

**Source: George Karouzis**

**Name of Book: Proposals For A Solution To The Cyprus Problem**

**Printed: Nicosia-Cyprus, 1976**

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### III. OWNERSHIP DATA

A study of the ownership situation appears at first sight to be necessary on account of statements made at times by leading Turks, including the inaccurate statement by the former Turkish Premier Mr. Ecevit<sup>(22)</sup> that the Turkish Cypriots own 30% of property in Cyprus.

#### **(a) Distribution of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownerships all over the Island.**

Various studies on this subject have been carried out by Government and non-government agencies and there is no substantial discrepancy as regards the findings of their investigations. Thus the Lands and Surveys Department in a report gives the following figures<sup>(23)</sup> (see map 23).

Greek Property (In donums)	%	Turkish Property (In Donums)	%	Armenian / Maronite, etc. property (in donums)	%	State Forests, State land, Roads, Rivers. etc. (In donums)	%
4,123,711	59.6	852,455	12.3	91,406	1.4	1,847,820	26.7

The above figures show that, excluding state land ownership, percentages are as follows:

Greeks	81.37%
Turks	16.82%
Armenians, Maronites etc.	1.81%
Total	100.00%

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<sup>(22)</sup> On August, 4, 1974, the BBC reported from Turkey that Prime Minister, Mr. Ecevit, had alleged that the Turkish Cypriots owned 30% of the land (cyclostyled paper by Chr. Economides, circulated on Aug. 7 1974 under the title «Mr. Ecevit's allegation that the Turkish Cypriots own 30% of the Cyprus land is contradicted by all past censuses»).

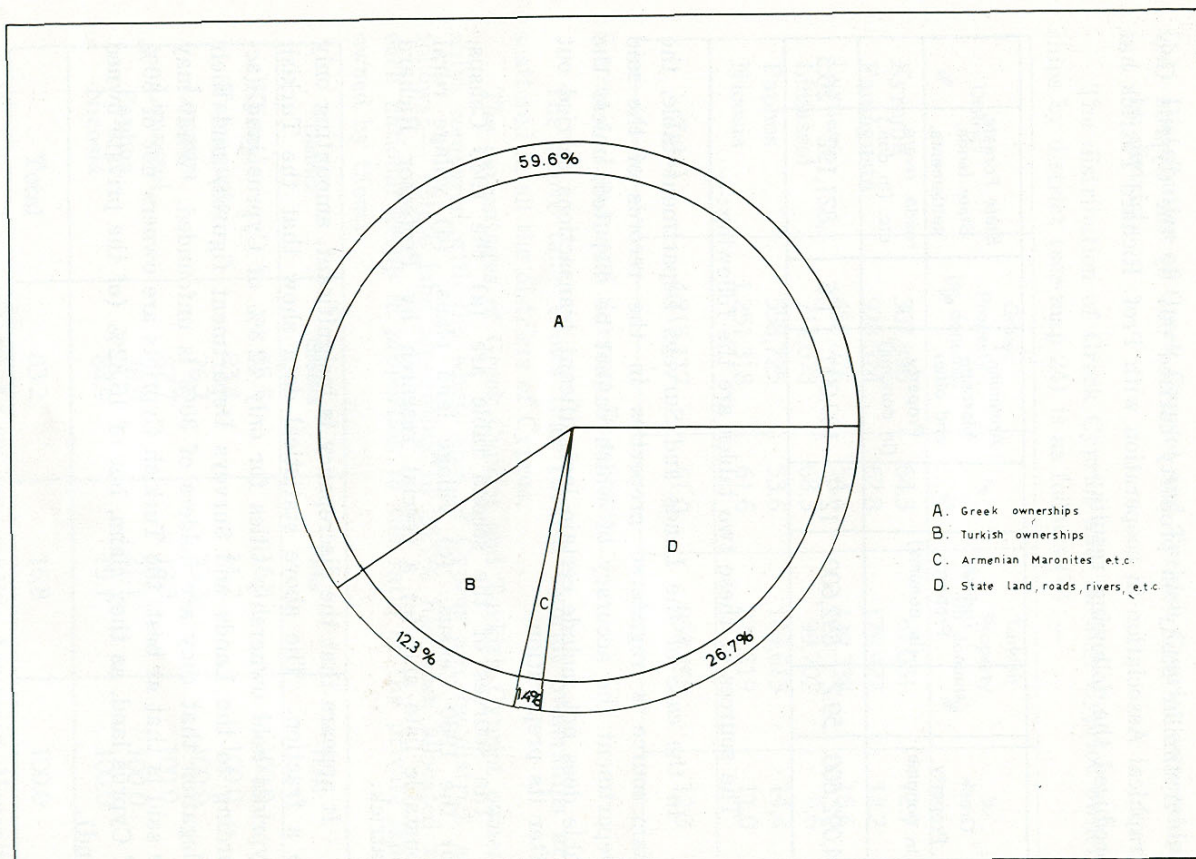
<sup>(23)</sup> Lands and Surveys Dept. Whose is What? The True facts of land ownership in Cyprus, «Cyprus To-Day» Vol. XII No.6.

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Map 23. — Distribution of ownerships all over the Island.

A similar study on property carried out by the Cyprus Geographical Association in cooperation with Prof. Richard Patrick has produced the following results:

Greek Property (In donums)	%	Turkish Property (In donums)	%	Armenian / Maronite and other Property (In donums)	%	State Forests, State lands, settlements, roads, rivers, etc. (In don.)	%
4,092,600	59.2	892,600	12.9	109,000	1.6	1,821,192	26.3

The sources of these two tables are the following: -

In the case of the Lands and Surveys Department table, the main source is registered properties in the records of the said Department the accuracy of which cannot be disputed, unless the table does not include certain insignificant transactions carried out after its preparation.

The sources of the second table are (a) the 1946 Census, (b) the 1960 Census, (c) village land plans, (d) village rural constable lists and (e) a special research by Professor Richard Patrick.

It appears that the discrepancy is insignificant, amounting only to a fraction. The above statistical data show that the Turkish Cypriots hold ownership titles for only 12.3% of Cyprus land (according to the Lands and Surveys Department figures) and their allegation that they are holders of 30% is unfounded. What may be said is that at best, the Turkish Cypriots are owners not of 30% of Cyprus

land, as they claim, but of 16,82% (of the private owned land) .

(b) Distribution of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownerships. by district.

The distribution of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownerships by district (see map 24) is as follows<sup>(24)</sup>:

District	Greek Property (in donums)	%	Turkish Property (in donums)	%
Kyrenia	307,896	64.3	61,061	12.7
Famagusta	928,024	62.8	179,922	12.2
Larnaca	458,076	54.4	139,338	16.6
Limassol	711,078	68.3	99,702	9.6
Paphos	558,725	53.6	149,613	14.4
Nicosia	1,251,318	61.6	222,819	11.0
$\Sigma$ Total	4,215,117	61.0	852,455	12.3

Source: Lands and Surveys Department.

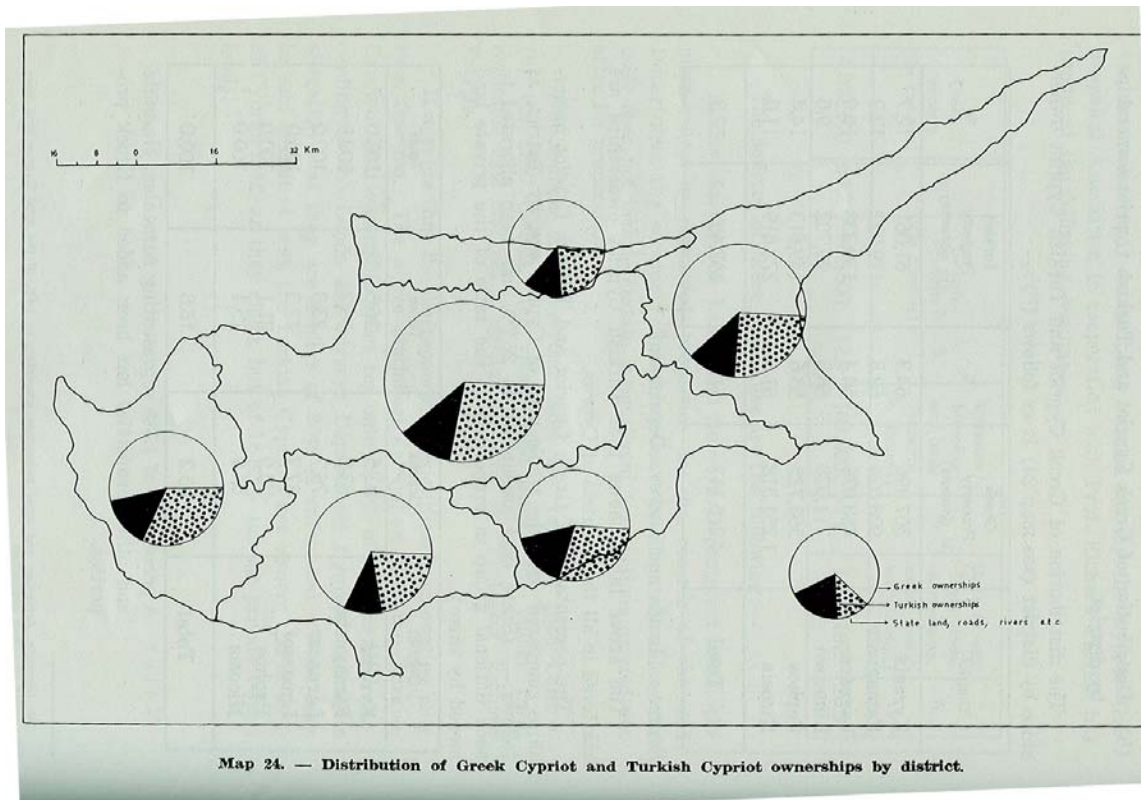
The above table shows that Turkish Cypriot ownerships are scattered in all the districts of Cyprus.

The percentages of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownerships compared with the whole area of Cyprus are, by district, as follows:- (State land amounting to 26.7% has been allocated to each national group in proportion to the ratio of the private land owned by them).

District	Greeks	Turks	Total
Kyrenia	83.5	16.5	100.0
Famagusta	83.8	16.2	100.0
Larnaca	76.7	23.3	100.0
Limassol	87.7	12.3	100.0
Paphos	78.9	21.1	100.0
Nicosia	84.9	15.1	100.0
$\Sigma$ Total	83.2	16.8	100.0

Note: A percentage of 1.8% representing Armenian, Maronite and other properties has been added to Greek properties.

<sup>(24)</sup> Maronite, Armenian and other properties amounting to 1.8% of the total Cyprus land have been added to Greek properties.



Thus the above statistical data show convincingly that the percentage of Turkish Cypriot properties (see map 25) is only 16.8% and not 30% as claimed by various persons ignorant of the ownership situation in Cyprus.

**(c) Distribution of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownerships by region.**

**(i) Distribution of ownerships on the basis of agro-physiographic regions.**

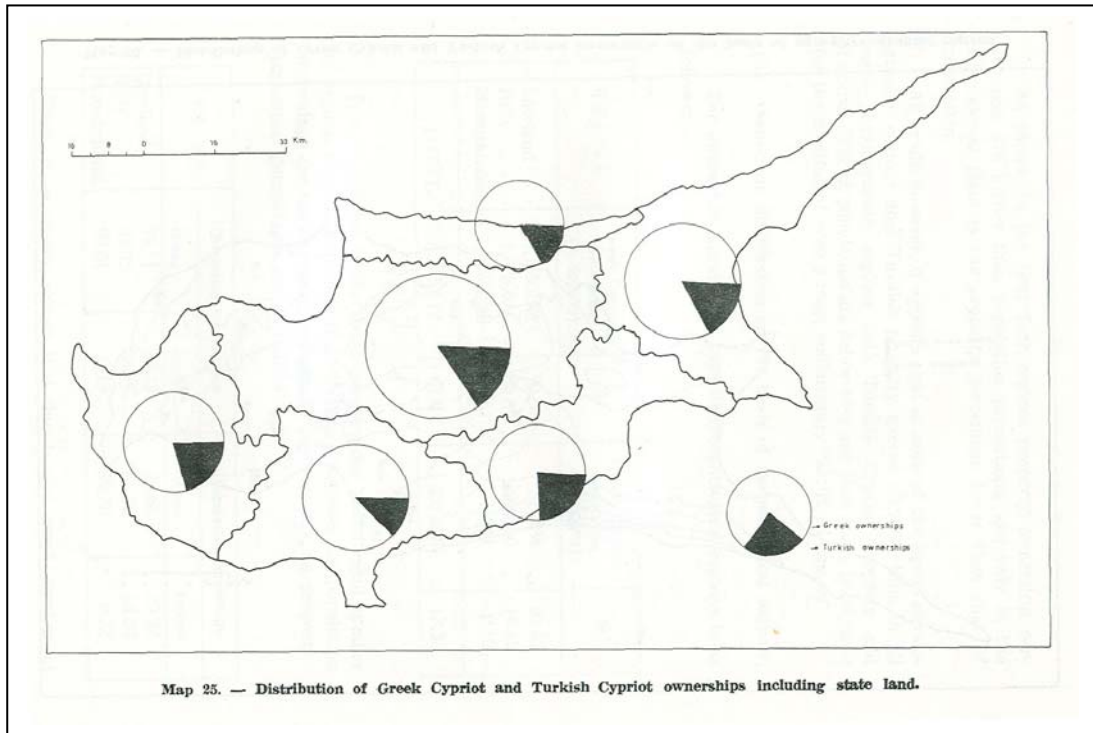
The distribution of Greek Cypriot ownerships and Turkish Cypriot ownerships on the basis of the above criteria is as follows;

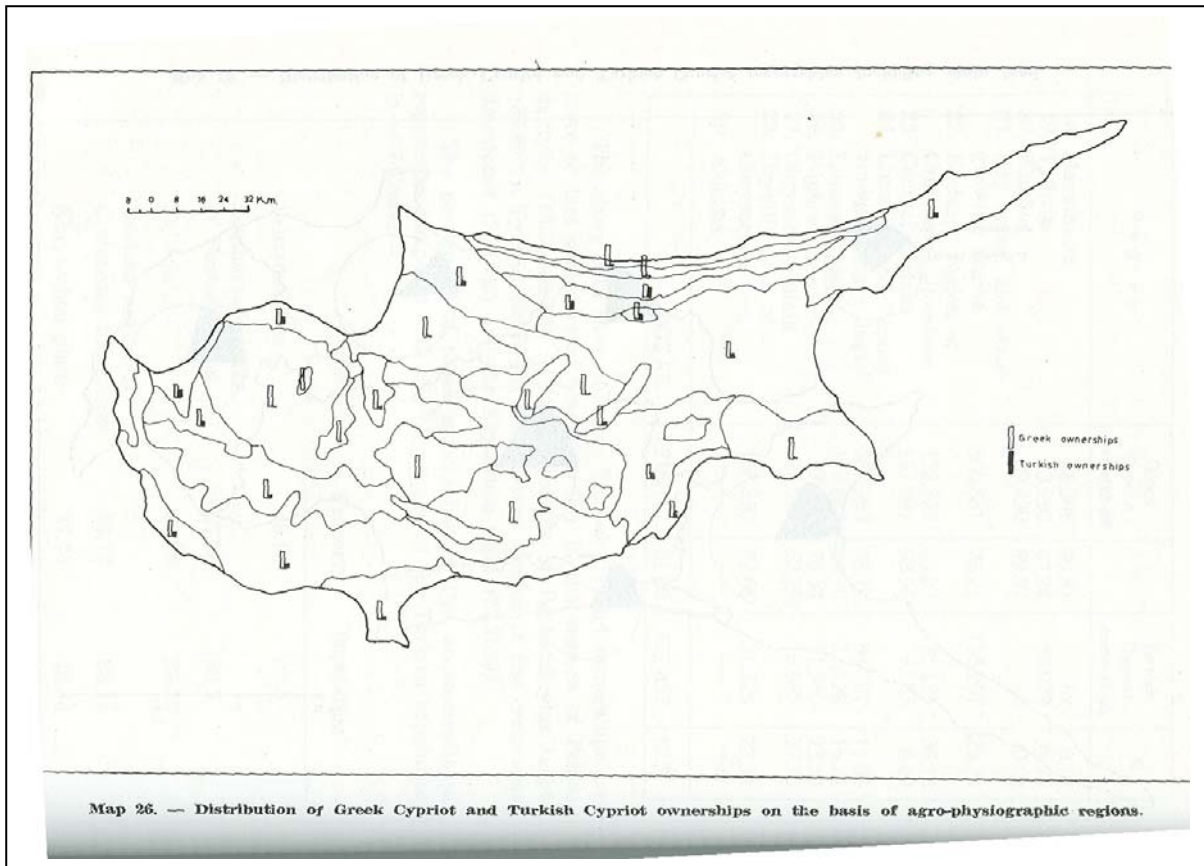
Region	Greek Cypriot ownerships	%	Turkish Cypriot ownerships	%
1. Karpass	269,575	79.55	69,288	20.45
2. Pentadaktylos	46,566	56.04	36,530	43.96
3. Southern Foothills of Pentadaktylos	54,401	62.20	33,060	37.80
4. Northern Foothills of Pentadaktylos	112,299	94.87	6,076	5.13
5. Kyrenia plain	91,384	92.95	6,930	7.05
6. Kythrea	33,960	76.21	10,599	23.79
7. Messaoria	539,266	77.94	152,627	22.06
8. Kokkinochoria	203,013	95.99	8,491	4.01
9. Larnaca plain	34,836	71.68	13,766	28.32
10. Yialia irrigated valley	55,047	85.70	9,188	14.30
11. Pedhieos irrigated valley	78,594	97.81	1,756	2.19
12. Morphou basin	272,714	89.98	30,377	10.02
13. Myrtou	138,257	82.35	29,632	17.65
14. Troodos massif	68,280	96.90	2,183	3.10
15. Northern and eastern foothills of Troodos	349,603	94.10	21,926	5.90
16. Pitsilia	197,320	99.95	103	0.05
17. Solea	72,288	86.37	11,410	13.63
18. Marathassa	46,396	99.87	62	0.13
19. Tylliria	73,960	67.24	36,039	32.76
20. Kambos	29,430	99.97	8	0.03
21. Dry cereal and carob growing region	500,681	76.21	156,267	23.79
22. Eastern; region of Cretaceous limestone	132,825	63.87	75,125	36.13
23. Central Plateau	141,691	93.91	9,183	6.09
24. Limassol and Paphos vine-growing villages	380,953	88.17	51,107	11.83
25. Limassol plain	117,682	84.78	21,128	15.22
26. Paphos plain	37,687	76.50	11,580	23.50
27. Chrysochou plain	27,519	62.25	16,685	37.75
28. Dryhilly area of Chrysochou	108,890	77.66	31,329	22.34
29. Akamas	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,215,117</b>	<b>61.00</b>	<b>852,457</b>	<b>12.3</b>

The above data show that the Turkish Cypriot ownerships are more or less concentrated (see map 26) in the regions of Pentadaktylos (43.96%), the Southern foothills of Pentadaktylos range (37.80%), Tylliria (32.76%), the Eastern region of the cretaceous limestones (36.13%) and the Chrysochou plain (37.75%).

The percentage of these ownerships in the above-mentioned regions as compared with the percentage of the Turkish population is as follows:-

	Property	Population
Pentadaktylos	43.96	33.5
Southern foothills of Pentadaktylos	37.80	32.3
Tylliria	32.76	28.50
Eastern region of Cretaceous limestones	36.13	33.14
Khrysochou plain	37.75	





As shown, in the first four regions property ownership percentages are higher than population percentages and only in the Khrisochoou plain is the property percentage lower than that of population.

All in all, however, it appears that in none of the agro - physiographic regions does Turkish property exceed 43.96%, thus in all agro - physiographic regions both Turkish Cypriot property and Turkish Cypriot population are below 50% and thus there is no basis for the creation of even a most rudimentary "artificial canton".

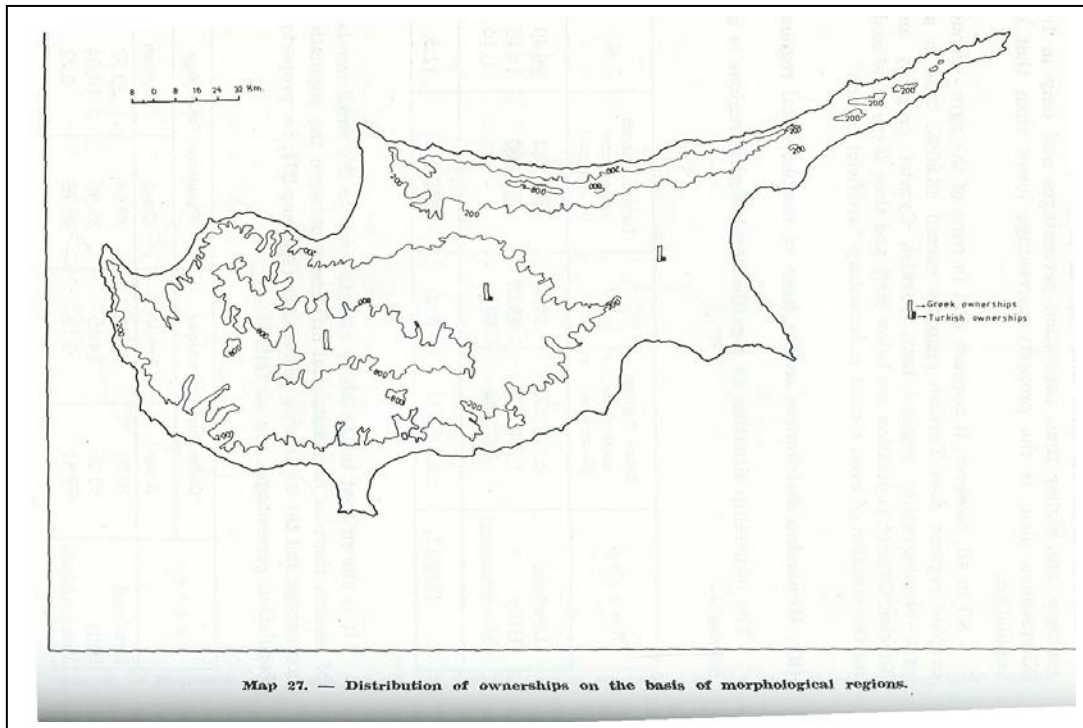
## (ii) Ownership distribution on the basis of morphological regions.

The ownership situation as regards morphological regions is as follows:-

Region	Greek Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%	Turkish Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%
Lowland	2,169,292	79.51	558,884	20.49
Hilly	1,778,671	85.85	293,060	14.15
Mountainous	267,154	99.81	511	0.19
TOTAL	4,215,117	61.0	852,455	12.3

It is shown that in the above category due to the small number of regions there is no substantial difference between the population percentage and the ownership percentage (see map 27), i.e. property-population percentages are as follows:-

Region	(Ownership Percentage)		Population Percentage	
	Greek	Turkish.	Greek	Turkish
Lowland	79.51	20.49	79.68	20.32
Hilly	85.85	14.15	85.96	14.04
Mountainous	99.81	0.19	99.78	0.22



Thus, it is clearly shown that due to the small number of regions percentages are practically the same. In this category also there is almost complete absence of Turkish Cypriot ownerships in mountainous Cyprus.

(iii) Ownership distribution on the basis of watersheds.

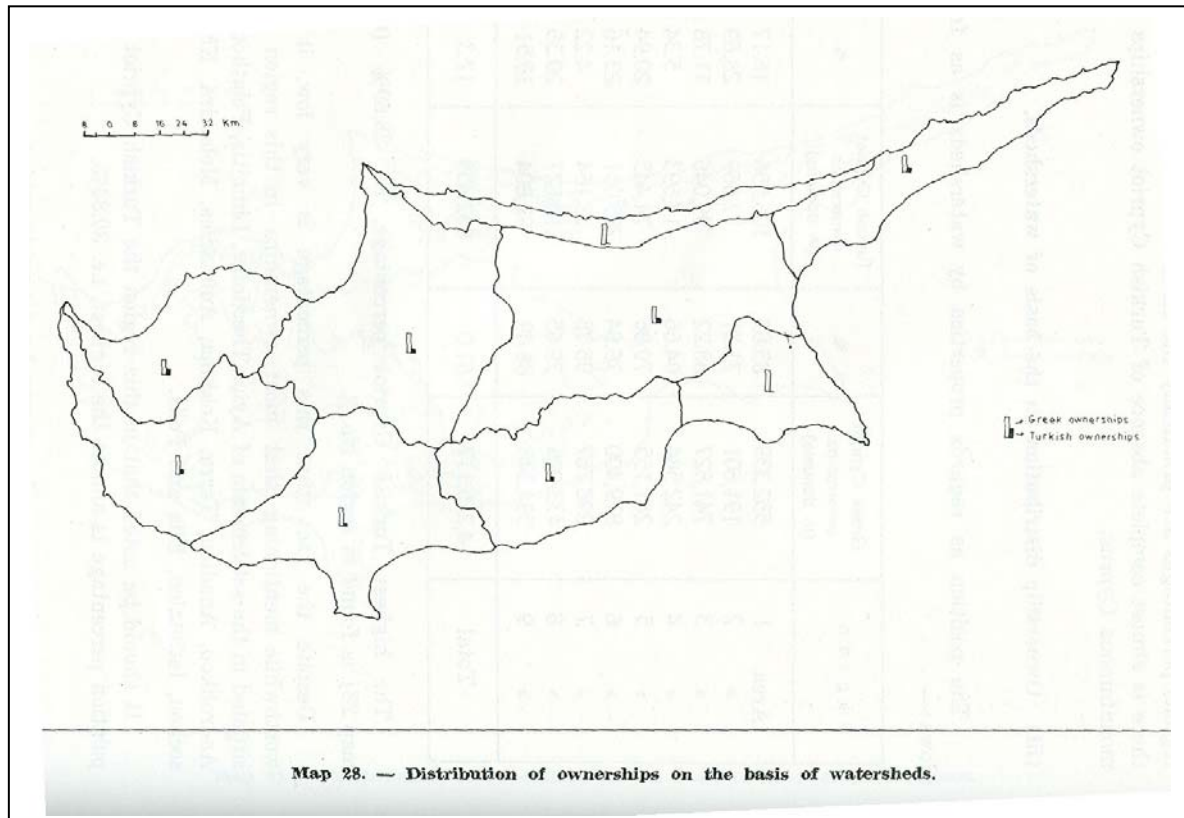
The position as regards properties by watersheds is as follows :-

Region	Greek Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%	Turkish. Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%
Area 1	552,339	83.83	106,556	16.17
» 2	191,601	71.31	77,069	28.69
» 3	741,827	88.22	99,046	11.78
» 4	242,584	94.66	13,693	5.34
» 5	281,155	79.06	74,445	20.94
» 6	879,400	76.84	265,051	23.16
» 7	298,767	95.78	13,164	4.22
» 8	433,096	79.65	110,627	20.35
» 9	594,348	86.49	92,804	13.51
Total	4,215,117	61.0	852,455	12.3

The highest Turkish Cypriot percentage, Le. 28.69% (see map 28) is found in region No.2.

Despite the fact that this percentage is very low, it is worthwhile mentioning that most ownerships in this region are situated in the settlements of Ayios Theodoros, Limnitis, Pelathousa, Androlikou, Anadiou, Terra, Kokkina, Ammadies, Melandra, Khrysochou, Istintzion, Elia and Polis.

It should be noted that 'in this region the Turkish Cypriot population percentage is almost the highest, i.e. 30.84%.



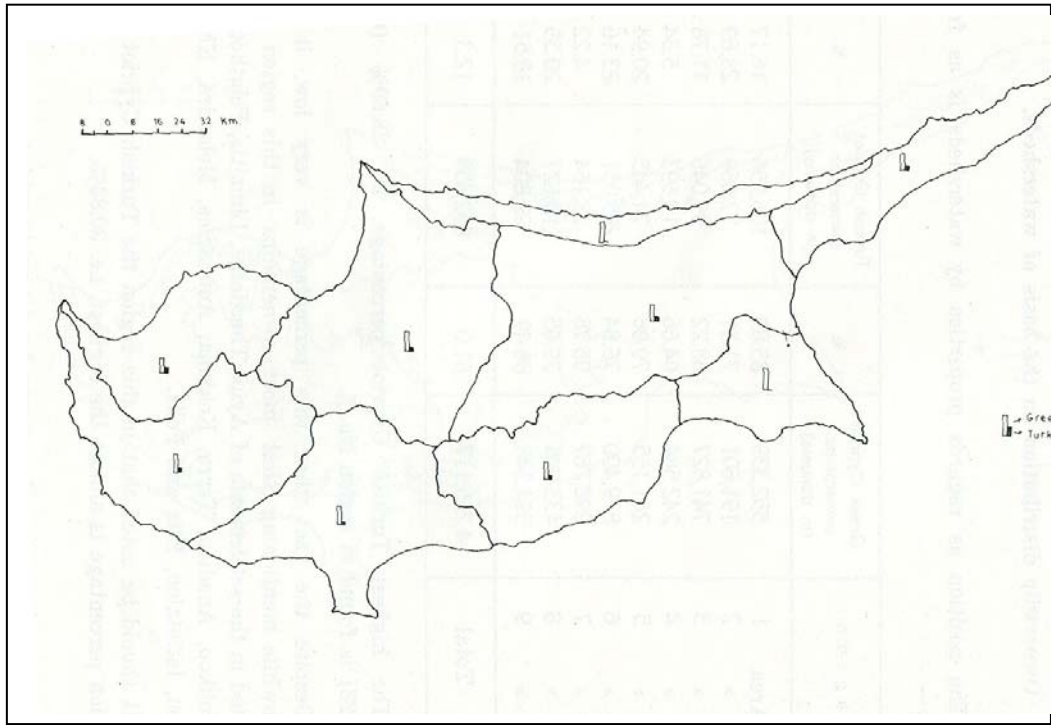
(iv) Distribution of property by economic region.

Details of ownerships by economic region are as follows:

Region	Greek Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%	Turkish Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%
1. Polis	182,644	75.99	57,695	24.01
2. Paphos	312,666	82.88	64,600	7.12
3. Kakopetria	190,645	98.99	1,951	1.01
4. Limassol	612,029	83.06	124,863	16.94
5. Karavostassi-Xeros	171,291	71.90	66,957	28.10
6. Morphou	202,321	93.48	14,122	6.52
7. Kyrenia	141,301	91.60	12,958	8.40
8. Yialoussa,- Rizokarpasso	175,791	78.55	48,016	21.45
9. Famagusta	471,768	92.31	39,291	7.69
10. Lefkoniko	139,754	75.97	44,208	24.03
11. Athienou	83,372	62.17	50,738	37.83
12. Lyssi	98,486	77.75	28,180	22.25
13. Lefkara	260,653	86.41	40,999	13.59
14. Larnaca	208,571	72.26	80,074	27.74
15. Nicosia	963,825	84.43	177,803	15.57
TOTAL	4,215,117	61.0	852,455	12.3

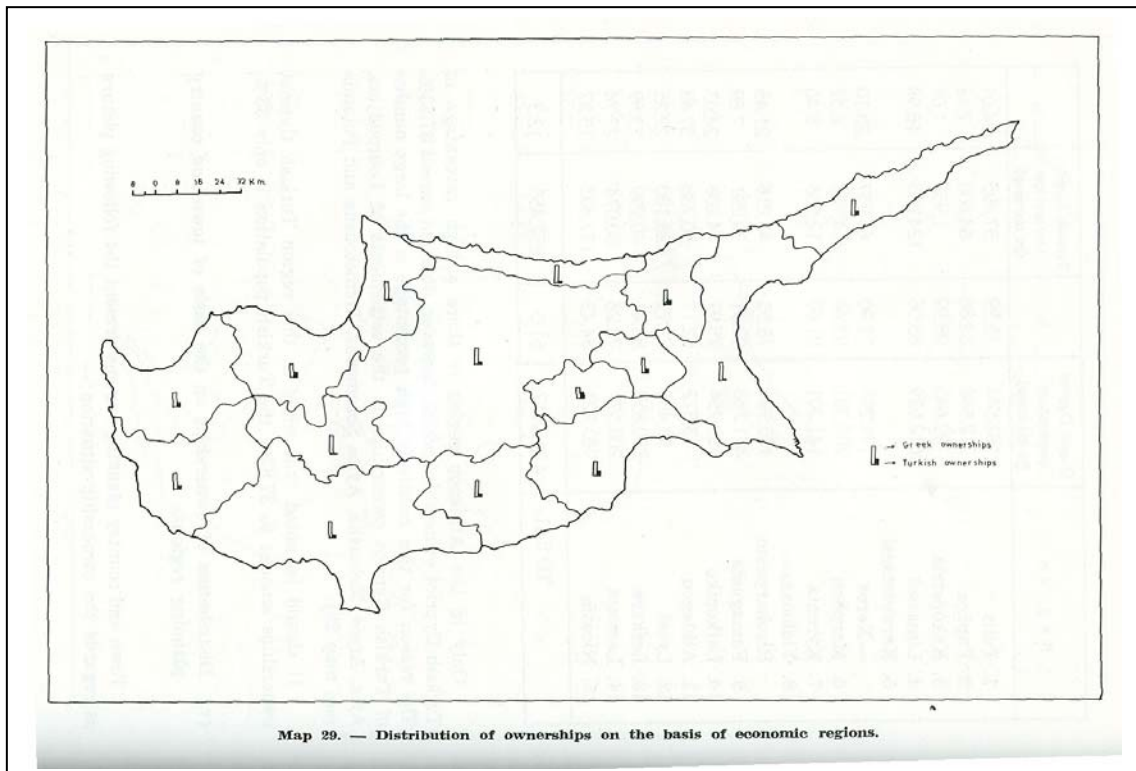
Only in the Athienou region is there a high percentage of Turkish Cypriot ownerships which, however, does not exceed 37.83%. The reason for this relatively high percentage is the large number of Turkish Cypriot ownerships in the settlements of Louroudjina, Ayia, Arsos, Melousha, Ayios Sozomenos, Tremetousha and Potamia (see map 29).

It should be noted that while in this region Turkish Cypriot ownerships amount to 37.83% the Turkish population is only 33%.



(v) Distribution of ownerships on the basis of town and country planning regions.

Town and country planning regions present the following picture as regards the ownership situation:-



Region	Greek Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%	Turkish Cypriot ownerships (in donums)	%
1. Rizokarpasso	66,487	99.15	569	0.85
2. Yialoussa	80,135	73.74	28,545	26.26
3. Ay. Theodoros	80,971	72.22	31,150	r.78
4. Trikomo	106,039	82.17	23,020	7.83
5. Famagusta	202,163	97.35	5,507	2.65
6. Paralimni	64,650	100.00	-	-
7. Xylotymbou	48,551	82.28	10,453	17.72
8. Larnaca	117,680	68.77	53,448	31.23
9. Athienou	57,468	67.91	27,161	32.09
10. Lyssi	128,CM-7	81.96	28,182	18.04
11. Lefkoniko	144,972	70.11	61,811	29.89
12. Ay. Amvrosios	84,965	99.93	58	0.07
13. Kythrea	57,448	75.33	18,810	24.67
14. Kyrenia	60,318	85.62	10,129	14.38
15. Lapithos	36,668	92.86	2,819	7.14
16. Myrtou	126,631	90.35	13,530	9.65
17. Dhali	120,918	78.05	34,000	21.95
18. Nicosia	434,555	79.32	113,300	20.68
19. Lefkara	97,303	94.86	5,270	5.14
20. Kophinou	144,386	73.67	51,603	26.33
21. Morphou	237,844	93.22	17,303	6.78
22. Klirou	174,009	98.21	3,105	1.79
23. Agros	73,205	100.00	2	-
24. Limassol	426,870	90.54	44,606	9.46
25. Platres	134,025	91.00	13,258	9.00
26. Karavostassi-Xeros	134,732	68.33	62,438	31.67
27. Kakopetria	52,690	98.47	820	1.53
28. Pedhoulas	80,041	99.92	62	0.08
29. Pissouri	82,533	66.37	41,821	33.63
30. Paphos	214,011	81.38	48,952	18.62
31. Polis	140,349	72.46	53,336	27.54
32. Polemi	95,435	89.39	11,330	10.61
33. Kelokedhara	109,018	75.18	35,997	24.82
Total	4,215,117	61.00	852,455	12.30

Despite the fact that this category includes in all 33 regions, i.e. several small regions, so as to make one expect a high percentage of Turkish Cypriot property in some of them, nevertheless in no case does Turkish property exceed 33.63% and this high percentage is to be found in Pissouri region. Other regions with a Turkish ownership percentage over 30% are: Larnaca (31.23%), Athienou (32.9%) and Karavostassi - Xeros (31.67%) (see map 30).

As regards Pissouri, the high percentage of 33.63% is attributed to Turkish Cypriot ownership in the villages of Alektora, Evdhimou, Plataniskia, Paramali, Ay. Thomas and Anogyra.

As regards Larnaca, the high percentage of 31.23% is due to Turkish Cypriot ownerships in the villages of Glavdhia, Ke1lia, Dromolaxia, Kalokhorio and Koshi.

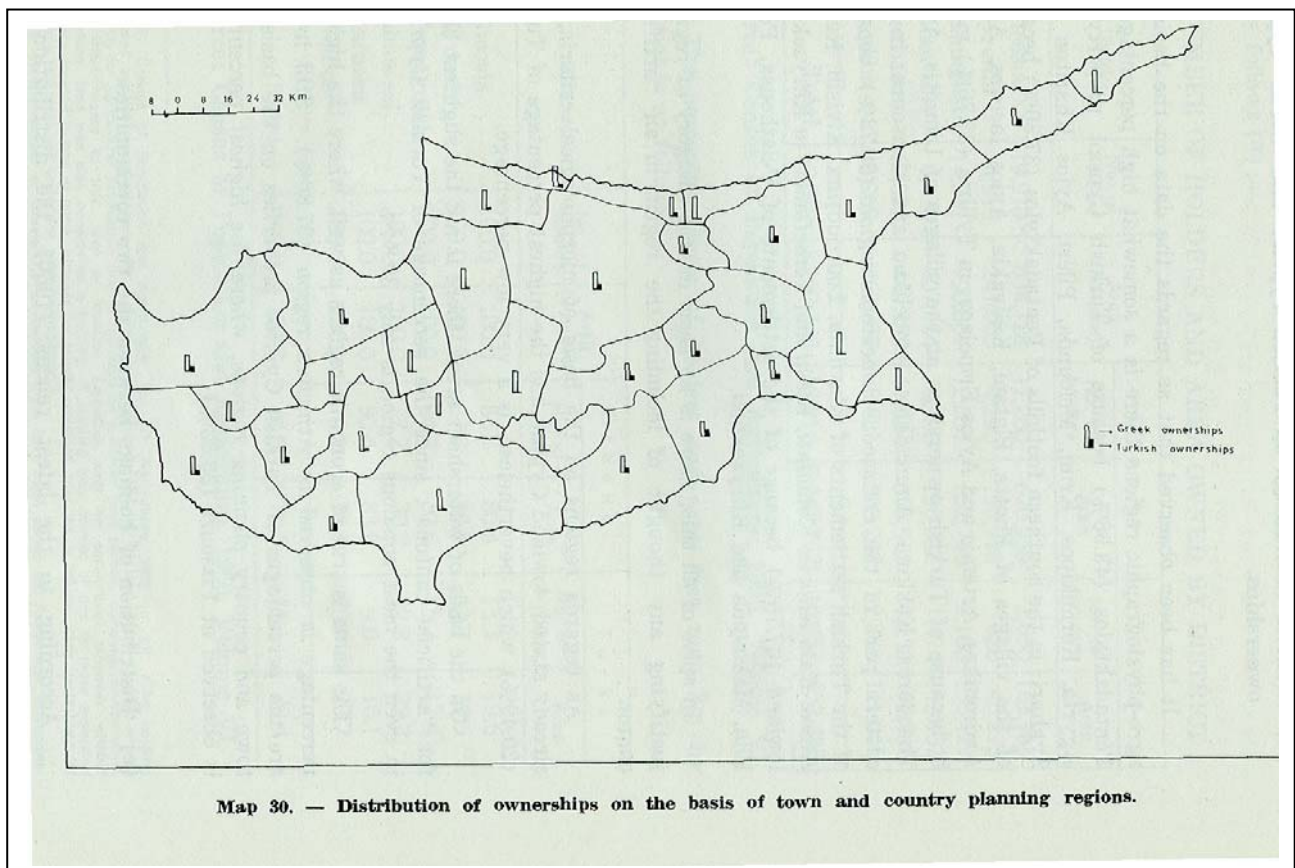
As regards Athienou, the high percentage of 32.9% can be explained by the existence here of Turkish Cypriot settlements such as Ayia, Melousha, Arsos and Tremetousha.

In Karavostassi - Xeros, the high percentages of Turkish Cypriot ownerships is due to Turkish ownerships in the villages of Ay. Theodoros, Elia, Limnitis, Ambelikou, Lefka, Angolemi and Kokkina.

A comparison between the percentages of properties and population in the above regions is as follows:-

Region	Percentage of Property		Percentage of Population	
	Greek	Turkish	Greek	Turkish
Pissouri	66.37	33.63	60.29	39.71
Larnaca	68.77	31.23	80.68	19.32
Athenou	67.91	32.09	74.25	25.75
Kara vostassi-Xeros	68.33	31.67	57.98	42.02

As shown in the Pissourhand Karavostassi - Xeros regions percentages of Turkish properties are lower than the corresponding percentages of Turkish population. The opposite is true in the case of Larnaca and Athienou regions.



**(d) General conclusions on Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot ownerships.**

It has been observed that as regards the data on the basis of agro-physiographic regions there is a somewhat high percentage in Pentadaktylos (43.96%) because of Turkish Cypriot property at Agyrta, Kornokipos, Krini, Melounda, Pileri, Ayios Khariton and Sykhari; in the southern foothills of Pentadaktylos (37.80%) because of the villages of Photta, Platani, Kalivakia, Ayios Iacovos, Ayios Andronikos, Artemis and Ayios Ermolaos; in Tylliria (32.76%) mainly because of Turkish ownerships at the villages of Limnitis, Ayios Theodoros, Kokkina, Ammadhies, Ambelikou and Mansoura; in the eastern part of the cretaceous limestone region (36.73%) because of the Turkish settlements of Klavdhia, Louroudjina, Kivisili, Kellia, Arsos, Kalo Khorio, Kotchiati, Koshi and Tersefanou; in Khrysokhou lowland (37.75%) because of the settlements of Pelathousa, Polis, Elia, Makounda and Khrysokhou.

In spite of all this, there is no basis in this category of regions justifying any thought of including the region in an "artificial canton".

As regards regions on the basis of morphological criteria, as already stated, lowland Cyprus has the highest percentage of Turks (20.49%) which nevertheless, is a very low percentage.

On the basis of watersheds areas, there is not the slightest basis for "artificial cantons", since the percentage of Turkish Cypriots in even the most populous region is only 30.84%.

The same is true of economic regions as well, where the highest percentage is observed in Athienou region (37.80%). Still lower are the percentages of Turkish Cypriot properties on the basis of town and country planning regions, where the highest percentage is observed at Pissouri (33.63%).

**(e) Distribution of holdings between the two communities.**

According to the latest census (1960), the distribution of holdings<sup>(25)</sup> between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots is as follows<sup>(26)</sup>:

NUMBER OF HOLDERS AND AREA OWNED BY DISTRICT

District	No. of holders	Area (donums)	Greeks		Turks	
			No. of holders	Area	No. of holders	Area
Nicosia	19,910	834,128	17,260	670,939	2,650	163,189
Kyrenia	4,916	247,053	4,290	198,778	626	48,275
Famagusta	14,231	790,867	12,051	652,746	2,180	138,121
Limassol	6,470	407,164	4,996	288,032	1,474	119,132
Larnaca	12,873	449,279	11,634	376,565	1,239	72,714
Paphos	10,969	469,257	8,681	358,202	2,288	111,055
Total	69,369	3,197,748	58,912	2,545,262	10,457	652,486

Source: Census of Population and Agriculture, 1960, Volume VI.

The percentage ratio of holders and area (see map 31) by district is as follows:

District	No. of holders	Area (donums)	Greeks		Turks	
			No. of holders	Area	No. of holders	Area
Nicosia	100.0	100.0	86.7	80.4	13.3	19.6
Kyrenia	100.0	100.0	87.3	80.5	12.7	19.5
Famagusta	100.0	100.0	84.7	82.6	15.3	17.4
Limassol	100.0	100.0	77.2	70.7	22.8	29.3
Larnaca	100.0	100.0	90.4	83.9	9.6	16.1
Paphos	100.0	100.0	79.1	76.3	20.9	23.7
Total	100.0	100.0	84.9	79.6	15.1	20.4

Source: Census of Population and Agriculture, 1960, Volume VI.

The question is how it is that the area under Turkish Cypriot ownership is 20.4%. The answer lies in the fact that the above data are not based on the official records of the Lands and Surveys Department. They are based on information provided by farmers at the time of the census. The shortcomings of the 1960 census for purposes of ascertaining real ownership are the following:

<sup>(25)</sup> Census of Population and Agriculture, Vol. VI. Agriculture, 1960 op. cit. «The holding was used as the statistical unit. By a holding is meant the totality of land which is used wholly or partly for agricultural production and is operated by a holder (one person, company, co-operative, etc) without regard to title, size or location. Livestock kept for agricultural purposes without agricultural land was also considered a holding. A holding may consist of one or more separated parcels located in one or more villages (or towns) provided that as a whole, they form part of the same technical unit under the same management».

<sup>(26)</sup> (26) To the number of Greek Cypriot holders there have been added 460 Armenians, Maronites. etc., who own a total of 42,821 donums.

(a) As shown in the above two tables, the area in question amounts to only 3,197,748 donums and not 6,915,392 donums<sup>(27)</sup>, which is the total area of Cyprus or 5,067,572 donums, which corresponds to the total privately owned area. (b) At the time of the census each holder was asked to state the area owned by him and statements could not, therefore, be always crosschecked given the fact that census office staff had to collect data from 69,369 holders. (c) For fear of taxation, holders are always cautious in their statements and usually conceal the true area. (d) Many holdings are communal land or belong to churches and have not been included in the total number of donums. (e) Urbanised land or land situated near settlements which was not under exploitation, was not declared. (f) Many non-utilised lands, especially in mountainous areas, were not included, either because they were unknown to their lawful owners or because they had long ceased to be cultivated. (g) Often at the time of a census the present government donum is confused with the Cyprus donum<sup>(28)</sup>. (h) Economist Chr. Economides in a cyclostyled study entitled: "Mr. Ecevit's contention that Turkish Cypriots own 30% of Cypriot land is contradicted by all censuses so far" observes - on the basis of a comparison between the 1946 census and that taken in 1960 ~ that the decrease for the Greeks is equal to 3.5% and the increase for the Turks 10% Mr. Economides concludes that "the 10% increase in the land declared by the Turks in the 1960 census seems to strengthen the suspicion expressed by many Greeks at the time of the census that the Turks would overestimate in their declarations the area of their holdings to make believable the myth that they owned more land than their population ratio.

It is probably these tables of holders that caused the Turkish side to state that they hold 30% of the land, unless this claim has been deliberately made for propaganda purposes. The fact, however, remains that Cyprus has a Land Registry Department to which those who care for the truth can apply with a view to ascertaining the extent of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ownership.

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<sup>(27)</sup> The total area of Cyprus, according to land surveys between 1907 and 1929, amounts to 6,915,392 donums (9,251 sq. kilometres).

<sup>(28)</sup> Census of Population and Agriculture, 1946 op. cit. «The main explanation given for the deficiency on the two previous occasions was that most farmers persist in returning their land by the «local» donum measure, which is a variable area based on the extent of land that can be ploughed in one day, instead of by the official donum of 40 yards square. The local donum is generally regarded as being about 1 1/2 official donums. To some extent the same error occurred in the present census, particularly in the western part of the Island, where a small check survey of vineyards revealed considerable use of the local donum. In general, however, I am satisfied that the deficiency is not chiefly attributable to this, but from a scrutiny of holdings in villages more recently surveyed am of opinion that it arises chiefly from two different causes. First the usual underlying fear of taxation made farmers underdeclare their holdings and production, and secondly plots which were not in immediate use owing to poor soil or to some legal or other difficulty were apt to be omitted. In other words, I believe that a fair amount of the missing area is really derelict or neglected land. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that the declared number of plots is also lower than the surveyed number, whereas after the many subdivisions which have taken place since the general survey, one would expect it to be higher. It would for these reasons be unsafe to apply any general correcting factor to the returns for the whole island or even for any district or village.

