Mehkeme-i-Sheri) and the administration of their Pious Foundations (Evkaf).

2. England was to pay the Porte the "excess of revenue over expenditure" figured out on the basis of the last five years of Turkish rule.

3. In case of the return to Turkey of Russian occupied areas in Armenia, the Convention would be annulled and Cyprus "evacuated"¹ by England".

According to the Convention British responsibility was for all of Asiatic Turkey, not just Asia Minor, but there seems to have been a tacit understanding that France should be responsible for the "protection" of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, limiting the English sphere to the rest, all the way to the Persian Gulf.² The actual

1. Medlicott, p. 108.

2. J.L. Farley. Egypt, Cyprus and Asiatic Turkey, p. 216.

partition of the Levant in the form of mandates, after the First World War, bore some resemblance to this plan, which seems to have been at the back of the minds of English and French diplomats all along. Felix Julien, a French author, writing at the time of the signing of the Convention, compared it with the defense treaties England had signed with the various rulers of India as a preliminary to the total absorption of that country. He asserted confidently what seems to have been the general expectation¹ at the time that Great Britain would soon bring about a regeneration of this great country (Asiatic Turkey) which had been only temporarily sterilized by its Turkish rulers, but not destroyed. This would be done thanks to the social, economic and political reforms to be introduced soon and thanks to the cooperation of the English with the various native elements of the population. The Bagdad Railroad would be constructed soon and troops would be posted along it and the continuity of the British military line from India to Europe would be unbroken except by the sea which was under British control anyway. To facilitate the British rule over the moslem population of this second Asiatic Empire, England would find a descendent of the Prophet as Caliph, in case the Sultan refused to become a puppet, and give him all the luxury and pomp possible, reserving all real power to herself. Julien concludes his description of what he considers the real significance of the Cyprus Convention by the following words: "Ainsi sera fondé le second empire anglo-asiatique; ainsi ce reve fantastique qui a pris naissance dans l'imagination d'un romancier de trente ans, sera devenu une realité."²

1. Felix Julien, Papes et Sultans, pp. 315-316.
2. Julien. p. 316.

Only later history would show to what extent this grand plan of Disraeli, the young dreamer, could be translated into fact, by Disraeli, the illustrious prime minister of the British Empire, now already made Lord Beaconsfield.

Reactions to the Convention. - The public announcement of the Convention created a variety of reactions in different countries. In England the atmosphere was one of exultation, and it "was the greatest moment of Beaconsfield's life", when he received a letter from Queen Victoria declaring: "high and low are delighted, except Mr. Gladstone who is frantic."¹ In the eyes of the British nation as a whole Beaconsfield and Salisbury were in fact bringing from Berlin "peace with honor".² Gladstone and Liberal Party leaders were naturally critical. Granville, expressing the official view of a later Liberal Government, said: "The acquisition of Cyprus is...of no advantage to the country either in a military or political sense."³ While Gladstone decried it as an "insane Convention" that would only serve to irritate the powers against England and weaken her moral position, Beaconsfield and Salisbury, however, had done what they could to mollify foreign opposition.

Russia⁴ could not very righteously protest because herself she had annexed Kars, Ardahan and Batum in addition to Bessarabia. As to Austria-Hungary, on the suggestion of the British,⁵ she had

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 289.

2. The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. XII, p. 33
(Article by Leathes).

3. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 274.

4. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, p. 397.

5. G.P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, Eds. British Documents on the Origins of the War, Vol. V, p. 472.

secured the right "to administer" Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Sultan, very much like the English in Cyprus. On the suggestion of Bismarck, Salisbury had offered France an attractive bait, when he said: "Prenez Tunis."¹ While Germany, for the time being, seemed to be interested in keeping the good will of England and in diverting the attention of the French to colonial adventures, thus also may be, hoping to drive a wedge between France and Italy. Even in the United States the arrangement was considered to have advantages, as it was hoped that the British, undertaking to supervise the Ottoman Government, might bring to Asia Minor the benefits British rule had secured for India.² Greece, of course, was pleased considering this a first step to Enosis. The main power that seems to have shown the greatest degree of bitterness, was Italy. One Italian caustic reporter said: "the divine island has been sold by the eunuchs of Constantinople to the usurers of London."³ Many of the Balkan peoples had secured some advantages if not all they wanted. The two minor groups most immediately affected were the Cypriots and Armenians. The Cypriots, both Greek and Turk, were glad for the change because they knew they would have better justice. As to the Armenians of Turkey, they got only a promise of "reforms"⁴

1. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, p. 239.

2. Hill. p. 280.

3. Ibid. p. 291.

4. At San Stefano Russia had originally proposed an "administrative autonomy" for the Armenian provinces, but under pressure agreed to Art. 16 promising "reforms and ameliorations" guaranteed by a Russian occupation. The second step down was Art. 61 of the Berlin Treaty when the guarantee was assumed by the "Great Powers". The third step down was included in the Cyprus Convention whereby the guarantee for "reforms" was reduced to a "promise" of Sultan Hamid II. See K.J. Basmadjian. Histoire Moderne des Armeniens, pp. 94-102.

which in the end spelled their doom.

Practical Consequences of the Convention. - Of the many and varied hopes raised by the Cyprus Convention, few, if any, materialized. As the effect of the occupation upon the island will be the main theme in our subsequent chapters, here we shall summarize its effects upon other countries.

The shock of this territorial loss was not much felt in Turkey because the people had no means of expressing their feelings and the Sultan did not have much to complain about, even if he could, as what counted for him was his Cyprus revenue now guaranteed by Great Britain.

What Did the Convention Mean to the British. - As has already been mentioned many Britishers, Beaconsfield and Salisbury among them, considered the occupation of Cyprus only a first step that should lead to a British penetration of the whole of Asia Minor,¹ with the Euphrates valley through which was to pass the Bagdad Railway. English investors could see tremendous prospects of economic development in those provinces with "the raw materials of national greatness... comparatively untouched".² It was the English capitalist's "new El-Dorado". The railway from Aleppo to Bagdad would pass through areas that could compete with India in the production of cotton.³ But before any large scale capital investment could take place law and order should be established. This necessity coincided with the wish of many English idealists who believed that the mission of

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 277.

2. Farley. p. 87.

3. Ibid. p. 148.

their government now was to secure a "reign of justice in the Asiatic possessions of the Sultan."¹ To many Englishmen the occupation of Cyprus was a matter of secondary importance, the real significance of the Convention being the prospects of British penetration in Asiatic Turkey, "the Garden of Eden". It is with this fact in mind that an Englishman, writing in 1878, thinks that this Convention "may... prove... one of the most important treaties of modern times."² Many Englishmen agreed with Farley, that England sooner or later would have to step in "assume responsibilities not defined in the Convention in order to make our Protectorate a reality," taking "into our own hands the whole administration of the country."³

On the other hand Gladstone, who considered the new acquisition a burden upon the British taxpayer and a moral liability, seriously contemplated turning it over to Greece but was afraid of the violent reaction of the common man in the street as well as the Queen herself.⁴ Another or rather the main official reason for the transfer of Cyprus to England was that it should be used as a "place d'armes" for the defense of Turkey against Russia. One might consider it, however, the irony of fate that, the first time after the Convention, that it served as a "place d'armes" was in 1915, during the Dardanelles Campaign when it was used as a British base in support of Russia and against Turkey. As Sir Samuel Baker put it,

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1. Ibid. p. 86.
 2. Farley, p. 200.
 3. Ibid. pp. 206-207.
 4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 279.

subsequent history has shown that "if we are supreme at sea, Cyprus is not wanted and if not, it is an encumbrance."¹ In fact the occupation of Cyprus did not substantially help the development of an "alternative route" to India through the Euphrates valley, nor did it prove to be the first step in the establishment of a great Near Eastern Empire under the rule of British justice or Pax Britannica.

On the contrary, in return for certain dubious and chimerical advantages Great Britain had secured by the Cyprus Convention, she lost much, above all the possibility of friendly relations with Russia for a whole generation. Consequently Great Britain had to face Russian obstructions² repeatedly and on every possible occasion, whether in Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia or China. In later years Cyprus was also to become a serious stumbling block in the way of the traditional Anglo-Greek friendship.

Practical Consequences of the Convention upon the Armenians. -

Perhaps the most tragic consequence left to be reviewed is the painful question of Armenian Reforms guaranteed by Article II of the Cyprus Convention. England had thus assumed "a special responsibility"³ to see these reforms through but as an ally she could only advise the Sultan and not coerce him. Moreover her navy could not climb Mt. Ararat, as it was put. The provision for reforms found in the various international documents was, however, sufficient to make the Armenians suspect⁴ not only in the eyes of the Sublime Porte but also the Tsar, who now considered them proteges and tools

1. Seton-Watson, p. 532.

2. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, p. 34.

3. The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, p. 398.

4. Ibid. p. 416.

of England. Thus freed from the effective intervention of the powers most immediately concerned with the problem, Sultan Hamid proceeded to "tame" the Armenians often by making use of the religious fanaticism of Kurds and Circassians as well as Turks. Massacres¹ followed one another in 1894, 1895, 1896, 1909 and finally taking full advantage of World War I, the Young Turks completed the task by more systematic massacres and mass deportations. The Armenian problem, was solved by completely eliminating the Armenians from their homeland, where they had lived for at least 3000 years.

1. Basmadjian, pp. 119-123.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS

No Preconceived Plan of Administration. - As has been mentioned the British had been in great haste to occupy Cyprus before any one of the possible or imagined contingencies arose to interfere with that operation, but when it came to the organizing of the island administration, they seemed to be in no hurry and to have no carefully worked-out plan. They relied upon expediency and historical development; as need arose they would introduce changes in the administration but always within the limits of certain principles as their customary respect for the institutions, traditions and even superstitions of their subjects. As a result of this very British attitude, we find no logical steps in the development of British administration in the island but frequent shifts from direct rule to a certain measure of democracy, then back to direct rule in a slightly modified form as circumstances seemed to demand.

Periods of British Rule in Cyprus. - However, in spite of this policy of drift or as the English prefer to call "muddling through", it is possible to divide the years of British rule in Cyprus into more or less definite periods which we might call: (a) The Period of Tributary Trusteeship (1878-1914), when Great Britain held the island as a trust from the Sultan and had to pay "tribute" to "him"; (b) the Period of Annexation (1914-1925) when the island no longer recognized Ottoman suzerainty; (c) the Period of

Popular Participation (1925-1931), when an effort was made to secure a greater measure of cooperation of the local population in the administration of the island in a spirit of limited democracy; (d) the Period of Direct Rule (1931-1959), when popular participation in the higher organs of administration could no longer be secured because of the policy of non-cooperation and occasional hostility of the Greek majority of the island.

This classification is far from being absolute and clear-cut, as we are always sure to find in one the elements of the preceding as well as those of the succeeding periods. It will, nevertheless, serve well the purpose of facilitating our study.

The First Administration. - Because the Convention had been arranged for by the Foreign Office and because no definite plan had been foreseen for the administration of Cyprus, the Foreign Office continued in charge and with three civilian officials and troops dispatched Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley¹, who landed in the island on July 22, 1878 and as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, in the name of the Queen took over all authority from Vice-Admiral Sir John Hay and proceeded to organize his administration. His powers were to be those of the Turkish Vali, except that the authority of the Sultan over him was understood to be nominal, being replaced by the real source of authority in London.

In his first proclamation², made on the day of his arrival in Larnaca, the High Commissioner promised: (a) "to promote and extend the commerce and agriculture of the country," (b) "to afford

1. Great Britain, Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 13.

2. Luke, pp. 88-89.

to the people the blessings of freedom, justice and security," (c) to govern "without favor to any race or creed," (d) to respect and maintain the ancient institutions and customs of the inhabitants. This proclamation, and similar ones before and after it, were received with great satisfaction and expectation by all the racial and social groups in the island but we can see the seeds of future discord in the supposed reply of the Bishop of Kitium (Larnaca), who is reported to have said: "We accept the change of government in as much as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece."¹ As an evidence of the continued cooperation of the population with the administration we might mention here the ridiculous size of the British garrison of the island. On the eve of the first serious rioting against the Government in 1931, "the permanent garrison consisted of three officers and a hundred and twenty three men "of whom less than one hundred were available for action and "police were trained...exclusively in the prevention and detection of crime."²

In accordance with an Order in Council³ the island administration was to be through the High Commissioner, a Legislative Council, presided over by Sir Garnet and an Executive Council. The High Commissioner appointed the members to both Councils, which had only an advisory capacity. In fact the High Commissioner, as the agent of the Foreign Office, had unlimited power. This condition, however,

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 297.

2. Arnold J. Toynbee. Survey of International Affairs, 1931, p. 384.

3. Hill. Vol. IV, pp. 416-418.

did not last very long and frequent changes were made all along. In 1880 Cyprus was transferred to the Colonial Office¹ and began to be governed like any Crown colony without becoming one, but this hardly had any real significance.

Popular Participation Introduced. - An important forward step was taken in 1882, when it was decided to have eighteen² members in the Legislative Council, six official and twelve elected. Of the latter nine were to be Greeks and three Turks. The Turks protested objecting to what they considered Greek domination but were assured that the six official members voting with the three Turks plus the casting vote of the Governor as Chairman would prevent any such contingency. Anyway, all laws passed by the Council were subject to approval by the Crown, of course through its representative in the island, the High Commissioner.

Also there were to be popular elections for Mayors, Municipal Councillors (Azas) and Mukhtars but the Executive Council³, consisting of three official and three non-official members, was still to be appointed by the Governor, who would consult them when he wished to.

Difficulties. - Many writers have considered these elections, especially that of what has been called the "Toy Parliament", a premature step taken by Gladstone and partly responsible for later difficulties of the British authorities.

In fact, consequent to democratic elections, popular agitation by the Greeks was intensified with demands of more power for the

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 412.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 416-419.

3. Great Britain, Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 19.

Legislative Council and a more representative membership as a first step toward an ultimate union with "Mother Greece". Parallel to this movement was the growing apprehension of the Turks who feared the prospect of being left to the mercy of their erstwhile rayahs.

There was also the international question of the status of the island, the status of its inhabitants vis-a-vis other powers, the question of capitulations and the annual payment of the "excess of revenue". A host of similar problems arose out of the occupation of the island, some of the more important of which will be briefly discussed in the following pages.

The Political Status¹ of the Island. - Technically Cyprus was considered Ottoman territory under British Administration but the British acted as masters in the country rather than as mere agents of the Sultan, while the Turks wished not to give up more of their rights than was explicitly foreseen in the Convention. For instance the Sultan began to sell state lands in Cyprus to which the English objected. The Governor insisted that the Sultan should be considered only as a private landowner and freely dispose his private lands alone. Then there was the question of consuls in the island. Were they to be accredited to the Porte or the British government? After some argument, the English accepted the existing consuls without new formalities but insisted that any new appointment be accredited to the British government. It also took some heated discussion between Nicosia, London and Constantinople before

1. Hill, Vol. IV, p. 403 sqq.

the Turkish Prime Minister could be induced to give up his old privilege of appointing through the Sheik-ul-Islam the qadis who administered the Sheria in the island. Another question that arose concerned the nationality of Cypriots. Until the official proclamation of Annexation (1914), Cypriots were considered Ottoman subjects, but British representatives abroad were instructed to protect them, except in Ottoman territories, where the protection could be only indirect and unofficial.

Capitulations. - A most serious problem arose in connection with the capitulations. If Cyprus was under the suzerainty of the Sultan, all international obligations assumed by the Turkish government with respect to Cyprus should be honored by the British. These would include extra-territorial privileges of foreign residents involving consular courts and immunity from certain taxes. Fortunately the powers did not insist upon these treaty rights for which no raison d'être existed any more. No less serious a problem appeared on occasions when Greece was fighting Turkey and Greek Cypriots were openly helping "Mother Greece" with funds and volunteers under the eyes of the British, who had acquired the island as a base for the defense of their Turkish ally. To meet this awkward situation the British passed a Neutrality¹ Order in Council (1881) but took no practical steps to prevent Greek Cypriots from taking hostile action against their legal Sovereign, the Sultan.

Tribute. - The payment of the "annual excess of revenue" to the Porte was the most onerous anomaly of the situation. It was considered unjust by the Cypriots and humiliating by the British.

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 411.

The Sultan's policy, for all the parts of his empire, had been a maximum of taxation, a minimum of local expenditure with practically none for public¹ works, thus securing a maximum of revenue for the Porte. Thus, when the Cyprus Convention was to be signed the one thing that worried the Sultan most was his excess revenue from the island. After some negotiations and study of past accounts this sum was fixed at Sterling pounds 92,800 which the British agreed to pay, but they soon discovered that, if the island was to be properly administered, there would be no surplus but a deficit instead. This large sum, which however had to be drained from the island to meet contractual obligations, amounted to half its annual revenue in the early years of occupation and was "for over fifty years.... a major, if not the dominant, issue of Cyprus politics."² In spite of the British policy to make each colony self-supporting and not a burden upon the mother country, Parliament had to vote Grants-in-Aid for Cyprus amounting to Sterling pounds 50,000 in 1907 and 92,800, that is the total amount of the Tribute, in 1927, but at the same time requiring the island to contribute Sterling pounds 10,000³ annually to Imperial Defense, so that this cause of grievance was not completely eliminated.

The British themselves were much irritated by the humiliation of becoming the Sultan's "tax gatherer (and) tributary vassal"⁴, and many argued that the promise to the Sultan was not to pay a tribute but the surplus of revenues over and above expenditures and

1. Alastos. p. 312.
2. Alastos. p. 31
3. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 477.
4. Ibid. p. 281.

since there was no such surplus now it was not necessary to continue payments. The main hitch in this argument was the fact that not a single penny of tribute was paid to the Sultan, all of it going "to the British Treasury for the bondholders of the Turkish Guaranteed Loan of 1855."¹ In fact, after 1914, the Tribute was re-named the "Share of the Turkish Debt Charge" that fell to Cyprus. Winston Churchill was one of the many Britishers, including the Governors of the island, who condemned the policy of thus impoverishing the island and interfering with its progress. He did not hesitate to call it "detestable" and "unworthy of Great Britain".² The Government, however, kept the Tribute on the books even after 1927, when it was no longer really paid by the island, because other succession states like Egypt were continuing to pay their share of the Ottoman Debt and it was considered unwise to create a precedent of non-payment.

Annexation. - As has already been mentioned, two and a half years after the occupation the administration of Cyprus passed from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office and was governed like any other Crown Colony but the fiction of Ottoman suzerainty was maintained until 1914. On November 5 of that year, the day Great Britain declared war on the Ottoman Empire, like all bilateral agreements between the two belligerent powers, the Cyprus Convention too, lapsed in accordance with International Law³ and by an Order in Council of the same date, published in the Cyprus Gazette, the island was proclaimed British territory. Later, what happened in 1925, when Cyprus was "declared a Crown Colony and the High Commissioner's title

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 443.
2. Ibid. p. 468.
3. Toynbee. p. 357.

changed to that of Governor",¹ was even more of a formality. We may add that since 1925 there has been no formal change in the international status of Cyprus.

The Archbishop of Cyprus and the Greek Members of the Legislative Council called upon the High Commissioner to express their "satisfaction at the annexation of the island to Great Britain. "For, (they added), we consider this event as a stage from which it may the more easily return to the arms of its Mother Greece."² The recognition of the Annexation by the Cypriot Turks and even the Turkish government was unconditional, as formally confirmed by Art. 20 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923)³. It must be remembered that Greece was one of the signatories of this Treaty formally recognizing British sovereignty over Cyprus.

British Citizenship for Cypriots.⁴ -- The most significant immediate consequence of the Annexation was the question of citizenship. On the same day, November 5, 1914, the High Commissioner of the island published a proclamation making Cypriots British subjects. Subsequent actions taken on March 3, 1915 and on November 27, 1917 slightly modified certain details but did not change the essential fact of granting British citizenship to the residents of Cyprus until then considered Ottoman subjects. This arrangement seemed to please everybody in the island, including the Cypriot Turks, very few of whom took advantage of the option to retain Ottoman citizenship.

1. Luke. p. 86.
2. Luke. p. 86.
3. Ibid. p. 85.
4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 413.

For more than forty years now Cypriots have enjoyed all the privileges conferred upon them by their new nationality. Their movements have been greatly facilitated within the extensive British Empire as well as many other countries which have special visa arrangements with Great Britain. Cyprus products have found a great and ready market with low tariffs and Cypriots have had opportunities of profitable work and settlement in the United Kingdom and other British territories. These are a few of the advantages of British citizenship acquired by Cypriots.

Causes of Greek Cypriot Discontent. - Greek Cypriots, like all the other inhabitants of the island, could see the material advantages of British rule but they had also other yearnings deep in their hearts. As already mentioned, they had cherished the idea of union with "Mother Greece" and had taken advantage of every opportunity to put forward this demand, limiting themselves to pacific means of self-expression and avoiding all illegal and violent action. This process underwent an abrupt change on October 21, 1931 when they resorted to violence, which has been variously named as "Riot", "Outbreak" or "Revolution". What were the reasons for this first instance of violence in British Cyprus?

In the first place, at a time when democracy had swept all Europe, the Greek Cypriot majority had no constitutional means of effectively expressing and carrying out its will and all peaceful remonstrances--memorials, press campaigns, adverse votes of the Legislative Council, processions and deputations--had produced no noticeable results. In fact the British seemed to be tightening

their grip over the island as indicated by the Elementary Education Law¹ of 1929, which transferred authority from the native Boards of Education to the Government. This was a serious matter because schools were the main centers of Enosis indoctrination, teachers being frankly recognized as missionaries of Hellenism.

The economic factor, however, was probably of more immediate consequence than the political. During World War I Cyprus had been financially better off than her neighbors. There had been no fighting there, no conscription and economic activity had been enhanced by the presence of allied troops and rising prices. The post-war years had been good too until 1931, when the effect of the great world depression was acutely felt in the island. To balance the Budget of 1931 it was necessary to increase taxes at a time when private incomes were falling. When this question came up in the Legislative Council the Greek Members were supported, as in very rare instances, by the vote of a Turkish Member, in their denunciation of the measure and the necessary legislation had to be passed over the head of the Council by an "Order in Council".² The British were accused of imposing an inflated Budget so that they might continue to draw generous salaries with "hidden emoluments" and use Cyprus funds for other purposes of their own. This last assertion was based upon the Laborite Chancellor of the Exchequer's declaration that one million pounds of past surpluses would be kept in the Bank of England as a "Sinking Fund"³ for the Turkish debt of 1855."

1. Toynbee, p. 381.

2. Storrs. Memoirs, p. 501.

3. Alastos, p. 318.

Greek Cypriots were especially exasperated when they saw that the Cyprus policy of the Labor Government, in spite of their expectations, was not any more conciliatory than that of former British Governments.

The 1931 Outbreak. - To protest against these conditions the main Greek political party of the island, then called the National Organization, had secret meetings but could not agree upon the text of a manifesto to be published. So, on October 18, the Bishop of Kitium, like all the other Bishops a member of the National Organization, published his own manifesto, followed by a most violent speech delivered in Limassol on October 20, at the same time sending his resignation from the Legislative Council and calling upon the people to struggle for their liberties¹: His manifesto named British rule an "abomination" of "foreign tyrants" and urged upon the people "disobedience and insubordination toward the illegal laws of the immoral, vile and reproachful regime."²

In the afternoon of October 21, the chief priest of the Cathedral church of Nicosia "unfurled a Greek flag" and proclaimed the "revolution". The mob marched to Government House in great excitement and before long set fire to it, contrary to the advice of leaders on the spot and without having premeditated the act. After some hesitation, security forces fired and the mob dispersed but rioting continued for about ten days in different parts of the island with two more instances of arson and a few cases of sabotage. In spite of the violent language used in speeches and manifestoes, the actual damage

1. Alastos. p. 351.

2. Storrs. p. 537.

done to life and property was not very great. Six rioters were killed¹ and thirty wounded, while the police had thirty-eight wounded.

Direct Rule Imposed. - The more serious part of this "Revolution" was its consequence, consisting mainly of the suspension of all popular participation in government and the inauguration of undisguised direct rule by the Governor. This regime, with little change, remained in force for more than a quarter of a century.

Immediate measures taken by the British Government were investing the Governor with full powers and punishing those responsible for the outbreak. There were to be Advisory and Executive Councils but both of them consisting of appointees and having only an advisory capacity. The Bishops² of Kitium and Kyrenia, with a few other leaders, most directly implicated, were exiled. To pay for the material damage caused, an indemnity of about Sterling pounds 70,000 was imposed upon the Greek Cypriots of areas taking part in the disturbances. Municipal elections were suspended³, elementary schools were put under government control and a series of "illiberal laws" were passed establishing a censorship of press and prohibiting unauthorized assemblies among other and similar restrictions. In the judgement of many Greeks, in and outside Cyprus, these measures were not considered excessive. Venizelos⁴, the Greek Prime Minister, himself had the courage, in the face of violently hostile public opinion, to condemn the outbreak as harmful to the national cause and recalled the Greek Consul⁵ who was known to sympathize with the extremists.

1. Ibid. p. 541.

2. Inke. p. 175.

3. Arnold. p. 29.

4. Alastos. p. 353.

5. The Consul was Mr. Kyrou (of Cypriot origin) who presented the Cyprus problem to the UNO in 1955.

Liberal Tendencies. - In spite of these "illiberal laws of the Palmerian regime", to use the usual Greek Cypriot expression, during the 30's and 40's and down to 1955, there were a few places, if any, in the Middle East enjoying greater freedom and a more just, honest and efficient government than Cyprus. With this "out-of-date colonial" laws the British officials found themselves in an awkward position and were in practice guided more by their liberal traditions¹ than by the letter of the law. It was still a government by persuasion, if not by explicit consent. British military power in the island was negligible. To quell the disturbances small reinforcements had been called from abroad but only two months later the garrison was reduced to the ridiculously small figure of four officers and 175² men, this being fifty more than at the beginning of the troubles. The Government has always shown scrupulous respect³ for the traditions and the established rights and privileges of both rural and urban communities of all faiths, even to the detriment of essential measures of modernization and progress.

The day-to-day affairs of the government have never ceased to be in the hands of Cypriots to a very great extent. According to official figures, in 1954, seventy out of one hundred civil servants were Greek, twenty-six Turk,^{5/8} leaving only four per cent to be

1. P. Balfour. The Orphaned Realm, p. 206.

2. Storrs. p. 540.

3. For example, the Government proposed to conduct the waters of Kythrea in closed pipes and use for other villages what could be saved by preventing evaporation and leakage. The villagers were guaranteed their present quota of water but refused to agree to the plan which therefore had to be dropped. Balfour. op. cit. p. 202.

equally shared between the British and other Cypriot minorities like Maronites and Armenians. The Cypriot officials included¹ the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Postmaster-General, six Deputy Directors of Government Departments, one of the two Puisne judges and all four Presidents of District Courts of the island.

During World War II, especially after the famous "Oxi" (NO) of the Greeks to Mussolini, and their successful counter attacks, the British became about as Hellenophil as the Greek Cypriots and let the slumbering "illiberal laws" die "a natural death".² Free Municipal elections were permitted in 1943 and three years later those exiled in 1931 were allowed to return and the 1937 law against the election of an Archbishop was repealed, a Ten-Year Programme of Development was inaugurated and a Consultative Assembly to discuss a new democratic Constitution was called. In 1947 the Laborite Lord Winster was sent as Governor with an offer of Self-Government, but Greek Cypriot nationalists turned the offer down, refusing to discuss anything short of Enosis. The supposedly moderate appointed members of the Advisory Council would not even accept an invitation to a reception in honor of the new Governor, who therefore had to dismiss them. Lord Winster found it impossible to get together enough Right-Wing responsible Greek Cypriots to organize the proposed Constitutional Consultative Assembly and therefore had to give up the attempt. His successors did not have any better chance and consequently the British had no choice but to carry on their Direct Rule as liberally as possible, until the appearance of the EOKA, on April 1, 1955.

1. Great Britain, Island in Headlines (Pamphlet), p. 10.
2. Alastos, p. 362.

There can hardly be a more convincing evidence of British good will toward the Greek Cypriots than the pro-Greek arguments advanced by responsible Britishers all the way down from Gladstone, Churchill and Toynbee. Governor Ronald Storrs himself, whose house was burned down in 1931 with much of his personal and valuable collection, has qualified the indemnity imposed upon the Greek Cypriots as "unjustifiable, inexcusable and unforgivable".¹

This liberalism of the British in Cyprus during the period of "illiberal laws" becomes more striking when compared to conditions in the neighboring Dodecanese Islands under Italian rule. The people were officially known as Orthodox Christians and Moslems and never as Greeks and Turks; even the Greek name of the group of islands was changed. Unlike Cyprus, where on festive days there would be at least ten Greek flags for each Union Jack, in the whole Dodecanese just one Greek flag was permitted, the one over the Greek Consulate at Rhodes. There was not a single Greek paper, except the Greek translation of an Italian paper on its back page. The picture of Il Duce was everywhere and all passers-by were required to stop and salute the Italian flag as it was lowered in the evening.

The picture does not change essentially when the comparison is made with Greece with its frequent spells of dictatorship between the two World Wars.

1. Arnold. p. 40.

CHAPTER IV

CYPRIOI PROGRESS UNDER BRITISH RULE

Cyprus as the British Found it. - For the later Ottoman Sultans their Empire was a cow to be milked constantly without much thought being given to feeding her or in any way caring for her. As a result the Empire, particularly many of its distant provinces, were much impoverished. In 1878 the British Vice-Admiral Sir John Hay found Cyprus a much poorer and by far a more backward country than had met the eyes of Richard I of England almost seven centuries earlier. The island, in a run-down condition was only a "shadow of its former self".¹

Face of Progress Slow.² - During the past eighty-one years of British rule Cyprus has made much progress in the fields of economics, politics, education, culture and general well-being of the population. Judging from what happened in the Ottoman Empire and in Greece during the same period, we may safely conclude that the island progressed more swiftly under British rule than it probably would have done under either Greek or Turkish administration³, but for several reasons, not as fast as expected. In the first place there was an uncertainty of tenure. Nobody knew how long the British would stay in the island, which technically speaking did not belong

1. Farley. p. 164.
2. Toynbee. p. 367.
3. Storrs. p. 488.

to them. This uncertainty of tenure was also heightened by the constant agitation for the union of the island with Greece and naturally discouraged the influx of foreign capital and precluded long-range plans of development both by Government and private enterprise. At the same time local capital was almost non-existent, because of the universal poverty inherited from the earlier regime and because of the still relatively heavy taxes that continued to be collected. In this connection we must mention the impropportionate burden upon the economy of the island that payment of the annual "tribute" constituted. Half the island revenue was in this way sent out, thus paralyzing the Government by robbing it of the means of any extensive development possibilities. Related to this universal poverty of the people and the Government was the lack of proper means of communication. The island's communications with the outside world were not any better than the very poor state of local roads made possible within the island. There was one regular steamship service to Egypt once a week¹, this being the only reliable link with the outside world, and the main channel of the island's foreign trade.

As a final obstacle to progress we might mention the fact that at the start the British Government did very little to help Cyprus out of her financial troubles because it was the accepted principle that each colony should be self-supporting. On the insistent demands of succeeding Governors, it finally agreed to allow

1. Great Britain. Cyprus (Handbook, 1920), p. 66.

Grants-in-Aid¹ in increasing amounts making public works on a large scale possible.

Face of Progress Stepped-Up. - As the above mentioned obstacles were removed and favorable circumstance obtained the island's economic and cultural development acquired impetus. The Annexation Proclamation of 1914 was a significant step, as now the island became in law, as well as in fact, a British possession. To this must be added the very special conditions² the two World Wars created for Cyprus. In both cases Cyprus was near enough to the theatre of war to become an important base, but not so much a base of operations as one of training, recuperating. In other words Cyprus enjoyed a "touristic" boom, with thousands of British and allied troops constantly moving in and out and creating a great demand for the services and agricultural products of the island, money being spent by the various governments without much thought of economy. To obtain a better picture of the war conditions favoring Cypriot economy, it must be remembered that in neither war was there conscription or an attempt to make the island carry a substantial or even a proportionate financial burden of the war. Today, fourteen years after World War II, the British still maintain a very large force in the island and the money spent by these troops or for them is a most important contribution to the prosperity of Cyprus.

It would be incorrect to ascribe all progress in the island to the presence of the British or their administration, because during

1. Luke, p. 89.

2. Britanica Book of the Year, 1944. Encyclopedia Britanica, Inc., p. 433.

the past half century there has been substantial progress in practically all neighboring countries, but there is no doubt that British rule has materially contributed to the pace and direction of the process. What, then, are some of the island's specific achievements under British rule?

Economic Progress. - One major field of progress, with much influence upon other aspects of life, is the economic field in which agriculture is basic, but as it is not independent of other aspects of island life, we shall first briefly discuss what has been accomplished in some of the other fields. To get a fair idea of the relative importance the Cyprus Government attaches to various development projects it might be of interest to mention the main allocations made under the eighteen-million-pound Ten-year Development Plan¹ (1946-1956) and the thirty-eight² million pound special allowance to be used for the same purpose from 1956 to 1961. In the first case priority was given to agriculture, irrigation and health while in the second we find the largest appropriation made for what are called the Basic Services (Roads, Ports, Airports), the Economic Services (Agriculture, Rural Development, Water Supplies and Forests) and the Social Services (School Construction, Scholarships, Hospitals and Rent Purchase Houses). (For details see Table II.)

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Middle East, 2nd ed. pp. 151-152.
2. Bullard. p. 176.

Table II¹

Sterling Pounds 38 Million Development Programme Estimates

Published in 1956

		<u>Sterling pounds</u>
Economic Services	Agr. development	750,000
6,350,000	Forest	200,000
	Water	2,500,000
	Rural	2,500,000
Basic Services	Electricity & Teleph.	9,000,000
26,100,000	Port and airport	7,100,000
	Trunk road improvements	10,000,000
Social Services	School construction	1,000,000
	Scholarships	500,000
	Town water-supplies	800,000
	New Mental hospital	300,000
	Technical education	1,100,000
	Rent purchase houses	500,000

Communications. - For the Basic Services, which here represent mainly means of communication, more than twenty-six² out of thirty-eight million sterling pounds was allocated, because improved communications are needed not only for the stimulation of internal and external trade but also for the protection and exploitation of the forests and the development of the tourist trade. With its mild and sunny Mediterranean climate, beautiful scenery, well-preserved remains of by-gone ages and a very reasonable cost of living index, Cyprus has great possibilities as a center of tourism

1. Bullard. p. 176.

2. Ibid.

Just before terrorist activities scared people away, the Nicosia Airport was making great progress. Eleven airlines¹ operated there in 1956 and handled 103,868 passengers as against 4000 in 1946. Necessary improvements had already been made by earlier allowances in establishing the Electricity Authority with an island-wide Grid System to supply a cheap, reliable and plentiful electric current and the Telecommunications Authority to develop and run the very efficient telegraph wireless, and telephone service of the island. The island, which under the Turks had possessed only twenty-six miles of poorly kept "carriageable road"² from the Capital to its harbor at Larnaca, had in 1956, 792³ miles of asphalted roads and 2000 miles of other vehicular roads of an inferior quality. To cope with the ever-growing traffic on them the need for still more roads, wider roads and better roads is urgent.

Finance. - As has been remarked taxation was the main Cypriot grievance under the Turks, who imposed upon the impoverished island twenty-four⁴ different taxes. The British abolished some of them as bedel-i-Askerie, temettu and irad (tithes), made incidence fair, discontinued tax-farming and until recently did not add any new tax but still taxation remained one of the chief grievances of the Cypriots for two reasons. Under an efficient administration tax evasion by the influential class became much more difficult and

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1. Ibid. p. 171.
 2. Luke. p. 91.
 3. Bullard. p. 171.
 4. Hill. Vol. IV, pp. 445-447.

there was the general feeling against the injustice of the "Tribute". The main new tax introduced in 1941 was the Income Tax¹ which did not arouse much opposition and has worked better than in many Middle Eastern countries because the principle involved was generally accepted in all civilized countries and because the rates were low and assessments reasonable.

With the introduction of the income tax and growing prosperity of the island, especially after the Second World War, public revenue increased appreciably, by far the most important sources² being customs duties and income tax. See table III for this steady although not even growth, a reflection of the growing prosperity of the island.

Table III³

Ordinary Revenues of Cyprus in Sterling Pounds

(In Round Figures, Sample Years)

1879 -	152,000	1949 -	4,958,000
1898 -	210,000	1950 -	5,983,000
1918 -	611,000	1951 -	7,201,000
1928 -	714,000	1952 -	8,053,000
1938 -	1,023,000	1954 -	10,602,000
1941 -	1,101,000	1955 -	11,595,000
1945 -	3,555,000	1956 -	15,359,000
1946 -	4,517,000	1957 -	19,448,000
1948 -	5,916,000		

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1. Arnold, p. 169.
 2. Great Britain, Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 120.
 3. The first thirteen figures are taken from the Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Middle East, 1954, p. 145 and the remaining four figures from Bullard, pp. 173-174.

Another reliable index of fast economic growth would be the island's foreign trade which has increased more than ten fold since the Second World War, although still remaining unfavorable¹; as far as visible items are concerned. The most important exports of the island are mineral products, citrus fruits and carobs. Table IV gives an idea of the growth of Cypriot foreign trade (imports and exports).

Table IV

External Trade of Cyprus, Imports Plus Exports,
in Sterling Pounds

(In Round Figures, Sample Years)

1878 ² -	335,000	1938 ³ -	4,725,000
1905 -	920,000	1956 ⁴ -	61,448,000
1915 -	1,274,000		

With this great increase of money as indicated by the tremendous increase of public revenue and external trade one would expect a corresponding increase in the cost of living index but due to Government controls and subsidies, between 1939 and 1947 it had risen only 240⁵ per cent while in the French controlled territories in the same area (Syria and Lebanon), during the same period, the rise was at least 500 per cent. During the post war period of free market adjustments prices in Cyprus rose⁶ and war prices in neighboring countries fell, both approaching a normal level related to

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1. Europe Publications. The Middle East, 1958, p. 75.
 2. Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 54.
 3. Great Britain. Cyprus, 1938 (Colonial Reports), p. 27.
 4. Great Britain. Cyprus, 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 128.
 5. George Kirk. Survey of International Affairs. The Middle East, 1945-1950, p. 163 and United Nations, Statistical Year Book 1957, pp. 477-478.
 6. Great Britain. Cyprus, 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 115.

the costs of production. It is probably safe to say, however, that the British administration in Cyprus was much more efficient in preventing wild speculation than the governments of the neighboring lands.

Mining.¹ - Cyprus mines, celebrated in the ancient world, were neglected for many centuries and became important again under British rule, who tried to develop them in an effort to free the island from its complete dependence on agriculture and hence on its inependable rainfall. The most important minerals extracted now are copper, asbestos, chrome and gypsum, the total value of all mineral products in 1956 being "the record figure of Sterling pounds 13 3/4 million, compared with Sterling pounds 1 1/2 million in 1938 which was the record pre-war year. Most of the companies operating the mines are non-British and non-Cypriot but they provide work to about 6500 Cypriots and a major source of revenue. The most important copper mines are worked by an American concern called the Cyprus Mines Corporation. Next in importance are the Hellenic Mining Co., the Cyprus Asbestos Mines, Ltd., the Cyprus Chrome Co. Ltd. and finally Gypsum and Plaster Board Co. Ltd., whose main customer, by the way, is Lebanon.

Forestry.² - There are few areas in the Mediterranean region, if any, where forests receive as much expert attention and protection as in Cyprus. Thanks to this sustained care by the British authorities a little less than one fifth of the entire area of the island is covered by forests, justifying its Turkish name of Yesil Ada (Green Island). Every year more roads are built, telephones installed and

1. Ibid. p. 40.

2. Ibid. p. 35 sq.

new forestry stations established mainly for the protection of the forests against fires. Re-afforestation goes on continually; in 1956 alone just under 300,000 seedlings were delivered to various individuals and agencies for planting. To discourage the illicit and unscientific felling of trees, the Government has so far provided sixty-seven villages with especially planted near-by Fuel Areas. For the past five years it has also been running a Forestry College, which has already produced ninety graduates, thirty-two of them from other Middle East countries. To fight a most dangerous enemy of forests, a Goats Law was passed in 1913, according to which if a village votes to eliminate goats from its area, the Government buys the animals at a fair price. This law has succeeded in practically eliminating the menace¹ from goats.

The total revenue from forests in 1956 was only Sterling pounds 133,904 and Cyprus had still to import two thirds of its timber needs from abroad but there are more important, although less tangible benefits from forests as the prevention of erosion and the preservation of under-ground water supplies.

Industry.² - Industry is the field of economic activity where there has been little progress. Cyprus wine, cheese and lace work are still famous as in ancient times but they have not developed at a pace comparable to other fields. As to newer industries, it has cigarettes, soft drinks, canning, soap, leather,

1. Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 44.

2. Bullard. p. 171.

textiles, buttons and a recently opened cement factory but all of them are on a relatively small scale and hence unable to compete with similar industries in other British territories and the western world. To remedy this situation in 1956 the Government established a Department of Commerce and Industry¹ whose "important functions... will be to stimulate and assist the industries in the island." The boycott of English goods enforced by the terrorist organization (EOKA) has given local industries a much needed boost.

Agriculture. - Cyprus is still a predominantly agricultural country. Of the 263,000 gainfully employed Cypriots in 1955 more than half² were in agriculture, less than a quarter being in industry. The great problem of Cyprus agriculture is the insufficiency of water. Often insufficient rain at the right season causes crop failures seriously harming the whole economy of the island. Only six³ per cent of the arable land can be irrigated at all seasons and an additional eleven per cent in winter. In recent times drilling wells has become a common practice but the amount of underground water is limited too. It is interesting that the production of wheat, the main agricultural product of the island, if taken over a number of good and bad years, has remained about the same since the early days of British occupation. It was 2,366,000 bushels in 1905 and practically the same amount exactly half a century later. But during the same period the production of cottons, for instance, has increased from 825 to 2,200, ~~000~~ tons.⁴

1. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 26.

2. Ibid. p. 10.

3. Ibid. p. 30.

4. Ibid. p. 131 and Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook 1920, p. 76.

The British Government has been anxious and eager to help the peasants but has not tried to force upon them novel methods which were not appreciated and hence not wanted. There are several model farms run by the Government where scientific research is carried to supply farmers with better seeds and better live stock. The Veterinary Service is well organized and efficient. Constantly new measures are taken for soil conservation and for the popularization of the system of rotation of crops instead of leaving the land fallow. The Cyprus Grain Commission¹ by subsidized purchases keeps grain prices high, at the same time keeping the price of bread low. Mechanization of farming is encouraged and in 1956 alone 51² combine harvestors and 417 tractors were imported. However, the most significant help that the Government has given the farmer have been measures taken to reduce peasant indebtedness. The first step in this direction was taken in 1907 when an Agricultural Bank was started and in 1914 when the Cooperative Credit Societies Law³ was passed. But we shall have to discuss Cooperatives under a separate heading later.

Progress in Education. - In 1881 the total number of children attending school in Cyprus was 7000⁴ which number steadily rose to more than 81,660 in 1956 (62,000 elementary, 19,660 secondary)⁵. The population meanwhile having tripled the actual increase in the proportion of school children was therefore, four to one, the two periods being compared. The year 1881⁶ is referred to here because

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1. Great Britain, Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 31.
 2. Ibid. p. 33.
 3. Great Britain, Cyprus Handbook, 1920, p. 63.
 4. Alastos, p. 329.
 5. Great Britain, Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 42.
 6. Great Britain, Cyprus Handbook 1920, p. 23.

that is the first year the Government started helping schools financially. Up till the present even elementary education is not compulsory but is virtually free, the Government paying 72 per cent of the cost. Each religious community has its own school system aided and supervised by the Department of Education. It was in 1929, during the governorship of Storrs, that a law was passed establishing some Government control over elementary schools. On this account Storrs was criticized as "the Imperialist Dictator" who was trying to "assassinate Hellenic education".¹

Of the fifty-seven² secondary schools, now existing in Cyprus, practically each one has its own peculiarities of administration, curriculum and financial support. The Government helps those that accept its conditions and to the degree that they do so. There are a few that are actually run by the Government and many that are almost entirely free of state control. A majority of the secondary schools, thirty-two in number, are Greek Cypriot and follow more or less closely the official program of the *gymnasia*³ in Greece; have their teachers pensioned by the Greek Government; have the privilege of sending their graduates to Athens University with no examination required. With all this educational freedom it is difficult to take seriously the accusation that the British are "assassinating Hellenic education" and "dehellenizing" Cyprus.

The islam has been deficient in post-secondary education.

1. Storrs, p. 531.

2. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 45.

3. Bullard, p. 177.

Until 1956 the only institutions of such a standard were the Teachers' Training College and the Mistresses Training Center.¹ A Technical Institute was opened in May, 1956 which will eventually have Departments of "Engineering, Building, Commerce, Arts and Industrial Crafts."² For professional training or a university education Cypriots have had to go abroad, mainly to Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Political Progress. - The political liberties Cypriots enjoyed under British rule constitute as important an advantage as their economic and educational progress just discussed. We have already referred to it in Chapter III as Liberal Tendencies, but it may be worth here to discuss briefly certain specific developments in Cypriot political life, peculiar to democratic society. The accepted Greek view is expressed by Alastos³ who seems to ascribe the undeniable political developments under British rule not to the democratic liberties permitted by the authorities but as a reaction to their suppression. He thinks that "political activity... driven underground...found itself canalized into a multitude of forms...peasants and workers associations, professional and cultural bodies, literary and scientific societies, producers associations... political parties." It is difficult to believe that in a small island, under the very eyes of an efficient Government all these activities could go on very long in spite of the authorities. In fact a few pages later, the same author practically confesses that all this was possible because of the benevolent rule of the British. He continues: "With⁴ the ending of Turkish rule Cyprus

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1. Great Britain. Cyprus 1955 (Colonial Reports), p. 44.
 2. Ibid. p. 49.
 3. Alastos, p. 360. Also Bullard p. 154, where we read: "In 1954 180 cases of sedition were reported and 46 in 1955. No proceedings were taken in either year."
 4. Alastos. p. 390.

began to move within the Greek cultural orbit... Thus Cyprus... has re-entered the stream of history with its own distinctive Greek culture... The considerable advances made during the last two decades (period of illiberal laws, D.S.W.) in many fields of activity--particularly in the political, organizational, economic and cultural fields--hold out high promise for the future."¹

It is true that the law allowed the Government to stop the publication of papers, bar meetings and forbid processions when they were considered seditious but it was very seldom applied. The Greek Cypriot press was everyday full of very bitter criticism of the Government, often unjustified, and open advocacy of "Enosis" in a most violent language. Speaking of the "dictatorial policy of the British Government concerning the colonial administration of this island... (and urging the need for) struggle of the people of Cyprus for their liberation,"² were normal themes repeated over and over again in editorials, in public addresses, election speeches and church sermons. Greek authors reluctantly admit the fact in such expressions as: "The relative conditions of freedom under British administration enabled the people to voice both their views and their grievances openly;"³ or "We prefer the English to any European and to the democratic French themselves, but..."⁴

Political Parties. - There are at least a dozen organizations in Cyprus explicitly or implicitly political in character and activity but they can be classified into three main groups namely,

1. Ibid. pp. 394-395.

2. Arnold. p. 133.

3. Alastos. p. 309.

4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 503, quoting the Greek newspaper "Phoni tes Kyprou".

Leftists, Rightists and Turkish Nationalists. Best organized and most powerful of them all is the main Leftist or frankly Communist party known as the AKEL¹ (Anorthotikon Komma ton Ergazomenon Iaon) or the Progressive Party of the Working People. AKEL was founded on October 5, 1941² as a progressive organization of trade unionists, peasants, lawyers, doctors and journalists with the aim of securing better standards of living for the poorer classes, greater political liberties and democratic institutions for the people of Cyprus but before long it became a full-fledged Communist Party with Moscow-trained leaders and a quite secure control over the "Old" Trade Unions and various rural as well as urban organizations of supposedly economic, cultural or athletic nature. The extent of AKEL's political strength became evident when in 1943, during the first municipal elections³ since 1931, it won the two most important coastal towns of Cyprus. In the next elections, which took place in 1946, in coalition with certain less extremist elements, it won the four most important towns including the capital, leaving only two lesser towns to the Rightists. This quick growth of Cypriot Communism took place in spite of the law of 1933 making dissemination of Communism or membership in a Communist party an offense.⁴

Shortly after the Leftist organization, the Rightists too organized their own Cyprus National Party or KEEK with a whole series of satellite organizations for farmers, workers, politically-minded

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1. Kirk. p. 162.
 2. Alastos. p. 367.
 3. Ibid. p. 367.
 4. Arnold. p. 55.

young people and religiously-minded youth. The aims of the Rightists was to fight for Enosis above all but also to demand democratic institutions and to check the spread of communism in the island. In 1949 the Archbishop¹, with his Ethnarchy Council, became the recognized leader of all right-wing organizations, intensified the struggle for Enosis, thus gaining great popularity at the expense of AKEL, which had for a while agreed to accept self-government as a first step to Enosis. The Ethnarchy Council, including all the bishops and a few prominent lay members appointed by its president, the Archbishop, considers itself the Government of Cyprus and occasionally calls for consultation an Assembly² of 500 or 600 prominent Rightists who take the place of a Parliament. The Rightists never possessed the disciplined organization of AKEL until the appearance of the secret terrorist organization EOKA, which developed even a more disciplined organization than AKEL.

The Civil War in Greece (1947-1949) had its repercussions in Cyprus where the relations between the Rightists and Leftists became so strained that they would refuse to buy from one another. Even in little villages the village club split³ into two. There was the Rightist club or Coffee-shop with its own radio and nationalist newspapers and there was the Leftist club or Coffee-shop with entirely different sources for its news and inspiration.

The Turks have one important party originally called the Turkish National Party which now calls itself the "Cyprusis Turkish

1. Alastos. p. 367.

2. Bullard. p. 166.

3. Great Britain. Communism in Cyprus (A Pamphlet), p. 3.

Party". With the support of the Turkish Government it tries to safeguard the rights of the Turkish inhabitants of the island and prevent any attempt at domination by the Greek majority.

Trade Unions. - The emergence and the quick growth of Cypriot trade unions certainly marks an important step forward that has done much to improve the working conditions and living standards of workers. Trade unions were first officially organized in 1925¹ but they acquired their present importance after World War II. A Department of Labor was set up in 1941 and in 1948 a well-known British trade-unionist was put at its head. Between 1950 and 1955, just before the EOKA terrorist activity started, membership had more than tripled attaining the figure of 42,928². This meant that four out of every five workers in industry were in trade unions, which of course made them one of the most powerful forces in the political life of the island.

Like all social movements in Cyprus, however, the working class is split into non-cooperating and even mutually hostile organizations. By far the most important of them is the Pancyprian Federation of Labor or the "Old Trade Unions", as they are currently known, with a membership of 27,143³. Next in importance is the Cyprus Workers Confederation or the "New Unions" with 5,129 members and then the Cyprus Turkish Trade Unions Federation or "Turkish Unions" with 1,813 members. The "Old Unions" are strongly leftist,

1. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), pp. 105 & 118.

2. Alastos. footnote on page 378 also Patrick Balfour. The Orphaned Realm, p. 184.

3. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 119.

in fact, under the domination of AKEL; the "New Unions" are Rightist or nationalist and the "Turkish Unions" are Turkish nationalists. There is also a fourth group of Independent Trade Unions, 2,954 in membership, trying to keep out of politics.

Social Progress. - If marked demographic changes in a country can be considered an index of social conditions, we must admit that the period of British rule in Cyprus was one of social progress. The population of the island, which had at one time in Turkish days dropped to a record minimum of 25,000 ¹ was 180,000 when the British took over. Under the new administration there was a sharp increase, resulting in the tripling ² of the population in eighty years.

This phenomenon is mainly the consequence of better health conditions, Malaria, dysentery and diseases of the eye had been rampant in the island to such a degree that at the time of occupation many English leaders had argued against the acquisition of Cyprus as

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1. It is more or less agreed by different authorities that under the Turks there was a sharp decline in population but on exact figures there is wide disagreement.
 - a. "The Ottoman regime reduce the island, which was reputed in antiquity to have possessed a population of two million, to a struggling agricultural community of 180,000 persons, loaded with debt...living in...ignorance and destitution." Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, The Middle East, 1950, p. 121.
 - b. According to J. Lewis Farley the population of the island was one million before the Turks. (See Egypt, Cyprus and Asiatic Turkey, p. 164.)
 - c. According to Newman it was about 185,000 (See the chart on p. 211 in A Short History of Cyprus.)
 - d. For other estimates see Sir George Hill's History of Cyprus, Vol. IV, p. 31-36.
 2. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 14.

a base partly because of its reputation as an unhealthy place. In fact in the first years the troops suffered from the summer heat and various diseases until the authorities took the necessary measures, as draining of the low-lying marshy grounds and concentrating their troops in the mountains in summer. The British have now "made Cyprus the healthiest country in the Eastern Mediterranean... Health officers have eliminated trachoma... (and) malaria has been banished,"¹ after being the plight of Cyprus for long centuries. How true was the prophecy of Farley who eighty years ago wrote: "We may.... succeed in banishing fever altogether" from Cyprus. This island with an "unhealthy climate" has become an ideal convalescent station for troops and a comfortable home for retired British officials. The fight of the authorities against tuberculosis and other diseases is making good progress everyday.

Infant mortality, 131 per thousand in 1938 had been reduced to 33 per thousand in 1956² and the "death rate (6.30 per thousand) is one of the lowest in the world." Government hospitals of a high standard provide free treatment to all who cannot afford to pay.

In the light of the present events it is significant to notice that the rate of population increase in the Greek element of the island has been higher³ than in the Turkish element, probably due to better sanitation and higher standards of living. This would of course

1. Balfour. pp. 200-201.

2. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 14.

3. Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook 1920, p. 10.

tend to upset¹ the ratio of Turks to Greeks already one to five in favor of the latter.

Perhaps more important than prolonging life is making it more bearable or more worth living. For this purpose in 1951 a Welfare Department was set up which has been doing a creditable job in probation work and public assistance. A Social Insurance Scheme² prepared by it came into force in 1957.

The Cooperative Movement. - The large scale development of the Cooperative Movement is a significant feature of social progress

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1. Figures compiled by the Greeks from official British sources to show the steady decline of the percentage of Turks in Cyprus.

Year	Greeks	Turks	Percentage of Turks
1881	137,631	45,458	24.41
1891	158,585	47,926	22.89
1901	182,739	51,309	21.64
1911	214,480	56,428	20.59
1921	244,887	61,339	19.74
1931	276,573	64,238	18.46
1946	361,199	80,548	17.89
1956	416,989	92,553	17.50

B.P. Papadakis. Cyprus, p. 13.

2. Bullard. p. 178.

in Cyprus. Its purpose was to help the small farmers, who represent the backbone of this overwhelmingly agricultural island. For centuries the Cypriot peasant was heartlessly exploited by usurers. Interest rates were so high that in the course of some years he would pay several times the original loan and still be in debt. This situation was met by the Agricultural Debtors Relief Law of 1940¹ and by the organization of Cooperatives. The first measure scaled down agricultural indebtedness to reasonable proportions and limited the rate of interest to nine per cent, thus making their liquidation possible. The Cooperatives were to give a more positive relief and to find a more permanent solution to the problems of the peasants.

Cooperatives were founded in 1916 but then acted only as collecting and lending agents² and therefore were of limited significance until 1934, when they became also supplying, marketing and credit agencies and hence the backbone of rural economy." The number of such societies was only 353 with 24,000 members in 1938 and rose to 824 with 146,000 members in 1956³. The main functions of Cooperatives is to supply short-term credits to farmers on reasonable terms and on a sound basis, but they also provide seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and agricultural machinery at a low price and they run village stores which help in keeping prices down at a reasonable level. In all these activities the Government encourages, supervises and when necessary supports them financially by loans and subsidies.

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. X.

2. Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Middle East (1950), p. 128.

3. Bullard. p. 170.

The Rule of Law. - Apart from the four years of EOKA terrorism, Cyprus, thanks to the British, has enjoyed a rule of law to a greater extent than any Middle Eastern country during the past eighty-one years. Alastos, a confessed Enosist, has no hesitation in asserting that British rule "did away with abuse, corruption and occasional personal vindictiveness....(as a first step took all necessary measures) to provide for the administration of justice."¹ The British conception of justice and respect for law asserted itself especially in the higher courts which were quite independent from the Executive and other corrupting influences, a rare thing in this part of the world.

In all that British rule has given Cyprus, probably there is nothing more important than this respect for law, incorruptibility of justice and not much less important an efficient and honest civil² service. It must be remembered that all these values and their evaluation is relative to the general standards of the area.

Shortcomings. - We have tried to review briefly the progressive and constructive work British rule has achieved in Cyprus but this account would be incomplete if it did not point out a few of the more important fields where that administration failed in varying degrees.

1. Alastos. p. 309.

2. In 1920 the Greek Government asked the authorities concerned permission to send "a mission to Cyprus to study the administration with a view to applying it to their newly won territories." (Luke, p. 178) No more eloquent compliment than this could be sought for the excellence of British administration in the island.

Poor Harbors. - Sea traffic to and from Cyprus is seriously handicapped by the insufficiency of harbor facilities. There is only one good harbor at Famagusta which, however, is very small and hence usually crowded. Often ships have to wait several days before they can find room along the quays. The next two best ports are Larnaca and Limassol which have only open roadsteads. Larnaca is or rather was much used because it is the port nearest (26 miles) to the capital, and Limassol is much used because it faces and is nearest to Egypt and its great ports. So far the British have done far too little to create modern conditions in those harbors, so essential for the trade and development of the island. One would expect them to have constructed harbors and docks for their navy, if for nothing else, but evidently, they soon dropped the idea of making Cyprus a "place d'armes".

Roads and Towns. - Related to this is also the construction of roads which are relatively few and narrow. Town-planning too has not received enough attention under the British. There are few capitals in the Middle East of today with a more medieval appearance than Nicosia with its narrow and winding streets and overhanging kiosks. This may be romantic but it is not conducive to the development of modern urban life.

Neglected Sources of Revenue. - Among the many possible sources of income so far not sufficiently developed are tourism, fishing and manufacturing. The Government has only recently shown some interest in the development of tourism and the growth of local industry. Even agriculture has not made enough progress as far as the use of modern methods and machinery are concerned. New crops

or new varieties of old crops could have been developed to a much greater extent. For instances in the last quarter century Syria has become an important cotton producing country and Lebanon has become an important exporter of apples. Cyprus would probably do very well for both crops and many others if the government or the people could show a little more imagination and initiative. The island psychology of the inhabitants with a limited horizon may have made them less enterprising and imaginative than the people on the mainland but why could not the Government take the initiative, guide and encourage the people in those profitable adventures of economic development?

Political Dualism Unchecked. - Cyprus lacks a Cypriot political consciousness. Under the British the Greekness of the Greeks and the Turkishness of the Turks have, if anything, become more accentuated. The two communities have probably moved farther apart to opposite poles, instead of moving toward a common ground. This fact has been and will probably continue to be the source of much friction, ill-will and suffering for all concerned. In this period of the growth of nationalism could this trend be checked, moderated or in any way conditioned? Would democratic institutions with limited or gradually expanding self-government help develop an indigenous body politic? Would a common Cypriot public education system, with a common language for both sections of the population have helped? These are questions which cannot be answered with any degree of certainty but the British administration could have made more serious attempts along these lines.

Lack of Centers of Higher Education. - Elsewhere enough has been said of the failure of the British to develop democratic institutions for which it may not be right to blame them alone but the responsibility for the lack of Cypriot centers of higher learning must be chiefly upon their shoulders. After eighty-one years of rule, the British or rather the Cyprus Government has only one secondary school for boys in the whole island and none for girls and this school was started and run privately for many years. Only recently has the Government assumed responsibility for it. Also, until very recently, for any education beyond the secondary level Cypriots had to go abroad as discussed in the foregoing pages.

The list of areas in which the British Government could and should do more for Cyprus may be extended but what has been said is sufficient to give a picture true to facts of what it has done and what it has left undone. The main reason for these failures is probably the traditionalism of the British, their natural conservatism which prefers to let things take their normal course, as long as there is no urgent need for intervention by authority.

CHAPTER V

ENOSIS

The Origin and Basis of Enosis. - Enosis (Union) is the irredentist movement among Greek Cypriots demanding the ultimate accession of the island of Cyprus to "Mother Greece". We won't be far from the truth if we say that this idea existed even before the Cyprus Convention of 1878. In 1821, rightly or wrongly, the hanging of the Cypriot bishops and the subsequent massacres were explained by the Turks on this basis. The Cypriot Greeks were accused of Enosis plans, which the Government considered criminal disloyalty and treason. With the coming of the British, Greek hopes for Enosis rose sharply because the British were known for their pro-hellenic policy and had given positive evidence of it by turning over to Greece the Ionian island in 1864.¹ This hope was nourished by responsible British statesmen, who, often in no uncertain terms, endorsed and encouraged the movement. Gladstone in 1897 declared: "I subjoin the satisfaction I should feel were it granted to me.... to see the population of that Hellenic Island placed....^{in organic Union} with their brethren of the kingdom of Greece."² About a decade and a half later Winston Churchill said: "I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with.... their mother country, as an ideal to be earnestly,

1. Bullard. p. 149.
2. Storrs. p. 490.

devoutly and fervently cherished."¹ Of the many similar categorical declarations we might quote also Ramsay MacDonald's words that in 1919 committed his Party: "The British Labor Party would apply the principle of self-determination to Cyprus."²

The real origin of Enosis and the principal justification for it, however, must be sought in the composition of the population of Cyprus which, according to the latest official estimate, is eighty per cent Greek, eighteen per cent Turkish and two per cent others³. Some British anti-Enosist apologists have put forward arguments which cannot carry much weight in the twentieth century. They have argued that Cyprus was never part of Greece; that the Cypriots speak a different dialect from the Greeks in the Greek state. Notwithstanding such arguments, more important and objective Britishers recognize, in the words of Sir Ronald Storrs "the Greekness of Cypriots" as "indisputable" and agree that "no sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling, Greek..."⁴ It has also been argued that since British rule has given the Cypriot prosperity, security, justice and efficient administration, he should not demand Enosis. In his speech in 1880 Gladstone predicted the reply to this attitude when he said: "instead of earning.... gratitude and attachment.... to continue in political connection with you, the more you improve their condition the quicker will be the development of this strong sentiment.... and.... desire of the Greeks

1. Ibid. p. 491.

2. Ibid. p. 491.

3. Great Britain. Cyprus 1956 (Colonial Reports), p. 14.

4. Storrs. p. 495.

of Cyprus to be united with the free Greeks."¹

It would be incorrect to think of Enosis as an anti-British movement, although at occasional moments of crises it took that form. Basically, the Greeks of Cyprus, as well as those of Greece, admire the British, appreciate the great service they have rendered to the hellenic cause and recognize the moral and material benefits British rule has brought to Cyprus. Dr. Themistocles Dervis, the Mayor of Nicosia and the General Secretary of the Cyprus National Party holds a British decoration (.O.B.E.); is proud of it and refused to return it in spite of much pressure on him in the days of greatest tension. Except for the few days of disturbance in 1931, the British administration in Cyprus was opposed only by peaceful and usually legal means until the appearance of EOKA on April 1, 1955.² In the earlier Almanacs we find the regular British garrison of Cyprus put down as thirty-eight officers and men. Of course this was possible because of the ease and speed with which reinforcements could be called in, because of the great prestige of the British but also because of the Greek Cypriot appreciation of the benefits of British rule and his unwillingness to resort to violence against it. If not afraid of being dubbed traitors, many others would not hesitate to say what a Greek Cypriot teacher wrote from Athens in 1919: "denouncing the incompetence and corruption of the Greek Government and praying for the continuation of British rule in Cyprus."³ It is almost unbelievable that Grivas, the EOKA leader,

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 497.

2. Great Britain. Greek Irredentism and Cypriot Terrorism, p. 31.

3. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 531.

on dissolving his organization, should speak of his "fanatically pro-British"¹ feelings, as he did just before he left Cyprus for Athens.

The Ups and Downs of the Enosis Movement. - The demand for Enosis was presented to the British as soon as they landed in the island and hardly a year has passed since the Occupation without the "Hellenic idea" finding expression in some form or other."² There is not much benefit in giving a detailed description of the various forms this demand took--memorials, deputations to various capitals, newspaper articles, welcome or farewell addresses³, church sermons, publication of books, pamphlets or manifestoes, posters or slogans on the street walls, placards carried in public processions, election speeches or declarations made on British or Greek feast days, etc. A few significant general remarks, however, must be made here regarding the history of the movement.

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1. This bit of news was given by the Cyprus Radio on March 17, 1959.
 2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 531.
 3. Sir Ronald Storrs, coming as Governor of the island, was confronted by an embarrassing situation even before he reached his office in Nicosia. The Mayor of Famagusta gave a welcome address and submitted it to the Governor bound in the Greek colors--white and blue. It was after an awkward moment of hesitation that Storrs accepted it. Storrs. p. 480.

In the first place it is significant to remember that every time the Greeks made a move in favor of Enosis, the Turks made one against it. Then, ¹ it is interesting to note the fluctuations in the enthusiasm for Enosis in general depending upon the international situation. That demand was rather loud and insistent when Greece came out victorious in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), in 1916 when the British actually offered Cyprus to Greece if she would join the allies immediately¹; between 1918 and 1921 when the Greek army was "carving out an empire" in Asia Minor and in 1941 when the inglorious failure of Mussolini's attack on Greece made that country "our valiant and heroic ally". The last high point in Enosis hopes came right after World War II, when, under a Labor Government, Great Britain was expected to make the long-due generous gesture of turning Cyprus over to Mother Greece, the subject of so much British praise and admiration.²

One low ebb of Enosis enthusiasm came in 1922 with the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor, when the "Political Organization"³, the united party leading the movement, gradually disintegrated, later, in better days, to be reorganized under the name of "National Organization". A second low point in the zeal for Enosis followed the abortive "revolution" of 1931, because, for a while, Cypriots thought the British intended to be rough and carry out the restrictive laws they had proclaimed and also because of the

1. Toynbee. Survey of International Affairs, 1931, p. 359.
2. Arnold. p. 13.
3. Alastos. p. 347.

oppressive dictatorships in Greece leading to that of Metaxas in 1936. During this period Enosis activity was more intense outside Cyprus. In Athens there were several organizations¹ as the "Central Committee for Cyprus" under the presidency of Admiral Condouriatris, a former President of the Republic, the "Cypriot Students Association", the "Society of the Friends of Cyprus" under the leadership of the exiled Bishop of Kyrenia and the "Committee for Cypriot Struggle" under the direct leadership of the Archbishop of Athens. In addition to these and pursuing the same aims there were also active organizations in London and New York.

A renewed wave of enthusiasm for Enosis got hold of the Cypriots beginning 1943², when, for the first time since 1931, elections of Mayors and municipal councillors were held. This enthusiasm kept on growing to such a degree that in December 1946 an Ethnarchy Delegation in London refused³ the advice of the Colonial Secretary, Creech Jones, to ask for self-government. Now the slogan was "Enosis, nothing but Enosis" and every intermediate step was disdainfully rejected.

The Leftists, who could not be cherishing the idea of union with Greece where the Communists were put safely under lock and key, for a while, advocated "fighting for Enosis through self-government",⁴ in other words accepting self-government as a first step to Enosis, but soon (Jan. 1949)⁵ changed their minds when they saw that by so

1. Ibid. pp. 363-364.

2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 561.

3. Alastos. p. 374.

4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 564.

5. Alastos. p. 377.

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3. Alastos. p. 374.

4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 564.

5. Alastos. p. 377.

doing they were losing followers. In the noisy and frantic propaganda that now went on from the press, the pulpit and the political platform Rightists and Leftists were in a great race for more vehement and more extreme demands because that seemed to be the only way to attract the masses. The appearance of the EOKA terrorists was not a far cry from this situation, but we must discuss that elsewhere.

Fluctuations of British Enosis Policy. - As has already been mentioned in the earliest days of the Occupation some British statesmen talked of offering Cyprus to Greece but did not implement it, the usual excuse being that it "belonged to Turkey".¹ After the Annexation when this excuse was no longer valid Cypriots were told that they were "not yet ready".² The only time there was an outright offer³ was in 1916, when Serbia was hard pressed, the Gallipoli expedition had proved a failure and it was considered very important to strengthen the hand of the pro-ally opposition party of Venizelos in Greece. Great Britain offered to cede Cyprus if Greece would join the Allies and help save Serbia. The Greek Prime Minister and the King refused the offer because they felt that by entering the war at a time when the German, Bulgarian and even Turkish armies seemed to be victorious in the Balkans, would endanger the fatherland. On this, the British promptly and officially withdrew⁴ the offer a week after it had been made. In 1919, Lloyd George promised to give the demand for Enosis "the most careful and sympathetic consideration"⁵ but would not go any further than that.

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 521.

2. Ibid. p. 431.

3. Toynbee. p. 359. Also Alastos, p. 342.

4. Luke. p. 86.

5. Alastos. p. 343.

Thus, the British position oscillated back and forth between the definite offer of 1916 and the declaration of the Secretary of State in 1925 that "the question of the Union of Cyprus with Greece had been finally closed and could not be reopened."¹ One of the hardest blows to the Greek cause came from Ramsay MacDonald, a declared friend of Enosis, when out of office. As the first Labor Prime Minister of Great Britain, much was expected of him, but with the changing responsibilities his views too had changed. In 1924 in the House of Commons he declared: "His Majesty's Government are not contemplating any change in the political status of Cyprus."² Then in 1954 came the famous and rather undiplomatic "NEVER" statement by the Minister of State for the Colonies. Speaking of Cyprus, he said: "There are certain territories in the Commonwealth, which owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent."³ When this "never" raised a storm in Cyprus, Greece and also in Great Britain, after a while, it was changed to "sometime" and after a year and a half of EOKA terrorism Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary "Reaffirmed the British Government's recognition of the principle of self-determination....."⁴ with certain reservations. Thus, the pendulum kept on swinging from one position to another.

International Problems Involved in Enosis. - The question of Enosis involved several other powers than Britain and Greece. Turkey refused to recognize the unilateral British Annexation Proclamation of 1914 and revived her claim to Cyprus on the basis of the Convention

1. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 541.
2. Storrs. p. 488.
3. Alastos. p. 385.
4. Bullard. p. 162.

when Russia, due to the Revolution, withdrew from Transcaucasia.¹
In fact the Turkish claim did not officially lapse until the 1923
Lausanne Treaty.

Then, there was the little known British commitment to France
in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and the Franco-British Conven-
tion of December 23, 1920 in which Art. 4 read: "In virtue of the
geographic and strategic position of the island of Cyprus, off the
Gulf of Alexandretta, the British Government agrees not to open any
negotiations without the previous consent of the French Government."²

Since the end of World War II the vociferous claim for
Enosis has revived the Turkish counter-claim and these two rival
claims, neither one based on strict legality, have created a serious
problem for the Western world and for its main regional alliance
(Nato)³, because they tend to disrupt the friendship and cooperation
between Greece and Turkey and endanger Cyprus as a Nato base.

Perhaps at no time had the question of Cyprus become an inter-
national problem to the degree that it did after the Greek Government
finally agreed to take it to the United Nations. After listening to
a long and rather bitter argument among the three allies (U.K., Greece
and Turkey), the UN Assembly "on 17 December, 1954.... endorsed the
Political Committee's decision to shelve the question."⁴ The Greek
retort to this disappointing decision was wide-spread and well-orga-
nized terrorist activity in the island, as an act of desperation.

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1. By the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (March 3, 1918) Russia left to Turkey Batum, Kars and Ardahan. Later the Russo-Turkish Treaty of March 16, 1921 and the treaty of Oct. 13, 1921 between Turkey and the Transcaucasian Republics confirmed these provisions with minor alterations.
 2. Toynbee, p. 360.
 3. Great Britain. Discussion on Cyprus in Nato, Miscellaneous 14 (1958).
 4. Alastos, p. 386.

The Greek cause was dealt a more severe blow when in 1955 Sir Anthony Eden invited Turkey with Greece to a round table conference in London to discuss "defense questions which affect the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus."¹ Thus the special position of Turkey in the Cyprus question was being recognized once more, to the bitter disappointment of Greeks.

The General Greek View of the Cyprus Problem. - For the Greeks in general, both in Cyprus and abroad, the problem is very simple and they would probably state their case in some such terms as follows:

"In the twentieth century when the principle of self-determination has been accepted and applied even to half-civilized areas, by what logic can it be denied Cyprus? Here is an island with eighty per cent of its population Greek by origin, language, culture, religion and sentiment; what can there be more legitimate and natural than its wish to be united with the mother country? Whether by so doing we shall be impoverished, taxed more heavily, have a lower standard of living, have our youngmen conscripted, enjoy less freedom and justice, or not is our own concern and nobody else's. Even if we were to agree with those who wave this specter in front of our eyes, we cannot live in another man's home simply because he is richer than our own father, no matter how great the benefits may be."

The Greeks would continue: "We are reminded of the existence of an important Turkish minority that is opposed to Enosis. But should a minority be permitted to dictate its wishes to the majority?"

1. Ibid., p. 388.

Moreover, we are not a backward people not to be trusted. We give our word of honor and every reasonable guarantee that the Turks and other minorities in the island shall enjoy full rights of citizenship and all their privileges and traditions will be scrupulously respected as is the case in Greece, where there is no trace of discrimination against any minority."

"It is also argued," the Greeks would say, "that Cyprus is a base that is needed to safeguard British and Nato interests in the Middle East. But that base can be kept and rendered more effective if the wishes of the islanders are respected and their cooperation secured. After all Greece is a member of Nato and one of the most loyal allies of Great Britain. In fact all these arguments the British have advanced against Enosis are mere excuses for keeping the island under their rule and in slavery. It is a case of colonialism pure and simple. We have been patient with the British; we have willingly contributed to their war effort; by defeating and discrediting Mussolini, by delaying Hitler's march on Russia and later by constantly harassing his rear, our mother country has materially contributed to the final victory of the United Nations and is therefore entitled to better treatment. Instead, the British have been intriguing against us all along, their most shameful intrigue being the rousing of the Turks against us, making Turkey a partner in the discussions and promising to do nothing about the Cyprus problem without consulting her. It is this unjustified, undignified colonialist policy of the British, unworthy of their liberal traditions, that has exasperated the patriotic youth of the island to take up arms and willingly die for the cause of Enosis."

It was no longer possible to hold them back because they had waited for eighty years hopefully and had exhausted all pacific and legal means for obtaining their undisputable and just right."

This is the general line of argument followed by the Greeks but in it there are certain variations, sometimes of substance, sometimes of emphasis, with different organizations and section of society both in Cyprus and Greece. It would be unnatural to expect the Nationalists and Communists, peasants and intellectuals, businessmen and terrorist leaders, responsible statesmen and agitators to have an identity of views. It may be worthwhile to discuss briefly the particular attitudes and motives of the more important actors in this rather sad drama.

The Attitude of the Greek Government. - The general attitude of Greek Governments can be characterized by the word caution. From the earliest days official circles realized the great benefits British friendship had secured for them on so many occasions and were very careful not to antagonize such an esteemed friend. They were also afraid of rousing Turkey. Moreover they had the conviction that the goal aimed at could be achieved sooner and with less sacrifice through negotiations and friendly requests rather than threats and hostile acts. This is why after the 1931 disturbances, Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister controlled his nerves and in spite of violent and jingoistic agitation both in Cyprus and Greece declared: "There is no Cypriot question between the Greek Government and the British Government..... unfortunately... criminal excesses have taken place..... British tolerance comes to an end and a strict application of the law begins. I can only express my profound regret for their excesses..... from which no good

can come." ¹ Few statesmen of Greece were strong enough or pro-English enough to utter such brave words, but in general they were careful not to antagonize the British. On several occasions Greek consuls in Cyprus were advised by their Government not to be involved ² in any action that was suspect in the eyes of the British. At the same time however, occasionally cautious hints were dropped as in 1941 when the Greek Government, evacuated to Crete, inquired the British Ambassador if it could make Cyprus its next headquarters. This request was turned down politely with the explanation that such a step would invite a German invasion of Cyprus. ³

In recent years the situation has changed and the Greek Governments of the past decade have come out as open advocates of Enosis, not because they considered it the best course to pursue but because, being weak, they were no longer able to resist extremist agitators who roused the mob. ⁴ The hand of the Greek Government was forced against its own best judgment by popular leaders both in Greece and Cyprus and by a leakage in 1947 of the news "that the United States Government favored the union of Cyprus with Greece." ⁵ In that year the Greek Chamber of Deputies "unanimously approved a resolution 'confiding the sacred national demand for union of Cyprus with Greece', ⁶ to friendly discussions between Greek and British Governments." Starting in this cautious manner the Greek Government found itself more and more intractably involved in the matter. It took the dispute to the U.N. in 1954, 1956 and twice in 1957, securing a series of vague

1. Toynbee. p. 390.

2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 506.

3. Alastos. p. 368.

4. Luke. "Priest and Terrorist", Time and Tide, (Dec. 20, 1958).

5. Kirk. p. 173.

6. Ibid. p. 172.

and evasive resolutions, each time less reassuring than the previous one, due mainly to the vehement opposition of not only Britain but also Turkey.¹ The state controlled Athens radio beamed to Cyprus played a major role in encouraging the islanders engaged in terrorist activity. It often broadcast highly inflammable² speeches and commentaries as when it said: "Our cry in today's Cyprian rising is the punitive cry of Nemesis! Look, conquerors and tyrants!..... Cypriots cannot live without freedom; and their struggle is an all-out struggle. The British do not understand this; so much the worse for them!"² Also referring to the mainly Turkish Cypriot Auxiliary Police Force, it quoted an Athens paper saying: "The new janissaries will not suppress the Cypriot people's struggle or reduce EOKA activities."³

The Role of the Church. - Under the Millet system in the Ottoman Empire the higher clergy were recognized not only as the religious but also as the political leaders of their flocks and this notion still persists in Cyprus. The Archbishop has, since 1914, been elected by popular ballot and is called the Ethnarch, the ruler of the nation or race. In fact for the ordinary man in the street there is no distinction between religious and national allegiance. For him Christianos (Christian) means Greek and he will always distinguish between the Christianos as opposed to the Anglesos (English). The Ethnarch's election had to be approved or legalized by the Sultan's

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1. Europa Publications, p. 76.
 2. Great Britain. Greek Irredentism and Cypriot Terrorism, p. 50.
 3. Ibid. p. 50.
 4. Alastos, p. 322.

or under the English by the Governor's ¹ Berat and he was held responsible for the behavior of his flock. A popular revolt might cost his ² head in the first case and his exile in the second. He was always the recognized leader of the Enosis movement whether it consisted of ³ sending deputations to London, Paris and Athens, presiding over the "Central Committee of the National Cause", the "National Council", the "Ethnarchy Council" or sending memorials to various official bodies or negotiating with them. The British have even claimed to possess strong evidence of the Ethnarch being behind the EOKA movement.

Sir Harry Luke quotes an authoritative Greek newspaper writing during World War I: "In regions where...unredeemed populations struggle against foreign yoke, a bishop must have nothing of the priest about him except his robes. Unless he combines the courage of a soldier with the guile of a diplomatist.... he may be a saint but ⁴ is no fit pastor of militant nationalities."

Because of his responsibility in the 1931 outbreak, the Ethnarch, who had been elected in 1916, was exiled in 1931 and died in ⁵ 1933. Thus, Cyprus remained without an Archbishop until 1947, when elections were permitted. After the very brief reigns of Leontios and Makarios II, in 1950 was elected the present Archbishop of Cyprus, ⁶ Makarios III at the age of 37. The young Archbishop's first and foremost preoccupation was the organization of the struggle for

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1. Great Britain. Political Influence of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus, p. 7.
 2. Luke. "Priest and Terrorist", Time and Tide (Dec. 20, 1958).
 3. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 536.
 4. Luke. Cyprus, p. 177.
 5. Great Britain. Political Influence of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus, p. 12.
 6. Bullard. p. 151.

Enosis. He reorganized the Ethnarchy Council, travelled extensively to Greece, U.K., U.S.A., and as far as Bandung to win support for his cause.

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The "Plebiscite". - For a while the Leftists tried to seize the leadership of the movement when, under the name of the "National Liberation Coalition" they began to collect signatures for an appeal to the United Nations. Not to let the Leftists steal the show, the Ethnarchy assumed the responsibility for a regular Church conducted plebiscite, which took place between Jan. 15 and 22, 1950 and secured from the eligible Greek Cypriots a "Yes" vote of 96 percent for Enosis. London's attitude was reflected by a former Governor, Lord Winster, who dismissed it as a "Russian-type of voting". The Greek reply to this accusation was an invitation to the Government to conduct its own plebiscite² but nothing was done. Archbishop Makarios, on the strength of the plebiscite, asked the United Nations to implement the expressed wish of the people of Cyprus for self-determination and declared that for this purpose he would "accept support from every hand, even from dirty hands," the reference probably being to the Communists in Cyprus and abroad.

Greek Cypriot Popular Attitude to Enosis. - To complete our discussion of the Greek view of Enosis we must say a few words on the attitudes of the various classes of Greek Cypriots.

As a rule the Greeks of Cyprus, even those who shouted loudest for Enosis, often at heart preferred British to Greek rule. Before EOKA activities started it was a common practice for many enosists

1. Ibid., p. 152.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

to confess in private that their demands should not be taken too seriously.¹ Perhaps a rather eloquent evidence of Cypriot appreciation of British administration is the fact that more of them emigrate to the United Kingdom than anywhere else. Just before EOKA terrorism, in 1954, as against five Cypriots going to Greece, 3,688 went to England to live there. During the following year, the first year of terrorism, the figures were respectively one against four thousand.² During World War II British loans³ floated in Cyprus were enthusiastically subscribed to, showing the confidence of the people and their willing support of the Government.

The man in the street, the peasant, the worker and the small businessman was quite pleased with British rule but would just the same join in demonstrations and enthusiastically shout Enosis slogans for two main reasons. First, because he believed this was almost a religious, "Christian" duty and in the second place, like most orientals he considered the government, regardless of its nationality, an evil⁴ which must be opposed, criticized and thwarted. Then we have the nationalist leaders of Enosis, mostly intellectuals--lawyers, journalists, teachers, bishops, doctors or trade union leaders--who considered it a duty to agitate for Enosis, mainly for emotional reasons and as a convenient method for maintaining or even enhancing their position as leaders. If hard pressed they would say: "We want to

1. Balfour. p. 207.
2. Luke. p. 170.
3. Arnold. p. 189.
4. Ibid., p. 103.

live under our poor national home and not in the luxurious mansion
of the British Empire;"¹ or "Union, even without water, even without
bread."²

Elsewhere, we have hinted at the motives of the Cypriot Communist leaders, who knew that if Enosis succeeded they would find themselves behind barbed-wire fences, while under the British some of them had become mayors of important towns. Just the same they kept on agitating for Enosis because among other things this helped them maintain their influence over the masses³ and they knew that Enosis was not around the corner anyway.

The EOKA . - The 1954 appeal of the Greek Government to the United Nations failed; Leftists and Rightists began to vie with each other in their emotional appeal to the masses and became more and more non-cooperative and violent in their attack; the Government threatened to apply the laws against sedition; seditious articles and speeches ceased for a while but the Archbishop defied⁴ the law by making seditious speeches; the Government remained inactive; verbal attacks were resumed with renewed violence. Then there was the signal that armed action was being prepared when a Greek caique was discovered in January, 1955⁵, on an unfrequented coast unloading explosives. The terrorist activity of the EOKA was started on April 1, 1955⁶ by several bombs exploding almost simultaneously in various cities, at or nearby British establishments.

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1. Arnold. p. 207.
 2. Ibid., p. 141.
 3. Bullard. p. 152.
 4. Alastos. p. 385.
 5. Bullard. p. 155.
 6. Bullard. p. 155.

¹
EOKA (Epanastatiki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos) meant Revolutionary Organization for Cypriot Struggle and enrolled idealist and fanatical youths ² of often good reputation, who believed that they were fighting for a cause worthy of the supreme sacrifice they were prepared to make. The Oath taken by an EOKA youth contained the following:
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"I swear in the name of the Holy Trinity that:

"1. I shall work.... for the liberation of Cyprus from the British yoke sacrificing for this even my life;

"2. I shall perform..... all instructions of the organization... however difficult and dangerous....

"3. I shall never reveal to anyone any secret.... even if I am caught and tortured."

"If I disobey my oath, I shall be worthy of every punishment as a traitor and may eternal contempt cover me."

Soon it became known that the leader of this organization was Colonel George Grivas of the Greek army, who signed "Dighenis", the name of a Medieval hero. Cypriots believed that violence would "bring Enosis sooner than polite talk" especially when they saw that "a few bombs" were sufficient to change the British inflexible "never" to "sometime".
⁴ Britain sent to Cyprus her top soldier Field Marshal Sir John Harding with more than 30,000 picked troops but could not crush the EOKA.

1. Alastos. p. 387.

2. Great Britain. Greek Irredentism and Cypriot Terrorism, p. 31.

3. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

4. Lawrence Durrell. Bitter Lemons, p. 224.

Many Britishers could not believe that the friendly, hospitable, easy-going, pro-British Cypriot could start and, what is more, sustain such an efficient and merciless terrorist organization in a relatively small island. This was something new and unexpected in Cyprus. The Government's greatest problem was obtaining information which was not forthcoming in sufficient quantity in spite of substantial rewards promised and collective fines imposed. The few who were suspected of being informers were struck down without pity and publicly in coffee-shops and even in the church or in their sick-beds in the hospital. During the first two years of terrorist activity 131 "traitors" were killed as against 114 Britishers and 14 Turks.¹

The Turkish Factor in the Cyprus Problem. - The Cypriot Greeks had never given enough weight to the Turkish factor in the Cyprus Problem, because of the numerical inferiority of the Turks, although from the very beginning of the Enosis movement the Turks had made their attitude toward it clear. They were willing and glad to submit to British rule but if there was to be any change of sovereignty it should be in favor of Turkey. As early as 1902² they sent a petition to this effect signed by 600 Turks and every time Enosists became active in demonstration,³ the Turks would hold a counter-demonstration. When in 1923⁴ the Cypriot Turks sent a deputation to Ankara to demand "the return of the island to Turkey" the Greeks and the English could not

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1. Bullard. p. 163.
 2. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 510.
 3. Arnold. p. 154.
 4. Hill. Vol. IV, p. 537.

believe that they were serious, but events since 1955 have shown how serious they finally became. In spite of all later agreements, the Turks never forget the sixth Article of the Annex to the Convention, providing for the return of Cyprus to Turkey¹. With the growth of Enosis grew also the Turkishness of the Cypriot Turks and their determination, to resist Greek demands. They urged the British to "take sterner measures, fines, severe sentences" and said "they will come to heel. We Turks know the way."²

Since 1955, the Turks have justified their claim on the basis of geographic proximity, strategic necessity, historical and economic ties. As to the crucial question of population their argument is least convincing. They claim that the Cypriot Greeks are "Levantine" who have "nothing in common with the Greeks but the Orthodox religion under whose influence they have adopted a certain dialect of the Greek language."³ These arguments may not carry much weight but behind them is the considerable prestige the Turks have in the United Nations, their influence over their allies and friends, their army bigger and nearer Cyprus than the Greek, the compactly united Cypriot Turks by tradition more aggressive than the local Greeks. In reply to EOKA activities the Turks soon organized their own terrorist organizations under various names and threatened the Greeks. This led to communal clashes and finally convinced the Greeks that for Enosis the real obstacle was the Turk and not the English Government. The fact that

1. Ibid. p. 292.

2. Durrell. p. 201.

3. Government of Turkey. Turkish Views on Cyprus, p. 26.

the Greeks blamed the British of instigating the Turks, right or wrong, did not change the situation materially.

The British Cyprus Policy since 1946. - After World War II, with a Labor Government in power, Britain was willing to give a large measure of self-government, which was offered on various occasions and in different forms. In 1946¹ Lord Winster was sent as Governor with instructions to work out a constitution in consultation with an assembly of Cypriot leaders of various political factions, religious communities and economic groups. Then in 1956 came the elaborately worked out Constitutional Proposals of Lord Radcliffe.² But all such offers were refused, the slogan being at first "Enosis, nothing but Enosis" and later a formula more palatable to the democratic world although amounting to the same thing, namely, "the right of self-determination". In spite of British hopes no moderate elements were found with enough courage to come forward and accept self-government, at least as a first step. Now it was the turn of the British to get tough not only in hunting down terrorists but also in the use of the political weapon. In 1958 they produced the Partition Plan of Harold MacMillan, later modified, but still headed for partitioning the island between Greeks and Turks. The Turks³ accepted it readily while the Greeks rejected it as perfidy. Whatever its original intention may have been, this Plan, which the British seemed determined to implement whether the Greeks accepted it or not, finally convinced the Greeks of the need of making concessions.

1. Hill. Vol. IV, pp. 437-438.

2. Great Britain. Constitutional Proposals for Cyprus (by Lord Radcliffe), Cmd. 42, 1956.

3. Ibid., p. 164.

The final position of the British was that the MacMillan Plan could be scrapped only if the other two parties to the dispute agreed upon a solution at the same time providing for the maintenance of British bases on the island. This was in the nature of an ultimatum which produced results.

The Independent Republic of Cyprus. - The Greek Government had all along objected to the idea of consulting Turkey on the Cyprus problem but was finally forced by the circumstances to negotiate with her as the only means of saving what Greek interests in Cyprus could still be saved at this late hour. She realized that the EOKA struggle was far from being won; the UN attitude was becoming every year less and less favorable to the Greek cause; the Turkish attitude was hardening gradually; Nato partners were blaming Greece and she was in danger of being isolated; the United States was not willing to take sides at the expense of more important allies like the British and the Turks; finally, the British seemed determined to carry out, with the help of Turks and any Greeks who would cooperate, a plan really headed for partition which might very well create perennial problems for Greece similar to the problems created by the partition of Palestine and India. Under these circumstances, it was with a heavy heart and much hesitation that Greece agreed to negotiate with Turkey in Zurich. These bilateral negotiations were immediately followed by more discussions in London, where the three government representatives were joined by the Cypriot representatives of the ^{two}/communities. Finally

a series of brief documents¹ were signed on February 19, 1959 at Lancaster House in London, making Cyprus an Independent Republic in a kind of Greco-Turkish partnership, guaranteeing the maintenance of British military bases and excluding the possibility of Enosis. There was a general amnesty for EOKA convicts, detainees, and suspects and for all involved in terrorist activity.

The main provisions of these agreements signed by the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, Greece and Turkey as well as the Cypriot representatives, Archbishop Makarios III and Dr. Fazil Kutchuk, can be summarized as follows:

1. Cyprus shall constitute an Independent Republic with a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President elected by the respective communities by popular ballot for five years.
2. Both Greek and Turkish shall be official languages.
3. Along with the Cyprus flag, to be chosen by the President and the Vice-President, the Greek and Turkish national flags too can be flown.
4. The Council of Ministers shall consist of seven Greeks and three Turks, and both the President and the Vice-President shall have the right to veto Council decisions.
5. There shall be a House of Representatives (70 per cent Greek, 30 per cent Turkish) as well as separate chambers for each of the two communities.

1. Great Britain. Conference on Cyprus. (Cmd. 679) (Eight brief documents signed and initialled by the five negotiating bodies between February 11 and 19, 1959, in Zurich and London).

6. Civil servants of the Republic shall be seventy per cent Greek and thirty per cent Turkish.

7. Both the "President and Vice-President can exercise the prerogative of mercy on their communities."

8. There shall be separate municipalities in five of the largest towns.

9. Total or partial union with any other state or partition shall be excluded.

These terms are to provide for what is called in the agreed documents "the Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus", the constitution and detailed arrangements to be worked out by early 1960, when the final transfer of authority and sovereignty will take effect. In independent Cyprus there will be four armies¹—Cypriot, British, Greek and Turkish.

Conclusion. - There is no doubt that this agreement is a way out of the impasse, for both Great Britain and Greece. It provides the British an honorable means of relinquishing their Cypriot responsibilities, which had become extremely distasteful and onerous with the awkward situation of having to fight with a relatively large force and at great expense a valued ally and a traditional friend. On the other hand the Greeks, after four years of a bitter and run-cus struggle, saw their goal of Enosis receding instead of approaching but public opinion both in Cyprus and Greece had been so inflamed that the leaders could not openly retreat without losing face. They

1. "Cyprus, Something Like a Miracle", Time (February 23, 1959). The British will have sovereign and access rights over and to their Cyprus bases." "Cyprus, Hospital Ceremony", Time (March 2, 1959).

should be able to claim some sort of a victory. Turkey seems to have been the only party concerned, which came out of the confusion with a net ¹ gain. Without having had to make any serious sacrifice for it she acquired a legal status in the island in partnership with Greece and the right to station troops there.

Unfortunately, our conclusion to this study will have to consist of a series of questions which cannot be answered now rather than affirmations. Are the Greeks justified in claiming the agreements signed as a victory and acclaiming deliriously, as they do, Colonel Grivas and Archbishop Makarios as victorious heroes? The crucial question to be asked by the Greeks is: "Is Enosis today nearer or remoter to realization than it was four years ago or for that matter eighty-one years ago?" Has EOKA accomplished something comparable to the material and moral sacrifices it has involved? Has it in fact helped at all or hindered the Greek cause of Enosis?

It seems now certain that British sovereignty over Cyprus will come to an end soon and for the first time in its long history, the island will become an independent country. There is no question that the enchanted island of Aphrodite is on the threshold of a new era, but unfortunately the Cyprus Problem has not been solved; it has only entered a new phase. Let us hope, even if we have to hope against hope, that this new phase will be less troubled than the preceding one.

Really the great question now is: Will the new constitutional set-up prove practicable? Will it work smoothly for any length of

1. "Cyprus, Something Like a Miracle", Time (February 23, 1959).

time? Will it not create more serious problems than the ones it seeks to solve? Will it not produce more friction? Is it possible for the Greek Cypriots to govern Cyprus with the Turkish Cypriot veto hanging over their heads at every moment? Backed by the militant nationalism of their respective countries, as they are, will those two mutually distrustful and hostile communities succeed in playing the game when the umpire is gone? Will they be ready to make the necessary concessions and show the required spirit of compromise and good will? What will be the relationships of the four armies crowded together in this little island without a common command? Will their presence increase or reduce friction between the two communities? In case of communal friction who will arbitrate to prevent it from developing into an armed clash?

What did Bishop Kyprianou of Kyrenia mean when, on returning from his exile on March 8, 1959, declared: "We shall work for Enosis, nothing but Enosis"? What did Grivas mean when, on leaving the island on March 17, 1959, said: "The fight for Enosis will now go on by peaceful methods"? After the legal status they have just obtained, will the Turks tolerate any Enosis agitation? With their legal rights internationally recognized and with an army at hand to back them, how will the Turks react to such agitation?

What are the true facts, implications and real intentions behind the declaration of a Turkish newspaper that in Turkey there are 300,000 Cypriot Turks and their descendents many of whom wish to return to their homes?

1. Ibid.

2. In addition to the Cypriot and British armies, 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops will be stationed in the island. See "Cyprus, Hospital Ceremony", Time (March 2, 1959).

Only future events will provide the answer to these questions, but there seems to be little reason for the Enosists to face the future hopefully.

APPENDIX A

I. THE CYPRUS CONVENTION¹

CONVENTION OF DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN
AND TURKEY, WITH RESPECT TO THE ASIATIC PROVINCES OF TURKEY. SIGNED
AT CONSTANTINOPLE 4TH JUNE 1878.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Ireland, Empress of India, and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan,
being mutually animated with the sincere desire of extending and
strengthening the relations of friendship happily existing between
their two Empires, have resolved upon the conclusion of a Convention of
Defensive Alliance with the object of securing for the future the ter-
ritories in Asia of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Their Majesties have accordingly chosen and named as their
Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Ireland, Empress of India, the Right Honourable Austen Henry
Layard, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Pleni-
potentiary at the Sublime Porte;

And His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, His Excellency Safvet
Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in due
and good form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

1. Hill. Vol. IV, pp. 300-301.

ART. I. If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

In return, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary Reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories.

And in order to enable England to make necessary provisions for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.

ART. II. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged, within the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Constantinople, the fourth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

(L.S.) A. H. LAYARD

(.S.) SAFVET

II. ANNEX¹ TO THE PRECEDING CONVENTION. SIGNED AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1ST JULY 1878.

1. Ibid. pp. 301-302.

The Right Honourable Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, now the Grand Vizier of His Majesty the Sultan, have agreed to the following Annex to the Convention signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments on the 4th June 1878:

It is understood between the two High Contracting Parties that England agrees to the following conditions relating to her occupation and administration of the Island of Cyprus:

I. That a Mussulman religious Tribunal (Mehkeme-i Sheri) shall continue to exist in the island, which will take exclusive cognizance of religious matters, and of no others, concerning the Mussulman population of the island.

II. That a Mussulman resident in the island shall be named by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey (Evkaf) to superintend, in conjunction with a Delegate to be appointed by the British Authorities, the administration of the property, funds, and lands belonging to the mosques, cemeteries, Mussulman schools, and other religious establishments existing in Cyprus.

III. That England will pay to the Porte whatever is the Present excess of revenue over expenditure in the island; this excess to be calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years, stated to be 22,936 purses, to be duly verified hereafter, and to the exclusion of the produce of State and Crown lands let or sold during that period.

IV. That the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State (Arazi Mirie ve Emlak-ı Humayun) the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the island referred to in Article III.

V. That the English Government, through their competent authorities, may purchase compulsorily, at a fair price, land required for public improvements, or for other public purposes, and land which is not cultivated.

VI. That if Russia restores to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the Island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the Convention of the 4th of June, 1878, will be at an end.

Done at Constantinople, the 1st day of July, 1878.

A. H. LAYARD

SAFVET

¹
III. ADDITIONAL ARTICLE SIGNED AT THERAPIA, 14TH AUGUST 1878.

The Right Honourable Sir A. Henry Layard, G.C.B., and his Highness Safvet Pasha, Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having met together this day, have, in virtue of their full powers, signed the following Additional Article to the Convention of the 4th June, 1878, signed by them as Plenipotentiaries of their respective Governments.

1. Ibid. p. 302.

It is understood between the High Contracting Parties, without prejudice to the express provisions of the Articles I, II, and IV of the Annex of the 1st July, 1878, that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, in assigning the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England, has thereby transferred to and vested in Her Majesty the Queen, for the term of the occupation and no longer, full powers for making Laws and Conventions for the Government of the island in Her Majesty's name, and for the regulation of its Commercial and Consular relations and affairs free from the Porte's control.

Done at Constantinople, the 14th day of August, 1878.

A. H. LAYARD

SAFVET

APPENDIX B

1

COPY OF THE IMPERIAL FIRMAN OF 1 JULY 1878, AS RECORDED
IN THE SHER' I COURT OF NICOSIA.

To my aiding Vazir Sadiq Pasha, Vali of the Vilayet of the
Archipelago,.....

To Ahmed Pasha, one of my honoured Mir-i-Miran, Mutasarrif
of the Island of Cyprus....

To the Naib and Mufti of Cyprus.....

To the Members of the Council and Notables of the people....

1. Ibid. pp. 303-304.

Be it known, on the arrival of my high Imperial Cypher, that the delivery, in a temporary manner. to Her of the Island of Cyprus having been desired and requested by the illustrious British Government in consequence of reasons known, and on a discussion of the matter in my Privy Council of illustrious Ministers; considering that the said Government has up to now, according to the requirement of the friendship and sincerity which have of old existed between my exalted Government and Her, given by actual deeds very many proofs of Her benevolent designs and intentions towards my Government, and that, consequently, it would be congruous with the exigencies of the circumstances and of the case that the said Government should possess the said Island temporarily, it has been deemed expedient that the temporary administration of the said Island be handed over to the said Government with the condition (in accordance with the Convention that has been framed, sealed and signed in that behalf), that there shall be a Sher'i Court in the Island as heretofore, which will continue to conduct the Sher'i affairs of the Moslem community of the Island; that an official shall be appointed by the Imperial Evqaf Ministry, also from amongst the Moslem community, in order to administer, in conjunction with an official to be appointed by the said Government, the sacred mosques and the properties, real estate and lands belonging to the Moslem cemeteries, schools and other religious institutions found in the Island. That the surplus remaining after deduction of local expenses from the total of my Imperial dues now paid to my exalted Government by the said Island shall be annually paid to my Government. That the miri and vagflands found in the said Island shall

be freely sold or farmed out, and the monies accruing from them shall be included in the said Imperial dues. And that the said Government shall be empowered to purchase at suitable prices, and through the officer in charge, the necessary unsown lands for public works, and for other purposes of general utility. And this decision having been referred to and submitted for my noble Majesty's sanction, and my high Imperial Irade having been appended and issued for the carrying out of the same accordingly, you, the above-mentioned Vali, Mutasarif, Naib, Mufti and others, are hereby ordered to proceed to the handing over to the officers of the said Government of the temporary administration of the said Island, and to be careful to see that no act or deed is done contrary to my Imperial approbation.

Written on this thirtieth day of the month Jemadhi-ul-akhir, in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-five.

APPENDIX C

ORDER IN COUNCIL (ANNEXATION)¹, NOVEMBER 5, 1914

THE CYPRUS GAZETTE

(Extraordinary)

Nicosia,

5th November, 1914.

ORDER IN COUNCIL

By the King

1. Great Britain. Cyprus Handbook 1920, pp. 68-69.

Whereas by virtue of the Convention of Defensive Alliance between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan signed June the fourth, 1878, the Annexe to the said Convention signed on July the first, 1878, and the Agreement signed on behalf of Her Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on August the fourteenth 1878 His Imperial Majesty the Sultan assigned the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England upon the terms and conditions specified in the said Convention, Annexe, and Agreement.

And Whereas by reason of the outbreak of War between His Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the said Convention, Annexe, and Agreement have become annulled and are no longer of any force or effect.

And Whereas it has, for the reasons hereinbefore appearing, seemed expedient to His Majesty that the said island should be annexed to and should form part of His Majesty's dominions, in order that proper provision may be made for the Government and protection of the said island:

Now Therefore, His Majesty is pleased by and with the advice of his Privy Council to order, and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. From and after the date hereof the said island shall be annexed to and form part of His Majesty's dominions and the said island is annexed accordingly.

2. Nothing in this order shall affect the validity of any instructions issued by His Majesty under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus

or of any Order in Council affecting Cyprus or of any law or Proclamation passed or issued under any such instructions or order, or of any act or thing done under any such instructions, order, law, or proclamation save in so far as any provision of any such Order in Council, law, or proclamation may be repugnant to the provisions of any Act of Parliament which may, by reason of the annexation hereby declared, become extended to Cyprus, or to any order or regulation made under the authority of any such Act, or having in Cyprus the force and effect of any such Act.

3. His Majesty may from time to time revoke, alter, add to or amend this Order.

4. This Order may be cited as the Cyprus (Annexation) Order in Council, 1914.

And the Right Honourable Lewis Harcourt, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

APPENDIX D

1

PROCLAMATION AS TO CITIZENSHIP (REVOKING IV), MARCH 3, 1915

THE CYPRUS GAZETTE

(Extraordinary)

Thursday, 4th March, 1915

BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

A PROCLAMATION

John E. Clauson,

High Commissioner.

Whereas by the Cyprus (Annexation) Order in Council, 1914, the island of Cyprus was annexed to and declared to form part of His Majesty's Dominions.

Now, I, John Eugene Clauson, Major in the Reserve of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, His Majesty's High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in and over the island of Cyprus, do hereby proclaim that under and by virtue of the said Order in Council the following provisions have effect:

1. All Ottoman subjects resident in Cyprus on the 5th November, 1914, have become British subjects.

2. Any Ottoman subject resident in Cyprus on the 5th November, 1914, desiring to retain Ottoman nationality may by notice under his hand addressed to the High Commissioner elect to do so within one month of the coming into operation of this Proclamation: and any such person electing so to do must leave Cyprus within two months after the date of his election and take up his residence elsewhere, failing which he will be treated as a British subject.

3. Nothing in this Proclamation contained shall be deemed to affect the position of the Ottoman subjects born in Cyprus and resident elsewhere on the 5th November, 1914, with regard to whom a further Proclamation will be issued in due course.

4. This Proclamation shall come into operation on the 4th March, 1915.

5. The Proclamation by the High Commissioner dated the 5th November, 1914, and published in the Cyprus Gazette (Extraordinary) dated the 5th November, 1914, is hereby revoked.

Given in Nicosia the 3rd day of March, 1915.

GOD SAVE THE KING

By His Excellency's Command.

C. W. ORR,

Chief Secretary to Government

APPENDIX E

1

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONERS AND GOVERNORS

High Commissioners

22 July 1878	Lt.-GENERAL SIR GARNET (afterwards FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT) WOLSELEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
23 June 1879	COLONEL (afterward GENERAL SIR) ROBERT BIDDULPH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
9 March 1886	SIR H.E. BULWER, G.C.M.G.
5 April 1892	SIR WALTER SENDALL, K.C.M.G.
23 April 1898	SIR W.F. HAYNES SMITH, K.C.M.G.
17 Oct. 1904	SIR C.A. KING-HARMAN, K.C.M.G.
12 Oct. 1911	MAJOR SIR HAMILTON GOOLD-ADAMS, G.C.M.G., C.B.
8 Jan. 1915	MAJOR SIR J.E. CLAUSON, K.C.M.G., C.V.O. (ob. 31 Dec. 1918)
31 July 1920	MALCOLM STEVENSON, C.M.G.

Governers

1 May 1925	SIR MALCOLM STEVENSON, K.C.M.G.
30 Nov. 1926	SIR RONALD STORRS, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.
29 Oct. 1932	SIR REGINALD EDWARD STUBBS, G.C.M.G.
8 Nov. 1933	SIR HERBERT RICHMOND PALMER, K.C.M.G.
4 July 1939	SIR WILLIAM DENIS BATTERSHILL, K.C.M.G.
3 Oct. 1941	SIR CHARLES CAMPBELL WOOLLEY, K.C.M.G.
24 Oct. 1946	REGINALD FLETCHER, LORD WINSTER, P.C., K.C.M.G.
4 Aug. 1949	SIR ANDREW BARKWORTH WRIGHT, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C.

APPENDIX F

Treaty of Peace between the British Empire, Allied Powers
(including Greece) and Turkey - Sevres, Aug. 10, 1920.

Part III, Section IX, Division 3,
1
Articles Concerning Cyprus

115. The High Contracting Parties recognise the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on the 5th November, 1914.

116. Turkey renounces all rights and title over or relating to Cyprus, including the right to the tribute formerly paid by that island to the Sultan.

117. Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus will acquire British nationalities and lose their Turkish nationality, subject to the conditions laid down in the local law.

1. Great Britain. British and Foreign State Papers, 1920,
Vol. 113, p. 677.

APPENDIX G

Treaty of Peace between the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and Turkey. - Lausanne, July 24, 1923.

1

Articles Concerning Cyprus

20. La Turquie déclare reconnaître l'annexion de Chypre proclamé par le Gouvernement britannique le 5 Novembre, 1914.

21. Les ressortissants turcs, établis dans l'île de Chypre à la date du 5 Novembre 1914, acquerront, dans la condition de la loi locale, la nationalité britannique, et perdront de ce chef la nationalité turque. Toutefois, ils auront la faculté, pendant une période de deux ans à date de la mise en vigueur du présent Traité, d'opter pour la nationalité turque; dans ce cas ils devront quitter l'île de Chypre dans les douze mois qui suivront l'exercice du droit d'option.

Les ressortissants turcs, établis dans l'île de Chypre à la date de la mise en vigueur du présent Traité, et qui, à cette date, auront acquis ou seront en voie d'acquérir la nationalité britannique sur demande faite dans les conditions de la loi locale, perdront également de ce chef la nationalité turque.

Il demeure entendu que le Gouvernement de Chypre aura la faculté de refuser la nationalité britannique aux personnes qui avaient acquis, sans le consentement du Gouvernement turc, une nationalité autre que la nationalité turque.

1. Great Britain. British and Foreign State Papers, 1923, Vol. 117, p. 549.

APPENDIX H

1
CONFERENCE ON CYPRUS

Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster

House on February 19, 1959

MEMORANDUM SETTING OUT THE AGREED FOUNDATION FOR THE FINAL
SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Greece and the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic,

Taking note of the Declaration by the Representative of the Greek-Cypriot Community and the Representative of the Turkish-Cypriot Community that they accept the documents annexed to this Memorandum as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus,

Hereby adopt, on behalf of their respective Governments, the documents annexed to this Memorandum and listed below, as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

On behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

HAROLD MACMILLAN

On behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Greece

C. KARAMANLIS

On behalf of the Government of the Turkish Republic

A. MENDERES

London,

February 19, 1959

LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANNEXED

- A. Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus.
- B. Treaty of Guarantee between the Republic of Cyprus and Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey.
- C. Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.
- D. Declaration made by the Government of the United Kingdom on February 17, 1959.
- E. Additional Article to be inserted in the Treaty of Guarantee.
- F. Declaration made by the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers on February 17, 1959.
- G. Declaration made by the Representative of the Greek-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959.
- H. Declaration made by the Representative of the Turkish-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959.
- I. Agreed Measures to prepare for the new arrangements in Cyprus.

II

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE DOCUMENTS AGREED IN THE FRENCH TEXTS AND INITIALLED BY THE GREEK AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTERS AT ZURICH ON FEBRUARY 11, 1959

(a)

Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus

- 1. The State of Cyprus shall be a Republic with a presidential regime. The President being Greek and the Vice-President Turkish elected by universal suffrage by the Greek and Turkish communities of the Island respectively.

2. The official languages of the Republic of Cyprus shall be Greek and Turkish. Legislative and administrative instruments and documents shall be drawn up and promulgated in the two official languages.

3. The Republic of Cyprus shall have its own flag of neutral design and colour, chosen jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

Authorities and communities shall have the right to fly the Greek and Turkish flags on holidays at the same time as the flag of Cyprus.

The Greek and Turkish communities shall have the right to celebrate Greek and Turkish national holidays.

4. The President and the Vice-President shall be elected for a period of five years.....

5. Executive authority shall be vested in the President and the Vice-President. For this purpose they shall have a Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers. The Ministers shall be designated respectively by the President and the Vice-President who shall appoint them by an instrument signed by them both.....

However, the President and the Vice-President shall have the right of final veto and the right to return the decisions of the Council of Ministers under the same conditions as those laid down for laws and decisions of the House of Representatives.

6. Legislative authority shall be vested in a House of Representatives elected for a period of five years by universal suffrage

of each community separately in the proportion of 70 per cent for the Greek community and 30 per cent for the Turkish community, this proportion being fixed independently of statistical data. (N.B. - The number of Representatives shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the communities.)

The House of Representatives shall exercise authority in all matters other than those expressly reserved to the Communal Chambers. In the event of a conflict of authority, such conflict shall be decided by the Supreme Constitutional Court which shall be composed of one Greek, one Turk and one neutral, appointed jointly by the President and the Vice-President. The neutral judge shall be president of the Court.

8. The President and the Vice-President, separately and conjointly, shall have the right of final veto on any law or decision concerning foreign affairs, except the participation of the Republic of Cyprus in international organisations and pacts of alliance in which Greece and Turkey both participate, or concerning defence and security as defined in Annex I.

9. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall have, separately and conjointly, the right to return all laws and decisions, which may be returned to the House of Representatives within a period of not more than 15 days for reconsideration.....

Laws and decisions, which are considered by the President or the Vice-President to discriminate against either of the two communities, shall be submitted to the Supreme Constitutional Court which may annul or confirm the law or decision, or return it to the

House of Representatives for reconsideration, in whole or in part.....

10. Each community shall have its Communal Chamber composed of a number of representatives which it shall itself determine.....

11. The Civil Service shall be composed as to 70 per cent of Greeks and as to 30 per cent of Turks.....

12. The deputies of the Attorney-General of the Republic, the Inspector-General, the Treasurer and the Governor of the Issuing Bank may not belong to the same community as their principals. The holders of these posts shall be appointed by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic acting in agreement.

13. The heads and deputy heads of the Armed Forces, the Gendarmeries and the Police shall be appointed by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic acting in agreement. One of these heads shall be Turkish and where the head belongs to one of the communities, the deputy head shall belong to the other.

14. Compulsory military service may only be instituted with the agreement of the President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Cyprus shall have an army of 2,000 men, of whom 60 per cent shall be Greek and 40 per cent Turkish.....

16. A High Court of Justice shall be established, which shall consist of two Greeks, one Turk and one neutral, nominated jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

The President of the Court shall be the neutral judge, who shall have two votes.

This Court shall constitute the highest organ of the judicature (appointments, promotions of judges, &c).

17. Civil disputes, where the plaintiff and the defendant belong to the same community, shall be tried by a tribunal composed of judges belonging to that community. If the plaintiff and defendant belong to different communities, the composition of the tribunal shall be mixed and shall be determined by the High Court of Justice.

18. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall each have the right to exercise the prerogative of mercy to persons from their respective communities who are condemned to death.....

19. In the event of agricultural reform, lands shall be re-distributed only to persons who are members of the same community as the expropriated owners.....

20. Separate municipalities shall be created in the five largest towns of Cyprus by the Turkish inhabitants of these towns.... With regard to other localities, special arrangements shall be made for the constitution of municipal bodies, following, as far as possible, the rule of proportional representation for the two communities.

21. A Treaty guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity and constitution of the new State of Cyprus shall be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey. A Treaty of military alliance shall also be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

These two instruments shall have constitutional force. (This last paragraph shall be inserted in the Constitution as a basic article.)

22. It shall be recognised that the total or partial union of Cyprus with any other State, or a separatist independence for Cyprus (i.e., the partition of Cyprus into two independent States), shall be excluded.

23. The Republic of Cyprus shall accord most-favoured-nation treatment to Great Britain, Greece and Turkey for all agreements whatever their nature.....

24. The Greek and Turkish Governments shall have the right to subsidise institutions for education, culture, athletics and charity belonging to their respective communities.....

25. One of the following Ministries—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence or the Ministry of Finance—shall be entrusted to a Turk. If the President and the Vice-President agree they may replace this system by a system of rotation.

26. The new State which is to come into being with the signature of the Treaties shall be established as quickly as possible and within a period of not more than three months from the signature of the Treaties.

27. All the above Points shall be considered to be basic articles of the Constitution of Cyprus.

E. A.- T.

F. R. Z.

S. L.

A. M.

F. K.

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