

# The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus

SOPHIA ARGYRIOU<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*Historiography tends to examine Cyprus history through the light of the Cyprus Problem, thereby ignoring the role of British colonial power, which is examined in this paper. Imperialistic control was exercised through political sovereignty, economic penetration and military control of strategic outposts in an effort to secure critical points of passage for British trade or for military expeditions and it was accompanied by a wider programme of development that raised the colony's standard of living. Only as late as the beginning of the 1950s did Britain make efforts to promote colonial prosperity and the neglected Cyprus, the so called Cinderella, was condemned to backwardness. Uncommonly the technological base of improvements was dictated by the compulsions of British imperial interests as well as the development of the Cold War, not the promotion of the welfare of the people.*

**Keywords:** Greek Cypriots, British colonial rule, colonialism, imperialism, nationalism

## Introduction

In contrast with other ex-colonies, historiography tends to examine the history of Cyprus through the Cyprus Problem, although recent years have witnessed the emergence of a sophisticated bibliography that focuses on the social and economic aspects of Colonial Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Certainly one of the major parameters to be examined, which would not deal with Cyprus as an ahistorical island and a reflection of the Cyprus Problem, is the foundation of British colonial rule.

Vitaly important to British imperial communications, the occupation of Cyprus served British imperialistic interests and depended on exploiting the island. Although the new regime is thought to have made a breach with the Ottoman past, the British adopted some of the Ottoman structures. In addition radical reforms were not introduced and Cyprus, a neglected colony, the so called Cinderella, was

---

1 Sophia Argyriou has a PhD in Political Science and History and is a public school teacher in Greece.

2 Γ. Τενετιδης & Γ. Κρασιδιώτης (eds.), Κύπρος: Ιστορία, προβλήματα και αγώνες του λαού της, (Athens, 2000); F. Crouzet, *Η κυπριακή διένεξη 1946-1959*, Τόμος Α, Β. (Athens: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2011); H. Richter, *History of Cyprus*, Vol. A': 1878-1949 [in Greek], (Athens: Estia, 2007); R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996).

condemned to backwardness. As a result, great disaffection with the colonial rule gave rise to urban and peasant opposition which culminated in the 1931 uprising.<sup>3</sup> The main preoccupation of my study stands in the gradual development of the national movement during the last period of British colonial rule and more specifically the post Second World War period, that led to the insurrection and the liberation struggle of Greek Cypriots in 1955. Therefore, the role of the colonial power is decisive in the destruction of the old and the creation of the new conditions in which the lives of the people changed.<sup>4</sup> By following this methodology we should by no means diminish the importance of Cyprus history and portray the people as little more than pawns of outside forces. Thus colonizers and subjected people must be comprehended as aspects of each other and yet as autonomous. It is well to notice the degree to which the particular quality of imperialistic policies, not only economic but also strategic and cultural, largely determined the character and the extent of the national mobilisation.<sup>5</sup> Moreover changes in the society, economy and political situation in Cyprus were responsible for changes in the forms of imperialistic control. By taking account of the interplay of British imperialism with Greek nationalism, it is possible to understand the different forms of imperial intervention in Cyprus.

### **Expansion as a Prerequisite of Imperialism**

British expansionist impulses were imperialist in character stemming from traditional interests around the world. When Britain acquired Cyprus in 1878 from the Ottoman Empire, it demonstrated the primacy of strategic over economic motives.<sup>6</sup> Cyprus was to be used as a place of arms and was considered to be a key to Asia,<sup>7</sup> and one of the outposts securing the route to India<sup>8</sup>. It is difficult to separate the underlying economic causes, from political and strategic considerations or from the importance

---

3 For more on the events of 1931, see R. Katsiaounis, *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-1948 με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2008), 34-38, and R. Storrs, *Orientalisms*. (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1943), 506-512.

4 See R. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 8. The role of colonial power was decisive in the destruction of the old and the creation of new conditions in which the lives of the people changed.

5 Postcolonial critique enables the historian to comprehend western political, economic and social practices and the continuing ramifications of colonialism in colonised societies. See Young, *Postcolonialism*, 6.

6 See R. Dumett, 'Exploring the Cain/Hopkins paradigm: issues for debate; critique and topics for new research', in *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism. The new debate on Empire*, ed. R. Dumett (London: Longman, 1999), 23.

7 C. W. J. Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule*. (London: Zeno, 1972), 44.

8 'Three months after the conquest Disraeli said: In taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean. It is Indian.' Cited in *Times of Cyprus*, 20 August 1956, extract from P. Arnold's book, *Cyprus Challenge*.

of power and national prestige and say where the dominant drive came from. During the political and military acquisitions of the late nineteenth century,<sup>9</sup> the period of ‘new imperialism’,<sup>10</sup> political and economic factors set in action without distinction. At this point we may paraphrase Lenin’s classic work, *Imperialism the highest stage of Capitalism*, and say that ‘Imperialism is the highest stage of Colonialism’.<sup>11</sup>

Thus imperial control was exercised through political sovereignty, economic penetration and military control of strategic outposts in an effort to secure critical points of passage for British trade or for military expeditions and it was accompanied by a wider programme of development that promoted civilisation and raised the colony’s standard of living.<sup>12</sup>

## Exploitation

### Taxation

Imperialism manifests itself through economic penetration and exploitation. The empire was formally territorial, whereas it informally extended trade and investments. Exploitation assumed a different form in Cyprus. A real draining came with the ‘tribute’.<sup>13</sup> As Cyprus was hired out from the Ottoman Empire, the tribute was the money paid from the vassal state, meaning Britain to its sovereign. This sum was meant to pay the interest on a loan that the Ottomans had taken out in 1855, but it never reached the Ottomans even though it was left as a debt on Cyprus until 1927.<sup>14</sup>

9 In place of free trade in commerce and the British Government’s non-interference came an increasingly protectionist period typified by annexations and spheres of influence. When commonly mocked for the acquisition of vast territories in a ‘fit of absence of mind’, the British ironically answered that: ‘Since the oldest of them dates from 1612 (Bermuda) and the youngest only from 1946 (Sarawak) the British must be chronically absent-minded’. (In fact the youngest was Tanganyika acquired in 1919, as Sarawak was a protectorate since 1888.) That is according to the leaflet ‘Introducing the Colonies’, released by the British Government. Diplomatic & Historical Archives (Y.D.I.A.) of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 1952, File 30, sub file 6, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry, 1 December 1952.

10 See B. J. Cohen, *The question of Imperialism. The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependence*. (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 80.

11 A. Loomba, *Colonialism, Post colonialism*. (London: Routledge, 1998), 11.

12 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Η εποχή των Αυτοκρατοριών 1875-1914*, (Athens: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 2007), 102-105.

13 British politicians before the First World War opposed the Tribute and they either characterized it as an anachronism or an encumbrance. Churchill’s official Memorandum in 1907 remains one of the fiercer critiques of British policy still on the Cyprus files. See R. Hyam, ‘Churchill and the British Empire’, in *Churchill*. eds. R. Blake and L. W. Roger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 185. Rider Haggard condemned the dishonest way Britain was ‘bleeding the Cypriots dry’ in R. Haggard, *Travels to Cyprus in 1900* [in Greek], (Athens: Eirmos, 1994), 231.

14 F. Madden and J. Darwin, (eds.) *The Dependent Empire, 1900-1948: Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandates*.

In fact by pretending to be the protector of the Ottoman Empire and guaranteeing to defend it in case Russians invaded, Britain was protecting its own financial interests as well. Undoubtedly the nucleus of economic force existed inside imperialism. Since 1854, when the first Ottoman loan was subscribed, a series of other loans for the next 20 years plunged the Ottoman Empire into debt and default followed in 1876.<sup>15</sup> Although Britain proclaimed its support for the unity of the Ottoman Empire and aided it to promote reforms,<sup>16</sup> it was sufficiently two-sided to acquire both Cyprus and Egypt for strategic reasons, which were backed by financial commands. British investments had to be protected and payment of debts secured, so Cyprus by paying the tribute, joined in the undertaking.

In this way Cyprus was the only colony that was forced to subsidise the British Treasury and was the only island with the highest percentage of taxes in the world.<sup>17</sup> Although Cyprus was annexed in 1914 and it was declared a British Colony in 1925, and despite the fact that Turkey was exempted from the 1855 loan at the Lausanne treaty in 1923, the Cypriots kept on paying the tribute for 50 years as it was converted to public debt.<sup>18</sup> The tribute was not the only taxation. The tax system, which existed before the occupation, and the mechanisms of collection remained intact and people continued to pay taxes, a well known precedent for them from Ottoman rule. The only difference was that taxes were paid directly to the government in an effort to maximise state revenue.<sup>19</sup> The effectiveness of tax collection led many farmers to bankruptcy after heavy indebtedness to usurers. Vexatious tithes remained a heavy burden for farmers until their final abolition in 1927 and one tenth of the crop production was collected every year despite the failures of harvests at times. There were also taxes on immovable property, trade, and professions, and since the 1920s taxation on clubs, coffee houses and theatres.<sup>20</sup> In the 1950s heavy taxation was imposed on mass consumer goods such as cotton and woolen clothes, sugar, matches, petrol, tobacco and spirits.<sup>21</sup> Because of the high tax on imported raw materials and the low tax on

---

(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 524, 525.

15 P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and expansion 1688-1914*. (London: Longman, 1993), 401,402.

16 S. Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία, 19ος αι. -1919. Οι ελληνορθόδοξες Κοινότητες. Από το Μυλλέτ των Ρομίων στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*. (Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 1998), 19, 20.

17 H. A. Richter, *History of Cyprus* [in Greek], 108, G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926 with a survey of the foundations of British rule* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979), 16 and Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule*, 63.

18 F. Madden and J. Darwin, (eds) *The Dependent Empire, 1900-1948*, 524, 525.

19 This system was similar to the Ryotwari tax system, which had been at work in the western part of India. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus*, 99.

20 Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus*, 242 and 246.

21 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 32, sub file 8, ΕΑΣ (Greek Cypriot Liberation Front) leaflet 'Cyprus fights for

imported goods, due to the government tariff policy, there were serious impediments to the development of local industry in Cyprus. As a result of the high price of imported sugar three marmalade factories went out of business<sup>22</sup> and a match factory had to close down because of the government's refusal to reduce excise duty on production or to restrict importing matches.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore taxation on wood, iron and cement raised the cost of house building and consequently caused housing problems and high rents in the 1950s, at a time when the urban population was steadily increasing. On the other hand, mineral companies, whose production constituted more than half of the island's exports, were vested to the state and their products had very low export tax.<sup>24</sup> In this way foreign investment was encouraged and foreign firms' interests were protected. Generally taxation had increased by 700% since 1939.<sup>25</sup> This meant that money for administration and development was deducted from the population and Cyprus was sustained by its own means.<sup>26</sup>

### ***The Myth of Development***

Imperialism was characterised by a particular 'asymmetry of dominance and dependence'.<sup>27</sup> The colonies' autonomy was contravened in certain aspects of their political, social, cultural and financial lives. The notion that the colonisers were there to 'get their subjects back on their feet' prevailed. A pretext used for the reinforcement of imperialist tactics was the conquering power's responsibility for the modernisation of undeveloped areas which lacked education, health, economic progress and technology.<sup>28</sup> Whether mischievous or imperialistic,<sup>29</sup> these acts caused Cyprus economic disaster. Consequently, people had been living on a subsistence level

---

freedom', Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 27 November 1952.

22 *Έθνος*, 9 May 1954.

23 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 8, Ethnarchy report to the Secretary of the United Nations, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 October 1952.

24 *Δημοκρατίας*, (1951, December), 233.

25 Tax revenue in 1939 was 900,000 whereas in the early 1950's it was 7,000,000. Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 8, Ethnarchy report to the Secretary of the United Nations, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 14 October 1952.

26 That is according to the leaflet 'Introducing the Colonies', released by the British Government. Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 6. Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry, 1 December 1952.

27 B. J. Cohen, *The question of Imperialism. The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependence*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 15.

28 'For three quarters of the century Britain let this false make- believe with Cypriots that they were there to build roads, to eradicate malaria, to restore the woods. I doubt whether these thoughts burdened the Cabinet'. *Times of Cyprus*, 20 August 1956, extract from P. Arnold's book, *Cyprus Challenge*.

29 *Νέος Δημοκρατίας*, 'Eden's tall story in the U.N', (1952, November 16).

and progress was really slow. The focus of this article is not to blame imperialism for the poverty and the general conditions of the indigenous population but to try to understand the economic and social effects it had on the inhabitants.

Britain only made efforts after the Second World War to promote colonial prosperity. In 1946, Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones announced a ten-year development programme for the improvement of the colonies, which was described as 'blood transfusion'.<sup>30</sup> In the government's report to the UN Assembly it was declared that the ten-year development programme would provide £12 million for Cyprus: six million from the British government, two million from the local authorities and the rest from government loans. In fact the total contribution for Cyprus, as it was stated, would be £1,750,000, and Greek Cypriots mocked this obvious inconsistency in formal reports and the complicated statistics presented, characterizing them as 'acrobatic syllogisms'<sup>31</sup>, and they seized the chance to praise Greece, their mother country, which would have taken care of their situation if Cyprus had achieved union with it. On the other hand, British newspapers gave the picture of a flourishing island whose prosperity was shadowed by the struggle for union with Greece.<sup>32</sup>

### **Agriculture**

Throughout colonial rule, Cyprus remained a country with a backward economy. In understanding this we have to realize the depth of colonial intervention as well as non-intervention in peasant affairs.<sup>33</sup> Agriculture was far from being self-sufficient in a country where 75% of the population was farmers, and agricultural economy was the barometer of the people's prosperity. There was little or no improvement in cultivation and ploughing was still primitive.<sup>34</sup> The 'Soil Conservation Bill' was published as late as 1951, and the United Nations soil specialist said that if the existing conditions were not improved, Cyprus would suffer from famine in 50 or probably 100 years.<sup>35</sup>

---

30 That is according to the leaflet 'Introducing the Colonies', released by the British Government. Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 6, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry, 1 December 1952.

31 Ελληνική Κύπρος, (1954, February), 27.

32 Ελληνική Κύπρος, (1953, December), 259.

33 See T. Smith, *The pattern of imperialism. The United States, Great Britain and the late industrializing world since 1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 69 and 75.

34 Village life was little in all probability ameliorated from what it had been for the last three thousand years as C.W.Orr had described it in 1916: 'The sun-baked mud houses, the paved threshing floors, the primitive agricultural implements, all recall the shadowy past, the days of the earliest civilization. The wooden plough, with its pointed metal shaft, is of the same pattern as those which are to be seen portrayed on the walls of ancient Egyptian temples, and similar ones must have been in use for thousands of years.' Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule*, 18.

35 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 106, sub file 2, a research entitled 'The myth about the prosperity of Cyprus',

In the absence of large-scale organization, piecemeal attempts at improvement were ineffective. To make matters worse, after the Second World War fertile land had to be devolved to the state or was confiscated so that military bases, barracks, concentration camps and airports could be built. Some of this land was even bought by the War Office in 1955 after negotiations with the owners.<sup>36</sup> The government was denounced for acquiring 87,000 acres of land until 1955 in this way.<sup>37</sup>

The unsatisfying condition of agriculture was mainly because cultivation was still done with an old wooden plough and inadequate mechanisation. A great percentage of land (85.7%) was cultivated with the help of animals, and 500 tractors were used on about 4% of the land, while many of them were used in mining, the construction of camps and three or four big farms the government took pride in.<sup>38</sup> It would help to understand the situation if we consider that almost 100,000 families depended on agriculture. Many peasant families lived in primitive housing conditions while half of them either owned no land or were small growers and owned up to 15 acres.<sup>39</sup> The population of Cyprus increased from 361,199 in 1946 to 494,000 in 1952: an increase of 35%. Consequently any reduction or even stagnation in production did not cover the needs of the increased population. There was a continuous rise in the price of bread as 70% of the grain was imported.<sup>40</sup> Although Cyprus used to export meat, in 1950 nutrition had to rely on imports because animal population had decreased since 1925.<sup>41</sup> And despite the fact that Cyprus is an island, fish was considered a luxury and the supply of fish, usually small in size, was not equal to the demand.<sup>42</sup>

Trying to repay credit that had exorbitant interest rates was a serious problem for the rural population. Until 1940 farmers were at the mercy of money lenders and it was a open secret that interest rates often exceeded 12%, which was the legitimate rate fixed in 1919. After the settlement of agricultural debts in 1940 the rate was set at 9%. Then the agricultural credit was undertaken by the Agricultural Bank and the Farmers'

---

Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 25 July 1952.

36 Y.D.I.A.: 1957, File 42, sub file 1, section 1, Parliamentary Debates of 25 July 1957, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry.

37 Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 45, Subject: Cyprus, Labour Monthly, November 1954.

38 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 106, sub file 2, a research entitled 'The myth about the prosperity of Cyprus', Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 25 July 1952.

39 Y.D.I.A.: 1948, File 1,5th section, Report of the agricultural conditions of Cyprus by the director of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture, 27 September 1948.

40 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 8, the Ethnarchy report to the Secretary of the United Nations, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 14 October 1952.

41 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 106, sub file 2, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, research entitled 'The myth about the prosperity of Cyprus', 25 July 1952.

42 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 82, sub file1, U.S. General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories, August 1952.

Cooperatives, which charged 6%. The Agricultural Bank was founded in 1925, 47 years after the British took control of Cyprus, but soon capital for long-term loans ran out.<sup>43</sup> In 1938 the Central Cooperative Bank was founded and was financed by Barclays, one of the five biggest London banks. Both banks were the means of profitable investment for British capital and represented the imperialistic interests of the City. The Central Cooperative Bank, which was a semi-governmental department,<sup>44</sup> accumulated capital not only through credit but also by supplying fertiliser from the Imperial Chemical Industry, offering at the same time long-term credits for their payment.<sup>45</sup> In Cyprus where capital kept the farmers in bondage, foreign banking capital came at the top of the credit pyramid and the local landlords and merchants were the main intermediary between the colonial government and the impoverished peasants.

The belated measures the government took to reduce rural indebtedness by passing the Debt Settlement Law did not stop farmers from plunging heavily into debt. Nevertheless the British colonial government did not encourage usury itself but cultivated the agrarian sector's reliance with the exploiters. The British had allowed the system of exploitation to flourish for more than half a century without interfering, abandoning farmers to their own devices. The system, as Tony Smith supports, has its own rules 'that are all the more powerful because their greatest force comes not from an active threat of intervention so much, as from a threat of withdrawal, a withdrawal that would leave these dependent regimes to the fate of civil and regional conflict.'<sup>46</sup>

### **Industry**

Although Britain is not to be blamed completely, as Cyprus was not in a condition for deindustrialization, the administration did everything to exploit the existing factories and industries and to allow favoured foreign companies to build new ones like the Coca-Cola bottler and a cigarette factory.<sup>47</sup> That is the technological base of the industries was dictated by the compulsions of the metropolitan industries, no matter what the local conditions were. The need for mineral resources forced the Government to invest in mines whose rights were vested to the state and whose royalties, in respect of mining leases, were levied by the government.<sup>48</sup> As all of the mining companies

---

43 Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus*, 226.

44 Y.D.I.A: 1953, File 104, U.S. General Assembly, 8th session, Information from non self governing territories, 10 August 1953.

45 Y.D.I.A: 1952, File 32, sub file 8, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, ΕΑΣ (Greek Cypriot Liberation Front) leaflet 'Cyprus fights for freedom' 27 November 1952.

46 Smith, *The pattern of imperialism*, 71.

47 An American cigarette factory was established in Cyprus although there were seven local cigarette factories. *Νέος Δημοκρατίας*, (1952, January 1).

48 *Νέος Δημοκρατίας*, (1954, January 21).



were foreign, investments favoured foreign interests.<sup>49</sup> Moreover there was little public revenue because products as well as their profits were exported and Cyprus was not allowed to have full benefits thereof. Consequently there was no material foundation upon which manufacturing, chemical or engineering industries could have developed.

There were 34 industries in all. In some instances government measures had an adverse effect upon local industries, as the customs duty imposed on imported raw material was higher than that prevailing for imported readymade articles made of the same material.<sup>50</sup> No effort was made to absorb Cyprus produce, with the result that it would have to be disposed of at low prices. There were urgent cries for the disposal of potatoes and the high price of bread.<sup>51</sup> Exports of many products were restricted to Britain and Commonwealth countries at regulated prices.<sup>52</sup> Exports could have been worse but for the increasing demand for minerals for military purposes. Importation was restricted to goods coming from Britain and flooded the Cypriot market. These concerned luxury goods, cement, fuel oil, iron bars and pipes. Britain also had the monopoly on the import of cars.<sup>53</sup> The balance of trade was based on exports of agricultural products and minerals, with imports seriously outweighing exports.

**Table 1:** Imports<sup>54</sup>

	1949	1950	1951
From UK	44	47	39
Parts of British Commonwealth	19	12	20
Italy	5	6	6
USA	6	5	3
Others	26	30	32

49 There were five mining companies in all. The Cyprus Mines Corporation was American, an Anglo-Danish company owned the Cyprus Asbestos Mine, whereas the Cyprus Sulphur and Copper Company and the Gypsum and Plaster-board Company were British. There was also the Hellenic Mining Company. *Νέος Δημοκράτης*, (1953, January 11).

50 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 30, sub file 8, the Ethnarchy report to the Secretary of the United Nations, Greek Consulate of Cyprus to Greek Foreign Ministry, 14 October 1952.

51 *Δημοκράτης*, (1954, June), 125.

52 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 82, sub file 1, UN General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories. August 1952.

53 That is according to the report 'Colonial Reports, Cyprus 1953', *Δημοκράτης*, June 1954, 125.

54 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 82, sub file 1, U.S. General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories, August 1952. Summary of information by the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in accordance with paragraph 4(a) of the General Assembly resolution 218 (III).

**Table 2:** Exports

	1949	1950	1951
UK	16	20	18
Parts of British Commonwealth	4	5	5
Germany	17	23	26
USA	7	7	8
Israel	9	9	8

**Source:** General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non-self-governing territories, August 1952

Hence the large trade imbalance was because Britain had abandoned the precepts of free trade since the end of the nineteenth century and imposed tariff reform in order to promote British industry and the interests of the City, which made Britain the biggest investor, banker, insurer and commodity dealer in the global economy.<sup>55</sup> Consequently Britain’s ties with the colonies became tighter in order to secure both defense contributions and exclusive markets for its products and business transactions.

As a result of the high prices and unemployment in Cyprus, there was an alarming increase of emigration in the 1950s, as shown in statistics. There was a great demand for labour during the Suez Crisis as well as the encouragement of youths to join the British army and the prospect of a better life in Britain deprived Cyprus of competent young men.<sup>56</sup> In addition low wages and the demand for social security led to miners’ and builders’ strikes, which were conducted alongside the farmers’ demonstrations.<sup>57</sup>

## Technology

Infrastructure improvements in Cyprus were mainly carried out in areas that were strategic for the economy and served imperialist purposes. In the 1950s, of the 3,250 miles of roads only 740 were asphalted<sup>58</sup> and secondary roads were dangerous. Out of 7,784 registered vehicles, 4,167 were private,<sup>59</sup> which means that the rest were

55 Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 203-204.

56 According to British statistics in 1957 out of 5,550 Cypriots 4,548 immigrated to Great Britain. Y.D.I.A.: 1957, File 42, sub file1, section 1, Parliamentary Debates, 29 July 1957.

57 Peasants took part in rallies complaining about the government’s interventionist policy. *Δημοκρατίας*, (1948, August 29 and 1948, September 21). Three strikes one of which lasted for more than four months were organized in 1948. *Δημοκρατίας*, (1948, April 4).

58 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 82, sub file1, U.S. General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories, August 1952.

59 Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File 82, sub file1, U.S. General Assembly, 7<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories, August 1952.

used for either government or military purposes. There were no new buses for public transportation except for some assembled with imported chassis. However, seven foreign airlines operated in Cyprus, mostly catering to servicemen and their families.<sup>60</sup> In addition, the railway line, which was an imperialist symbol that Britain used to showcase its iron industry, was closed down in 1951 because it was no longer profitable to operate. Similarly, the only deep port was in Famagusta, and since it was built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century it had not been widened until 1931, because the government did not find it profitable to use for trade purposes as locals did not have the means to purchase imported goods.<sup>61</sup> In 1957, the government proceeded with a major extension of the port that would double its capacity, but their commitment to the undertaking changed within a few months as plans in the Middle East changed as well. Cyprus would not be used as a naval base but as an air force base.<sup>62</sup> That is to say, imperialistic interests had to be taken into consideration before any work or improvements were made on the island.

In 1949 the American government was given permission to build military bases and to operate a communication station near Nicosia<sup>63</sup> that was 20 times more powerful than permissible. The *Daily Graphic* called it ‘The Big Ear of the West’.<sup>64</sup> That was part of an ambitious plan to aid anti-communist propaganda, and Cyprus was chosen for the location. Cold War preparations demanded the use of technology not for the promotion of the people’s welfare but for military purposes.<sup>65</sup> Imperialism can comprise unequal and disadvantageous relationships between countries in trade and investment,<sup>66</sup> and the relationship between Britain and Cyprus was no different to the extent that a sizeable part of revenue was transferred to Britain through different ways of imperialist exploitation, such as foreign capital, the flow of technology, trade and the establishment of foreign companies. Consequently, Cyprus’s development was delayed, its potentialities as a market were reduced and the prospects for industrialisation were diminished. Cyprus’s underdevelopment was part of the past and present relations, economic and other, between the island and the developed

60 Y.D.I.A.: 1953, File 104, sub file1, U.S. General Assembly, 8<sup>th</sup> session, Information from non self governing territories, 10 August 1953.

61 G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus*, 25.

62 Y.D.I.A.: 1957, File 42, sub file 1, section 1, Parliamentary Debates, 22 November 1957.

63 Y.D.I.A.: 1949, File 120, sub file4, Parliamentary Debates, 19 January 1949.

64 A. Defty, *Britain, America and anti-communist propaganda 1945-1953: the Information Research Department*. (London: Routledge, 2004), 135-160.

65 There wasn’t any public transport in Cyprus. The Cyprus Government Railway stopped operating in 1951, whereas there was an increase in the number of flights from and to Cyprus in the early 1950s transporting mainly military personnel and their families. See S. Argyriou, *Το εθνικό κίνημα των Ελληνοκυπρίων κατά την τελευταία περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας 1950-1960*. (Athens: Asini, 2017), 235, 236.

66 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Η εποχή των Αυτοκρατοριών 1875-1914*, 121.

metropolis.<sup>67</sup> Britain employed commodity import and export controls with the aim of maintaining a favourable balance of trade with each of the colonies. In short, underdevelopment was not due to the survival of archaic institutions in regions isolated from the stream of world history.<sup>68</sup> On the contrary underdevelopment was and still is generated by the same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.

## Strategy

### **Cyprus: A Defence Hub or a Headache**

The primacy of geopolitics has to be emphasised.<sup>69</sup> Economic motives cannot be treated separately from strategic or political considerations. The British stand on Cyprus has to be characterised as confusing. There was of course a long period until the First World War when the island went from being an imperial asset to an expendable backwater.<sup>70</sup> After it became a colony in 1925 and until the Second World War concession to Greece was strongly questioned. British ambivalence was evident in the postwar period as opinions ranged between considering Cyprus ‘a defense key and potential fortress’<sup>71</sup> and ‘a headache and a trouble spot’<sup>72</sup> until the ‘Cyprus impasse’<sup>73</sup> in the 1950s. Either way it became diplomatic conundrum. Furthermore it affected the economy of the island as the settlement of military personnel brought inflationary pressures.

Cyprus was valued for its strategic location as it was within bombing range of communist controlled oil fields in Romania and the Soviet Baku region, and also close enough to the Middle Eastern oil area and the Suez Canal.<sup>74</sup> Britain’s interest in Cyprus grew along with its increased interest in oil.<sup>75</sup> Prime Minister Eden declared

---

67 See W. Mommsen, ‘The end of Empire and the Continuity of Imperialism’, in *Imperialism and after: Continuities and Discontinuities*, eds. W. Mommsen and J Osterhammel, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 335.

68 A. G. Frank, ‘The development of Underdevelopment’, in *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: a reader*, ed. R. I. Rhodes (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 9.

69 R. Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71.

70 See A. Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915. The inconsequential possession*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 202.

71 Y.D.I.A.: 1949, File 120, sub file5, *New York Times*, 17 May 1949.

72 Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 76, *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 23 August 1954 and *Baltimore Sun*, 27 August 1954.

73 Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 57, *Time and Tide*, 4 December 1954.

74 Y.D.I.A.: 1950, File 50, sub file2, *San Francisco News*, 8 March 1951.

75 Uncommonly in the 1950’s Middle East represented 17% of the international oil production, as compared with 2% in 1920 and most importantly the confirmed reserves amounted to 66% of the

in Parliament that British prosperity relied on Cyprus, which was considered to be a frontier guarding imperial interests and mainly oil.<sup>76</sup> Such strategic conceptions were rather ambiguous during the Suez Crisis when the British had to leave its military bases in Egypt and relocate to Cyprus in 1952.<sup>77</sup> An air force base was established and bomber squadrons capable of delivering nuclear weapons were deployed on the island.<sup>78</sup> According to the Britain's Ministry of Defence, Cyprus was an important link in the route to other Commonwealth countries and the only British territory in the Middle East where the British could operate reinforcements in case they were needed.<sup>79</sup> In addition, according to a report prepared by the Chiefs of Staff, the British could not afford to leave a power vacuum on NATO's southern flank, whereas discussion in the United Nations would put strain on the Greek-Turkish relations.<sup>80</sup>

On top of that there had been heightened American involvement in world affairs, dictated by the development of the Cold War. The US kept an air force base on Cyprus to guard the approaches to the rich oil area of the Middle East<sup>81</sup> where great American interests lay too. The sharing out of oil resources between the English and American oil monopolies in the Middle East and the subsequent cooperation between the two imperialist nations brought about common strategic concerns. Cyprus was an important key in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's network of defence points so it was no wonder that it became a 'pawn' in the diplomatic chessboard of the Great Powers<sup>82</sup> and an international problem. Therefore, it proved difficult for the British to retain imperial control, face the rising national movement and at the same time deal with the dispute with Greece in the United Nations.

---

international production.

76 L. Ierodiakonou, *Το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα. (Πορεία προς την χροεωκοπία)* (Athens: Papazisi, 1970), 108.

77 That is according to the leaflet issued by the 'British Society for International Understanding' in answer to the question: 'Why we retain Cyprus'. See Y.D.I.A.: 1951, File 71, sub file1, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry, 18 September 1951.

78 That is according to the leaflet issued by the 'British Society for International Understanding' in answer to the question: 'Why we retain Cyprus'. See Y.D.I.A.: 1951, File 71, sub file1, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry, 18 September 1951.

79 FO 371/112863, from the Ministry of Defence, 18 September 1954.

80 FO 371/112863, from the Foreign Office to Washington, 20 September 1954.

81 Middle East retained immense strategic importance. J. Kent, *British Imperial Strategy and the origins of the Cold War 1944-1949*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 213 and E. Hatzivassiliou, *Στρατηγικές του Κυπριακού: Η δεκαετία του 1950* (Athens: Pataki, 2005), 287.

82 *Νέος Δημοκράτης*, (1952, April 6), 2. Cyprus had become an 'Apple of Discord'. *Die Welt*, 21 December 1954, Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 85, Subject: Newspaper articles, German Embassy to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### **Cultural Imperialism**

As imperialism exercised undue influence through finance as well as through intervention in the subject nation's social and cultural affairs, its opponents multiplied. The British falsely claimed that colonisation was a civilising mission of their imperial power, and their responsibilities were for purely humanistic reasons, such as to promote culture and to improve the social and financial conditions of the colony. This was characterised as 'enlightened'<sup>83</sup> imperialism. The tactics used in Cyprus were different from those used in countries where people were considered to be primitive and backward.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless cultural imperialism included importing customs, imposing the English language and constructing an English identity so as to sever any bonds with Greece and create loyal people with allegiance to the Crown.

The English education system was not imposed in Cyprus as there were Greek and Turkish schools, though in the 1950s the British came to the point to regret it<sup>85</sup>. Nevertheless they exercised control over education aiming by checking the Hellenic affinities of Greek schools. The imposition of authoritarian laws after the 1931 uprising was an attempt for greater control by Governor Palmer. In 1935 English was introduced as part of the curriculum in the top two classes of elementary schools. In addition, from 1935 teachers were to be recruited from the Government Teacher Training College in Morphou, where the medium of instruction was English, and from 1938 no teacher was to be appointed or promoted unless he had passed the Distinction Examination in English<sup>86</sup>. These laws were enacted for purely political reasons or would acquire political significance during the liberation struggle, such as the law which provided for teachers to be appointed or dismissed by the government.

Furthermore, although all textbooks for Greek schools were imported from Greece, from 1935 on, only the readers were imported. As a result resentment was

---

83 H. A. Richter, *History of Cyprus, Vol. A* [in Greek], 317.

84 'A proud and ancient people cannot be treated in the offhand way with which we treated the Africans in the Victorian times.' Cited in the *Daily Mail*, (1954, December 6) Y.D.I.A.:1954, File 85, Subject: Cyprus problem, Embassy of Greece in London to Greek Foreign Ministry.

85 'If the English system had been imposed, schools wouldn't have become the cradle of opposition' said Lord Kinross in his book *The Orphaned Realm*, translated in *Ελληνική Κύπρος*, (1952, April), 66. Governor Chief of Staff during 1955-1956, Brigadier G. H. Baker had declared: 'No single factor in the Cyprus situation did more to prepare the ground for violence and rebellion than the failure...to take control of secondary education in the island'. Cited in A. Karyos, 'Britain and Cyprus, 1955-1959: Key Themes on the Counter-Insurgency Aspects of the Cyprus Revolt' in M. Kontos, S. Theodoulou, N. Panayiotides and H. Alexandrou (eds.), *Great Power Politics in Cyprus: Foreign Interventions and Domestic Perceptions*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 47.

86 Δημοκρατίας, (1951, January), 44 and Έθνος, (1952, March 20) wrote about the manipulation of teachers.

great because Greek history was taught as foreign history and not as the history of their homeland.<sup>87</sup> Greek flags, the Greek national anthem and portraits of Greek heroes were banned from schools, but after WWII, these measures were gradually relaxed only to be reinstated when political agitation increased in 1952 and the government enacted a law to provide publicly funded schools. Greek Cypriot secondary schools were until then independent to choose their own curriculum and were financed by the Church. Many of these schools, as a result of the increase in the number of pupils with financial problems, succumbed to accepting the funding.<sup>88</sup> Having established state education, the government had the right to close down schools, refuse licenses to teachers and ban youth organisations when secondary school pupils frequently rioted in 1953.

Another reason for an increase in nationalism was the fact that from the beginning of the occupation the British highlighted their superiority and were disrespectful towards their subjects. Most of them did not bother to learn the Greek or Turkish languages and showed ‘contemptuous arrogance’ even in their social intercourse with the educated islanders. Rider Haggard, an advocate of imperial responsibility, which is an ideology he shared with his friend Rudyard Kipling, described the arrogance of the British towards the indigenous population,<sup>89</sup> and Laurence Durrell, almost half a century later, wrote that Cypriots were considered as ‘a bunch of Cyps’ for the British, or rather ‘Chimps’, that is to say an inferior race.<sup>90</sup> Durrell also remarked that Greek Cypriots were attached to Greece as their mother country because they could be appointed to high positions and even become ministers in the Greek government, whereas in Cyprus it was impossible for them to be high ranking officers.

In 1954 Arthur Lennox Boyd spoke in the House of Commons about the ‘races’<sup>91</sup> that had made Cyprus their home through the centuries without stressing the fact that the majority of the population was Greek. In the 1950s, the British tried to minimize the importance of the Greek demand for enosis by encouraging Maltese, Palestinians and Lebanese to immigrate to Cyprus. Moreover, Greek Cypriot newspapers published articles about British plans to settle Jews in Cyprus before the foundation of the state of Israel as well as to allow 30,000 Pomaki Turks to come to Cyprus from Bulgaria.<sup>92</sup>

87 Ελληνική Κύπρος, November 1951, 244 and Δημοκρατίας, March 1951, 60.

88 P. K. Persianis, Church and State in Cyprus Education. The Contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British Administration (1878-1960) (Nicosia, 1978), 132.

89 R. Haggard, *Travels to Cyprus* [in Greek], 175.

90 L. Durrell, *Bitter Lemons* [in Greek], (Athens: Grigoris, 1959), 158.

91 Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 57, File title: Cyprus problem, House of Commons talks, 20 December 1954.

92 *Εθνικός Κήρυξ*, 8 March 1951, Y.D.I.A.: 1951, File 71, Sub file 7, forwarded by the Greek foreign Ministry to the embassies of London and Washington.

Furthermore, it was the general policy to present the Cypriot population as an ‘ancient folk’ in whom Greek, Turkish and Arabic influences were blended<sup>93</sup> or to identify them as either Christians and Muslims.<sup>94</sup> The cunning policy of divide and rule was at force, and national identity was suppressed in view of the rising wave of nationalism. There were even proposals for a common English-Greek nationality so that all ‘tastes’ could be satisfied and the demand for union with Greece postponed.<sup>95</sup> The British tendency to deny the ‘Greekness’ of Greek Cypriots is best described by Arnold Toynbee who referred to the rise of Greek nationalism, which was a classic case of a national movement, adding that the reaction of British imperialism was unfortunately classic too. He said that the official British view was that there were no Greeks in Cyprus but only British subjects of Christian Orthodox religion, who happened to speak Greek as their mother tongue.<sup>96</sup>

Accordingly, cultural nationalism became the strongest form of nationalism and a weapon against colonialism. Greek Cypriots, determined in their resistance, denounced the suppressive methods of the British in newspapers, in the streets and at schools, using the slogan ‘ENOSIS’ and hanging Greek flags everywhere.

### ***Imperium et Libertas or Divide and Run?***<sup>97</sup>

In conclusion, Cypriot nationalism increased and strengthened with the formation of political parties and the politicisation of the urban and rural populations. These changes did not occur instantaneously but they were a gradual process. To understand the impact of imperialism, we should take into account the political structure in Cyprus and the liberalisation brought about by the colonial regime in the post-war period. The hallmark of modernity was the establishment of AKEL, which was a progressive political party based on communist ideology, but also the leadership of Archbishop Makarios.<sup>98</sup> After the restoration of the Church, which was not only a religious but also a political authority since the Ottoman times, there is the unusual phenomenon of

---

93 In the leaflet ‘Introducing the colonies’, 24, Y.D.I.A.: 1952, File30, Sub file 6, forwarded by the London Information Office, 1 December 1952.

94 Y.D.I.A.: 1954, File 45, part 1, Xanthopoulos Palamas, permanent representative of Greece at the UN, commenting on the information of the British Government on Cyprus, 26 August 1954.

95 *The Cypriot*, 24 January 1947.

96 Georgallides, G. S., ‘Ο ιστορικός Arnold J. Toynbee και η Κύπρος’, *Epiteris* XVIII, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1991), 387.

97 ‘Imperium et Libertas’ was the title of a pamphlet containing the text of the address delivered by Alan Lennox Boyd to the Conservative Political Centre meeting, held on 9 October 1958, SA1/2183/1950. ‘Divide and run’ Opinion expressed in *Daily Express*, (1957, July 9). Y.D.I.A.: 1957, File 28, Sub file 4 forwarded by the London Embassy to the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

98 A comment in *The Times* was that Makarios and his followers constituted a political party whose goal was enosis- that is union with Greece. *Εθνος*, (1952, May 30).



a priest and not a political party leading the national liberation struggle.<sup>99</sup> The demand for enosis was pursued with determination and the plebiscite in January 1950 gave a great impetus to the national movement.

Post-war constitutional advances were put forward by the British in an effort to appease the national mobilisation of Greek Cypriots and temper people's discontent.<sup>100</sup> Thus the political structure of the two community groups, right and left, struggling and allying with each other so as to give themselves identity under the aegis of the Church, profoundly influenced the pace of constitutional advances on the part of the British.<sup>101</sup> As the British were trying to gain the acquiescence of a better-off people, Makarios politicised Greek Cypriots by standing along side them in their desire to solve their problems, which would be settled once Cyprus was united with the mother country, Greece.<sup>102</sup> Like their Ottoman predecessors, the British divided the population of Cyprus with ethno-religious criteria: people were either Muslims or Orthodox Christians. The introduction of modern civil institutions based on ethnic and racial identification brought about the politicisation of the ethno-religious identities that already existed under the millet system.<sup>103</sup> As a result the political future of the island was undermined. Social and cultural integration of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots was not feasible, and a space for the spread of nationalist ideas for both communities was created. The Turkish Cypriots, after the rise of Turkish nationalism, projected the idea of an oppressed minority group whose rights were protected by the British.<sup>104</sup> They viewed with abhorrence union with Greece and highlighted their demand for the partition of Cyprus and union with Turkey.<sup>105</sup> The role of the British

99 Although the British were suspicious of the Orthodox Church and resented the ethnarchic tradition, in 1955, Sir John Harding, the newly appointed governor, invited Archbishop Makarios to the negotiating table in order to discuss constitutional proposals.

100 In 1947 the British formed the Consultative Assembly as a step towards the creation of a Legislative Assembly and a more democratic government. The Assembly was assigned to prepare constitutional proposals which were almost a year later proposed by the British government itself and were subsequently rejected by the Greek Cypriots. R. Katsiaounis, *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-1948 με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945*. (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2008).

101 This is true regarding the 1947 Consultative Assembly which coincided with the Civil War in Greece and influenced the relations between AKEL and the right wing party. V. Protopapas, *Η εκλογική ιστορία της Κύπρου. Πολιτευτές, Κόμματα και εκλογές στην Αγγλοκρατία 1878-1960*. (Athens: Themelio, 2012), 423-439.

102 Sophia Argyriou, *Το εθνικό κίνημα των Ελληνοκυπρίων κατά την τελευταία περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας 1950-1960*. (Athens: Asini, 2017), 135-137.

103 Millet was an Ottoman term used to describe religious communities.

104 Turkish Cypriots declared: 'We aren't orphans. The British-Turkish shadow is our guardian'. Y.D.I.A.:1949, File 95, Sub file 3, part 1, *Κύπρος* newspaper, 12 December 1949.

105 The idea of partition was first put forward by Turkey in 1949 after the Dodecanese islands joined Greece. Y.D.I.A.:1949, File 11, Sub file 4, Secretariat General of Information and Communication,

government was decisive as all the constitutional plans after the tripartite conference favoured the Turkish minority.<sup>106</sup> The Secretariat in Nicosia had also sent five elaborate plans of the partition of Cyprus even before the Turkish Cypriots sought partition with fervour.<sup>107</sup> The efforts of the communist party AKEL, in the post-war period, to create a common anti-imperialistic front where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots could form a political identity proved unsuccessful, due to the rise of nationalism.<sup>108</sup> What happens then, when nationalism and imperialism are in conflict? Liberation struggles were in dialectic terms with colonialism, in which by forcing sovereignty, violence is confirmed. In the 1950s the pervasive tension and escalation of violence on the part of Greek Cypriots were largely determined by the oppressive measures and the violence imposed by the colonial government. EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), which was a secret armed organisation, turned the nationalist ideas into action. EOKA leader George Grivas<sup>109</sup> incited people to revolt and fulfilled the aspirations of Greek Cypriots. The process of mass participation and the creation of collective dynamics, which led to violent conflicts with the colonial power, were achieved by the mobilization of students, young people, as well as the populations of the cities and the countryside. As a result the national movement of the Greek Cypriots, as a movement of self determination and union with Greece, took the form of a massive, anti-colonial, national liberation struggle and clashed with British colonial rule.

## References

The National Archives London:

CAB 21/2889, FO 371/112863

Secretariat archive (SA1) State Archives Nicosia

SA1/2183/1950

Diplomatic and Historical Archives (Y.D.I.A.) of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs

---

*Hurriyet* 23 October 1948. Partition was demanded anew in 1956. *Ελευθερία*, (1956, December 14).

106 After the tripartite conference in 1955 British newspapers wrote about partition. *Φιλέλεύθερος* (1956, February 5). 'Solomon's knife' was the title of the newspaper Economist. Y.D.I.A.:1957, File 29, Sub file 1, part 1, forwarded by the London Embassy to the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 24 April 1957.

107 CAB 21/2889, Top secret Memorandum of possible schemes for the partition of Cyprus from the Secretariat Nicosia, 10 November 1956.

108 Greek Cypriots made common cause with Turkish Cypriots on several occasions: during the miners' and builders' strikes in 1948, *Δημοκράτης*, (1948, April 4) and during the farmers' rallies in 1954, *Νέος Δημοκράτης*, (1954, May 18).

109 More information about General Grivas in E. Hatzivassiliou, *Στρατηγικές του Κυπριακού: Η δεκαετία του 1950*. (Athens: Pataki, 2005), 50-53.

1948: File 1, 1949: Files 11, 95, 120, 1950: File 50, 1952: Files 30, 32, 82, 106, 1953: File 104, 1954: Files 45, 57, 76, 85, 1957: Files 29 and 42

Greek Cypriot newspapers and periodicals

*Δημοκράτης, Έθνος, Ελευθερία, Ελληνική Κύπρος, Νέος Δημοκράτης, Φιλελεύθερος, The Cypriot*

Anagnostopoulou, S. (1998) *Μικρά Ασία, 19ος αι. -1919. Οι ελληνορθόδοξες Κοινότητες. Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*. Athens: Ελληνικά Γράμματα.

Argyriou, S. (2017) *Το εθνικό κίνημα των Ελληνοκυπρίων κατά την τελευταία περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας, 1950-1960*. Athens: Asini.

Cain, P. J. and Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British Imperialism: Innovation and expansion 1688-1914*. London: Longman.

Cohen, B.J. (1973) *The question of Imperialism. The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependence*. New York: Basic Books.

Defty, A. (2004) *Britain, America and anti-communist propaganda 1945-1953: the Information Research Department*. London: Routledge.

Dumett, R. (1999) 'Exploring the Cain/Hopkins paradigm: issues for debate; critique and topics for new research'. In Dumett R. (ed.), *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism. The new debate on Empire*, London: Longman.

Durrell, L.(1959) *Bitter Lemons* [in Greek]. Athens: Grigoris.

Frank, A.G. (1970) 'The development of Underdevelopment'. In Rhodes R.I. (ed.), *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: a reader*. New York: Monthly Review.

Georghallides, G.S. (1979) *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926 with a survey of the foundations of British rule*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

Georgallides, G. S. (1991) 'Ο ιστορικός Arnold J. Toynbee και η Κύπρος', *Epiteris, XVIII*, Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

Haggard, R. (1994) *Travels to Cyprus in 1900* [in Greek]. Athens: Eirmos.

Hatzivassiliou, E. (2005) *Στρατηγικές του Κυπριακού: Η δεκαετία του 1950*, Athens: Pataki.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (2007) *Η εποχή των Αυτοκρατοριών 1875-1914*. Athens: Morfotiko Foundation, Ethniki Bank.

Hyam, R. (1996) 'Churchill and the British Empire'. In Blake, R. and Roger Louis, W. (ed.), *Churchill*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hyam, R. (2010) *Understanding the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ierodiakonou, L. (1970) *Το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα. (Πορεία προς την χρεωκοπία)*. Athens: Papazisis.

Karyos, A. (2014) 'Britain and Cyprus, 1955-1959: Key Themes on the Counter-Insurgency Aspects of the Cyprus Revolt' in M. Kontos, S. Theodoulou, N. Panayiotides and H. Alexandrou (eds.), *Great Power Politics in Cyprus: Foreign Interventions and Domestic Perceptions*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Katsiaounis, R. (1996) *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

Katsiaounis, R. (2008) *Η Διασκεπτική 1946-1948 με ανασκόπηση της περιόδου 1878-1945*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.

Kent, J. (1993) *British Imperial Strategy and the origins of the Cold War 1944-1949*. Leicester: Leicester

- University Press.
- Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism, Post colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Madden, F. and Darwin, J. (eds) (1994) *The dependent empire, 1900-1948: colonies, protectorates, and mandates*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press .
- Mommsen, W. (1986) 'The end of Empire and the Continuity of Imperialism', in Mommsen, W. and Osterhammel, J. (eds), *Imperialism and after. Continuities and Discontinuities*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- Orr, C.W.J. (1972) *Cyprus under British Rule*. London: Zeno.
- Persianis, P.K. (1978) *Church and State in Cyprus Education. The Contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus to Cyprus Education during the British Administration (1878-1960)*. Nicosia.
- Protopapas, V. (2012) *Η εκλογική ιστορία της Κύπρου. Πολιτευτές, Κόμματα και εκλογές στην Αγγλοκρατία 1878-1960*. Athens: Themelio.
- Richter, H.A. (2007) *History of Cyprus, Vol. A: 1878-1949* [in Greek]. Athens: Estia.
- Smith, T. (1981) *The pattern of imperialism. The United States, Great Britain and the late industrializing world since 1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press .
- Storrs, R. (1943) *Orientations*. London: Nicholson and Watson.
- Varnava, A. (2009) *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915. The inconsequential possession*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Young, R.J.C. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. UK: Blackwell Publishers.