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GEOGRAPHIC SUPPORT STUDY

GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS

Notes on Population and Economy



January 1964

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Research and Reports

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GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUSNotes on Population and EconomySummary

In this report on the possible separation of the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus, emphasis is given to the ethnic composition and distribution of the population, farmholdings and agricultural production, and ownership of mineral resources. Other factors are considered briefly.

The population of Cyprus is 77 percent Greek and 18 percent Turkish, and in general the two ethnic communities are rather evenly spread and evenly mixed throughout the island. The Turkish proportion is as high as 24 percent in one administrative district and as low as 13 percent in another. Sections of each town and many rural villages are inhabited exclusively by one community or the other, but in many other town sections and villages the population is mixed. The dislocations of population now occurring as a result of the fighting could or could not permanently change this distribution pattern, depending on future developments. Any segregation of communities or partition of the island would involve movement of substantial portions of the population.

Urban areas have grown considerably in recent years. Both Greeks and Turks tend to migrate toward, but the proportion of Turks in urban areas is increasing. Greeks are predominant in commerce, industry, and the professions, but a number of Turkish enterprises have been established in the past few years.

In rural areas there appears to be little difference in the economic status of members of the two communities. The numbers of Greek and Turkish farmholders are roughly comparable, proportionately, to the numbers of Greeks and Turks in the total rural population. The Turkish farmholders operate a slightly higher share of the land in relation to their numbers, however, than do the Greeks; and proportionately more of the individual large landholdings are Turkish rather than Greek. Cypriot farmers in general, whether Greek or Turk, are smallholders, faced with the problems of insufficient capital, inadequate water supply, antiquated farming methods, and excessive fragmentation of holdings. Many of them supplement their poor farm livings by work in town or on the British bases. Any partition plan would have to take into account the need for a unified development of water resources.

The major portion of the mining assets are owned by foreigners, the principal exception being a company turned over to the Greek community of

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Cyprus by its Greek former owner. Mineral products include cupreous and iron pyrites, cupreous concentrates, asbestos, chrome ore, umber, and gypsum. The mines are located in or near the mountains in the southwestern part of the island. Should partition be the final solution for Cyprus, consideration would have to be given to the disposition of these mines and the valuable state forests that are located in this mountain region. Equitable distribution of the electric power supply, now generated primarily by one plant, also would necessarily come up for consideration.

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Population

The two principal ethnic communities on Cyprus -- Greeks and Turks -- are intermixed throughout the island, and both have taken part in the increasing urbanization that has characterized population growth on the island. The census of 1960 counted a total population of 574,013.* Of this number, some 77 percent belonged to the Greek community, 18 percent to the Turkish, and 5 percent to minor groups, mainly British, Armenian, and Maronite. From the 1880's until the 1950's the proportion of Turks in the total population declined steadily, but the 1960 census showed a slight increase in the percentage of Turks (see Table 1, below). The

Table 1

Population of Cyprus, by Ethnic Community
1946-60

Date	Total Population	Greeks		Turks		Others	
		Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
1946	450,114	361,199	80.3	80,548	17.9	8,367	1.8
1956	528,618	417,199	78.9	92,163	17.4	19,256	3.7
1960	574,013	442,363	77.1	104,333	18.2	27,317	4.7

increase from 1946 to 1960 in the minor communities reflects mainly the influx of British during the 1950's when British military bases on Cyprus were expanded.

No large areas of Cyprus can be described as purely Greek or purely Turkish. The distribution pattern of communities is indicated on the

* Excluded from this figure are 3,602 in the sovereign base areas and other areas retained and administered by Great Britain. The 1963 total population was estimated at 583,500.

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accompanying map, Cyprus: Ethnic Communities - 1956 (28366),* and, for 1960, in Table 2 on p. 5. Turks constitute from 20 to 24 percent of the population in the three districts of Nicosia, Larnaca, and Paphos, in the central, southern, and western parts of the island, but in Kyrenia, Famagusta, and Limassol, in the north, east, and south, the proportion of Turks is from 13 to 17 percent, or less than the national average. In the six towns that serve as the administrative centers for their respective districts, the proportion of Turks ranges from 31 percent in Paphos to 14 percent in Limassol. The rural population of Cyprus is settled in villages. Isolated farmsteads are rare. Many of the villages are composed predominantly or entirely of one ethnic group, but many have mixed populations. Villages range in size from less than 50 persons to several thousand, a few of them being larger than Kyrenia, the smallest of the district towns.

The urban population -- that is, the population of the six district towns -- increased by 78 percent between 1946 and 1960, at the same time that the rural population was experiencing an increase of only 10 percent, and in 1960 the urban population constituted more than 33 percent of the total. During most of the period of British sovereignty, townward migration from the countryside affected the Greeks more than the Turks, but more recently the increase in the Turkish element of the urban population was greater than that in the Greek. The older, central parts of the larger towns tend to contain a higher concentration of Turks than the newer parts.

* The pattern of admixture of Greeks and Turks has not changed substantially since 1956. The Troodos District, shown on this map, was a temporary division and has since been abolished. For current administrative boundaries see Map 39094, Cyprus, 1963.

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Table 2

Population of Cyprus, by District
1960

<u>District a/</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Greeks (percent)</u>	<u>Turks (percent)</u>	<u>Others (percent)</u>
Nicosia	204,484	75.2	20.0	4.8
Urban	95,515	67.2	23.2	9.6
Rural (villages)	108,969	82.3	17.1	0.6
Kyrenia	31,015	78.8	13.9	7.3
Urban	3,498	67.8	20.0	12.2
Rural (villages)	27,517	80.2	13.1	6.7
Famagusta	114,389	79.7	16.6	3.7
Urban	34,774	70.4	17.6	12.0
Rural (villages)	79,615	83.8	16.1	0.1
Larnaca	58,660	73.9	21.5	4.6
Urban	19,824	66.1	20.5	13.4
Rural (villages)	38,836	77.9	22.1	0
Limassol	107,306	79.7	12.6	7.7
Urban	43,593	71.7	14.0	14.3
Rural (villages)	63,713	85.2	11.6	3.2
Paphos	58,159	75.5	24.5	0
Urban	9,083	68.5	31.4	0.1
Rural (villages)	49,076	76.9	23.1	0

a. The urban population in each district is that of the district town. The urban figures for Nicosia include the town and its suburban villages.

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The area within the municipal limits of Nicosia, for instance, contains a mixed population of Greeks, Turks, British, Armenians, and others. The Greeks compose 56 percent of the total number of people in this urban area, and the Turks 32 percent. To some extent the different groups are segregated in different sections of the inner town. On the other hand, in the suburban villages outside the municipal limits the population is predominantly Greek (see Table 3, below).

Table 3

Population of Nicosia, by Ethnic Community
1960

	<u>Total Population</u>		<u>Nicosia Town</u>		<u>Suburban Villages</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Total	<u>95,515</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>45,629</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>49,886</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Greeks	64,207	67.2	25,561	56.0	38,646	77.5
Turks	22,134	23.2	14,686	32.2	7,448	14.9
British	4,542	4.8	1,978	4.3	2,564	5.1
Armenians	2,529	2.6	1,848	4.1	681	1.4
Others	2,103	2.2	1,556	3.4	547	1.1

The educational level of the Greeks is somewhat higher than that of the Turks. In 1960 the percentage of illiteracy for the total population (all age groups) was 31 percent. Among Greeks it was 30 percent and among Turks, 38 percent. In both communities, illiteracy was substantially higher in rural areas than in the towns.

Except for the British, the Armenians are the most numerous of the minor communities. They are located mainly in Nicosia where many are engaged in business. Greek-Turkish intercommunal strife, uncertainties regarding the future of an independent Cyprus, and dissention within their

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own community have had an adverse effect on the Armenians. Their numbers have declined from about 4,500 in 1956 to 3,627 in 1960. Many Armenians have emigrated to the United Kingdom, and in 1962 a few hundred went to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The small Maronite community, numbering 2,706 in 1960, lives in rural areas in the northwestern part of the island.

Partition of the island, or segregation of Greeks and Turks into separate areas, would require moving a considerable part of the population. Separation of the communities could be accomplished in one of several ways. All the Turks could be removed from the island, a movement involving about 105,000 persons. On the other hand, the island could be partitioned and the Turks segregated into particular areas. For example, the Turks could all be moved into Paphos and Larnaca Districts, where the Turkish percentage of the population is now higher than in other districts. Movement of all Turks into these districts and removal of the Greeks presently in the districts would involve a total of 165,000 persons -- 78,000 Turks and 87,000 Greeks. If segregation were imposed village by village and by section of towns, so that no mixed villages were left and towns were completely segregated by quarter, the movement would affect some 37,000 Turks and 27,000 Greeks. The latter estimates are based on the assumption that the minority group, whether Turkish or Greek, in each mixed village would be moved and that a relocation within towns would involve about one-third of the total population of each town.

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Economic Activities

In the towns the Greeks are more liberally represented in commerce, industry, and the professions than are the Turks, but a number of new Turkish enterprises have been founded in recent years. It is probably true that, on the whole, the urban Greeks are more prosperous than the urban Turks.

In agriculture the economic levels of the two communities appear to be about equal. Both are represented, apparently in roughly the same proportion as their total numbers, in the 39 percent of the economically active population that is employed in agriculture. Greeks make up 84 percent of the number of individual farmholders and 81 percent of the rural population. Turks comprise 15 percent of the farmholders and 16 percent of the rural population. The percentage position of Greek and Turkish farmholders within each district is also about comparable to the proportions of the two communities in the rural population of the district (compare Tables 2 and 4, pp. 5 and 9). The greatest variations from this pattern are found in Nicosia and Limassol districts, where the percentages of Greek landholders are higher than in other districts. The Turkish farmholders, however, have more land in proportion to their numbers than the Greeks. The average Greek holding for the whole island is about 14 acres, whereas the average Turkish holding is about 21 acres. Most large private landholdings belong to Turks. The largest amount of land, however, is owned by the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus. It is estimated to control 8 to 10 percent of the farmland, most of its

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Table 4

Farmholdings by "Civil Persons"
1960 ^{a/}

District	No. of Holders	Area (acres)	Percentage Distribution, by Ethnic Community					
			Greeks		Turks		Others	
			No. of Holders	Area	No. of Holders	Area	No. of Holders	Area
Total Cyprus	69,369	1,057,175	84.2	78.3	15.1	20.4	0.7	1.3
Nicosia	19,910	275,763	86.3	78.8	13.3	19.6	0.4	1.6
Kyrenia	4,916	81,676	79.9	69.4	12.7	19.5	7.4	11.1
Famagusta	14,231	261,461	84.6	82.5	15.3	17.4	0.1	0.1
Larnaca	6,470	134,608	77.1	70.6	22.8	29.3	0.1	0.1
Limassol	12,873	148,531	90.3	83.8	9.6	16.1	0.1	0.1
Paphos	10,969	155,136	79.0	76.2	20.9	23.7	0.1	0.1

a. A holding is defined as the totality of land used wholly or partly for agricultural production and operated by a holder (one person, company, cooperative, or other) without regard to title, size, or location. It is therefore not the same as a unit of ownership. This table excludes 76 holdings (a total of 11,651 acres) of corporations, cooperatives, collectives, government, and other institutions.

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acreage being leased or rented to private holders. Moslem religious foundations control another 1 to 2 percent of the farmland. Several commercial plantations are operated by corporations. The rural cooperative movement, very strong on Cyprus and a major source of agricultural credit, is backed by two central banks, one Greek and one Turkish. Reallocation of land, in some form or other, would be involved in any separation of communities, whether by partition of the island or at the village level.

The typical rural Cypriot, whether Greek or Turk, is a small farmer owning several scattered plots of land at varying distances from his village. He spends a considerable amount of time travelling from one plot to another in the annual round of cultivating and harvesting. The shepherd is another type of rural dweller, owning little, if any, land but grazing his flocks of sheep or goats in almost nomadic fashion, often at considerable distances from his village. During seasons of slack work on the farm the rural dweller may supplement his small farm income by work in one of the district towns, and other members of his family may have full-time employment in town, returning to the village on weekends and holidays. A substantial number of the rural inhabitants thus maintain continuing contact with the towns.

The principal field crops are wheat, barley, vetches, cotton, potatoes, chickpeas, sesame, and tobacco. The Mesaoria -- the central plain lying between the Kyrenia Mountain Range on the north and the Troodos Mountains on the south -- is the principal agricultural region. Although field crops are of major importance here, citrus fruits, olives, and

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almonds are also grown. Vines (producing both wine and table grapes), olives, citrus fruits, and almonds are grown in the hill lands bordering the Troodos Mountains and along the coastal plains. Carobs (locust beans) are grown extensively for stock feed and for gum, mainly on the seaward slopes facing the north and south coasts. Agricultural products account for about 33 percent of the exports from Cyprus, the principal commodities exported being citrus fruits, potatoes, carobs, raisings, and wine. The island is not self-sufficient in food, however, and must import cereals, meat, dairy products, fruit and vegetables, fish, sugar, and animal feed.

Agriculture on Cyprus is dependent primarily on the limited and somewhat erratic rainfall that is characteristic of the Mediterranean (annual rainfall varied between 9.4 inches and 19.8 inches at Nicosia in the period 1952-61). This rainfall is concentrated in the winter months and is the mainstay of the wheat and barley crops. Irrigation facilities have increased steadily since 1946 and are now available on about 18 percent of the farmland. A considerable area of field crops and all of the citrus fruits are irrigated. Much of the water for irrigation, however, is used inefficiently. An increase in the number of drilled wells and the expansion of pump irrigation have caused a lowering of the water table, and there is a growing shortage of water at the same time that demands are being made for additional supplies for both irrigation and domestic use in villages and towns. As part of a program of water development it has been recommended that a system of

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dams and storage reservoirs be built, that comprehensive water resource planning be instituted on several entire watersheds, and that pump irrigation from wells be stringently regulated. In the past, disputes over water rights have led to serious conflicts between villages. Should the island be partitioned or the communities segregated, it would be necessary to consider the increasing need for unified development and utilization of water resources.

Although they do not suffer from some of the ills that beset rural dwellers in other Middle Eastern countries, Cypriot farmers do have their problems. Water shortage, soil erosion, and soil infertility are endemic. The small size of operations and excessive fragmentation of plots limit the income from them, cause inefficient operation, and prevent the increases in investment necessary for individual improvements. Fragmentation increases as population pressure on the land increases. Both Greek and Turkish farmers appear to be faced by the same problems, and the relatively prosperous towns act as a safety valve for the disadvantaged rural dwellers of both communities.

Mining, the second most important economic activity of Cyprus, is controlled in large part by foreign companies, and most of the mineral products are exported. Although the quantity and value of mineral exports have declined since the late 1950's, because of the depletion of the richer pyrites deposits and unfavorable world prices, minerals still account for about 40 percent of the total exports by value. The mineral resources -- copper and iron pyrites, chromite, asbestos, gypsum,

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and umber -- are located mainly along the periphery or the southwestern mountain region and in the Troodos Mountains in the middle of the region (see Table 5, p. 14 , and Map 39094, Cyprus, 1963). The two largest producers are the Cyprus Mines Corporation, a US company, and the Hellenic Mining Company, Ltd., formerly owned by a Greek from Greece who, after independence, donated it to the Greek community of Cyprus. Each of the two companies mine about 700,000 tons of ore annually, producing cupreous and iron pyrites. The principal mine of the Cyprus Mines Corporation is near Xeros, south of Morphou Bay. With a reserve of about 1,500,000 tons, it was estimated in 1962 that this mine would last only 2 or 3 years. Open pit operations were being started at two old mines nearby, however, giving the company an additional reserve of some 4,200,000 tons of ore. Also in 1962, another mine producing cupreous pyrite north of Larnaca was taken over by a company controlled jointly by the Cyprus Mines Corporation and American Metal Climax, Inc. Mines of the Hellenic Mining Company are on the south coast and the north flank of the mountains. Near the coast beyond the western edge of the mountains are the properties of the Cyprus Sulphur and Copper Company, Ltd., a British concern operating on a smaller scale than either the Cyprus Mines Corporation or the Hellenic Mining Company. A chrome deposit worked by a US-Norwegian company and an asbestos mine belonging to an Anglo-Danish company are located in the heart of the Troodos Range. Gypsum and umber are minerals of less importance. A US company, the Forest Oil Company, has been given permits to explore for petroleum on the island.

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Table 5

Minerals Exported from Cyprus
1961

Mineral	Quantity (long tons)	Value
Asbestos	15,328	\$ 2,590,000
Copper Cement	1,759	574,000
Chrome Ore	18,820	534,800
Cupreous Concentrates	101,585	10,460,800
Cupreous Pyrites	138,477	2,539,600
Iron Pyrites	822,263	6,616,400
Gypsum, calcined	1,830	16,800
Gypsum	24,437	70,000
Terra Umbra	4,252	148,400
Other	308	16,800
Total		\$ 23,567,600

The southwestern mountain region contains, in addition to its mineral resources, the principal timber lands of Cyprus, primarily owned and managed by the state. They are valuable both for lumber and for the recreation areas they provide. Any partition of the island would have to take into account, therefore, the disposition of both the mineral and timber resources of this region.

The principal power supply for the island is produced at a single central generating plant at Dhekelia having an installed capacity of 74,500 kw at the end of 1962. It is operated by the Electrical Authority of Cyprus, a public corporation. There are transmission lines covering much of the island and standby generators in several of the district towns. There are several small producers in addition.

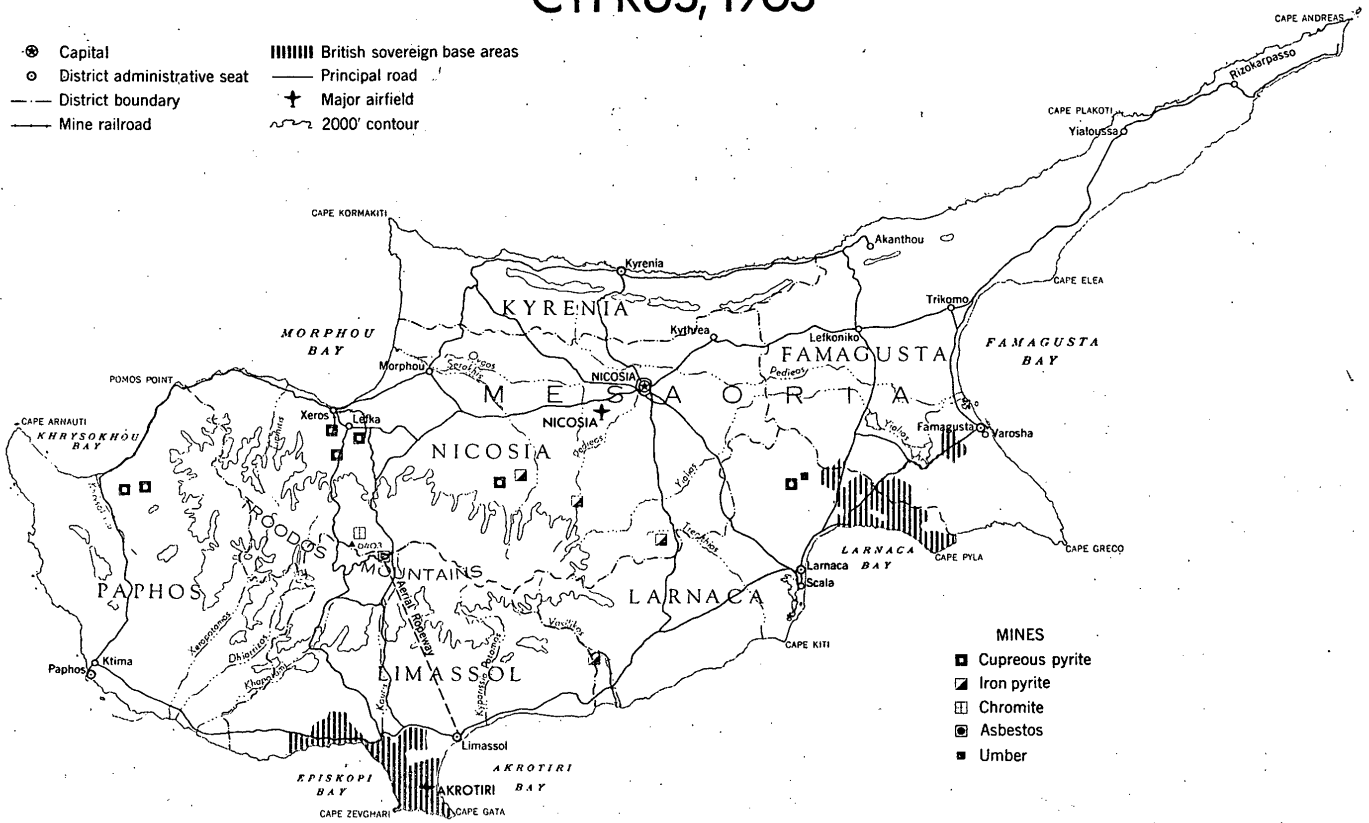
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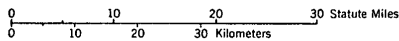
CYPRUS, 1963

- ⊗ Capital
- District administrative seat
- District boundary
- Mine railroad

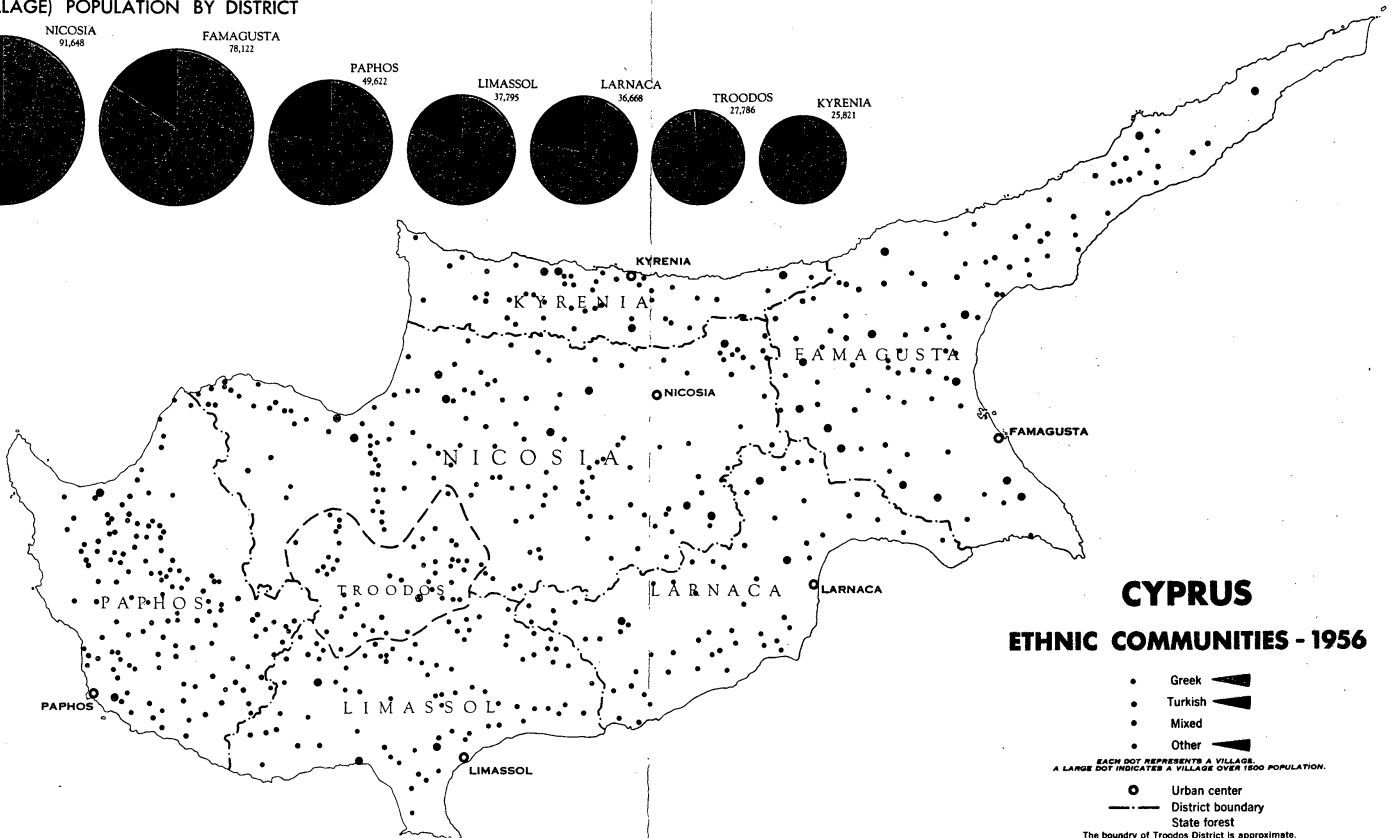
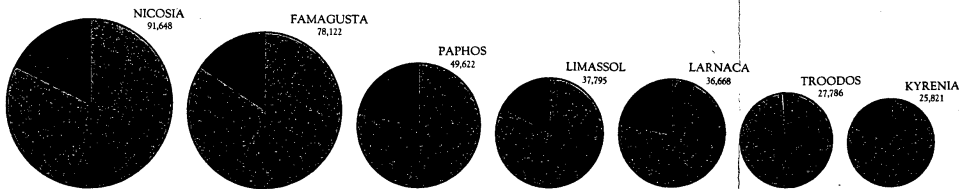
- ||||| British sovereign base areas
- Principal road
- ✈ Major airfield
- ~ 2000' contour



- MINES**
- Cupreous pyrite
 - ▣ Iron pyrite
 - ▤ Chromite
 - ⊙ Asbestos
 - Umber



RURAL (VILLAGE) POPULATION BY DISTRICT



CYPRUS
ETHNIC COMMUNITIES - 1956

